THE CLARINET IN EARLY AMERICA,  
1758-1820

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
The Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate  
School of The Ohio State University

By

Jane Elizabeth Ellsworth, M.M., D.M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University  
2004

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Lois Rosow, Adviser
Professor Charles M. Atkinson
Professor Burdette Green

Approved by

______________________________
Adviser,  
Graduate Program in Music
ABSTRACT

The history and development of the clarinet in Europe are subjects that have received considerable scholarly attention, but no serious attempt has been made to trace the instrument’s use in early America. This dissertation is an initial step toward supplying this missing chapter in clarinet history.

The period surveyed encompasses the years 1758 (the year of the first documentary evidence of the clarinet in America) through 1820. The study covers primarily the five east-coast cities where musical life was most active in this period: Charleston, Baltimore, New York, Philadelphia and Boston. The important Moravian communities in Pennsylvania and North Carolina were also examined as important centers of clarinet activity. Primary sources of information were early newspapers, city directories, ships’ passenger lists, naturalization papers, vital records, letters, and diaries.

The aim of this dissertation is to document as many aspects as possible of the clarinet’s history and use in early America. Chapter Two investigates the clarinetist’s livelihood, considering the ways in which clarinetists earned their livings: in the military, the theatre, and on the concert stage. Chapter Three examines the Moravian communities, where clarinetists cultivated a repertory largely not found elsewhere in early America. Chapter Four surveys the repertory played by early American clarinetists, identifying works and composers that were important either because they were performed
frequently, or because they were unique in some way. Chapter Four also deals with what might be categorized as amateur music: tunebooks, duets, songs, and music for church “gallery orchestras.” Chapter Five focuses on clarinet teaching in early America, examining who taught the clarinet, what kind of clientele they were trying to attract, and which clarinet instruction books or tutors might have been used. Chapter Six is concerned with individuals and businesses that made and sold clarinets and clarinet-related merchandise (reeds, mouthpieces, music, and other accessories).

Appendix A, “A Biographical Dictionary of Early American Clarinetists,” is devoted to chronicling the lives of the approximately sixty-five clarinetists whose activities form the core of story being told here. Appendix B contains a table of all of the clarinet performances documented in the study.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people deserve to be thanked here for the help they have given me in producing this dissertation. I thank my adviser, Lois Rosow, for her patient guidance at every step, and Charles Atkinson and Burdette Green, for their generous service on my committee.

My deepest appreciation goes to Albert Rice, not only for his practical help and for the information he so kindly shared with me, but also for his enthusiastic support of this project from its very beginning.

Two organizations provided funding for my research. I thank the Music Library Association, which chose me as one of three recipients of the Dena Epstein Award for Archival and Library Research in American Music in 2003. I also thank the International Clarinet Association, for awarding me a research grant in 2003. I am grateful to both of these organizations for their help in making this project possible.

I thank the staffs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Free Library of Philadephia, the Maryland Historical Society, the South Carolina Historical Society, the Charleston Library Society, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, the New-York Historical Society, The Library of Congress, The American Antiquarian Society, and the Moravian Music Archive in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The patient assistance of the research librarians at these institutions was of the greatest importance in
the research stage of this dissertation. I am especially grateful to Albert Frank of the Moravian Music Archive, for his help during my visit; and to Nicholas Butler, of the South Carolina Historical Society, who graciously shared information from his then-unfinished dissertation.

Many thanks to Dieter Droste, who very kindly gave of his time to decipher several Moravian documents in old German script, transcribing them into readable German for me.

I also wish to thank Colin Lawson, for his friendship and encouragement, and for being a model of both artistry and scholarship at the highest levels. Another colleague from England, Pamela Weston, deserves special thanks and recognition, not only for specific information that she generously shared, but for her lifelong work in tracing the biographies of clarinetists. She has been an inspiration to me and to many others.

Finally, to my husband Bill Conable, who has been my greatest support of all: your unflagging love and care has made everything possible.
VITA

November 3, 1961 .............................................. Born – Akron, Ohio

1984 .................................................................. M.M. in Clarinet Performance, 
The Cleveland Institute of Music

1991 .................................................................. D.M.A. in Clarinet Performance, 
The Ohio State University

1992 – present .................................................... Adjunct Instructor of Clarinet, 
Kenyon College

1995 – present .................................................... Lecturer in Music History, 
The Ohio State University

PUBLICATIONS

1. Review of the CD Clarinet Works of Saverio Mercadante (Luigi Magistrelli, 
Clarinet; et al.). In The Clarinet (Journal of the International Clarinet Association), vol. 
31, no. 2 (March 2004).

2. Review of the CD Heinrich Baermann: Clarinet Concertos (Dieter Klöcker, 
Clarinet; The Prague Chamber Orchestra). In The Clarinet (Journal of the International 
Clarinet Association), vol. 30, No. 2 (March 2003).

3. Report on the Symposium, “Brahms: The Late Chamber Music… A Bridge to the 
Future.” In The Clarinet (Journal of the International Clarinet Association), vol. 30, no. 3 
(June 2003).

4. “Haydn Clarinet Concertos: A Case of Wishful Thinking.” In The Clarinet 
(Journal of the International Clarinet Association), vol. 29, no. 3 (June 2002).


**FIELDS OF STUDY**

Major field: Music
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vita</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of tables</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapters:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The Clarinetist’s Livelihood in Early America</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Clarinet in Moravian Communities</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Early American Clarinet Repertory</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Teaching the Clarinet in Early America</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Makers and Sellers</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Conclusion</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendices:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix A: A Biographical Dictionary of Early American Clarinetists</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix B: A Table of Clarinet Performances in Early America</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Performances in the Nazareth Register that involve the clarinet</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Research on the early history of the clarinet—the instrument, its players, its performance practice, and its repertory—has traditionally focused on Europe. This is natural enough, since Europeans were responsible for the invention of the instrument in the early eighteenth century, and for most of its subsequent development over the following decades. European colonization of distant lands, however, inevitably took the clarinet to other places, and the transmission of the instrument has been little explored by researchers. The aim of this dissertation is to examine an aspect of this transmission: the early history of the clarinet in America, from its appearance in the late 1750s to 1820.

Until now, no extensive original study of the clarinet in early America has been undertaken. Shirley Mackie’s short 1957 article, “Early American Clarinetists,” merely repeats a few names of clarinetists gleaned from Sonneck’s 1907 Early Concert Life in America (discussed below).¹ Harry Gee’s similarly brief article of 1958, “Early American Clarinet Music,” has little to say about the period before 1820, and in fact focuses mainly on the early twentieth century.² Sandra McPherson’s 1982 dissertation,

“Nineteenth-Century American Clarinet Music, 1878-1915: An Annotated Bibliography,” focuses on the later nineteenth century, as the title indicates; her introductory chapters, in which she discusses earlier clarinet activities in America, generally reach back no further than the 1840s. Pamela Weston’s books provide biographical information about a number of clarinetists active in early America; her research, while immensely valuable, has relied largely on secondary sources (at least where American clarinetists are concerned).

Oscar Sonneck’s *Early Concert Life in America* has served as a starting point for many studies of American music. In this pioneering work Sonneck used early American newspapers to chronicle the concert activities in major American cities from as early as the 1730s to the year 1800. In doing so he provided a basic fund of information for later researchers to draw upon, and demonstrated a useful methodology for the documentation of musical culture. Sonneck found the names of numerous clarinetists who were active soloists in early America before 1800, and these names were an important starting place for my research. In this dissertation, however, I try to go beyond Sonneck, not only chronologically but also in content. Sonneck’s aim was to piece together a picture of early American concert life by transcribing concert announcements from newspapers and

---


creating from them a quasi-narrative for each of the major urban centers. While some of his commentary is related to repertory, biographical detail, and so on, it would have been impossible for him to carry out in-depth research on each topic that his work encompassed. I have isolated one piece of the ground that Sonneck began to cultivate—Early Clarinet Life in America, so to speak—and have undertaken some of the detailed research that he could not.

Other studies of early American music have also provided information that has been useful in laying a foundation for this dissertation. In the field of military music, Raoul Camus’s work has been essential in providing details about the use of the clarinet in the army from before the American Revolution until 1834.\(^6\) Numerous studies of American cities and regions exist, including those of Anderson, Broyles, Drummond, Gerson, Hindman, Johnson, Keefer, Lambert, Mangler, Redway, Pichierri, and Wagner; these have not only provided specific data, but have also helped in situating those data in a wider context.\(^7\) The large body of literature on Moravian music includes studies by a

---


number of authors (among them Grider, David, Rau, McCorkle, Anderson, Finney, Hall, Ingram, Runner, and Strauss) whose work I have drawn upon in my examination of the clarinet in the main American Moravian communities; Strauss’s transcription of the Nazareth “Register” in her dissertation has been especially useful. Since many clarinetists in early America were theatre musicians, I have also found theatre histories and studies to be good sources of information. These have included works by Sonneck, Porter, Durang, Hoole, Pollock, and Willis. I initially found many of the newspaper

Oscar G. Sonneck, Early Opera in America (New York: G. Schirmer, 1915); Susan L. Porter, With an Air Debonair: Musical Theatre in America, 1785-1815 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991); Charles Durang, The Philadelphia Stage. From the Year 1749 to the Year 1855. Partly compiled from the papers of his father, the late John Durang; with notes by the editors [of the Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch]
references from 1783 and earlier in *The Performing Arts in Colonial American Newspapers 1690-1783*, an extensive database on CD-ROM.\textsuperscript{10} This valuable tool made the initial search for the earliest references to the clarinet much less time-consuming.

Finally, mention must be made of Albert Rice’s recent book, *The Clarinet in the Classical Period*. While focusing primarily on the European clarinet in this period, Rice also devotes some attention to the clarinet in early America, and his work has been influential on this study.\textsuperscript{11}

This study covers five east-coast cities: Charleston, Baltimore, New York, Philadelphia and Boston. These were the largest and most musically important cities in the period from the late 1750s to 1820, the period encompassed by this dissertation. Other cities are mentioned selectively; for example, Annapolis was important as a kind of “satellite” city to Baltimore, and Salem was the same in relation to Boston. A few references have been made to smaller cities such as Hartford, Providence, and Savannah, but these and other cities of this size remain to be more fully researched. The important Moravian communities in Pennsylvania and North Carolina have also been examined to

\begin{flushright}
\end{flushright}

\textsuperscript{10} Mary Jane Corry, Kate VanWinkle, and Robert Keller, *The Performing Arts in Colonial American Newspapers, 1690-1783*, CD-ROM (New York: University Music Editions, 1997). Throughout this dissertation, references to sources found in this database will indicate the original newspaper (title and date), followed by the abbreviation “PACAN.”

some degree, since these (especially Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Lititz, all in Pennsylvania) were important centers of clarinet activity.

I have worked mainly in libraries and historical societies in the five cities cited above, as well as at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., and the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts. Like Sonneck, I used early newspapers (especially those not examined by Sonneck, i.e., from 1801 through 1820) as a major resource. These provided a large amount of information toward identifying clarinetists and their repertory, and also about businesses that sold clarinets, clarinet paraphernalia, and music. Other primary sources (relevant especially to the tracing of clarinetists’ biographies) have included city directories, ships’ passenger lists, naturalization papers, vital records, letters, diaries, and so on.

My goal has been to document as many aspects as possible of the clarinet’s history and use in early America. Chapter Two investigates the clarinetist’s livelihood, considering the ways in which clarinetists (and, indeed, other instrumentalists as well) earned their livings: in the military, the theatre, and on the concert stage in its various guises. The chapter also introduces some of the important clarinet performers who were active in early America. Chapter Three considers the role of the clarinet in the Moravian communities of Pennsylvania and North Carolina. These communities, while isolated from the urban centers, were nevertheless musically significant, and the clarinet played a prominent role in Moravian musical life. As will be seen, the activities and repertory of Moravian clarinetists were unique in some respects. Chapter Four examines the overall repertory of music played by early American clarinetists. The chapter is organized by
genre; within each genre, I attempt not only to present an overview of the works performed by early American clarinetists, but also to identify works and composers that were important, either because they were performed often, or because they are unique in some way. Chapter Four also deals with what might be categorized as amateur music: tunebooks, duets, songs with clarinet parts as an alternative to the voice, music for church “gallery orchestras,” and so on. Chapter Five focuses on clarinet teaching in early America, using as primary sources newspaper advertisements (to identify who taught the clarinet, what kind of clientele they were trying to attract, and in some cases how much lessons cost) and clarinet instruction books or tutors (to determine what kinds of methods might have been used to teach clarinet students). Chapter Six is concerned with individuals and businesses that supplied the public with clarinets and other clarinet-related merchandise (reeds, mouthpieces, music, and so on).

This study began with a search for information about people, and the individuals who performed on and taught the clarinet have remained continually at the center of the entire project. Appendix A, therefore, is devoted to chronicling the lives of the approximately sixty-five clarinetists I have discovered in the course of my research. The history of the clarinet in early America is contained in the story of these people and their activities. The amount of information available about individuals has varied, so some of their lives are better documented than others in Appendix A. The discovery of previously unknown clarinetists and the compilation of biographies is an ongoing task, however, and more information will undoubtedly come to light as this research proceeds. Appendix B
contains a table of all of the early American performances I have been able to document (up to 1820) that involved the clarinet.

I hope to demonstrate that the clarinet played as active a role in early America’s musical life, albeit on a smaller scale, as in that of Europe. It will be seen, for example, that the use of the clarinet as a concert instrument in America did not lag significantly behind its use as a concert instrument in Europe. American clarinetists were performing the same type of repertory as their European counterparts, usually without much chronological delay. Because of America’s lively trade-based economy, and also because of the immigration of many Europeans to the North American continent in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the types of clarinets used in Europe made their way to America surprisingly quickly. In short, the clarinet was a vital part of a music culture that had its roots in European tradition, but that grew and flourished in American soil as well.

---

CHAPTER 2

THE CLARINETIST'S LIVELIHOOD IN EARLY AMERICA

The initial appearance of the clarinet in America is difficult to determine with precision. An ancestor of the clarinet, the “mock trumpet” (another name for the chalumeau), was listed in the 1729 household inventory of Increase Gatchell, a Boston dancing master and musician. Benjamin Franklin, in his autobiography (1788), claimed to have heard clarinets at the Moravian community in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania in 1756, stating, “I was at their Church, where I was entertain’d with good Musick, the Organ being accompanied with Violins, Hautboys, Flutes, Clarinets, &c.” Yet in a letter to his wife, written in the year of the visit, Franklin stated that he “heard very fine music in the church; flutes, oboes, French horns, and trumpets, accompanied the organ.” No mention is made of the clarinet in this account. An observation by Donald McCorkle may explain

the discrepancy between the two statements: “Many of Franklin’s papers had been destroyed during the Revolution, and he was doubtless writing [his biography] from memory. It seems safe to assume that he had become familiar with the ‘clarinets’ in Paris, rather than Bethlehem, and they slipped into this list of woodwinds inadvertently.”

It seems likely, then, that Franklin’s recollection of hearing clarinets at Bethlehem in 1756 was inaccurate, especially since no evidence has been found that securely documents the appearance of clarinets in any of the Moravian communities before the late 1790s (see Chapter Three). In fact, the first direct evidence of the clarinet in America comes from 1758. In that year, an advertisement was placed in the *New York Gazette and Weekly Post Boy* asking for performers on the “Hautboy, French Horn, Clarinet, or Bassoon” to join General Lascell’s regiment at Amboy. The clarinet played an important role as a military instrument, and it is in this capacity that it probably first became generally known in the American colonies.

Military bands provided employment for early American musicians, including clarinetists, from at least the late 1750s onward. There were, in addition, a variety of other ways that a clarinetist could earn a living in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century America. Clarinetists performed as theatre and concert musicians; taught the clarinet (and often other instruments) to amateurs; composed, arranged, and copied

---


6 *New York Gazette and Weekly Postboy*, Dec. 23, 1758; in Mary Jane Corry, Kate VanWinkle, and Robert Keller, *The Performing Arts in Colonial American Newspapers, 1690-1783* (New York: University Music Editions, 1997). Throughout this dissertation, references to original sources originally found in this database (available on CD-ROM) will indicate the original newspaper (title and date), followed by the abbreviation “PACAN.”
music; worked as musical instrument makers; and even took on extra-musical jobs to supplement their work as musicians. Most individuals combined two or more of these occupations in order to support themselves and their families financially. This chapter will consider these types of employment and examine how they are reflected in the lives of specific clarinetists.

THE MILITARY

British and French troops were a constant presence in North America, especially starting around the middle of the eighteenth century. The British controlled the Atlantic seaboard, while the French occupied territories that included parts of present-day Canada, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi River corridor. The number of French colonists was nonetheless relatively small in comparison with the British. Neither country had a substantial presence of military regulars until 1755, when British troops came in “unprecedented numbers” to fight the French and the allied Indians who were threatening the colonies. After England’s victory over the French in 1763, British troops remained, and their duties gradually shifted to controlling their own increasingly rebellious colonists.

---

7 In 1754 there were about 1.5 million British colonists in North America, in comparison with only about 70,000 French. See Alan Taylor, American Colonies: The Settling of North America (New York: Penguin, 2001), 426.

8 Ibid., 429.
One of the European military traditions brought to the American colonies along with British troops was the military band.\(^9\) The military “band of music” was distinct from the other main type of military music, the “field music.” The field music consisted of fifes (sometimes bagpipes in Highland regiments, or trumpets for cavalry) and drums, and provided the music that accompanied training maneuvers and parades as well as issuing battle signals. The band of music, on the other hand, was a small group made up of wind instruments, which provided “concert” music for entertainment and ceremonies.\(^{10}\) The exact instrumentation of the band might vary, but it usually comprised pairs of oboes and/or clarinets, horns, and bassoons, as in the 1758 newspaper advertisement cited above. This grouping, besides being the standard military band of the time, was also the traditional European Harmonie ensemble, for which a large repertory of music was written in the second half of the eighteenth century.\(^{11}\)


\(^{10}\) Anderson lists and documents ten broad types of occasion for which Revolutionary-era bands provided music: political affairs, personal entertainment, funerals, executions, banquets, dances, informal dinners, quasi-military social events, recruiting parties, and large-scale movements of troops. See Simon Vance Anderson, “American Music during the War for Independence, 1775-1783” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1965), 76-78.

Between 1755 and the end of the American Revolution in 1783, no fewer than eighty-four British regiments served in the colonies; most of them had bands attached.\textsuperscript{12} Many of these bands had clarinets, and the instrument surely owes its appearance and gradual transmission in America largely to this influx of troops. American militiamen serving alongside British regulars during the Seven Years’ War came in contact with the British regimental bands, and American militia units soon adopted this tradition for themselves. In addition to their purely military function, these regimental and militia bands played a large role in the civilian musical life of the cities in which they were located, since their members often performed in public concerts; moreover, their presence stimulated the music trade, providing a market for music publishers, instrument makers, and stores selling sheet music and accessories as well as instruments.

Camus has documented the existence and use of the clarinet in a number of different military contexts in early America. Records show purchases of clarinets by both British and American regiments at various times in the 1760s and 70s. Clarinets were sometimes among the spoils of war captured in battle; for example, a report of the Battle of Trenton noted that the Americans captured twenty “drummers” and nine “musicians,” along with “a number of trumpets, clarionets, etc.”\textsuperscript{13} An August 1, 1779, inventory of

\textsuperscript{12} Camus, \textit{Military Music}, Appendix A (“Bands of Music in British Regiments of Foot, 1755-1783”), 179-84.

\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Massachusetts Spy}, January 2, 1777. Similar reports (all mentioning the capture of clarinets) were made in the \textit{Connecticut Journal} (January 7, 1777), the \textit{Essex Journal} (January 9, 1777), the \textit{Connecticut Gazette} (New London, January 10, 1777), and the \textit{New Hampshire Gazette} (Exeter, January 14, 1777) (PACAN).
items captured from the British at Stony Point included two clarinets.\textsuperscript{14} Newspaper advertisements soliciting band members, including clarinetists, for employment in the military are frequent throughout the period. Most of these advertisements are similar to the 1758 notice cited earlier. Musicians were needed not only on land, but sometimes at sea; a 1779 advertisement offered maritime duty for a band of two clarinets, two “hautboys,” two horns and one bassoon aboard the private warship the \textit{General Pattison}.\textsuperscript{15}

In addition to the serious duties of war, military bands were also called upon for lighter pursuits, such as serenading. In a 1768 letter written by a young man living in Philadelphia to his sister, we learn of this type of activity:

\begin{quote}
We—with four or five young officers of the regiment in barracks—drink as hard as we can to keep out the cold, and about midnight sally forth, attended by the Band which consists of ten musicians, horns, clarionets, hautboys and bassoons, march through the streets and play under the window of any lady you choose to distinguish, which they esteem a high Compliment. …I have been out twice and only once got a violent cold by it.\textsuperscript{16}
\end{quote}

When members of Congress and other dignitaries assembled at the City Tavern in Philadelphia on July 4, 1778, they were entertained by a musical ensemble, described as follows in the diary of William Ellery, one of the delegates:

\begin{quote}

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Rivington’s New York Gazette}, April 14, 1779 (PACAN).

\end{quote}
The glorious fourth of July I celebrated in the City Tavern with Brother Delegates of Congress and a number of other gentlemen, amounting [sic] in the whole to about 80… The entertainment was elegant and well conducted. At the end of the Room opposite the upper Table, was erected an Orchestra… As soon as Dinner began, the Musick consisting of Clarinets, Hautboys, French horns, Violins, and Bass Viols, opened and continued, making proper pause, until it was finished.17

Camus believes that it was the band of Captain (later Colonel) Thomas Proctor’s 1st Company of Pennsylvania Artillery, a militia unit (later to become the 4th Regiment of Artillery of the Continental Army), that played on this occasion. This band was highly respected and can probably be considered the earliest U.S. Army band.18 From the ranks of this band also appeared the first named clarinet soloist in America: Charles Hoffman, Jr. (For a brief biography of Hoffman, see Appendix A).

After the Revolution the clarinet continued to play a vital role in American military bands, both those of the regular army and those of the more localized militia units. Until the War of 1812, the militia units generally maintained more elaborate and active bands of music than did the regular army; they continued their tradition of supporting bands that played for ceremonies, patriotic occasions, militia training days, and community events. The War of 1812 brought the militia and the regular army together. Camus states that “the regular army came into contact with the bands of the militia units, and were influenced by their distinctive uniforms, new types and improvements of instruments, and a general vitality that invigorated the musical appetites


18 Camus, Military Music, 75-77.
of the regular officers.” After the war ended in late 1814, music became a more important part of the regular army’s culture, and bands of music were encouraged and enlarged. Through at least the mid-1830s, when all-brass bands started to become popular, military bands always included clarinets.

Military bands and their music were by no means confined to a purely military context; as already noted, military musicians played an important role in the civilian musical activities of the cities in which they were present. A distinction must be drawn here between bands that were connected to specific military units, and military-style wind bands (Harmoniemusik ensembles) that were not actually affiliated with the military. Both types of ensemble appeared on public concerts in early America. A differentiation should also be made between military music per se (marches and other ceremonial types of music) and Harmoniemusik (Parthien, Suites, or works of other titles consisting of contrasting movements). While both types of music involve a similar grouping of instruments, they served different functions, which might be termed “ceremonial” in the


20 Camus documents the expansion of the American military band in numbers and instrumentation throughout Part 3 of “Military Band”: “Bands of Music in the United States Army, 1784-1834.”


22 Whitwell makes a musical distinction between Harmoniemusik, which he associates with the European court wind bands of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and military music proper. See The History and Literature of the Wind Band and Wind Ensemble, 9:96. Camus makes a similar musical distinction (without reference to courts, of course); see “Military Band,” 389-90.
case of military music and “concert” in the case of Harmoniemusik. Furthermore, works for small wind ensemble that appeared on programs of more formal, indoor, public concerts were almost always of the Harmoniemusik variety, and were usually played by non-military musicians. The most extensive example of this can be found in the concerts given in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries at the Moravian community of Nazareth, Pennsylvania, the majority of which included some kind of Parthie or similar work for wind ensemble. (The Moravians and their repertory are discussed further in Chapters Three and Four.) Harmoniemusik was also performed on public indoor concerts in larger cities; for a complete list of this type of performance in which clarinetists were involved, see Appendix B.

Both military music and Harmoniemusik also found a home in outdoor concerts. Most large early American cities had pleasure gardens (in imitation of London’s Vauxhall Gardens and similar institutions), as well as other places of entertainment such as coffee houses, in operation during the summer months. The proprietors of pleasure gardens offered a beautiful setting, gustatory treats (savory dishes, ice cream and other confections, wine, liquor, and lemonade), and various types of entertainment (including fanciful lighting, fireworks, waterworks, theatrical presentations, and music). The music often consisted of a wind band of some kind. In advertisements these were sometimes referred to generically as the “band of Harmonial Music,” the “band of wind instruments,” the “band of martial [or military] music,” or similar appellations; or, if the
band was connected with a specific military regiment, this was sometimes identified. Clarinetists were often the “leaders” or “directors” of such wind ensembles.

Concert announcements in newspapers sometimes mentioned the use of military instruments to enhance the popular appeal of a concert and draw a bigger audience. For example, announcements for several New York concerts in March and April of 1764 advertised that the concerts would conclude with “a Grand Chorus Song” (or “Rule Britannia,” or “God Save the King”), accompanied by drums, trumpets and clarinets. A similar use of military instruments as a draw for audiences is found in Boston in 1774, where a “Grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental music” was given at Concert Hall, featuring music “Accompanied with Clarinets, Hautboys, Bassoons, French horns, Trumpets, Kettle Drums, &c., &c.” In 1782, also in Boston, Mr. Dorval advertised his concert, on which he would “perform several pieces, military music on the clarinet,

23 See Appendix B for a listing of such concerts in which clarinets were involved.

24 For example, at New York’s Columbia Garden in the summer of 1799, the proprietor Mr. Corre notified his patrons that he had “engaged Mr. Henry and the Band of wind instruments to play every evening” (Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 218); the Mr. Henry referred to here is undoubtedly the clarinetist of that name, who frequently programmed wind music on his benefit concerts. In the summer of 1811, New Yorkers could hear a “band of military music,” under the direction of the clarinetist Florant Meline, in a series of “serenades” given at the Battery (first advertised in the New York Evening Post, August 20, 1811; several concerts were given in late August and early September). The clarinetist Patrick Moffat led the band of the Second Regiment of Artillery in “a great variety of Airs, Marches, &c.” from the portico of the Flag Staff on New York’s Battery in July of 1812 (New York Evening Post, July 20, 1812), and he also directed a “band of martial music” at the same location in the summer of 1813 (New York Evening Post, July 22 and August 4, 1813). In the summer of 1820, Meline again directed a military band, this time that of the Ninth Regiment of the New York State Artillery (“in full uniform”), at New York’s Vauxhall Gardens (New York Evening Post, June 30, 1820); this band also appeared, under Meline’s direction, in a concert given on the steamboat Franklin (New York Evening Post, September 7, 1820).

25 New York Gazette, March 26, 1764; the New York Mercury, April 9, 1764; and the New York Gazette and Weekly Postboy, April 5, 1764 (PACAN).

26 Camus, Military Music, 50; Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 268-69.
assisted by French horns, bassoons, &c.”

The clarinetist Gautier might have been trying to appeal to the heightened patriotic mood of audiences aroused by the War of 1812 when he advertised that he had composed and would play a “Grand Military Concert[o], on the Clarinet” on a New York concert.

Some of the early teachers of the clarinet in America were military musicians; this is especially the case beginning in the 1780s, when many musicians were returning from the Revolutionary War and trying to establish themselves in civilian musical jobs. These individuals are discussed in Chapter Five.

Military bands and musicians would have supplied a steady custom for music businesses in early American cities. The players needed a source for instruments, accessories (such as reeds and mouthpieces), and sheet music. The clarinet-related music business as a whole is discussed in detail in Chapter Six. Here it should be noted that music shops sometimes offered entire sets of military instruments for sale; for example, the New York publisher and merchant James Rivington advertised in 1778 that he had “an excellent pair of Concert Horns, Two Bassoons, and Two Clarinets” for sale.

--

27 Boston Gazette, April 8, 1782 (PACAN).

28 New York Evening Post, December 17, 1814.

29 Rivington’s New York Gazette, October 28, 1778. This advertisement was reprinted no fewer than twenty-one times between this date and February 5, 1780 (PACAN). Other examples include an 1805 advertisement of John and Michael Paff, owners of a New York music shop, who stated that they had just received, “from London, Amsterdam and Paris, a large and elegant assortment of Musical Instruments,” including “2 complete sets [of] Military Instruments” (New York Evening Post, December 5, 1805; although clarinets are mentioned for sale separately in the advertisement, these sets also probably included clarinets); an advertisement from 1807 by John Butler of New York, stating that he had opened a shop for the manufacture and sale of musical instruments, and that “Merchants may be supplied with all kinds of MILITARY MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS for Exportation” (New York Evening Post, June 26, 1807); and an 1817 notice by the New York music merchant and publisher William Dubois, advertising musical
addition to instruments, music for military bands was sometimes offered for sale by
music merchants. James Rivington probably had military bands in mind when he
advertised in 1779 that he had for sale “Drezty’s grand Military Sonatas, for two
clarinets, two Horns, and a Bassoon.” Peter Van Hagen of Boston advertised in 1803
that he had just received, per the ships Minerva and Tiger from London, all sorts of
musical goods, including (among other printed music) “Full Pieces for military bands.”

From the 1750s through about the mid-1830s, American military bands employed
clarinets. As already noted, in the period between about 1834 and the end of the Civil
War, most bands (both military and civilian) gradually became all-brass. By this time,
however, the clarinet was long established as a solo and orchestral instrument, and
clarinetists—both amateur and professional—had numerous outlets for performing on
their instruments. Playing in military bands was just one of many ways professional
clarinetists could earn an income with their instruments.

THE THEATRE

The theatre orchestra played a central role in the livelihood of early American
instrumentalists (including clarinetists). Although the pay was not high enough to be
relied upon as a sole means of income, the theatre orchestra provided relatively regular
and reliable employment. The theatres of most major American cities were in operation

---

instruments (including clarinets) for sale at his New York shop, and containing the phrase, “Military bands
supplied with every instrument…” (New York Evening Post, July 22, 1817).

30 Rivington’s New York Gazette, October 20, 1779 (PACAN). The composer referred to as “Dretzy” may
actually be Druschetzky.

31 Independent Chronicle, December 22, 1803.
at least three nights per week. Nearly all types of production involved music: songs and dances were inserted into most spoken plays, instrumental music was played before the performances and between the acts, and opera (usually English ballad opera in the period under consideration) was common theatrical fare. Some theatre companies traveled, spending seasons of several months in various cities, so that the work was steady for much of the year. As will be seen, evidence indicates that at least some of the theatre musicians traveled with the company. Theatre orchestras also provided the core group of orchestral musicians who performed in concert, in essence forming de facto standing orchestras in the major cities.

Most of the administrative records of early American theatres do not survive, largely due to the all-too-common occurrence of fire; there are, therefore, few records of the wages or salaries paid to theatre musicians. A handful of documents exist, nevertheless, that may provide some idea of the income a theatre musician could have earned. For example, a letter from one of the managers of the Old American Company, Lewis Hallam, to Thomas Bradford, speaks of hiring the cellist Henri Capron for the theatre orchestra:

A Mr. Capron, who performs on the Violoncello, is lately arriv’d from S. Carolina—by what I can understand, Mr. Henry wrote for him to come to [New] York, and promis’d him 100£ a Year as a Sallary [sic]—he not speaking English—I was unable to converse with him …

---

32 Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Bradford Collection, unbound correspondence.
This letter is undated but was probably written in 1786, when Capron was “lately returned from Charleston”33 and Hallam and John Henry (the “Mr. Henry” referred to in the letter) co-managed the Old American Company.34

A later indication of the wage scale of theatre musicians comes from the diary of William Dunlap, manager of the Park Street Theatre in New York from 1798 to 1805 and an assistant to the manager Thomas Cooper for some time thereafter. In 1798 Dunlap hired the violinist James Hewitt as the leader of the Park Theatre orchestra, at a salary of fourteen dollars per week.35 The entire orchestra (constituted at that time of thirteen players) incurred a weekly expense of 140 dollars.36 It seems that theatre musicians in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries earned anywhere from ten to sixteen dollars per week, depending on whether they had any additional duties such as composing, arranging, or copying music.37 They received pay only when the company was performing; furthermore, they were expected to cover all of their own expenses for out-of-town travel with the company.38

33 According to a concert announcement he placed in the Pennsylvania Journal of September 10, 1786; see Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 128.
36 Ibid., 267.
37 Susan Porter, With An Air Debonair: Musical Theatre in America, 1785-1815 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 380-81. The actors were generally somewhat better paid, earning ten to twenty-seven dollars per week depending on their stature and rank in the company.
38 Ibid., 380.
Relations were not always easy between labor and management. In March of 1808 a dispute occurred between the “band” and the management of the Park Street Theatre. The dispute is documented in a newspaper account that was published by James Hewitt, the band’s representative in the matter. The theatre’s manager at the time, Thomas Cooper, ordered the band to hold extra rehearsals, unpaid, for an upcoming production of Cinderella, with music by Michael Kelly. The newspaper account of this incident reveals some important information about the life and status of a theatre musician, as well as about orchestra rehearsal schedules and protocol. For example, it seems that orchestral rehearsals (which might be for either a full band or half bands led by different violinists) were usually held in the morning on days when the theatre was open. One of the complaints of the Park Theatre musicians was that Cooper was requiring them to attend the extra rehearsals in the afternoons and evenings, which, they maintained, would interfere with their private teaching activities. In their initial response to Cooper’s request, using Hewitt as a go-between, they wrote:

The band beg leave to state to Mr. Hewitt, that the unusual frequency of the rehearsals have absolutely prevented them from deriving many of their former advantages in private teaching. The salaries severally engaged for are too inconsiderable to depend upon for support, and the Band will consider themselves much obliged by Mr. Hewitt’s submitting this statement to Mr. Cooper’s consideration.

They requested that Cooper either pay them for these extra rehearsals, or dispense with the rehearsals. Cooper refused on both counts, stating that the extra rehearsals were

---

39 The New York Evening Post, April 4, 1808, contains Hewitt’s lengthy account of this dispute, in which he reprints the letters exchanged between the band, Hewitt, and Cooper, as well as summarizing the incident from his own point of view. The incident is discussed in Vera Brodsky Lawrence, “Mr. Hewitt Lays It on the Line,” 19th Century Music 5 (1981), 3-15.
absolutely necessary and, as all of them were to be held on days when the theatre was open, the musicians would not be paid extra for them (since, presumably, Cooper considered them to be covered by the musicians’ existing salaries). Hewitt attempted to persuade Cooper otherwise by further pleading the musicians’ case:

I certainly do not disclaim their conduct, as the Band were engaged on the former wages of the Theatre when rehearsals were never called in the afternoon; and if in the evening, were requested, not ordered. Those gentlemen have a very small salary; they depend more on their Scholars than on the Theatre, and if they lose them, their principal means of support is gone.

Cooper remained adamant, as did the band, which refused to attend the extra rehearsals. They were summarily fired by Cooper, who scrambled to replace them at the last moment by hiring another group of musicians. The premiere of the play, though postponed for a short time because of the fracas, was apparently successful. One of the members of the dismissed orchestra was Joseph Rouault, who might have been a clarinetist (though his instrument is not specified in the accounts, and he was capable of playing multiple woodwind instruments; see his biography in Appendix A). After his dismissal from the orchestra, Rouault started advertising aggressively as a woodwind teacher, presumably to replace the income he had lost through this unfortunate incident with the theatre orchestra.

A theatre musician’s existence was not always this perilous. An example of a clarinetist who held long-term (and, so far as can be known, untroubled) employment in the theatre was Andrew Wolff, who earned at least part of his living for many years as a

---

40 An advertisement appeared, in both English and French, in the New York Evening Post of March 22, 1808, stating that “8 or 10 good musicians” were needed for the theatre orchestra.
theatre musician in Philadelphia and elsewhere. (See Appendix A for Wolff’s biography.) An examination of Wolff’s theatre employment illustrates the way in which this type of work intersected with other aspects of a musician’s livelihood. Starting in 1787 Wolff was connected with the Old American Company, which was perhaps the most widely-known theatre troupe in early America. This company began life in 1766, when it was known as The American Company. After the Revolution it was reorganized, with some new actors added, as the Old American Company. The Old Americans ran an annual circuit that included Philadelphia (the Southwark Theatre), New York (the John Street Theatre, and later the Park Street Theatre), and Baltimore, along with short seasons at Annapolis and elsewhere. By 1787, the year Wolff was first associated with Philadelphia’s Southwark Theatre, the Old American Company was managed by Lewis Hallam and John Henry, as noted above.

Before Wolff’s arrival, and during his earliest years on the scene, Philadelphia was a divided city with regard to theatre. Its more worldly and wealthy inhabitants (including citizens of eminence, such as George Washington) supported public theatrical performance, but the substantial and powerful population of Quakers objected to it strenuously on moral grounds. In 1779 a law was passed prohibiting the acting of plays or the building of theaters, and this remained in effect for an entire decade. To circumvent the law, theatrical entertainments were often presented under the guise of “moral and instructive lectures,” interspersed with instrumental music (not prohibited by

---

the law). It is as a performer at such an event that Wolff’s name first appeared. Wolff is also mentioned by the nineteenth-century theatre historian Durang, who states that he was the principal clarinetist of the Southwark Theatre.  

Philadelphia’s theatrical ban was lifted in 1789, after which time drama could be presented undisguised. The Old Americans continued to present seasons at the Southwark. As noted above, the company also traveled. The extent to which the theater musicians moved with the company is not altogether clear; it seems, nonetheless, that at least some of them, if not all, did so. A comparison of the Old American Company’s movements with Wolff’s appearances as a concert soloist seems to indicate that he was one who often did. For 1787 and 1788 there are not enough data to determine if he went with the Old Americans for their New York and Baltimore seasons. In 1789, however, Wolff’s two New York concert performances in October coincide with the company’s season in that city. For a lengthy period between early 1790 and mid-1791 the Old Americans were mostly in Philadelphia, and Wolff’s many concert performances during this period are also exclusively in that city. No data exist to substantiate Wolff’s presence with the company for its New York season from October 1791 to May 1792; nevertheless, his absence from the Philadelphia concert scene during exactly that time,

---

42 Durang, The Philadelphia Stage. From the Year 1749 to the Year 1855. Partly compiled from the papers of his father, the late John Durang; with notes by the editors [of the Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch] (Philadelphia: published serially in the Sunday Dispatch, 1860-61), chapter 12, column 8. “The orchestra was composed of the following musicians: Mr. Philo, leader; Mr. Bentley, harpsichord; Mr. Woolf, principal clarionet; Trimmer, Hecker, and son, violoncello, violins, &c. Some six or seven other names, now not remembered, constituted the musical force. The latter were all Germans.” Durang does not supply a specific date here, but he is writing about the Southwark Theatre in roughly the mid-1780s.

43 For a detailed account of Wolff’s concertizing, see Appendix A.
and his reappearance in Philadelphia in June 1792, strongly suggest that he might have been with them in New York. Wolff was definitely concertizing in Philadelphia during the Old American Company’s Philadelphia season from September 1792 to mid-January 1793; it is probable that Wolff’s disappearance from Philadelphia after his concert of January 12, 1793, can be explained by his travel with the company to New York for the season of January through June of 1793, though again there is no positive evidence to support this. Wolf’s concerto performances in New York in 1794 coincide with the company’s presence there.

The theatrical scene in Philadelphia underwent a major change in the early 1790s. The well-known actor Thomas Wignell, a long-standing and popular member of the Old American Company, resigned from the troupe in 1791 and, in partnership with the musician Alexander Reinagle, began to organize a rival theatre company. Wignell and Reinagle raised money for the construction of the New Theatre on Chestnut Street, by all accounts an elegant and well-appointed building, far superior to the Old Americans’ Southwark.44 Though not fully finished, the New Theatre opened briefly with some concerts in February 1793 to “preview” the building for a curious public; it opened for regular drama and opera performances a year later, in February 1794. The orchestra was said to be excellent; Durang states that it was “deemed equal in general ability with the stage artists—the celebrated violinist from London, George Gillingham, the leader. In

44 For details from several contemporary descriptions of the Chestnut Street Theatre, see Sonneck, Early Opera, 113-114. See also Pollock, The Philadelphia Theatre, 53-54.
truth, the orchestra contained about twenty accomplished musicians, many of them of
great notoriety as concert players on their respective instruments.”

The specific musicians who made up the New Theatre orchestra have not been
identified; Sonneck states that they were largely Frenchmen. In particular, it is not clear
if the musicians of the Old American Company “jumped ship” to the New Theatre
orchestra, or if this new orchestra consisted of a completely separate set of musicians.

The clarinetist Wolff seems to have eventually, if not immediately, become associated
with Wignell and Reinagle’s company. He did not perform on the February 1793
“preview” concerts for the New Theatre, since he was probably in New York at that time
with the Old Americans; instead, on the concert of February 7, 1793, the clarinetist
Foucard played a concerto. Moreover, when the New Theatre opened formally in
February 1794, Wolff was again in New York (probably with the Old Americans). This

---


46 Sonneck, Early Opera, 117. It should be noted that Durang (“The Philadelphia Stage,” chapter 24,
column 1) says the same thing of the orchestra at the Southwark Theatre at this time: “The orchestra
consisted of a number of Frenchmen of name and talent, whom the revolutions of France and St. Domingo
had driven to this country as an asylum. Many of them were Counts, Marquisses, &c., who had acquired
music and dancing as necessary accomplishments to the finished French gentleman. Thus suddenly
deprived of their estates and exiled from their country, they resorted to their accomplishments for a
livelihood, with that grace and facility so characteristic of the people of that gay nation.”

47 One clue may be found in the following excerpt, written by the editors of the Philadelphia General
Advertiser (February 5, 1793) in review of the first “preview” concert given in the New Theatre on
February 2, 1793: “The judges of music were abundantly delighted with the musical part of the
performance, especially with the execution of the French musicians in the band; who, certainly, for want of
being known, have by no means been rewarded by the public, in the course of the winter, as they
deserved.” Did the band on this night comprise the same musicians who became the theatre orchestra when
the New Theatre opened permanently a year later, in February 1794? If so, then this confirms Sonneck’s
assertion that they were mostly Frenchmen. The wording of the review suggests that the musicians were
new to the Philadelphia area (“for want of being known”), thus implying that they might have been a
separate set of musicians from those employed by the Old American Company.
evidence suggests that Wolff stayed with the Old Americans, at least in the early years of Wignell and Reinagle’s new venture.

No firm data exist to connect Wolff with either company between the summer of 1794 and the 1796-97 season, at which point his concert performances start to align more closely with Wignell and Reinagle’s seasons than with those of the Old American Company. In September 1796, for example, he played a clarinet concerto on a concert in Baltimore, coinciding with Wignell and Reinagle’s autumn season there. The concert was given “by the performers and band of the New theatre,” strongly suggesting that Wolff was a member of this band.48 In the following year, 1797, Wolff’s appearance as a performer at Philadelphia’s Bush Hill gardens on June 15 (only three days after the close of the Old American Company’s New York season on June 12) makes it unlikely that he had been with the Old Americans, since such a speedy trip between New York and Philadelphia would have been impossible in this era. That no New York performances by Wolff have been documented after April 1794, although the Old American Company had moved permanently to that city, also speaks against his further involvement with them.

Wolff’s continued concertizing in Philadelphia and Baltimore from 1798 onward suggests an association with Wignell and Reinagle’s company in these later years as well.

48 Sonneck (Early Opera, 123) states that Wignell and Reinagle had regular fall seasons in Baltimore starting in 1794. See also Pollock, The Philadelphia Theatre, 56-57, who speaks of regular Baltimore seasons in the summer and early fall of each year. These Baltimore seasons seem to have continued in the first decade of the nineteenth century as well, according to newspaper advertisements.

Earlier in 1796, in July, Wolff had played a concerto and a song obligato on a concert given by the violinist Boullay in Philadelphia; the advertisement stated that Boullay would be assisted by “the whole orchestra of the New Theatre and several of the lovers of music,” implying that Wolff was a member of the New Theatre orchestra at this time.
Moreover, at the 1798 opening of the Park Street Theatre in New York (home of the Old Americans), the clarinetist is known to have been Henri (elsewhere spelled “Henry”). In addition, at a concert “for the Benefit of the Band, late of the New Theatre” in Philadelphia in April 1799 (at the end of the theatre season), Wolff accompanied a song, “Spirit of the Blest,” sung by Miss Broadhurst (a favorite singer at the New Theatre), and also played Pleyel’s Symphonie concertante for two clarinets (the other clarinetist was Dubois). These data seem to indicate that, probably as early as 1796, Wolff was employed in Wignell and Reinagle’s New Theatre orchestra, perhaps along with Dubois. It may be that this association had been made earlier, perhaps even in 1794; lack of data related to Wolff’s activities between about mid-April 1794 and July 1796 prevents a more exact dating.

For the remainder of his life Wolff divided his time between Philadelphia and Baltimore; and at least until 1809 his concert activities seem to correlate with Wignell and Reinagle’s theatre seasons in those cities. Wolff might have lived in Baltimore on a permanent basis from 1808 through 1815, and during most of these years there is no information that links him with the theatre, so it may be that at some point he stopped playing in the theatre orchestra. At any rate, Wolff’s biography serves as a good

---

49 According to the Diary of William Dunlap, 268-269. Dunlap wrote that the Park Theatre orchestra in the 1798-99 season consisted of the violinists Hewit, Everdel, Nicolai, and Samo; the clarinetists Henri and Libichiski; the hornists Pelesier and Dupuy; the violist (“Tenor”) Gilfert; the cellists (“Bass”) Adet and Nicolai, Jr.; the bassoonist Hoffman; and the bassist (“Double Bass”) Dangle (Dunlap’s spellings retained). Henri (Henry) had been performing as a clarinetist in various cities since 1794; for his biography, see Appendix A. I have not found Libichiski mentioned as a clarinetist in any other contemporaneous source.

50 Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 150. Wolff and Dubois had also played this work together in Baltimore in January of 1799; see ibid., 57.
illustration of the central role of theatre employment in an instrumentalist’s livelihood: it provided a small but reliable income, and travel with the theatre company allowed the opportunity of concertizing and perhaps teaching in a number of different cities.

Besides Wolff, other prominent clarinetists in early America were theatre musicians. (For biographical details on the following individuals, see Appendix A.) Henry might have been, in Wolff’s absence, the original clarinetist at the New Theatre in Philadelphia when it opened in 1794.\(^5\)\(^1\) As noted above, he was certainly the main clarinetist at the Park Street Theatre in New York when it opened in 1798, and he seems to have stayed there until his death in 1805.\(^5\)\(^2\) Pierre Foucard was the clarinetist of the Charleston Theatre for many years, probably from around 1794\(^5\)\(^3\) until his death in 1818. He might have been joined by Pierre Labatut, a Charleston painter, drawing master, and musician, who seems to have played at the theatre at least in 1799. Various clarinetists, including Frederick Granger, Francis Shaffer, and Anderson might have been associated with the Federal Street and Haymarket Theatres in Boston. Patrick Moffat started his career in Boston in 1805 and might have had a connection with the theatre; he later went

---

\(^5\)\(^1\) He was remembered as being so by a writer for the *Euterpiad:* or *Musical Intelligencer* of June 22, 1821; cited in Porter, *With an Air Debonair,* 374. Henry played numerous concerts in Philadelphia in 1794, and the dates of these (three in April, one in May, and one in November) certainly do not contradict a possible theatre connection.

\(^5\)\(^2\) Henry was in New York as early as 1796, when he played a concerto there (see Sonneck, *Early Concert Life,* 242); but his theatre work is not known until 1798. Documentation of his activities is too sparse to allow for further speculation about his theatre connections in 1796-1797.

\(^5\)\(^3\) Weston (*More Clarinet Virtuosi,* 103) says 1796; but see Eola Willis, *The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century* (Columbia, South Carolina: The State Company, 1924), 246.
to New York, where at least in 1811 his name is mentioned as part of the theatre orchestra.

Theatrical entertainments sometimes took place outside of the theatre itself. As noted above, nearly every large city in early America had one or more “pleasure gardens,” modeled on those of London; theatrical and musical productions were regular features at these gardens. The theatrical activity was often of a large enough scope that it constituted a summer season, involving many of the major theatrical performers from the main season. Members of the theatre orchestra might thus have found summer employment at the pleasure gardens.

Theatre instrumentalists might also have been employed in the bands of the circuses that sometimes performed when the theatre was dark. While these circuses usually focused on feats of physical dexterity such as horsemanship, “ground and lofty tumbling,” and exhibitions on the tight and slack rope, they also involved music and often featured dramatic entertainment of some kind. For example, in Philadelphia, a Mr. Ricketts set up an “Amphitheatre” which was open on non-theatre nights. His usual entertainments included the circus-like activities just mentioned, along with occasional dramatic offerings. An advertisement placed by Mr. Ricketts in the *Gazette of the United States* on February 3, 1796, announced that there would be no Thursday circus performance due to the preparation of a new pantomime, *The Triumph of Virtue; or, Harlequin in Philadelphia*, “the Dresses, Scenery, Machinery, and Music, principally new. To commence with the original overture of Oscar and Malvina, and will be interspersed with several other pieces, from the same Author.” The specific mention of
music in this advertisement is noteworthy. One presumes that a “band” was present; no records exist, however, to document this, nor to indicate whether the musicians would have been members of the theatre orchestra or an entirely separate ensemble. Another circus entrepreneur, T. Swann, opened an amphitheatre in Philadelphia during the summer of 1807, advertising “the best Amusements they can procure, such as Music and Singing” (along with dancing horses and other circus fare).\textsuperscript{54} Swann even gave a benefit at the end of the summer season; his advertisement stated that “A Full Band of Music is provided attended with vocal music.”\textsuperscript{55}

**CONCERT PERFORMANCE**

Porter has noted that “a city’s best professional musicians were almost always to be found at the theatre.”\textsuperscript{56} It is not surprising, then, that in all of the cities examined in this study, the theatre musicians (both vocal and instrumental) also formed the core of concert life. Their names appeared as soloists and orchestra members in concerts of all types, and concert performance was another way in which instrumentalists, including clarinetists, earned their income.

There were several distinct types of concert in early America: so-called benefit concerts (mainly for individuals, but also for charitable purposes); concerts given by musical societies; and subscription series managed by individuals. In this respect

\textsuperscript{54} Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser, May 14, 1807.

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., September 14, 1807.

\textsuperscript{56} Porter, *With an Air Debonair*, 1.
American concert life, not surprisingly, seems to have followed British models to a great extent. A fundamental difference, however, stems from the absence in American society of an aristocratic class, and therefore of a traditional European system of artistic patronage. Simon McVeigh has written elegantly on the relationship of concert types with social hierarchy and aristocratic patronage in late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century London. There, concert structure placed the West-End subscription series at the top of the prestige spectrum, since they were both organized and patronized by the social elite. Concerts given by musical societies, operating mostly in the City, were attended by a more middle-class audience. Benefit concerts had links to both classes: ticket prices were often relatively high, and the audience would have consisted largely of wealthy patrons whom the benefitee served privately as performer and teacher. In fact, these patrons were expected to purchase multiple tickets to the benefit concert, to urge tickets on their friends, and to extend to the performer an honorarium over and above ticket sales. At the same time tickets were also available to the general public, and wealthier members of the middle class would have attended benefit concerts as an assertion of their aspiration to be seen as the social and cultural equals of the aristocracy. While it would be a mistake to maintain that social hierarchy had no bearing on concert structure in early America, the relationship between musician and patron/audience seems


\[58\text{ Ibid.}\]
to have been fundamentally different from that of Britain. Performers were in general more independent of wealthy patronage, operating their own subscription series and targeting their benefit concerts towards middle-class concert-goers (who, indeed, formed a great proportion of the musicians’ “patrons” in areas such as music lessons).

This section will examine each of the common types of concert given in early America, demonstrating that clarinetists participated as soloists and ensemble members in all aspects of early American concert life. The specific performances cited here represent a small selection of clarinetists’ concert activities; for a complete list of performances, see Appendix B.

**Benefit Concerts**

Perhaps the most prevalent type of concert in early America was the benefit concert. The practice of giving benefit concerts seems to have stemmed from the tradition of theatrical benefits.\(^5\)\(^9\) During the last month or more of a theatrical season, each night would be designated for the benefit of a specific principal performer (sometimes two performers would share a benefit night). This meant that the total net profits of that evening would be given to the designated performer. Theatre advertisements that appeared regularly in newspapers would, during the benefit season, announce the name of the benefit recipient for each evening, and newspaper editors would sometimes insert a puff in the day’s editorial column, encouraging the public to

---

attend and demonstrate their loyalty, appreciation, and financial support for the performer. Thus, the theatrical benefit night allowed the principal performers of the company an end-of-season opportunity for both artistic recognition and monetary profit, over and above the usual expectations.60

The benefit concert, then, may have grown from this notion of devoting the entire profits of an evening to a single performer. Benefit concerts were given by both vocalists and instrumentalists (the concerts themselves always mixed vocal and instrumental music), and included local performers (both “regulars” and recently-arrived performers hoping to gain a foothold in a new city) as well as visiting artists. They were given throughout the year, though they occurred most frequently outside the theatrical season, when the performers had more time (and, indeed, the financial necessity) to devote themselves to other musical pursuits. Most performers gave only one benefit per year, but some performers gave two or more annually if they felt they could do so without imposing on the goodwill of their audiences. As will be seen, a benefit concert was an undertaking that involved a good deal of work and financial risk, since the organization of the concert—planning the program, hiring the assisting musicians, renting a performance space, procuring music, scheduling rehearsals, and publicizing the performance—was largely the responsibility of the individual presenting the concert. Sometimes all or some of the assisting musicians would donate their services, with the

60 Sometimes the theatrical benefit season included a concert specifically for the benefit of the orchestra. For example, a concert was given in Philadelphia on April 11, 1799, at the close of the theatre season, “For the Benefit of the Band, late of the New Theatre” (Porcupine’s Gazette, April 9, 1799; Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 150). Also, “An Oratorio of Sacred Music, for the benefit of the Gentlemen who compose the orchestra of [the] St. Cecilia Society” was given in Charleston in 1801 (Hindman, “Concert Life,” 335).
understanding that they could count on a reciprocal arrangement for their own benefit concerts.

The prevalence of benefit concerts in this era indicates that they must have been a lucrative undertaking most of the time, and the great majority of the clarinet performances documented in this study took place in the context of benefit concerts. The typical program, like that of most concerts in this era (in both Europe and America), consisted of a mixture of vocal and instrumental music, and was usually divided into two “acts” or parts. An orchestra was present to accompany songs and concertos as well as to play orchestral pieces such as overtures and symphonies or symphony movements (usually situated at the beginning and end of the “acts”). Like a theatrical benefit, the benefit concert was most often given by an individual, although occasionally two musicians would give a joint benefit. A benefit given by more than two people was a relatively rare occurrence.

A typical benefit concert was that given by the clarinetist Andrew Wolff on February 10, 1801. The following program appeared in Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser of the preceding Friday, February 6:
CONCERT.

Mr. Wolff informs his friends and the public, that his Concert will be held at the City Tavern, on Tuesday the 10th of February.

PART THE FIRST.
Song
Concerto Clarinette — Micheau [Michel]
Song. The Wolfe
Rondeau of the overture.

PART THE SECOND.
Concerto. Violin
Song. Inventurata in van mi lagno—Anfossi
accompanied on the clarinet by Mr. Wolff
Concerto. Piano Forte — Krumpholtz.
Sinfonie Concertante, for two clarinets. By a gentleman pupil of Mr. Wolff and Mr. Wolff—Pleyel.

This concert is typical in its division into two parts, its mixture of vocal and instrumental music, and the spotlighting of numerous instrumental soloists apart from the beneficiary himself— although Wolff is clearly the featured performer, playing two major solo works (a concerto and a symphonie concertante) and an obbligato to a song. Musicians sometimes used benefit concerts to introduce their pupils to the public, as Wolff does here. This would not only have enhanced the program but also served as a powerful advertisement for the musician’s teaching abilities, perhaps attracting new students. The reciprocity of benefit concerts is demonstrated by the fact that later in the month, on February 24, Miss Broadhurst (one of the singers on Wolff’s program) offered her own concert, on which Wolff played a concerto by Michel (undoubtedly the same one as on his own concert), Gillingham played a violin concerto (likewise probably the same one as on Wolff’s concert), Mr. Darley sang, and even the Overture to Henry IV was repeated.  

---

61 Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser, February 23, 1801.
A few new songs and the addition of some different performers allowed Miss Broadhurst to offer a program that was not an exact duplicate of Mr. Wolff’s.

Another example of a benefit concert given by a clarinetist is the following program, given by Margaret Knittel on her arrival in Philadelphia in November of 1816:

GRAND CONCERT

MADAME KNIDEL,
Recently from Paris, has the honour to inform the Public, that her concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music, will take place at the Masonic Hall, on Tuesday the 19th instant, assisted by the principal Professors, and Amateurs of this city.

Part 1st

Sinfonia, Full Band                                      Gyrowetz,
Song, Hope told a flattering Tale,                      Mrs. Bastian,
Concerto, Clarinett,                                     Bernard Crusell,
    Madame Knidel,                                       Braham,
Song, The Willow, Mrs. Bastian                           Kreutzer,
Pot, Pourri, Violin, Mr. Hupfeld

Part 2nd

Quintett, Clarinett,                                    F. Huffner,
    Madame Knidel,                                        Braham,
Song, The Love Letter, Mrs. Bastian                     Francis Buhler,
Variations, Clarionet,                                   Hook,
    Madame Knidel,                                        Gyrowetz
Song, While Strephon, Mrs. Bastian                       
Finale—Full Band

Unlike Wolff, who was well known and a long-standing favorite with Philadelphia audiences, Madame Knittel was attempting to introduce herself to this new city. Her hope was undoubtedly to present herself impressively enough that she would not only garner a substantial profit from the concert, but also attract the attention of other important musicians and establish herself in the circle of performers who played and sang

---

62 Ibid., November 16, 1816.
on each others’ concerts. She did, in fact, succeed in doing this (see her biography in Appendix A).

The obligation of reciprocal performing on benefit concerts was taken very seriously, and an altercation that took place between Margaret Knittel and the singer Mrs. Bastian seems to suggest that at least oral, if not written, agreements were sometimes entered into between musicians to ensure that obligations were met. On November 26, 1816, Knittel placed the following announcement in the newspaper:

TO THE PUBLIC.

The subscriber is under the necessity to inform the public, that she cannot lend her musical assistance to Mrs. Bastian at her Concert on Tuesday next (the 26th inst.) as advertised by her—for the following reasons:

I requested Mrs. Bastian to pay some regard to a stranger, and to my embarrassed circumstances, by postponing her concert until some time after mine, which would take place on Thursday (28th inst.). She was deaf to all entreaties, insisting positively on my performing at her concert. I was then willing to gratify her, and to perform for her benefit a very beautiful and difficult piece on the Clarionet; to which she also turned a deaf ear, wishing to exact three pieces.

Her husband Mr. Bastian, the oracle in the business, threatened me with lawyers and offensive newspaper paragraphs, and other public insults, in case of refusal.— Such threats roused my whole indignation; and as I never can be the slave to caprice and selfish dictates, so unharmonious to my feelings and the art I profess, I believe myself to be justified in refusing to assist her, feeling confident that my conduct on this occasion will meet with the approbation of a generous public.

Margaret Knittel.63

From this we learn that Mrs. Knittel had intended to give a second concert, on November 28 (which in the end she did), and had asked Mrs. Bastian to defer her own concert until after that. Perhaps Knittel’s first concert had been a great success, and she wanted to take advantage of an eager and willing public. In any case, it is clear that Mrs. Bastian was not willing to acquiesce to this. Her husband, Mr. Bastian, delivered a letter to Mr.

63 Ibid., November 26, 1816.
Knittel responding to Mrs. Knittel’s newspaper announcement, stating his side of the story, and hoping to settle the argument privately. It seems that he did not succeed in the latter, because he felt it necessary to publish the letter in the newspaper a few days later.

To the Public.
That the public may be informed of the truth or falsehood of a statement published in the name of “Margaret Knitel,” they are requested to read the following which was sent to Mr. Knitel, two days ago:—

SIR,—I observed in the paper of this evening that Mrs. Knitel has avowed her determination not to perform at Mrs. Bastian’s Concert tomorrow evening. I shall not enter into a newspaper altercation with you on this subject, but proceed by a more direct and honorable course.—The injury which your communication is calculated to make, cannot probably be repaid even by a compliance with your engagement.—But in order that you may diminish the loss which I am likely to sustain, and save yourself from the disagreeable consequences of a breach of contract, I make this last appeal to your own reflection, tho’ late, yet still in sufficient time to prevent a part of the mischief intended to be done.

A few days after your arrival in this city, an engagement was made between us, at your instance and solicitation, that Mrs. Bastian should sing for Mrs. Knitel, at a Concert to be given by her on the 19th inst. And that Mrs. K. should perform for Mrs. Bastian on the following Tuesday, at a Concert to be given by the latter. The agreement was made in the presence of Mr. Willig and Mr. Rebought. The nights were arranged, a list of Songs was handed you, and every thing was perfectly understood. Mrs. Knitel’s Concert took place, and every thing on my part was sacredly fulfilled.—The next day I engaged the Masonic Hall for Mrs. Bastian’s Concert; on the 26th judge of my surprise when you came to my house and offered to pay Mrs. Bastian, ten dollars for what you was [sic] pleased to call her services. I reminded you of the agreement which you at first affected to deny, and alledged [sic] that you had advertised a Concert for the same evening, which I found afterwards was not the fact.

In a little time however you became sensible of the impropriety of the course, admitted the agreement and proposed that Mrs. Knitel should perform a single piece only at Mrs. Bastian’s Concert. I was obliged after remonstrating against this proposal to assent to it. You gave me the piece, and the publications were issued accordingly. A few days afterwards you called and informed Mrs. Bastian that Mrs. Knitel should not perform at all, and from the advertisement of this evening, I am to suppose you persist in this new determination.

You will consider yourself responsible for all the consequences of this conduct, for which I am at a loss to find any apology. I beg to be informed explicitly in reply, whether you mean to persist in so unjustifiable a breach of faith, against which I solemnly protest.

The Concert cannot be recalled. I have too much regard to my word to fail in the performance of a promise to the public. Mrs. Knitel will be received during any part of the evening. Should she not appear you will be called upon to make up the deficiency occasioned by her absence. Your most obedient,

Js. Bastian, Jr. ⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Ibid., November 29, 1816.
Mr. Bastian’s references in this letter to a “breach of contract,” and to the fact that the agreement between the two women was made with two witnesses present (at least one of them—Willig—a prominent music merchant and publisher in Philadelphia), seem to indicate a rather formal and legally binding arrangement. Whether it was written or oral is not made explicit; in any case, it was obviously a serious matter for Mr. and Mrs. Knittel to break this agreement. The outcome of the situation is not known, but both women continued to perform in Philadelphia on benefit concerts for themselves and others (though never together).65

In advertising benefit concerts, it was usual to place a short, general announcement in the newspaper several weeks ahead of time, following that with a longer, more specific announcement listing the date, time, place, and program details, which would appear several times in the week prior to the performance. The short, preliminary advertisement was sometimes used as a “teaser,” touting the names of assisting musicians that the sponsoring performer thought might draw a larger audience. For example, the violinist Charles Collet placed the following announcement in the New York Evening Post of August 25, 1804:

CONCERT.

Charles Collet has the honor to inform the Ladies and Gentlemen of New-York, that he intends to give a Vocal and Instrumental Concert at Columbia Garden, on Monday, the 27th instant. Mr. Gautier the celebrated performer on the Clarinet, whose talents have been crowned by universal applause by this city, being here for a few days, has kindly offered his services for that night only, and perhaps for his last appearance in this country.

65 Apart from the question of whether she originally agreed to it, Mrs. Knittel’s objection to performing three pieces on Mrs. Bastian’s concert was probably justified. A guest instrumentalist performing on the benefit concert of another musician normally played only one piece.
The clarinetist Auguste Gautier must have been very popular, for his name was frequently used as a “drawing-card” in this way. In 1808 the singer Mr. Hogg announced his concert, stating that, “in addition to the attractions which will be held out for the above evening, MR. GAUTIER has kindly consented to add his astonishing powers on the Clarinet.” The violinist Mr. Bork even went so far as to postpone one of his concerts several times, “in order to avail himself of Mr. Gautier’s unequalled Clarinet.”

A specific type of benefit was the charity concert. This was given for the financial benefit of an institution (such as an orphan asylum), or to ease the burdens of certain unfortunate groups or individuals (such as refugees, widows, the aged, the sick, or the disabled). For example, in 1794 the clarinetist Henri performed a concerto in Philadelphia on a concert for the benefit of French refugees from Saint-Domingue. Gautier was also very generous in offering the proceeds of numerous concerts, both in New York and Philadelphia, for the benefit of distressed French families. In 1808 he placed the following advertisement in the *New York Evening Post*:

GRAND MISCELLANEOUS CONCERT.

Mr. GAUTIER respectfully presents himself to the attention of the Ladies and Gentlemen of New-York, and earnestly solicits their Patronage in behalf of a very meritorious French Family, now suffering under the influence of poignant and uncontroulable [sic] distress—The project which Mr. Gautier has devised for their relief, is, an entire appropriation to the exigency, of the receipts arising from a Miscellaneous Concert, which he proposes to give in the City Assembly Room, Broadway, on Tuesday, the 29th inst.

Mr. G’s Appeal to the public, on this interesting Occasion, having fortunately called forth spontaneous offers of assistance, from various Amateurs; he is induced to

---

66 *New York Evening Post*, August 6, 1808.

67 Ibid., December 17, 26, 30, and 31, 1808.

68 Sonneck, *Early Concert Life*, 141.
Concerts for the relief of fire victims were also common, as were concerts for the general poor, for widows and orphans, and for “distressed” members of specific occupations. In addition, sufferers of old age and physical disabilities were sometimes the beneficiaries of concert proceeds. Clarinetists generously participated in many charitable concerts throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

---

69 New York Evening Post, November 24, 1808. The concert had to be postponed, but finally took place on December 6. In 1810 Gautier gave a similar concert in Philadelphia, advertised in Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser, April 9, 1810. (Gautier also gave his time to other worthwhile causes: in 1814 he played a solo on a benefit concert for the New York Orphan Asylum, advertised in the New York Evening Post, January 4, 1814.) On May 22, 1810, musicians of the city of New York (including the clarinetist Patrick Moffat) gave a concert “for the relief of distressed French families”; on this occasion, Moffat played a clarinet concerto by Michel (New York Evening Post, May 16, 1810).

70 For example, New York musicians assembled themselves once again in December of 1810, under the auspices of the Euterpean Society, to give a concert “for the relief of the sufferers by the late fire in Charleston” (New York Evening Post, December 4, 1810). Moffat played a clarinet concerto on this occasion, as well as on a concert in 1811, when “The Gentlemen of the Orchestra of the N. York Theatre” gave a concert for the benefit of “two of their worthy members, both great sufferers by the late distressing fire” (New York Evening Post, May 27, 1811).

71 Baltimore musicians gave numerous charitable concerts in which clarinetists (including Andrew Wolff) participated. In February of 1809 for example, two charitable concerts were given, one “for the relief of Distressed Seaman” and the other for the “distressed poor.” Wolff played solos and directed a small wind band on these concerts (Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, February 3 and February 21, 1809). A clarinet concerto by Lefèvre was played (probably by Wolff, although the performer’s name is not given) on a concert in June of the same year, when singers and instrumentalists from the Baltimore Theatre gave a concert “for the purpose of assisting a sick widow and some orphan children” (Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, June 7, 1809).

72 For example, in 1814 a concert was organized in New York for the benefit of the aged musician Victor Pelissier. The newspaper advertisement for the concert notes that, “[t]he claim that this old respectable composer has to the patronage of the lovers of harmony will, it is presumed be much strengthened when they are informed that he has lost his sight, and is thereby prevented from the exercise of his talents in his profession” (New York Evening Post, March 12, 1814). Gautier played two clarinet pieces of his own composition on this concert. In Boston in 1815, Mr. Turner played a clarinet concerto by Pleyel on a concert given “for the Benefit of a Young Gentleman who, a few years ago, had the misfortune to be deprived of his sight” (Independent Chronicle, March 13, 1815).
Musical Society Concerts

Besides benefit concerts given by individuals, and charity concerts sponsored by individuals or groups, most large American cities had musical societies that presented concerts. These concerts were generally not open to the public, but were supported by subscriptions from the society’s members, who attended and had the privilege of bringing guests. The musicians who played at these concerts were sometimes themselves members of the society, or were hired by the society to play for a series of concerts throughout a fixed season. Apart from amateurs, the personnel of these orchestras was undoubtedly essentially the same as that which played at the theatre and on benefit concerts. In the period under consideration, Charleston had the St. Cecilia Society; New York the Columbian Anacreontic, Philharmonic, and Euterpean Societies.; Baltimore had a Harmonic Society; and Boston had numerous organizations, including the Philharmonic Society and the Handel and Haydn Society. All of these societies had dues, officers, committees, and by-laws governing the various operational aspects of the organization. They generally presented a season of concerts attended by members and guests, and they sometimes included one public concert during the season as well.

The earliest of these societies was Charleston’s St. Cecilia Society, founded in 1762. This organization maintained its musical activities well into the nineteenth century.

---

73 As an example, around 1801 the Philharmonic Society of New York paid a salary of 150 dollars per year to the leader of its orchestra, who at that time would have been James Hewitt. “Constitution and Bye-Laws of the Philharmonic Society” (New York, 1801), New-York Historical Society (Y1801.Philh.).

century, but since it was a private (and rather secretive) society, details of its membership and concert programs are largely unknown. The orchestra of the St. Cecilia Society seems to have included clarinets as early as 1773, although the names of the players from this time are not known. It is likely that the main clarinetists in Charleston in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (especially Foucard and Labatut) were members of the Society’s orchestra. Charleston also had a “Philharmonick” Society that existed for a few years, from about 1809 to 1812. In contrast to the St. Cecilia Society, which was managed by avid musical amateurs, the Philharmonick Society seems to have been organized and run by Charleston’s leading professional musicians. The singer Mrs. Sully’s concert of May 9, 1809, was presented with the assistance of “the Gentlemen of the Philharmonick Society,” suggesting that Foucard, who played a clarinet concerto on the concert, was a member of that society. The clarinetist Andral might also have been a member; his benefit concert of May 6, 1813, was also presented “with the assistance of the Philharmonic Society, and some other Professors of Music.”

---

75 Hindman, “Concert Life,” 92.

76 Butler believes that all of the Charleston orchestral players who appeared regularly on benefit and oratorio concerts, and at the theatre, were the core members comprising the St. Cecilia Society orchestra. See Nicholas Michael Butler, “Votaries of Apollo: The St. Cecilia Society and the Patronage of Concert Music in Charleston, South Carolina, 1766-1820” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2004), 299-302.

77 Hindman, “Concert Life,” 96-98, gives a very brief account of this organization.

78 Charleston Courier, May 9, 1809.

79 Ibid., May 6, 1813.
Several musical societies existed at various times in New York. The Columbian Anacreontic Society (probably founded in 1795)\textsuperscript{80} gave a concert series that undoubtedly offered employment for clarinetists, both in its orchestra and as soloists. Sonneck reports no details of concerts given by the society prior to 1800; he does mention, however, that the society gave an annual “Ladies Concert.” This was apparently a public concert, as its specific program was sometimes advertised in the newspaper. For example, on February 16, 1802, the Ladies Concert, taking place at the Tontine Assembly Room (the location of most of the society’s concerts), included the clarinetist Gautier playing a “Concerto on the Clarinett, composed by himself.”\textsuperscript{81} New York also had the Philharmonic Society, which was probably founded in 1799.\textsuperscript{82} This society, too, gave an annual public concert in addition to its series for members. The proceeds of this public concert were sometimes devoted to a charitable cause; for example, on April 10, 1806, the Society’s public concert was given “for the benefit of the Orphan Children of the late MR. JOHN HODGKINSON.”\textsuperscript{83} On this concert Gautier played a clarinet concerto, so it appears that he was associated with both of these New York musical societies, at least as a soloist.\textsuperscript{84}

\textsuperscript{80} Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 205.

\textsuperscript{81} New York Evening Post, February 12, 1802.

\textsuperscript{82} Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 208. This organization seems to have stemmed from the union of two previously existing societies: the St. Cecilia Society and the Harmonical Society. Several “Philharmonic” societies existed in New York in the first half of the nineteenth century; the New York Philharmonic Society that was the parent of the current orchestra by that name was not founded until 1842.

\textsuperscript{83} Hodgkinson was a well-known actor who died of yellow fever.

\textsuperscript{84} New York Evening Post, April 8, 1806. Since lists do not exist of members of the society or of its orchestra, it cannot be ascertained if Gautier was also a member of the orchestra or was simply an invited soloist.
Another organization, the Euterpean Society, was probably founded in 1800. This society does not seem to have given any public concerts, but it occasionally gave charity concerts; its concert on December 6, 1810, “for the relief of the sufferers by the late fire in Charleston” (on which Moffat played a clarinet concerto) was mentioned above.

In 1809 musical societies were formed in Baltimore and Boston. Records of the Baltimore Harmonic Society (including its constitution and by-laws, with signatures of the founding members) show that two clarinetists, William Frick and Florant Meline, were among the original members of the organization. No records of public concerts by this organization have been found. Boston’s “Philo-harmonic” Society, as it was originally known, existed from about 1809 to 1824. Johnson asserts that the orchestra of this society was almost the same as that of the Handel and Haydn Society (founded in 1815), for which there are membership records. If this is the case, then the clarinetists involved in both of these organizations were John Hart and Frederick Granger, and possibly a third individual named Asa Fillebrown. An unnamed clarinetist played solo

---


86 “Records of the Baltimore Harmonic Society,” Maryland Historical Society (MS 78). Meline was certainly a clarinetist; Frick might have been (see his biography in Appendix A). The instruments played by each member are not listed in the records, and can only be deduced in some cases by cross-checking the names with other sources.

87 See Johnson, *Musical Interludes in Boston*, chapter 4 (pp. 120-54), for a narrative of the Philo-Harmonic [Philharmonic] Society and its activities.


89 Johnson, 126. Fillebrown might have been an oboist. Only Hart’s name is listed by Perkins and Dwight, however: *History of the Handel and Haydn Society*, List of Members, 1815-16.
clarinet works on the Philo-Harmonic Society’s concerts in March and April of 1819,\textsuperscript{90} and in April of the same year Mr. Holland gave a benefit “Under the patronage of the Philo-Harmonic and Handel and Haydn Societies,” on which Hart played a clarinet concerto.\textsuperscript{91} Hart also played a “Rondeau Clarionet” on a benefit for Granger that was sponsored by the Philharmonic [sic] Society in April of 1820.\textsuperscript{92}

**Subscription Concerts**

Subscription concerts were sometimes organized and presented by individuals, or groups of individuals. In contrast to concert series given by musical societies, these were open to the general public. For example, a series known as the “City Concerts” took place in Philadelphia between 1783 and 1793.\textsuperscript{93} At first these were managed by John Bentley, and then by Alexander Reinagle. By the time clarinetists are mentioned on the series (Wolff played frequently in 1791, and occasionally in 1792), it was managed by Reinagle and his associates John Moller and Henry Capron. A series known as the Amateur Concerts was given in Philadelphia between 1787 and 1790-91; this was combined with the Professional Concerts in 1794 under the direction of Reinagle, the violinist Gillingham, the cellist Menel, and the singer Benjamin Carr.\textsuperscript{94} The clarinetist

\textsuperscript{90} *Independent Chronicle*, March 27 and April 17, 1819.

\textsuperscript{91} Ibid., April 28, 1819.

\textsuperscript{92} Ibid., April 12, 1820.

\textsuperscript{93} These are discussed in Sonneck, *Early Concert Life in America*, 78-91; and Drummond, *Early German Music in Philadelphia*, 61-65.

\textsuperscript{94} Sonneck, *Early Concert Life in America*, 93-94.
Henry performed several times on the latter series, in April of 1794. The first concert in this series, on April 8 (when Henry played a clarinet concerto), caught the favorable attention of at least one newspaper editor, who wrote the following review:

PUBLIC CONCERT

At first view it must appear singular that this elegant entertainment, once so fashionable, is now so little frequented. Upon reflection, however, this may be accounted for: The loss of a Capron and a Brown rendered the concerts during the last seasons less attractive; but their loss cannot be felt now that we have a Gillingham, a Menel, Henry, and a Shaw; and this elegant amusement under its present directors will undoubtedly revive and obtain that share of the public patronage which it justly deserves.

The first concert given on Tuesday evening was thinly attended; no doubt only because the performers had not before an opportunity of making their talents known; but we will venture to predict that this will not again be the case. The music was judiciously chosen and the execution surpassed the expectation of most present. Mr. Carr’s singing will always be a powerful attraction; His talents in this line need not be enlarged upon, they are well known to all those fond of that elegant accomplishment.

If the directors meet with sufficient encouragement they might add to their entertainments the only desideratum wanting to render them perfectly agreeable— a female voice.\(^95\)

Despite this encouragement, the series lasted only a single season. Another short-lived series was that offered by Mrs. Grattan in 1797-98, under the name of “Ladies Concert,” on which the clarinetist Wolff played at least once.\(^96\)

Subscription concerts took place in New York as early as 1760.\(^97\) The first documented performance of a clarinet concerto in America, in fact, took place on a subscription concert series that was organized by members of the British military in New

\(^{95}\) *General Advertiser*, April 11, 1794.

\(^{96}\) Sonneck, *Early Concert Life*, 96-98.

\(^{97}\) Ibid., 163.
York in 1782. In the late 1780s and early 1790s, subscription concerts took place steadily under the management of various groups of individuals. The “New York Subscription Concert” was managed by Alexander Reinagle and Henry Capron (Wolff played clarinet works on their concerts of October 6 and 30, 1789); later Peter Van Hagen and George Saliment joined them. Mr. and Mrs. Van Hagen took over sole responsibility in 1792, and in 1793 a rival series was organized by James Hewitt and others. Hewitt and company entitled their series the “City Concerts” in 1794, and the Van Hagens countered with their “Old City Concerts” (on which Wolff played a clarinet concerto on February 4). Later in that year the rival groups joined forces, presenting series in December and in February-March of 1795. By early 1796 the Van Hagens were alone in presenting a short series in January and February, but they soon left New York for Boston. John Moller seems to have continued their series in late 1796 and early 1797, but details of his concerts are not known, and he seems to have dropped the series by early in 1798. In the early nineteenth century, the benefit concert seems to have occupied a more important position in New York than did the subscription series; apart from a brief “Professional Concert” series organized by Hewitt in 1804 (on which the clarinetists Henri and Gautier performed), and another pair of concerts offered by the

---

98 Ibid., 183-84. The concerto was by “Mahoy,” probably a misprint for “Mahon;” see Chapter Four for more information on this performance.

99 For a fuller account of these New York subscription series see Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 183-201.

100 New York Evening Post, February 29 and March 19, 1804.
same gentleman in 1808 (one of which included Peter Gentil playing the clarinet), no more subscription series have been found.

**Garden Concerts**

It has already been noted that theatrical entertainments were given in the summers at the pleasure gardens that were established in all of the large American cities, and that concerts of military music were also often given at these and other outdoor locations. In addition, other types of concerts were presented in the gardens. For example, Andrew Wolff played solo clarinet works at Philadelphia’s Vauxhall Gardens in May and September of 1791, and in June of 1797 he was one of the performers at Bush Hill. Auguste Gautier gave his New York City debut at Mount Vernon Garden in 1801, and played that summer at the United States Garden as well; in subsequent summers he continued to play pleasure garden concerts. Pierre Foucard gave his benefit concert at Charleston’s Vauxhall Gardens on August 31, 1807, despite the inevitable South Carolina heat. Robert Bunyie gave his concert at Baltimore’s Pavilion Garden in July of 1816, and the Boston clarinetist John Hart appeared twice in New York City in the summer of 1816.

---

101 Ibid., May 2, 1808.
102 Drummond, *Early German Music in Philadelphia*, 67-68; also the *General Advertiser*, May 18 and 25, 1791.
104 *Commercial Advertiser*, May 26, 1801.
105 Ibid., July 8, 1801.
1817 at Vauxhall Gardens.\textsuperscript{107} In the summer of 1820, Florant Meline directed the band of the Ninth Regiment of the New York State Artillery (“in full uniform”), at New York’s Vauxhall Gardens.\textsuperscript{108} This band also appeared, under Meline’s direction, in a concert given on the steamboat \textit{Franklin} in September of the same year.\textsuperscript{109} This was not Meline’s first steamboat concert. A month earlier, he had conducted a concert of vocal and instrumental music on the steamboat \textit{Nautilus} in August 1820; this pleasure excursion around Staten Island and the Narrows was graced by the presence of “The Vice President [Daniel D. Tompkins], Judge Livingston, and others of high consideration.”\textsuperscript{110}

**DANCING ACADEMIES AND ASSEMBLIES, BALLS, ETC.**

Dancing was a popular pastime in early America. Every large city had numerous dancing masters who taught pupils and held public balls. During the social season, dancing assemblies were organized by subscription and took place on a regular schedule. Undoubtedly many private dances also occurred, and concerts were often followed by balls. While individual music masters probably played simple tunes on a fiddle or other instrument for their pupils’ lessons and “practicing” balls, there is some evidence that at times the music was more elaborate, especially for public assemblies and private balls. For example, in 1811 the Baltimore dancing master DuClariacq changed the day of his weekly public ball from Saturdays to Thursdays, “in order to take advantage of the Italian

\textsuperscript{107} \textit{New York Evening Post}, June 9 and 23, 1817.

\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., June 30, 1820.

\textsuperscript{109} Ibid., September 7, 1820.

\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., August 7, 1820.
Band of Music.’’ In that same year, the New York dancing master August Verbecq announced his subscription ball, promising ‘‘an excellent Band of Music.’’ In Charleston in 1813 two of the main dancing masters, Peter Fayolle and Peter Tastet, advertised bands at their public balls, and Fayolle stated that his band was available to attend at private parties as well. Mr. Baconais used a military band for at least some of his dances in Baltimore in 1814. City dancing assemblies, organized by designated groups of individuals, also probably used instrumental ensembles of some kind; evidence for this is a newspaper advertisement placed by the managers of the New York dancing assembly in 1808 referring to ‘‘the Musicians of the City Assembly.’’

A great number of concerts were followed by balls, and it seems that the band that played on the concert usually stayed on to play for the ball; clarinetists would likely have been a frequent component of this type of ensemble. Only two specific references to clarinetists involved in dance-related activities have been found. In 1805 the New York dancing masters Labottiere and Lalliet announced their public ball, including the following phrase: ‘‘to make the Performance the more agreeable and correct, the music for that evening only, by Messrs. Hewitt, Nicholas, Henry, Duprey, Lataste and Gentil, who have been so obliging as to contribute to the evening’s entertainment, by their

111 Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, January 21, 1811.

112 New York Evening Post, October 26, 1811.

113 Charleston Courier, September 20 and October 12, 1813.

114 Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, February 6, 1814.

115 New York Evening Post, February 29, 1808.
personal performance.”

Two clarinetists are mentioned here, Henry and Gentil, although it may be that Gentil was performing in his capacity as a violinist on this evening. The clarinetist Wolff actually performed a concerto at Mr. Duport’s ball in Baltimore in April of 1805; other concertos, for violin and French horn, were also performed “between the intervals of the Fancy Dances.”

One early American publication clearly implies the use of the clarinet in dancing ensembles: P.L. Duport’s Favorite Cotillions, published in New York by J. and M. Paff around 1800. The author/compiler of this collection, Pierre Landrin Duport, was a dancing master in New York and Baltimore. The title page of Favorite Cotillions states that the work is for “the piano forte, harp, clarinett, flute, and flagelet.” The music itself, however—a set of ten dances—is scored for piano only. It is not clear whether there were separate parts for the other instruments that are now missing; perhaps the performers somehow read from the piano score. It may be that this combination of instruments represents those that Duport himself had available when he conducted his dancing assemblies. In any case, given the frequency of dances, public and private, it seems logical to assume that playing for these dances would have been a common type of employment for instrumentalists, including clarinetists.

---

116 Ibid., February 25, 1805.

117 Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, April 20, 1805.

118 I examined the copy of this work held by the New York Public Library Performing Arts Division (AM1-I). See Oscar G. Sonneck and William T. Upton, A Bibliography of Early Secular American Music (New York: Da Capo Press, 1964), 90.
TEACHING

Teaching was another important contributor to the clarinetist’s livelihood in early America. The general state of clarinet teaching, and the teaching activities of specific clarinetists, are topics discussed in Chapter Five. The importance of teaching within the larger context of an instrumentalist’s income-earning activities is demonstrated by the concerns of the musicians involved in the Park Street Theatre dispute of 1808 (see above). One of the central issues in this dispute was that extra rehearsals would interfere with the musicians’ teaching, which, as is made clear in several of their letters to the manager, formed a substantial part of their income. The musicians’ spokesman, James Hewitt, went so far as to say that, “they depend more on their Scholars than on the Theatre, and if they lose them, their principal means of support is gone” (emphasis added). Clearly, at least for the New York musicians, teaching constituted a major part of their livelihood.

OTHER MUSIC-RELATED JOBS

Clarinetists and other instrumentalists sometimes supplemented their performing and teaching income with other music-related jobs, such as composing, arranging, or copying music, making musical instruments, or operating music shops.\textsuperscript{199} Many clarinetists composed clarinet works; these are discussed in Chapter Four. In addition, some clarinetists are known to have composed other types of music. Pierre Foucard composed at least one march, “General Pinckney’s March,” which was performed in a

\textsuperscript{199} Citations for the information in this section, and in the following section on “Non-Musical Occupations,” can be found in the biographies of individual clarinetists given in Appendix A.
theatrical entertainment in Charleston in 1799. Horatio Garnet composed vocal music. Auguste Gautier, in addition to his clarinet compositions, composed the “American Tars Grande Marche,” which was performed in 1813 on a concert in New York. Francesco Masi wrote piano music and songs, as well as operating as a music publisher; he was also an organist. Carusi composed and arranged music; he arranged some of the wind ensemble music performed by the Carusi family on their concerts in Annapolis and Baltimore in 1817, including the Andante from Haydn’s “Surprise” Symphony and an excerpt from Mozart’s *La Clemenza di Tito*. Robert Bunyie of Baltimore was a musical instrument maker and a music dealer. Some of the individuals whose biographies are given in Appendix A were clarinetists only secondarily; for example, George Blake was primarily a music publisher and merchant, Josiah Flagg was known as a tunebook compiler and composer, and Samuel Holyoke was a singing-school master and composer. Peter Gentil appeared more frequently as a violinist than as a clarinetist. Peter Van Hagen was known mostly as a violinist, organist, concert presenter, and music dealer/publisher in Boston and New York. The clarinetist DeJonge worked at various tasks in Baltimore in 1819, including music copying, band-leading and serenading, and the teaching of military trumpet calls. Likewise in Baltimore, Charles DeRonceray not only taught but also copied music and tuned pianos. The clarinetist Philpot was active in New York in 1819 as the leader of a “museum band,” probably that of J. Scudder’s American Museum.
NON-MUSICAL OCCUPATIONS

A few clarinetists mentioned in this study earned their livings in occupations outside of music. As will be discussed in Chapter Three, most Moravian musicians belonged to this category, including the clarinetists Matthew Christ (the landlord of the Sun Inn at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and also a school teacher), David Moritz Michael (a school teacher), John Ricksecker (a shoemaker), and David Schneller (a baker). Two clarinetists, Debissy and Labatut, were active as artists. Labatut was a painter and drawing master in Charleston, as well as a musician; at least once he combined the two professions, when in 1812 he gave a “Concert and Ball, preceded by a Grand and Splendid Display of Transparencies, by Mr. Labatut. The Paintings also executed by Mr. Labatut, at Concert-Hall.” He apparently also taught French and took in lodgers and boarders. Debissy, in addition to performing on and teaching the clarinet in Philadelphia, advertised himself as a “Miniature Painter of the Parisian School,” and was available to paint portraits. He also gave drawing lessons. Peters of Charleston taught French and Spanish in addition to music, and Mr. Passage taught fencing as well as clarinet. William Frick might have been a lawyer and eventually a Maryland Supreme Court judge, while John Hart of Boston was at one time an usher at civil court.

CONCLUSIONS

Several important conclusions can be drawn from the information presented in this chapter. First, it was through the activities of military musicians that the clarinet probably first came to be widely known by the early American public. Military clarinetists, besides performing in military contexts, were among the earliest concert
soloists and clarinet teachers; they continued to appear prominently as soloists, teachers, and band leaders throughout the entire period under consideration.

Next, the theatre formed a very important part of the clarinetist’s (and, more generally, the instrumentalist’s) income. Despite the mediocre pay, it was a kind of core activity for the best musicians, and the theatre band composed the closest thing there was at this time to a standing professional orchestra in each city. Most of the musicians who played in the theatre orchestra also made up the orchestra (and often the soloists) for the other types of concerts that were given. This gave them wider public recognition, and audience members who patronized both the theatrical and concert venues would have been familiar with their city’s musicians. Traveling with theatre companies also gave musicians the opportunity to make their names known in multiple cities, and some of the geographic mobility of the clarinetists discussed here and in Appendix A is attributable to theatre travel.

Clarinetists were frequent soloists on concerts of every kind in all of the major American cities up to 1820, especially from about 1790 onward. Selch’s statement that “clarinets… were definitely only played by soldiers,” is clearly unjustified.\textsuperscript{120} Far from being confined purely to the military sphere, the clarinet was viewed as a legitimate concert instrument for concertos and chamber music.

We learn from James Hewitt’s account of the 1808 dispute at New York’s Park Street Theatre that instrumentalists depended a great deal on teaching for much of their

income. Therefore, although details of teaching activities are somewhat difficult to
document, it may be assumed that many if not most clarinetists earned a significant
portion of their livelihoods as teachers.

While a few individuals seem to have earned their living solely as clarinet
performers and teachers (Wolff and Gautier, for example), most combined several
occupations, musical and sometimes non-musical, in order to get by. In this respect the
late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are remarkably similar to our own day,
when most instrumentalists must likewise engage in multiple aspects of the musical field,
and not infrequently venture outside it, to earn a living wage.
CHAPTER 3

THE CLARINET IN AMERICAN MORAVIAN COMMUNITIES

No history of the clarinet in early America would be complete without an account of the role the instrument played in the communities of the American Moravians. This religious sect maintained an extremely active musical life, and the clarinet seems to have been an important and frequent presence on their concerts in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Nevertheless, as many scholars of American Moravian music have noted, the Moravians, despite their intensely musical culture, were isolated and did not exert an influence on the larger musical life of early America. For this reason, Moravian clarinet culture was unique. The players were not generally known outside their communities; as discussed below, however, records show that Moravian clarinetists performed a sophisticated repertory that included solo and chamber works not played elsewhere in America, not even in large urban areas. Thus, their use of the clarinet, both as a solo instrument and in wind ensembles, warrants examination as part of the overall history of the clarinet in early America.

The Moravians were members of the *Unitas Fratrum*, a Protestant sect that arose in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in Bohemia and Moravia.¹ Despite

¹ The following general information about the Moravians is taken from Hans Theodore David, “Musical Life in the Pennsylvania Settlements of the *Unitas Fratrum*,” *Transactions of the Moravian Historical
persecution and near disappearance by the end of the Thirty Years’ War (1618-1648), the
*Unitas Fratrum* renewed itself in the early eighteenth century under the patronage and
support of Count Zinzendorf, who allowed its followers to settle on his lands in Saxony,
where they formed the community of Herrnhut. The sect also spread to other parts of
Europe (including England, where they were known as the Moravian Brethren), and was
among the first to send missionaries to distant lands (including America). Music, both
vocal and instrumental, was an important part of Moravian life, used not only in worship
but also avidly cultivated as a pastime outside the church service. When the Moravians
came to America, they brought with them their musical instruments, compositions, and
traditions, and established what Donald McCorkle has called “the most *vital* musical
culture ever to take root in the colonies.”

The most important Moravian settlements in America were founded in the early
1740s in Pennsylvania (at Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Lititz) and in the 1750s in North
Carolina (at Salem, now the city of Winston-Salem). Early in their existence all of these
communities developed instrumental ensembles of various kinds, including orchestras
(which they called, using the European term, *collegia musica*). These served numerous
functions: to provide instrumental accompaniment to the vocal music used in church

*Society* 13 (1942): 19-58, repr. as Moravian Music Publications No. 6 (Winston-Salem, North Carolina:
Moravian Music Foundation, 1959); and [A.G. Rau], “The Moravian Contribution to Pennsylvania Music,”
Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 1926-47), 2:115-238. In addition to studies of the Moravians
cited here, see also (in “Works Cited”) those by T.J. Anderson, Finney, Ingram, Johns, Rice, and Stevens.

2 Donald M. McCorkle, “The Collegium Musicum Salem: its Music, Musicians, and Importance,” *North
Carolina Historical Review* 33 (1956): 483-498, repr. as Moravian Music Publications No. 3 (Winston-
services; to provide music for important occasions not directly related to the church (e.g., birthdays, anniversaries, visits of guests); and to provide secular entertainment for the community.

This chapter examines each of the most important American Moravian communities in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, attempting to determine more exactly the initial use of the clarinet in these communities, and assessing its subsequent role in Moravian musical life.

**Nazareth, Pennsylvania**

The community of Nazareth was founded in 1740, but its *collegium musicum* was not formed until around 1780. Few details are known about the membership and activities of the group in its early years. With the arrival of David Moritz Michael in 1795, the organization appears to have become especially active. Michael (1751-1827) was an important figure in the history of Moravian music. He was born in Kühnhausen, Germany, and played the horn in theater and military bands there before emigrating to

---

3 It was abandoned soon after its founding due to a dispute between the purchaser of the land, George Whitefield, and John Hagen, a Georgia missionary. It was resettled in 1743. See [Rau], “The Moravian Contribution to Pennsylvania Music,” 136-38.


5 For a more detailed discussion of Michael’s life as it relates to this study, see Appendix A. It was customary in the Moravian communities for a short biography called a *Lebenslauf* to be written for each “brother,” usually at the time of his death. Michael’s Lebenslauf is kept at the Unitätsarchiv in Herrnhut; I thank Albert Frank of the Moravian Archive in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania for providing a typescript copy of the document. It is unusual in that it was written by Michael himself during his lifetime, rather than by someone else. It incorporates an account of his youth, written—remarkably, in verse—in 1783; and also a prose account, written in 1816, of the period from about 1781 to his death.
America. Beginning in 1795 he lived at Nazareth; he then moved to Bethlehem in 1808, returning to Germany in 1815. According to Grider’s colorful account of Michael, he was proficient on the violin, French horn, and clarinet, among other instruments.\textsuperscript{6} He was also a composer, especially of works for small wind ensemble (discussed below). Michael seems to have been the driving force behind a series of weekly concerts that were given at Nazareth. Beginning in 1796 he kept a register of the music played at these concerts.\textsuperscript{7} This important document reveals a remarkable degree of musical activity that encompassed a sophisticated repertory of orchestral and vocal works. It also provides evidence that wind instruments, including the clarinet, were used extensively at Nazareth. Performers are rarely named in the Register, but the clarinetists who participated in these concerts must have been accomplished musicians, since they performed not only in ensembles but also as soloists in concertos and chamber music.

The following table summarizes the concerts documented in the Register between 1796 and 1820 that use the clarinet. Cases where the instrumentation of the work is not specified, but the use of the clarinet is probable, are also included. Wording of titles appears exactly as in the Register.

\begin{footnotes}
\item Rufus A. Grider, \textit{Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. From 1741-1871} (Philadelphia, 1873, repr. as Moravian Music Publications no. 4 (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Moravian Music Foundation, 1957), 8-9. J. Hill Martin, author of a history of Bethlehem, commissioned Grider to write this essay on music in that community. I consulted not only the reprint of Grider’s work, but also Martin’s manuscript copy (with his commentary) at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; where Hill’s text differs from the reprint, or where his added commentary illuminates a point, I have indicated this in footnotes.

\item “Verzeichniss derer Musicalien welche im Concert sind gemacht worden.” Strauss, “A Register of Music,” 2. Throughout this section, I refer to this document as the “Register,” or “Nazareth Register.”
\end{footnotes}
Table 1
List of Performances in the Nazareth Register that involve the clarinet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Performance</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title of Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 4, 1796</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Clarinet Quartet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 11, 1796</td>
<td>Rosetti</td>
<td>Clarinet Concerto^8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 clarinets, 2 horns in ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 18, 1796</td>
<td>Mozart [arr. J. Stumpf]^9</td>
<td>Zauberflöte, the first half, (quartet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 25, 1796</td>
<td>Stamitz</td>
<td>Clarinet Concerto^8^9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 9, 1796</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Clarinet Duet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 16, 1796</td>
<td>Stepani^11</td>
<td>Parthie No. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 30, 1796</td>
<td>Pichl^12</td>
<td>Clarinet Quartet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pichl Parthie No. 3, for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 13, 1797</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 20, 1797</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie No. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 27, 1797</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie No. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 10, 1797</td>
<td>Mozart/Stumpf</td>
<td>Zauberflöte (Quartet), 9-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 3, 1797</td>
<td>Grenser^13</td>
<td>Clarinet Duet 1, 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^8 Discussed in Chapter Four.

^9 In the Bethlehem collegium musicum collection there are prints of four individual “Pièces d’Harmonie” (listed as numbers 1, 3, 19, and 20) that are excerpts from Die Zauberflöte, arranged for wind ensemble (two clarinets, two horns, and two bassoons) by J. Stumpf and published by André of Paris (Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, PSB 1352; see also Strauss, “A Register of Music,” 125-26). The music collection at the Moravian community of Salem, North Carolina, includes three additional pieces from the same arrangement (numbers 9, 11, and 12); see Roger Hellyer, “The Harmoniemusik of the Moravian Communities in America,” Fontes Artis Musicae 27 (April-June 1980): 101. It is likely that these are the pieces referred to in the Nazareth Register, at least on the occasions where the wind ensemble version is mentioned; perhaps the quartet version was simply the same arrangement played by fewer people. At some point the Nazareth performers clearly possessed more individual pieces from this arrangement than currently survive in the collections, since the Nazareth Register indicates that up to eighteen individual pieces were played, and there are many numerical gaps in the order of the existing music.

^10 Discussed in Chapter Four.


^12 The clarinet quartets of Václav Pichl (1741-1805) are discussed in Chapter Four. Pichl’s Harmoniemusik was also popular on Nazareth concerts. He composed many works for small wind ensemble, variously titled serenata, partita, or notturno. See Milan Poštola, “Pichl [Pichel], Václav [Venceslaus; Wenzel],” The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 2001), 19:717-18. For a large list of manuscript and printed works by Pichl, see Whitwell, History and Literature of the Wind Band, 8: 239-43.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Performance</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title of Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(same)</td>
<td>Mozart, Stumpf</td>
<td>Zauberflöte (Quartet), 15-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 10, 1797</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie No. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 17, 1797</td>
<td>Grenser</td>
<td>Clarinet Duet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 7, 1797</td>
<td>Pleyel</td>
<td>Clarinet Duet 1, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 28, 1797</td>
<td>“M.”</td>
<td>Clarinet Concerto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 30, 1797</td>
<td>Latrobe</td>
<td>Clarinet Concerto No. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 24, 1797</td>
<td>Pleyel</td>
<td>Clarinet Duet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 3, 1797</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie No. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 10, 1797</td>
<td>Rosetti</td>
<td>Clarinet Concerto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 17, 1797</td>
<td>Zimmermann</td>
<td>Parthie in 7 parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1, 1791</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie No. 1 in 7 parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 12, 1798</td>
<td>Zimmermann</td>
<td>Parthie in 7 parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 19, 1798</td>
<td>Rosetti</td>
<td>Parthie 1-3 in 6 parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 16, 1798</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>Clarinet Duo No. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 30, 1798</td>
<td>Stamitz</td>
<td>Clarinet Concerto in A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1, 1798</td>
<td>Stamitz</td>
<td>Clarinet Concerto in B-flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 26, 1798</td>
<td>Pleyel</td>
<td>Clarinet [Duets?] 4 and 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13 Johann Friedrich Grenser (1758-1794; Strauss, “A Register of Music,” mistakenly lists his dates as 1726-1780) was the son of the Dresden musical instrument maker Carl Augustin Grenser (1720-1807) and was an oboist and composer at the Swedish court; see Friedrich von Huene, “Grenser,” The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 2001), 10:382-83. The Moravian music archive in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, holds a print entitled “Six Duos pour deux clarinettes composés par Mr. Jean Fredr. Grenser Musicien de la Chambre de Sa Majesté Le Roi de Suède” In the Nazareth Register the Grenser duets are almost always identified by number (e.g., “Clarinet Duet 1, 2 by Grenser”), so they may have been played from this collection.

14 Discussed in Chapter Four.

15 The Austrian composer Anton Zimmermann (1741-1781) was active at Pressburg (now Bratislava). He wrote four Parthien, at least two (or possibly three) of which use clarinets. See Milan Poštoltka, “Zimmermann, Anton,” The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie (New York: Macmillan, 1980), 20:687. Whitwell (History and Literature of the Wind Band, 8: 260) lists three Parthien by Zimmerman that include the clarinet. In the second edition of The New Grove Dictionary (27: 835-36), Poštoltka’s article on Zimmermann has been updated by Darina Múdra, and the works-list includes four wind partitas (the instrumentation is not specified).

16 Antonio Rosetti [Franz Anton Rössler] (c.1750-1792) was a prolific composer of Harmoniemusik, writing at least twenty works, most dating from the 1780s; for an overview of Rosetti’s Harmoniemusik, see the introduction to Five Wind Partitas: Music for the Oettingen-Wallerstein Court, ed. Sterling E. Murray, Recent Researches in the Music of the Classical Era, vols. 30 and 31 (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 1989), vii-xxiii. Rosetti’s parthien for winds were sometimes played in concert in larger early American cities; see Chapter Four of this dissertation for a discussion of these.

17 According to Strauss (“A Register of Music,” 153), a set of five clarinet duets in David Moritz Michael’s hand exists, although it is not clear if he composed them or simply copied them. The information on the existence of these duets comes from a 1975 letter written to Strauss by Richard Claypool of the Moravian Music Foundation. On a visit to the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, I was unable to locate these duets.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Performance</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title of Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>September 23, 1798</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Clarinet Quartet No. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 19, 1798</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie No. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 26, 1798</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie No. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 9, 1798</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>4 part wind ensemble for 2 clarinets and 2 horns, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 16, 1798</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie No. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 23, 1798</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>2 clarinets and 2 horns in ensemble, 7, 8, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 30, 1798</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>Clarinet Duet No. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 7, 1798</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>2 clarinets and 2 horns in ensemble, 19, 18, 17, 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 11, 1798</td>
<td>Grenser</td>
<td>Clarinet Duet 1, 2, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same)</td>
<td>Zimmermann</td>
<td>Parthie in 7 parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 14, 1798</td>
<td>Latrobe</td>
<td>Clarinet Concerto No. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 28, 1798</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie No. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 4, 1799</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>4 part wind ensemble for 2 clarinets and 2 horns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 11, 1799</td>
<td>Mozart/Stumpf</td>
<td>Wind ensemble from the Zauberflöte, 1-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 25, 1799</td>
<td>Bach(^{18})</td>
<td>Wind ensemble: 3 Marches by Bach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 8, 1799</td>
<td>Mozart/Stumpf</td>
<td>Wind ensemble from the Zauberflöte, 4-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 15, 1799</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Wind ensemble in 5 part: Short Parthien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 22, 1799</td>
<td>Noak(^{19})</td>
<td>Parthie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1, 1799</td>
<td>Collauf(^{20})</td>
<td>Parthie No. 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^{19}\) Strauss identifies this individual as the Leipzig composer Christian Frederick Noack (fl. 1782). A manuscript Parthie by Noack exists in the collection of the *collegium musicum* of Lititz, scored for two clarinets, bassoon, and two horns. It is in five movements: Allegro, Adagio, Menuet and Trio, Allegro, and Angloise. Its title, “Parthie III,” may stem simply from the fact that it is bound in a volume with two other Parthien by Collauf entitled “Parthia I” and Parthia II.” For more on Noack’s Parthie, see Roger Hellyer, “The Harmoniemusik of the Moravian Communities in America,” 102 n. 11.

\(^{20}\) Nothing is known about Collauf’s life. He wrote six Parthien for two clarinets, two horns, and bassoon, and these were obviously favorites at Nazareth, since they were played on eleven occasions between 1799 and 1816 (the majority of performances occurring between 1799 and 1802). Manuscripts of these Parthien exist primarily in the Lititz collection; the Salem collection includes Parthia 4, minus the first clarinet part. See Michael Johns, “A Second Look at the Wind Music of Collauf,” *Moravian Music Journal* 41/2 (Fall 1996), 7-18.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Performance</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title of Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 15, 1799</td>
<td>Collauf</td>
<td>Parthie No. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 23, 1799</td>
<td>Collauf</td>
<td>Parthie No. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 15, 1799</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie No. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1, 1799</td>
<td>Collauf</td>
<td>Parthie No. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 8, 1799</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>Parthie No. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same)</td>
<td>Collauf</td>
<td>Parthie No. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 15, 1799</td>
<td>Collauf</td>
<td>Parthie No. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 22, 1799</td>
<td>Collauf</td>
<td>Parthie No. 4, the first half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 29, 1799</td>
<td>Collauf</td>
<td>Parthie No. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 6, 1799</td>
<td>Maschek</td>
<td>Parthie No. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 13, 1799</td>
<td>Grenser</td>
<td>Clarinet Duet No. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same)</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie No. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 24, 1800</td>
<td>Zimmermann</td>
<td>Parthie in 8 parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 31, 1800</td>
<td>Stamitz</td>
<td>Clarinet Concerto in B flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same)</td>
<td>Rosetti</td>
<td>Parthie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 7, 1800</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Quartet with Clarinet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 5, 1800</td>
<td>Gyrowetz</td>
<td>Parthie in 5 parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 19, 1800</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>2 Marches for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 16, 1801</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie No. 1, a, b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 27, 1801</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie No. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 11, 1801</td>
<td>Collauf</td>
<td>Parthie No. 4 for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 15, 1802</td>
<td>Maschek</td>
<td>Parthie No. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 29, 1802</td>
<td>Collauf</td>
<td>Parthie No. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 5, 1802</td>
<td>Noak</td>
<td>Parthie No. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 3, 1802</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie No. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 10, 1802</td>
<td>Zimmermann</td>
<td>Parthie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 18, 1803</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>Parthie in 6 parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 25, 1803</td>
<td>Stamitz</td>
<td>Clarinet Concerto in A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 11, 1803</td>
<td>Grenser</td>
<td>Clarinet Duet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 22, 1803</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie No. 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21 Vincenc (Václav) Mašek (Maschek) (1755-1831) was a Bohemian composer. He composed numerous partitas, nocturnes, and serenades for wind ensemble, which seem to have been his most well-known works. Whitwell (History and Literature of the Wind Band, 9: 451-55) lists many works by Maschek. See also Adrienne Simpson and Jitrenka Pesková, “Mašek,” The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 2001), 16:27.

22 Adalbert Gyrowetz (1763-1850) wrote a number of works for small wind ensemble; of these, the Deux Serenates, Op. 3, published in Paris by Imbault in 1790, are in five parts (two clarinets, two horns, one bassoon). See H.C. Robbins Landon, “Gyrowetz, Adalbert,” Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956), 5:1152. Whitwell (History and Literature of the Wind Band, 8: 204) lists a Serenade, Op. 5 (published in Berlin by Hummel), and a Serenade, Op. 32 (published in Offenbach by André), both of which are also in five parts. Gyrowetz’s music has not been fully catalogued, so there may be other works by him that fit the description of the work listed in the Nazareth register. It should be noted, however, that copies of the two Op. 3 Serenatas exist in the Bethlehem collection.

23 Michael’s Harmoniemusik is discussed below in this chapter’s section on Bethlehem.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Performance</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title of Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 25, 1803</td>
<td>Collauf</td>
<td>Parthie No. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 20, 1804</td>
<td>Collauf</td>
<td>Parthie No. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 3, 1804</td>
<td>Rosetti</td>
<td>Parthie for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 10, 1804</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>2 Marches for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2, 1804</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 11, 1805</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>3 Marches for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 25, 1805</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>Parthie for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1, 1805</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie No. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 22, 1805</td>
<td>[Viguerie]</td>
<td>Bataille of Maringo for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 8, 1808</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>4 Marches for wind ensemble: 2 Clarinets, 2 Horns, 2 Trumpets, 1 Bassoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 15, 1808</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Marches for 7 part wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 5, 1809</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>3 chorales for 5 part wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 12, 1809</td>
<td>Stamitz</td>
<td>Parthie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 19, 1809</td>
<td>Rosetti</td>
<td>Parthie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 26, 1809</td>
<td>[Kotzwara]</td>
<td>Battle of Prague, for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2, 1809</td>
<td>Pleyel</td>
<td>Symphony in C for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same)</td>
<td>Stamitz</td>
<td>Parthie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 9, 1809</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 23, 1809</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2, 1809</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 9, 1809</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Parthie blown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 16, 1809</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>4 Marches for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 16, 1809</td>
<td>Fodor</td>
<td>Clarinet Concerto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>4 Marches for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 22, 1810</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>4 Marches for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 5, 1810</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Marches for wind ensemble—Clarinet—Bassoon—Horn—Trumpet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24 In the Lititz *collegium musicum* collection there is a manuscript of wind ensemble works copied by John Levering that contains the “Battle of Maringo” by Bernhard Viguerie (1761-1819), for two clarinets, two horns, and one bassoon (Moravian Archive, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, LCM 200.3). The work might also have involved a trumpet, because a short section (of only 5 measures) is entitled “clarino solo.” Viguerie’s work is also mentioned by D.C. Runner, “Music in the Moravian Community of Lititz” (DMA diss., Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, 1976), Appendix A, “Music in the Lititz *Collegium Musicum* Collection.”

25 “The Battle of Prague,” by Franz Koczwar (c.1750-1791), was very popular in Europe and America and was arranged in many versions.

26 This work is discussed in Chapter Four.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Performance</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title of Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 14, 1811</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Five Marches for 6 part wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 23, 1812</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 4, 1812</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>Parthie, Part I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 15, 1812</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>Die Wasserfahrt, (a Selection from Part I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 13, 1813</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Several marches for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 4, 1813</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>Parthia with flute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 29, 1813</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Parthie No. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 23, 1814</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Several Marches for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 26, 1814</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>3 Marches for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 28, 1815</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>First 2 and last pieces from Die Wasserfahrt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>3 Marches for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 3, 1815</td>
<td>Ricksecker²⁷</td>
<td>General Brown’s and Gen. Harrison’s March for 6 part wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1, 1815</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>Parthie with 1 Trumpet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 15, 1815</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>5 Marches for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 30, 1815</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>Suiten, Bey einer Quellen zu blasen for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same)</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>1st Parthie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 24, 1816</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>3 pieces for wind ensemble from Die Wasserfahrt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 17, 1816</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Some marches for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 22, 1816</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>3 marches for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 30, 1816</td>
<td>[Michael?]²⁸</td>
<td>A Parthie, called Das Hühner geschrey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 27, 1816</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Several Marches for wind ensemble, (borrowed from Bethlehem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 29, 1816</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>2 Marches for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²⁷ Peter Ricksecker (1791-1873) was a Moravian composer born in America. He was a student and later a teacher at the Nazareth Seminary before leaving to live in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. In subsequent years he served as a missionary in the West Indies, and spent his retirement in Bethlehem. See Albert G. Rau and Hans T. David, *A Catalogue of Music by American Moravians, 1742-1842* (Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: 1938; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1970), 111.

²⁸ The identity of this work, the title of which translates to “The Cries of the Chickens,” is a mystery. The only other reference to this work is by Grider (*Historical Notes*), who states that Michael’s work *Die Wasserfahrt* “also contains a movement called the Huhnergeschrey.” This statement is not contained in the reprint of Grider’s *Historical Notes*; it appears only in J. Hill Martin’s manuscript copy of Grider’s work. The statement is followed by a question mark which must be Martin’s. The music for the work has not been located.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Performance</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title of Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 29, 1817</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>Parthie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 26, 1817</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>Parthie in C Major with Clarinet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 6, 1817</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>4 Marches for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 20, 1817</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>3 Marches for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 15, 1817</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Echo from a Parthie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>2 Marches for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 14, 1818</td>
<td>[Michael]</td>
<td>The first 3 pieces from the Wasserfahrt for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 4, 1818</td>
<td>[Michael]</td>
<td>From Der Wasserfahrt, Nos. 14 and 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 16, 1820</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>4 Marches for wind ensemble</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of important points are suggested by Table One. First, it is clear that chamber music and works for small wind ensemble (usually including the clarinet) appeared on a great many concerts.\(^{29}\) The instrumentation of these works is not always specified in the Register; in many cases (not reflected in Table One), they are listed simply as “4 part wind ensemble” or “6 part wind ensemble,” and it is impossible to know for certain if these ensembles included the clarinet.\(^{30}\) Unidentified “Parthien,” “Marches for wind ensemble,” and other similar pieces are also listed, many or most of which probably included the clarinet. The names of composers are usually given, even if the exact instrumentation of pieces is not. The wind ensemble repertory of the American Moravians emphasized works by central European composers, such as Stephani, Pichl, ...

---

\(^{29}\) Of the approximately 319 concerts documented in the Register from 1796 through 1820, at least 152 included wind ensemble music.

\(^{30}\) There are thirty-six instances in the Register between 1796 and 1800 where the work performed is listed simply as “4 [or 6] part wind ensemble,” with no further instrumentation specified. The use of this title disappears from the Register after 1800. In two instances (November 9, 1798, and January 4, 1799) a work is listed with the title, “4 part wind ensemble for 2 clarinets and 2 horns,” but it is impossible to know if this was the instrumentation for all of the works listed as “4 part wind ensemble.” Frequently the title given in the Register includes a series of numbers, as on January 26, 1798: “6 part wind ensemble, 4, 5, 6.” This suggests that the players had a “gig book,” so to speak, containing a series of works from which various items could be chosen for performance.
Zimmerman, Rosetti, Noak, Collaf, Maschek, and Gyrowetz, as well as Moravian composers such as Michael and Ricksecker; with the exception of Rosetti, wind ensemble works by these composers are not found on concert programs in large American cities in this era.

A second important point concerns the frequent use of the clarinet as a solo instrument, in both concertos and chamber music, on concerts in Nazareth. Clarinet concertos by Rosetti and Stamitz (probably Carl) were especially popular in the years 1796-1803, garnering a total of seven performances. A “Clarinet Concerto No. 3” by Latrobe is listed as having been performed on two occasions, while a concerto by Fodor was performed once, in 1809, by “Wm. Frick” (the only instance in which a clarinetist’s name is given in the Nazareth Register).\(^3\) As far as can be determined, clarinet concertos by these four composers were not performed elsewhere in America; they are unique to the Moravians. Moreover, the concertos by Latrobe and Fodor have not previously been noticed by clarinet scholars. These concertos are discussed in Chapter Four.

The chamber music played by Nazareth clarinetists also consisted largely of works that did not gain popularity outside Moravian circles. These included duets by Grenser and Michael, and clarinet quartets by Pichl. Clarinet duets by Pleyel were also performed at Nazareth, but these were sometimes found on concert programs in large cities as well.

Table One shows a gradual decline in the use of the clarinet as a solo instrument on Nazareth concerts. This is especially true for the concerto medium; between the years

\(^3\) For a short biography of William Frick, see Appendix A.
of 1796 and 1809, a total of eleven performances of clarinet concertos took place in
Nazareth, while from 1809 to 1820, no clarinet concerto performances have been
documented. After 1809, in fact, the clarinet is used only in the context of wind
ensemble music. I would suggest that this decline is connected with David Moritz
Michael’s move from Nazareth to Bethlehem. No evidence exists for the use of clarinets
in Nazareth before Michael’s arrival there in 1795; from 1796 onward, however, as the
Nazareth Register attests, clarinets played a vital role on concert programs. Furthermore,
the date of Michael’s move to Bethlehem, 1808, more or less coincides with the
beginning of the use of the clarinet in that community (see below). It may even be that
Michael himself performed as a soloist on the clarinet at Nazareth, and the decline in the
number of soloistic clarinet works is perhaps also a reflection of Michael’s having left
that community. These observations, if correct, suggest that David Moritz Michael was
the disseminator and popularizer of the clarinet in the main Pennsylvania Moravian
communities.

Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

Bethlehem was founded in 1741, and its collegium musicum began in 1744 under
the leadership of Johann Christian Pyrlaeus. Its members were clergy, artisans, or
tradesmen for whom music was an amateur pastime; this was true of nearly all Moravian
musicians. In 1748 the group became more tightly organized, with a membership of

---

32 The following general account of the Bethlehem collegium musicum is taken largely from Richard D.
Claypool, “Archival Collections of the Moravian Music Foundation and Some Notes on the Philharmonic
fourteen people, and daily rehearsals replaced the sporadic ones that had taken place up to that point. The new leader was Johann Eric Westmann.

Not until the 1760s do further records appear regarding the Bethlehem collegium musicum; a 1764 inventory of musical instruments belonging to the community does not list clarinets. Grider lists the names of the members in 1780 and the instruments they played, and once again no clarinets are mentioned. As noted above, the evidence currently available seems to indicate that the advent of the clarinet in Bethlehem more or less coincided with the arrival of David Moritz Michael in 1808. Michael was as active at Bethlehem as he had been at Nazareth. Grider notes that at Bethlehem Michael’s Parthien for wind ensemble were “generally performed in concerts from the balustrade of the Brethren’s House, on week day evenings, in the summer, for the entertainment of the town’s people.” Two programmatic works for small wind ensemble were apparently written by Michael especially for Bethlehem: the suites *Bey einer Quellen zu blasen*, and *Bestimmt zu einer Wasserfahrt auf der Lecha*, (the latter usually referred to simply as *Die Wasserfahrt*). These works were written for a particular event. It was an annual tradition at Bethlehem to celebrate Whit-Monday with a stroll along the Lehigh river. The townspeople would walk along the riverbank while listening to musicians playing from a flat-bottomed boat that was poled down the river. Michael’s Suites were written to be performed as a vivid accompaniment to this river journey. Grider’s account states it best:


34 Grider, *Historical Notes*, 5.

35 Ibid., 9. He does not state the specific time period that he is discussing, but seems to imply that this was true throughout Michael’s tenure in Bethlehem.
The party continued westward one mile to an eddy formed by a turn in the river, forming a miniature whirlpool. The poles no longer touched bottom, the waters being too deep, the composer, poet-like, supposed a case of great peril, caused the music to convey the idea of fear and terror; the boat was kept in the whirlpool long enough for the musicians to act out their part, when it emerged from the eddy into the placid stream; the sounds changed into lively airs and graceful melodies.\textsuperscript{36}

Grider’s informant about this “performance,” the bassoonist Jacob Wolle (who took part in it) stated that it occurred every year on Whit-Monday between the years of 1809 and 1813, and that on one occasion the performers included John Ricksecker on first clarinet and David Moritz Michael on second clarinet.

John [Johann] Ricksecker (1780-1827)\textsuperscript{37} was the most prominent clarinetist in Bethlehem in the early nineteenth century. He was a shoemaker by trade. He is named in Grider’s list of Bethlehem musicians simply as “a noted clarinet player.” He is listed as the clarinetist in the orchestra (no second clarinetist is named) for the historic 1811 performance of Haydn’s \textit{Creation}, the first performance of that work in the United States. He must have been an impressive player. Grider tells the following story:

In order to show the high reputation acquired by these performers at this time, in the opinion of persons from abroad, who were fully competent to judge of their attainments, we will relate an incident from information furnished us by James T. Borheck, Esq. The incident relates to one of the performers, but that one a representative of many others. Mr. B. mentions, that having visited Philadelphia in 1829, he was introduced to a Mr. Clemens, a jolly good soul, a maker of musical instruments, and a musician, who, when he learned that Mr. B. came from Bethlehem, was delighted to meet him, and to hear from his many musical acquaintances at that place. He knew most of the musicians in Bethlehem, and at once asked, “How is my friend John Ricksecker?” “Alas!” replied Mr. B., “he has passed away to our great sorrow.” After lamenting the loss, Mr. Clemens related how he had first made the acquaintance of the deceased. “I arrived in Bethlehem in the afternoon with several friends, put up at the ‘Sun Hotel,’ having leisure time, I

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{37} The 1957 reprint of Grider’s essay lists only his date of birth. In J. Hill Martin’s manuscript copy of Grider’s work, Ricksecker’s date of death is also listed.
repaired to my room, took my clarinet, which I always had with me for my amusement, and began to play. I continued for some time, deeming myself a good player, it appeared singular to me that no notice was taken of my playing,—no crowd collected outside the door, as at other places, in order to peep in or listen.

“After tea, I took a look at the town, walked down Main Street to Market Street, when my attention was attracted by the tones of a Clarinet in a shoemaker shop. I entered and made the acquaintance of the boss, who performed for me, to my great delight.”

We retain his own expressions relating to the circumstance. “There, in a shoemaker shop, a darned little bit of a shoe shop, I heard the best clarinet playing I ever listened to. I went to the tavern, locked up my instrument, and determined to play no more in Bethlehem, and felt satisfied that I knew the reason why no one came to my door to listen to my playing.”

Ricksecker was also a clarinetist in the Columbian Band, as well as one of its leaders. This band was formed as the musical contingent of the 97th regiment of the Pennsylvania Militia. Grider states that this occurred in 1809; Harry Hall, however, believes that it must not have occurred until 1814, since it was not until that year that “Bethlehem and the other townships of Northampton County comprised the 97th regiment.” Hall also points out that David Moritz Michael’s name is never associated with the band, and that, given his central position in the community’s musical life (especially with regard to wind instruments), “it is highly unlikely that he would not have been involved in any local band activity prior to his return to Germany in 1815.”

---

38 Grider, Historical Notes, 6.
39 Ibid., 26.
41 Ibid.
Grider’s master list of Bethlehem musicians names other individuals who are specifically mentioned as clarinetists. Besides David Moritz Michael and John Ricksecker, they are as follows:42

David Peter Schneller (1787-1842): clarinet and horn.
Henry G. Guetter (1797 [-1847]): clarinet.
Matthew Christ (1796-1882): viola, clarinet, tenor.43
Jacob C. Till (1799[-1882]): the leader of the Band, a performer on the organ, trombone, and clarinet.
Timothy Weiss (1800-1848): a noted tenor singer, and clarinet and trombone player.
Charles F. Beckel (1801[-1881]): leader, a distinguished violinist, clarinet and trombone, a basso.
Samuel Luckenbach, son of Adam (1801 [-1877]): clarinet in band.44
Henry Hillman (b. 1803): clarinet in 1st military band.45
George H. Goundie [Gundt?] (b. 1805): clarinet in 1st military band.46
Philip H. Boehler (b. 1805): 2nd clarinet.
Herman L. Kleitz (b. 1810): a noted clarinet-player.
Henry T. Milchsack (b. 1828): French horn & clarinet in band.47
William H. Boehler (b. 1827): clarinet.

Harry Hall also mentions another possible clarinetist, Philip Woodring Bealer (1805-1875), whose name appears as a signature to the Columbian band’s constitution.48

42 Grider, *Historical Notes*, 38-41. These are given with whatever notations appear after the names, just as in Grider’s essay. It should be noted that some of the information differs between the printed and manuscript versions of Grider. These cases are specified in footnotes 43-47 below.

43 The printed version of Grider’s essay omits viola.

44 The printed version gives only the notation “clarinet” after his name, and omits “in band.”

45 The printed version gives only the notation “clarinet” after his name, and omits “in 1st military band.”

46 The printed version gives only the notation “clarinet” after his name, and omits “in 1st military band.”

47 This name is omitted altogether from the printed version.

is known regarding the activities of these clarinetists, and only three of them (Schneller, Guetter, and Christ) have been traced so far.

David Peter Schneller spent his early childhood on the Caribbean islands of St. John’s and St. Kitt’s, where his parents were missionaries. At the age of seven he was sent to Nazareth for his education; he then moved to Lititz, and afterward to Nazareth. There Schneller taught at the boys’ school and served the community in various other ways. His activities included working in wine production and as a baker.\textsuperscript{49}

Grider mentions Matthew Christ’s name in connection with the practice of serenades at Bethlehem. It was customary to celebrate important events, such as birthdays, anniversaries, deaths, or arrivals of visitors, with the performance of a serenade, vocal and/or instrumental. Up to 1750, this duty was accomplished by the collegium musicum; after that, however, it appears that there were special “clubs” set up for the purpose. Grider notes that about 1835, “a club existed here for serenading, composed as follows: Daniel C. Freytag, \textit{violincello} [sic]; Israel Ricksecker, \textit{flute}; Andrew Vognitz, \textit{violin}; Samuel Weinland, \textit{guitar}; and Matthew Christ, \textit{clarinet}.”\textsuperscript{50}

Another serenading group existed in 1840, in which Christ also participated as a clarinetist, along with two violins, a bugle, a flute, a cello, and a trombone. Grider says that the music used by this group consisted mostly of “familiar airs arranged by three of the members, viz., Charles F. Beckel, E.F. Beckel and Matthew Christ.”\textsuperscript{51} Christ was

\textsuperscript{49} The source of this information is Schneller’s \textit{Lebenslauf}. I thank Albert Frank of the Moravian Archive in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania for providing me with a photocopy of this document.

\textsuperscript{50} Grider, \textit{Historical Notes}, 23.

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., 24. Some of this music still exists in the Moravian Music archive at Bethlehem (PSB 1295).
also one of the directors of the Philharmonic society (the organization that supplanted the collegium musicum in 1820),52 and was apparently in the Columbian Band (though his name is not on the original list of members).53

The name Henry G. Guetter, which appears on Grider’s list of Bethlehem musicians, refers to Heinrich Gottlob Gütter (1797-1847), who emigrated to Bethlehem from Neukirchen, Germany in 1817. He is discussed as an instrument maker and seller in Chapter Six.

Some of the clarinetists on Grider’s list were members of the Columbian Band; besides the three already mentioned, the band included Till, Luckenbach, Hillman, and Goundie. Two clarinetists are listed by Grider under the heading of “Musical Celebrities. Their Visits to Bethlehem.” These are a Herr Gleitz, “a noted player on the clarinet,” and Herr Stoll, who is named as among Philadelphia musicians who gave concerts at Bethlehem.54 It is not known when these men visited, or what compositions they played.

The Moravian Archive at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, preserves a music collection that incorporates music used at both Bethlehem and Nazareth. This music was catalogued by Grider in 1873; his manuscript catalogue, entitled “Catalogue of the Music Belonging to the Philharmonic Society of Bethlehem, Pa., Together with an Inventory of the Instruments and other Property Owned by it up to Mar. 12, 1873,” still forms the

52 Ibid., 28.
53 Ibid., 25.
54 Ibid., 37.
main guide to the collection.\textsuperscript{55} Besides the wind music already mentioned in this chapter, the collection includes other \textit{Harmoniemusik} with clarinet parts, by Hoffmeister,\textsuperscript{56} Mankell,\textsuperscript{57} Pleyel,\textsuperscript{58} and Devienne.\textsuperscript{59} The collection also preserves chamber music involving clarinet and strings, including clarinet quartets by Pleyel, Backofen, and Goepfert;\textsuperscript{60} quintets for clarinet, violin, two violas and cello by Backofen and Krommer;\textsuperscript{61} and a very interesting Sextet for clarinet, horn, violin, viola, cello, and double bass by Joachim Nicolas Eggert.\textsuperscript{62} No documentation of performances of these pieces has been found, and it cannot generally be determined when they were acquired by the musicians at Bethlehem; but the fact that the music is present in the collection indicates that the clarinet was a significant part of Bethlehem’s musical life.

\textbf{Lititz, Pennsylvania}

The collegium musicum at Lititz was founded by Bernhard Adam Grube (or Grubé) in 1765.\textsuperscript{63} As at Bethlehem, the clarinet seems to have made its appearance at

\begin{itemize}
  \item The Bethlehem collegium musicum became the Philharmonic Society of Bethlehem in 1820; see Claypool, 187.
  \item Moravian Archive, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (PSB 1350 and 1351)
  \item Ibid. (PSB 1351).
  \item Ibid.
  \item Ibid. (PSB 1353 and 1354).
  \item Ibid. (PSB 1313). The Pleyel quartets were arranged by “Soller” (Solère?).
  \item Ibid.
  \item Ibid. (PSB 1330).
\end{itemize}
Lititz comparatively late; sources provide no evidence of its use there before the early nineteenth century. The Lititz Philharmonic Society, which existed from 1815 to 1845 as a continuation of the collegium musicum, may have included clarinets, since it gave performances of Haydn’s *The Creation* and *The Seasons*. A band was formed in 1810 that probably used clarinets; a second band organized in 1820 certainly used two of them by 1822.

Other clues to the use of clarinets might be found in the extensive music collection of the Lititz collegium musicum, now preserved at the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem. It includes a large number of works—orchestral, chamber, and *Harmoniemusik*—that involve the clarinet. The most important of these are discussed below.

Like the Bethlehem collection, the Lititz collection contains a fair amount of wind ensemble music, including not only parthien, but also a number of marches and less serious works. It contains copies of some parthien that have already been mentioned because they appear on the Nazareth Register (e.g., those of Collauf, Michael, Noack, and Rosetti). Two Moravian composers not yet mentioned are represented in the Lititz collection. One of these, Johann Christiann Bechler (1784-1857), wrote a Parthia for

---

64 D.C. Runner, “Music in the Moravian Community of Lititz” (DMA diss., Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, 1976), 62.

65 Ibid., 61-62.

66 See Runner, “Music in the Moravian Community of Lititz,” Appendix A, “Music in the Lititz Collegium Musicum Collection.” Runner mentions works other than those discussed here that may include clarinets; but this could not be determined from his information alone.
pairs of clarinets, horns, bassoons, and one trumpet;\textsuperscript{67} and two marches for two clarinets, two horns, bassoon, and trumpet.\textsuperscript{68} Bechler came to America in 1806, settling at Nazareth. Between 1812 and 1817 he lived in Philadelphia and on Staten Island, returning to Nazareth from 1817 to 1822. From 1822-1829 he resided at Lititz. He served as a teacher, pastor, and finally, a Bishop of the Moravian church.\textsuperscript{59} Another Moravian composer whose music appears in the Lititz collection is Peter Wolle (1792-1871). At the age of eight he came to Nazareth, attending school there; he later served as a pastor in various communities, including Lititz.\textsuperscript{70} His work, “Madison’s March,” is scored for two clarinets, two horns, bassoon, trumpet, and flute, and seems to be his only composition for wind ensemble.\textsuperscript{71}

A Parthia ostensibly by Joseph Morris is found in the Lititz collection, but this work also exists in the Salem collection under the name of Haydn. In addition the work can be found in several European collections, under the names of both Haydn and Mozart.\textsuperscript{72} The actual composer of the work has not been identified. \textit{Four Divertissements} by Carl Stamitz exist in the Lititz collection not only in a version for two

\textsuperscript{67} Moravian Archive, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (LCM 175 Beth ms). Hellyer, “The Harmoniemusik of the Moravian Communities in America,” 102 n. 19, notes that Bechler was the “one Moravian besides Michael to have composed a piece of Harmoniemusik.”

\textsuperscript{68} Runner, “Music in the Moravian Community of Lititz,” Appendix A.

\textsuperscript{69} Rau and David, \textit{A Catalogue of Music by American Moravians}, 105.

\textsuperscript{70} Ibid., 112.

\textsuperscript{71} Runner, “Music in the Moravian Community of Lititz,” Appendix A.

\textsuperscript{72} Hellyer, “The Harmoniemusik of the Moravian Communities in America,” 102 n. 10.
clarinets, two horns, and bassoon, but also in a version with two bassoons. They were published at the Hague in the six-part instrumentation as Op. 21; the date of this publication cannot be determined. The Lititz collection also includes a “Minuet Militaire” for two clarinets, two horns, two bassoons by Boccherini; a “Battle of Maringo” by Viguerie for two clarinets, two horns, “clarino,” and bassoon; a “Collection of Military Divertimentos by L. von Esch, arranged for military band by T. Pouvel” for “Big Drum, cymbal, etc.; serpent; two bassoons; two flutes; two clarinettes; two horns”; and a “Collection of Marches for two clarinets, two horns, bassoon and trumpet.”

Several chamber music works in the Lititz collection stand out, since they do not appear in the repertory of the other Pennsylvania Moravian communities. A quartet for clarinet and strings, Op. 82, by Franz Krommer (1759-1831) is one of five such works that he wrote; it was published at Offenbach, perhaps around 1816. The quintet for clarinet and string quartet, Op. 8, by Sigismund Neukomm (1778-1858) is the only one he wrote, and was published at Leipzig in 1809. The six manuscript “Duettos for two

73 Ibid., 102 n. 16.


75 This Collection of Marches includes the following: I. Aus Wallenstein; II. Di Bechler; III. March die Leibgarten zu Dresden; IV. Aus Thirza von Rolle; V. Di Turk; VI. Di Rolle; VII. Di Bechler; VIII. Bonaparte’s March; IX. Bonaparte’s March, called The Mantuane; X. Di Turk; XI. Di Gebhard; XII. Washington’s March. See Runner, Appendix A.


clarinets” mentioned by Runner may correspond to the duets in Michael’s hand that supposedly exist, but as noted above, these did not turn up in my search of the Moravian archives at Bethlehem.

The available evidence seems to show that clarinets came to Lititz rather late, and perhaps played a less significant role there than at Nazareth or Bethlehem. Unfortunately there are no documents at Lititz similar to the Nazareth Register, providing a record of performances and dates; nor is there much other information that sheds further light on clarinet activities there.

**Winston-Salem, North Carolina**

The main settlement of Moravians in the southern American colonies was established at Salem (now Winston-Salem), North Carolina in 1753. The earliest evidence of a *collegium musicum* there, however, is not until about 1780, the date that Johann Friedrich Peter (1746-1813) arrived. Peter had come to the U.S. in 1770, living and serving at the three main Pennsylvania communities before coming to Salem. It was he who established the Salem collegium musicum. He left Salem in 1790; it has been firmly established that clarinets were not part of the instrumental forces during Peter’s time.⁷⁸ Indeed, clarinets do not seem to have appeared in Salem until 1805.⁷⁹ A receipt of 1808 indicates that Friedrich Christian Meinung (1782-1851) purchased two clarinets

---

⁷⁸ See Jeannine S. Ingram, “Repertory and Resources of the Salem Collegium Musicum, 1780-1790,” *Fontes Artis Musicae* 26, no. 4 (October-December 1979), 270.

⁷⁹ Donald McCorkle, “The Collegium Musicum Salem: its Music, Musicians, and Importance” (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Moravian Music Foundation, Moravian Music Publications No. 3, 1956), 489. In the same year, 1805, two trumpets and a bassoon were also added to the group. Prior to that time, flutes had been the only woodwinds used.
from Bethlehem for $9.00 for use by the Salem collegium musicum. Meinung was, among other things, a clarinetist, and later became the director of the collegium musicum. McCorkle states that he was “certainly the most important musician in Salem during the first half of the nineteenth century.”80 During the 1820s, receipts show that “not a few clarinets, string instruments, and of course, many reeds, strings, rosin, bows, etc.” were purchased.81 In 1829, the first performance of Haydn’s *Creation* in the southern states was given at Salem; although the collegium musicum possessed a full set of parts for the work, it is not certain that a full orchestra was used. In 1835, however, another performance of the work was given. Clarinetists for this performance may have been Levin R. Brietz, T.F. Crist, W. Leinbach, and/or F.C. Meinung.82

**Conclusion**

The Moravians are important to the history of the clarinet in early America for several reasons. The instrument appeared frequently on their concerts in all capacities: in solo concertos, chamber music that featured the clarinet, wind band music, and orchestral music. Moravian clarinetists played repertory that was not found elsewhere in America at this time, including clarinet duets by Grenser, clarinet quartets by Pichl, Backofen, and Krommer; quintets by Backofen, Krommer, and Neukomm; and solo concertos by Rosetti, Stamitz, Latrobe, and Fodor. Moreover, the clarinet concertos by Latrobe and Fodor have not previously been known to exist, and thus represent new additions to

---

80 Ibid., 490.

81 Ibid., 493.
modern scholarly knowledge of the clarinet repertory. The Sextet of Joachim Nikolas Eggert has also not previously been noted by clarinet historians. In addition to these solo and chamber works, the clarinet also played a central role in the Harmoniemusik that formed a part of so many Moravian concerts, as well as in the larger wind bands that began to form in the second decade of the nineteenth century. Although documents do not allow specific Moravian clarinetists to be associated with particular performances and pieces, it is clear from the sophistication of the repertory and from contemporaneous accounts that these individuals were accomplished players. Evidence seems to point to David Moritz Michael as the initiator of the use of the clarinet in Moravian communities, a notion not previously remarked on by scholars of Moravian music.

Much research remains to be done to further fill in the picture of the clarinet’s role in the Moravian communities. This study does not include a discussion of Moravian anthems that include the clarinet, nor of symphonies and other orchestral works found in Moravian collections that include clarinet parts. No doubt the picture will change as this research is undertaken. Nevertheless, at this point it can be stated with certainty that the Moravians made frequent use of the clarinet, and that their employment of the instrument forms an important chapter in the history of the clarinet in early America.

---

82 Ibid., 498. It should be noted that Meinung’s name also appears in the violin and viola sections.
CHAPTER 4

THE CLARINET REPERTORY IN EARLY AMERICA

Clarinet were played in concert performances in America beginning as early as 1764. In that year, several concerts were announced in New York, each advertising a program of vocal and instrumental music, to include as a closing number a “Grand Chorus Song” (or “God Save the King,” or “Rule Britannia”) “accompanied with drums and clarinets.”¹ This obviously indicates the use of clarinets within a larger ensemble of instruments, and the fact that the advertisement makes special mention of them may be an indication of their novelty. The first appearance of the clarinet as a solo instrument was in 1769, when Mr. Hoffman, Jr., played a “Solo upon the Clarinet” at a concert in Philadelphia.² A concert in 1770, also in Philadelphia, included a “Solo upon the Clarinet,” but the performer was not named.³ It was not uncommon for program announcements in newspapers to give only a vague indication of the type of piece that was played; the listing “Solo upon the Clarinet,” or something similar, with no

---

¹ New York Gazette, March 26 and April 2, 1764; the New York Gazette and Weekly Postboy, March 29, April 5, and April 12, 1764; and the New York Mercury, March 26, April 2, and April 9 (PACAN).

² Pennsylvania Journal, November 16, 1769 (PACAN).

composer’s name attached to it, appeared many more times up to 1820. It is impossible to know the exact nature of these “solos,” though they were probably accompanied by some type of orchestral ensemble. Information supplied by newspaper concert announcements becomes a little more specific beginning in the 1780s, and from that time onward it is often (though not always) possible to identify at least the type of work performed, if not also the performer and/or composer of the work.

The following overview discusses the music played by clarinetists in early America. It includes not only the concert music played by professionals, but also the published music that was clearly intended for the amateur market. The clarinet was also a common member of the church “gallery” orchestra, especially in New England, and the music published for this ensemble is discussed as well. The chapter is organized mainly by genre, including categories for the most important genres that appear on early American concert programs: solo concertos, concertos with multiple soloists, other orchestrally-accompanied works, chamber music (subdivided by instrumentation), songs or airs with clarinet obbligato, and Harmoniemusik. Details of individual performances, including complete source references, can be found in Appendix B: A Table of Performances and Repertory. Music for amateurs (such as tunebooks, duets and other ensemble music, and songs for voice and piano with the vocal line also printed for the clarinet) is discussed in its own separate section in this chapter, as is music for the church gallery orchestra.
Solo Clarinet Concertos

The first performance of a clarinet concerto in America was probably that of April 27, 1782, in New York City. On this occasion, an unnamed performer played a “Clarenetto Solo of Mahoy.” It is likely that “Mahoy” is a misprint for “Mahon,” and that the composer referred to is the English clarinetist John Mahon (c. 1749-1834), who wrote two clarinet concertos. The first of these was published by P. Welcker around 1775, but has not survived. The second was written before February 16, 1775, on which date it was performed at London’s Haymarket Theater. A printed set of parts for this second concerto, published by the London publisher J. Bland around 1786, exists at the Henry Watson Music Library in Manchester, England (BR 580 Mc 71). Either of these concertos could be the one that was performed in New York in 1782. In any case, further support for this attribution is the fact that concertos by “Mahon” had been advertised for sale by the New York music seller James Rivington in 1779.

The performance of clarinet concertos gradually became more frequent beginning in the late 1780s, and this type of work is common from the 1790s onward. Between the Mahon performance in 1782 and 1820, no fewer than 218 performances of clarinet concertos took place in America. In 100 of these performances, the composer of the

---


5 Elaine Thomas, Preface to the modern edition (with piano accompaniment) of Mahon’s Clarinet Concerto No. 2 (London: Novello, 1989).

6 *Rivington’s New York Gazette*, October 20, 1779 (PACAN). I arrived at my identification of this piece independently of Gillian Anderson, who also identifies the composer as Mahon; see *Music in New York During the American Revolution*, 79-80.
work is not specified in newspaper announcements. The other instances, where composers’ names are known, included concertos written by Garnet, Dubois, Lefèvre, Gautier, Schaffer, Michel, Rosetti, Stamitz (probably Carl), Latrobe, Pleyel, Vanderhagen, Devienne, Duvernoy, Fodor, Pellisier, Solère, Goepfert, Vogel, Crusell, and Baer (Beer).

Most of these composers were Europeans whose music was imported for sale in America, or brought by traveling performers. The solo clarinet concertos of Michel were by far the most popular in early America. The clarinetist Michel (1754-1786; full name Michel Yost, though he preferred to identify himself using only his first name) was a frequent performer at the Concert spirituel in Paris, and an active teacher and composer. He wrote fourteen clarinet concertos.7 In early America, between 1796-1820, Michel’s concertos were performed at least thirty-two times, by many different clarinetists. In the majority of instances it is not possible to identify which of Michel’s concertos was played; however, on October 9, 1815, the clarinetist Andral played Michel’s “Fourth Concerto” on a concert in Charleston.

Another European composer whose clarinet concertos were popular was Jean Xavier Lefèvre (1763-1829). Lefèvre was a pupil of Michel, and was among the group of original clarinet teachers at the Paris Conservatoire, where he taught until 1824. He was also a prolific composer of works for the clarinet, including seven concertos, most of

---

which were published between 1780 and 1805. Clarinet concertos by Lefèvre began to appear on American concert programs in 1795, and were performed at least fourteen times between that year and 1820.

The clarinet concertos of Duvernoy were also heard in America, though they do not appear on concerts until 1809. Between that year and 1820 there were six performances of concertos by Duvernoy, including three by the New York clarinetist Moffat, who seems to have introduced Duvernoy’s concertos to American audiences. Charles Duvernoy (1766-1845), like Lefèvre, was one of the original clarinet teachers at the Paris Conservatoire. Duvernoy wrote three clarinet concertos. In two instances we know exactly which of Duvernoy’s concertos was played: on February 3, 1809, Moffat performed “Duvernoy’s first Concerto Clarinetto (by particular desire),” and Mr. DeJonge played this same work on December 5, 1816, in Charleston.

Amand Vanderhagen (1753-1822), born in Belgium but a resident of Paris for most of his adult life, was a clarinetist who wrote at least one concerto and possibly as many as three. Concertos by Vanderhagen received three performances—all by Charleston clarinetists—between 1799 and 1809.

---


9 Weston, Clarinet Virtuosi, 64; Weston, More Clarinet Virtuosi, 91-92; Weston, Yesterday’s Clarinetists, 65-66.

10 New York Evening Post, January 25, 1809.

Single performances of clarinet concertos by the French composers Devienne, Solère, Vogel, and Dacosta also took place. François Devienne (1759-1803) was a bassoonist, flutist, and composer. He is not known to have written any original clarinet concertos, but twelve flute concertos published between 1782 and 1803 were also arranged for clarinet, and it was probably one of these that was played by the clarinetist Foucard in Charleston in 1803. The composer and clarinetist Etienne Solère (1753-1817) was a pupil of Joseph Beer and Michel in Paris. He was later a colleague of Lefèvre and Duvernoy as a teacher at the Paris Conservatoire at its opening in 1795, and played often at the Concert spirituel. Solère wrote seven clarinet concertos; one of these was performed in 1811, by the clarinetist Taylor, in Charleston. Johann Christoph Vogel (1756-1788) was German-born, but lived and worked in Paris from the age of twenty onward. He was a composer and horn player. While he is not known to have played the clarinet, he did help Michel write at least three of his clarinet concertos and some other works. Vogel wrote his own clarinet concertos as well; Jacobshagen lists at least thirteen, some of which were apparently published. One of these may have been

---


13 See Weston, Clarinet Virtuosi, 62-64; and More Clarinet Virtuosi, 241-242.

14 Weston, Clarinet Virtuosi, 60; More Clarinet Virtuosi, 278; and Yesterday’s Clarinetists, 186-87.

the work performed by Gallagher in Charleston in 1814. Isaac-Franco Dacosta (1778-1866) was a composer and clarinetist from Bordeaux who studied with Lefèvre and spent his career in Paris. He wrote four clarinet concertos, one of which was performed by Taylor in Charleston in 1816.

In addition to works by these French composers, clarinet concertos by German, Dutch, Bohemian and Scandinavian composers were heard in America. Ignaz Pleyel (1757-1831), whose symphonies and chamber music compositions were regular features on early American programs, was also a composer of a clarinet concerto, published in 1797. It is presumably this work that received four performances in America between 1799-1815, by a variety of clarinetists. Five performances of clarinet concertos by Stamitz took place between 1796 and 1803, all at the Moravian community of Nazareth, Pennsylvania. This composer is probably Carl Stamitz (1745-1801), whose ten clarinet concertos, published between 1777 and about 1799, were immensely popular in Paris and elsewhere. Five performances of clarinet concertos by Bernhard Henrik Crusell (1775-1838), all by the clarinetist Margaret Knittel, in various American cities between the years of 1816 and 1820. Crusell, a Swedish-Finnish clarinetist and composer, wrote three clarinet concertos, which were published between 1811 and

---

16 See Weston, Clarinet Virtuosi, 64-65; More Clarinet Virtuosi, 78-81; and Yesterday’s Clarinetists, 60.
Knittel must have performed the Concerto in E-flat (Op. 1, published in 1811) for her performances in 1816-18, but may have obtained a copy of the F minor concerto (Op. 5, published in 1818) by the time of her 1820 performance. The Bohemian composer Francesco Antonio Rosetti (born Franz Anton Rössler; c.1750-1792) wrote a total of five clarinet concertos. Four were published by Sieber in Paris between 1782-1786; a fifth is listed in the Breitkopf catalogue supplement for 1785-1787. Two performances of clarinet concertos by Rosetti have been documented, in 1796 and 1797, both at Nazareth. The clarinetist and composer Karl Andreas Goepfert (1768-1818) was active in Meiningen, Germany, and wrote four clarinet concertos, published between 1798 and 1813. Two performances of his concertos took place in America: one in 1812 in New York (the performer was Meline), and one in 1813 in Philadelphia (the performer was Carusi). A concerto by “Baer” was performed by Knittel in Philadelphia in 1816. Joseph Beer (1744-1812) was a clarinet performer and teacher active in Paris and elsewhere (he traveled widely). Beer wrote two clarinet concertos, published in 1785 and 1787. A clarinet concerto by Fodor was performed by William Frick at Nazareth in 1809. The exact identity of this composer is difficult to determine. There was a family of

---


21 See Weston, *More Clarinet Virtuosi*, 114-115; and *Yesterday’s Clarinetists*, 75.

22 The program for Carusi’s performance lists the composer’s name as “Gapford.”

Dutch musicians named Fodor, specifically three brothers whose compositional activities spanned the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and it may have been one of these who composed this concerto.\textsuperscript{24} It should be mentioned that the Moravian Music Archive in Bethlehem holds numerous string quartets and symphonies by Josephus Andreas Fodor (1751-1828), which were apparently performed by musicians in one or more of the Pennsylvania Moravian communities.

Some of the solo clarinet concertos played in early America were written by individuals who were themselves active performing clarinetists. Foremost among these was the clarinetist Auguste Gautier, who, in addition to performing concertos by other composers, played no fewer than twenty-six performances of his own concertos between 1795 and 1820. Current evidence does not allow an exact tally of Gautier’s concertos, but he must have written several, because occasionally a concert announcement indicates that the program will include a concerto “never performed yet….”\textsuperscript{25} His concertos were apparently not generally circulated, however, since they are not found in the repertory of other clarinetists. The New Hampshire clarinetist and teacher Horatio Garnet wrote at least one concerto, which he performed on December 14, 1791, at the Portsmouth theatre, introducing it as entr’acte music in the Comedy of The West Indian.\textsuperscript{26} Francis Schaffer (1722-1828), a Boston clarinetist, wrote a clarinet concerto that was performed five or six


\textsuperscript{25} Announcements for Gautier’s concerts in the \textit{New York Evening Post} of December 4, 1807, and April 11, 1809, provide examples of this type of wording.

times between 1796 and 1820, not only by Schaffer himself but also by the clarinetists Granger and Hart. The Frenchman Lewis Dubois, an active performer of clarinet concertos by a variety of composers, also performed a concerto of his own composition in Charleston in 1795. It is likely that other clarinetists (Wolff, for example) also wrote their own works, although no clear evidence survives.

Two concertos performed in early America deserve special mention because clarinet historians have not taken note of them before now: those by Latrobe and Pellisier. In 1797, and again in 1798, a “Clarinet Concerto No. 3” by Latrobe was performed at Nazareth, Pennsylvania. The composer of this work was Christian Ignatius Latrobe (1758-1836). Latrobe was an important figure in the Moravian church. A minister by profession, he was also a talented musician and music scholar. He wrote a number of anthems for use in the Moravian service, and was also an enthusiastic proponent of instrumental music. He wrote a set of piano sonatas that was approved by and dedicated to Haydn, and incorporated significant instrumental parts (including some

---

27 A 1796 performance is mentioned by Weston (More Clarinet Virtuosi, 219), but she does not state her source. The earliest performance documented by Sonneck was April 2, 1798 (see Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 306).

28 Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 30. Weston (More Clarinet Virtuosi, 89-90) mentions a 1795 performance in Philadelphia as well, but this has not been corroborated by other sources.

29 Many concert announcements in early American newspapers list only the title of the piece and the name of the performer. In these cases it is difficult to know if the implication is that the performer and composer are one and the same. Occasionally both performer and composer are listed. There seems to have been no standard method of writing concert announcements; the amount and type of information given varies from newspaper to newspaper, and even within a single newspaper. It is likely that typesetting and page layout considerations sometimes influenced what information was given.
for clarinet) into his anthems.\textsuperscript{30} Latrobe was also himself a clarinetist. While a student at the Moravian seminary in Barby, Germany, he learned to play a number of instruments.

As it pleased God to give me a genius for music, I learnt with great facility, to play such instruments as were wanting to make our little band more complete, and successively took up the violin, viola, violoncello, oboe, French-horn, trumpet, trombone, bassoon, clarionet, and double bass. Nor was much time required to gain skill sufficient for common use in accompanying others, which was all I aimed at; in most cases, discontinuing my performance on them, as others stepped in to take my place. The clarinet, however, I learnt to play tolerably well.\textsuperscript{31}

Latrobe’s son, the Reverend J.A. Latrobe, stated that his father played difficult passages from his own clarinet concertos.\textsuperscript{32} The “Clarinet Concerto No. 3” performed at Nazareth has unfortunately not been found, nor has any other clarinet concerto by Latrobe been mentioned or located.\textsuperscript{33} Latrobe himself never came to America; the work must have traveled across the ocean with one of his compatriots from Germany or England, the two countries where Latrobe spent his life.

A clarinet concerto by Pellisier was performed in Philadelphia on December 20, 1810, by the clarinetist Thibaut. The composer referred to here is probably Victor Pelisier (ca. 1740-50 - ca. 1820), a horn player who was active with early American theatre companies not only as a player but also as an arranger and composer. He is


known to have written operas, melodramas, and pantomimes, along with compiling *Pelissier’s Columbian Melodies* (Philadelphia, 1811-12), a book of piano arrangements;\(^{34}\) until now, however, it was not known that he composed a clarinet concerto. The work has not been located.

**Concertos With Multiple Soloists**

Nine performances of concertos with multiple soloists (including at least one clarinet) have been documented in America between 1792 and 1820. In 1792 a concerto for clarinet and bassoon was performed by Wolff and the bassoonist Youngblut in Philadelphia; unfortunately, the concert announcement does not specify the composer of this work. A “Symphonie [or Sinfonia] concertante” for two clarinets by Pleyel was played in Philadelphia by Dubois and Beranger in 1798, and by Dubois and Wolff in 1799. Dubois and Wolff also played it in Baltimore in 1799. The same work was played by Wolff and “a gentleman pupil” in Philadelphia in 1801; by Wolff and Thibaut in 1805; and by two unnamed clarinetists (one was probably Robert Bunyie) in Baltimore in 1816. No such original work by Pleyel is known.\(^{35}\) There was, however, a Sinfonie concertante by Pleyel that was arranged for two clarinets by Gebauer, and it may be this work that was played in early America.\(^{36}\) The exact date of this arrangement is not known, but it

---


\(^{36}\) Whistling and Hoffmeister *Handbuch der musikalischen Litteratur*, 20.
was published sometime between 1790 and 1817. The identity of the arranger is also not clear. There were four members of the Gebauer family: Michel-Joseph (1763-1812); François-René (1773-1845); Pierre-Paul (1775-?); and Etienne-François (1777-1823). All were wind players active in Paris in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. One of the Gebauers also arranged duos by Pleyel for two clarinets (see below).38

On March 6, 1818, a double clarinet concerto by Krommer was performed in Baltimore by the clarinetists Bunyie and Carusi, Jr.39 This could have been either of two concertos for two clarinets written by the Bohemian composer Franz Krommer (1759-1831): Op. 35 (?1802) and Op. 91 (?1815).40

A Sinfonia concertante for clarinet, flute and orchestra was performed in Baltimore on June 17, 1801, by the clarinetist Wolff and an amateur flutist. The name of the composer is given as Mozart.41 The work must have been an arrangement, since no original work by Mozart exists in this scoring.

On April 11, 1803, a concert was advertised in the New York Evening Post that was to include a “Concertante—for Messrs. Hewitt, Henry, Lynch, H. Gilfert, and Hoffman” by the composer Gyrowetz. A notice in the same newspaper on April 12, however, indicated that it was a “Concertante—for Messrs. Hewitt, Henry, Lynch, H.

37 The dates encompassed by Whistling and Hoffmeister’s work.
39 Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, March 2, 1818.
Gilfert, Nicholas and Pleyel.” In the latter advertisement the performer Hoffman’s name has been replaced by Nicholas; but surely the name Pleyel is that of the composer. The concert took place on April 14, and it cannot be determined whether the composer of the work was Gyrowetz or Pleyel, but in either case it was a work for a solo group of strings and winds, accompanied by orchestra, and Henry was undoubtedly the clarinetist. An advertisement for a later performance, on March 6, 1804, listed a “Concertante for Violin, Flute, Clarinet, Violoncello and Bassoon” played by Messrs. Hewitt, David, Henri [sic], Nicholas, and Hoffman.” The instrumentation is made explicit here, and this may well be the same work as that performed in 1803.

Miscellaneous Works with Orchestra

Some clarinet works were played that were not specifically titled “concerto,” but were probably performed with orchestral accompaniment. These carried titles such as “Solo on the Clarinet,” “Variations,” “Rondo,” and so on. The presence of an orchestra playing other works on these concerts, and the rarity of clarinet solos with piano accompaniment at this time (see below), suggest that these works were most likely accompanied by orchestra. Including the anonymous “solos” on the clarinet mentioned above, there was a total of sixty performances of this type of work between the years 1788 and 1820.

---

41 Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, June 16, 1801.

42 New York Evening Post, February 29, 1804.
Many of these works were in a theme and variations format; pieces of this type that were performed by American clarinetists included works by Michel, Gautier, Andral, Voyt, Duvernoy, Kuffner (or Kaffner), Buhler, Pleyel, Hoermann, Tauber, Norton, Langhert, Holden, and Solère, among others. A few of these composers have been discussed above. Gautier seems to have written, in addition to concertos, several sets of variations (including one on the tune “Robin Adair” and one on a Tyrolean melody), and a “Recitation and Rondo.” The Charleston clarinetist Andral also apparently wrote a set of variations, which he performed in 1813. Norton, a Boston clarinetist, wrote variations on the air, “The Ploughboy,” which he performed in 1817. A “Song [or Romance] of Joseph” was performed in Charleston twice, in 1816 and 1817, by Andral; the composer of this work is listed variously as “Woght” and “Voyt.” This was perhaps Emil Vogt, a German clarinetist who wrote an “Air de Joseph varié” published by Janet. The clarinetist Hart played a set of variations by Duvernoy while visiting New York in 1817.

Margaret Knittel frequently played sets of variations on her programs. She performed a set by Kuffner (or Kaffner) on two occasions, in 1818 in Baltimore, and in

---


47 *New York Evening Post*, July 5, 1817.
1820 in Charleston. This was probably the composer Joseph Küffner (1776-1856).\footnote{Information about Küffner and his compositions is found in Matthias Henke, “Küffner, Joseph (Georg),” \textit{Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart}, ed. Ludwig Finscher, 2nd ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), Personenteil 3: 800-802; Fétis, \textit{Biographie universelle}, 5:126-27; and Robert Eitner, \textit{Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellenlexicon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts} (Leipzig, 1898-1904; repr. New York: Musurgia, 1947), 5:463-64.} In addition to two clarinet quintets (discussed below) and other chamber music including the clarinet, Küffner wrote a \textit{Fantaisie sur Freischütz} (published by Seeling, now lost) and a \textit{Potpourri sur un thème suisse (Alpenlied)}, Op. 190 (published by Schott around 1827).\footnote{John P. Newhill, “Küffner’s Works for Clarinet,” \textit{The Clarinet}, vol. 13, no. 4 (Summer 1986), 35.} Exact titles of the works Knittel played on her programs are not specified in the announcements, but perhaps she performed the \textit{Freischütz} variations. Knittel also played numerous performances of a set of variations by Francis Buhler (in some performances called “The [favorite, or celebrated] Tyrolean [or Tyrolese, or Tyrolesian] Air, with variations”). The composer may be Franz Bühler (1760-1823). Bühler wrote primarily sacred music; among his compositions, however, is a “Grand Sonate pour le piano forte avec le clarinet concertant ou violon à II. violons, II. cors de chasse I. viole & basse” published in 1804.\footnote{See Theodor Wohnhaas, “Bühler, Franz,” \textit{Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart}, ed. Ludwig Finscher, 2nd ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), Personenteil 3:1222; also Eitner, \textit{Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellenlexicon}, 2:226-27.} Though titled “sonata,” this odd work was apparently scored for orchestra, or at least a large chamber ensemble. Knittel’s Tyrolean Variations may come from this work, or may be a separate composition by Bühler that has not been noted in sources. On one occasion in 1816 Knittel played a set of variations by a composer named Tauber. Gerber lists a J.F. Tauber (or Taubert, ca. 1750-1803) who was a flutist and
composer active in Germany. His compositions seem to have been solely for the flute, but they include numerous sets of variations with orchestra, and it may be that Knittel played a clarinet adaptation of one of these. Late in 1816, on a trip to Baltimore, she played a set of “Variations, (Tyrolese air, merrily)” by a composer identified on the program announcement as Hoermann. This composer is difficult to identify. Eitner lists a number of composers with the last name of “Hörmann,” but does not give enough detail to determine if any of these might be identified as the composer on Knittel’s program.

By the time she was in Charleston, in 1820, Knittel played several programs that included variations by “Soller” (Solère), Mozart (a “Tyrolese Waltz, with variations”), and perhaps even of her own composition.

Other works with orchestra that were performed in the early nineteenth century remain unidentified. Dubois played an “Overture to Iphegenia, (Pot-pouri),” by Gluck, on a Charleston concert in 1808; in the same city in 1812, Andral performed a set of variations by Pleyel. In 1817, Geanty performed a “Solo” by a composer listed as “Gibanier” on a concert in Baltimore, and in Annapolis there was another “Solo” by Rodi (the performer may have been Carusi). The latter program also included violin works by the same composer, so perhaps the composer was Rode. In 1818, Meline played

---


53 On November 6, 1820, Knittel’s concert at Concert-Hall in Charleston included a composition cryptically listed as “Tryolcae (Clarionet)” (perhaps another example of Knittel’s obsession with “Tyrolean” works?); the layout of the newspaper announcement suggests that Knittel was not only the performer but the composer of this work.
variations by a composer named Langhert, and in 1819 Kelly played an “Irish Air, with variations,” by Holden.

**Chamber Music**

Chamber music including the clarinet appeared on American concert programs starting in the late 1780s. Specific types included duets for two clarinets, and for violin and clarinet; trios for various combinations including the clarinet; trios and quartets for clarinets and horns; clarinet quartets (clarinet, violin, viola, and cello); and quintets for various combinations. Works for clarinet and piano (or harp) were rare.

By far the most popular instrumental chamber music combination was the clarinet quartet (that is, clarinet, violin, viola, and cello). Fifty-seven performances of clarinet quartets (twenty-five of these by unspecified composers) took place between 1789 and 1820. Quartets for which composers’ names are specified include works by Petit, Pleyel, Pichl, Vogel, Michel, “Furche” (perhaps Fuchs), Hoffman, Duvernoy, Goepfert, Lefèvre, and others. Some of these composers have already been identified in the section on concertos. Many of them wrote numerous quartets, and because program announcements do not provide the necessary details, it is rarely possible to determine the specific quartet played at a given performance. The earliest performance of a clarinet quartet by an identifiable composer was in 1793, when the clarinettist Foucard played a “Quartetto (Petit) with variations for the clarinet” on a concert in Philadelphia. The wording of the

---

54 On the popularity of this combination in Europe, see Rice, *The Classical Clarinet*, 194-95.

55 Sonneck, *Early Concert Life*, 139.
program suggests that “Petit” was the work’s composer, and this reference may be to the violinist Petit, who performed on this and many other concerts. Clarinet quartets by Pleyel appeared five times on concert programs between 1793 and 1809, although Pleyel is not otherwise known to have composed works for this instrumentation. Michel wrote eighteen clarinet quartets and twelve “airs variés” for clarinet, violin, viola and basso; individual quartets of his were performed four times between 1801 and 1811. Two performances each of quartets by the composers Pichl, Duvernoy, and Goepfert were played in early America. Vaclav Pichl has been mentioned in Chapter Three as a composer of Parthien played frequently by the Moravians; he also composed three clarinet quartets that were published as his Opus 16 in Berlin in 1790. Pichl’s clarinet quartets were performed twice at Nazareth: in 1796 and 1798 (the latter was a performance of his “Clarinet Quartet No. 1”). Duvernoy composed three quartets, published in Paris between about 1806 and 1814; one or more of these were performed by the clarinetist Hart in Boston in 1817. Goepfert composed six clarinet quartets, published by André as Opp. 2, 16, and 36, and one or more of these were performed in Annapolis and Baltimore in 1817, perhaps by Carusi. The program for the Baltimore


57 Rice, “Yost, Michel,” Works-List. Weston notes that some of Michel’s quartets were composed with Vogel’s help; see More Clarinet Virtuosi, 278.


59 Weston, More Clarinet Virtuosi, 92.

60 Ibid., 114.
performance specifies the work as “Quartetto, with Clarinet Obligato, in which will be introduced ‘I have lov’d thee, dearly lov’d thee’.”

Single performances of clarinet quartets by other composers also took place. In 1801 the Boston clarinetist Granger performed a quartet by Vogel. Vogel is not known to have composed clarinet quartets, but he did write quartets for other solo instruments (bassoon, flute, and horn) with string trio. Perhaps Granger played an adaptation of one of these. A “Quartetto, on the Clarinet” by “Furche” was performed in Charleston by an amateur in 1803; the composer referred to here may be Georg Fuchs (1752-1821), a German-born clarinetist and composer who spent most of his career in Paris. Fuchs composed a large number of quartets, of various instrumentations, that involve the clarinet. These include six or more for clarinet and string trio, as well as works for clarinet, bassoon, horn and cello; clarinet, bassoon and two horns; two clarinet, viola and bass; and two clarinets and two horns. The 1803 concert announcement is not detailed enough to identify which of these quartets might have been played. Margaret Knittel played a clarinet quartet by Hoffman in Philadelphia in 1816; this composer has not been specifically identified. Knittel also played a quartet by “Kruiffer” (perhaps a misprint

---

61 Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, July 16, 1817.


63 Weston, More Clarinet Virtuosi, 106; also Fétis, Biographie universelle, 3: 351.

64 There were many musicians of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by the name of Hofmann, so tracing this composer and work is difficult. One possible identification may be Frédéric Hoffmann (1791-after 1857), a violinist who studied in Paris as a pupil of Rodolphe Kreutzer from about 1808-1811, and then moved to Germany where he made his career. Fétis notes that he published one clarinet concerto, so perhaps he wrote other clarinet works as well. See Fétis, Biographie universelle, 4:350.
for Küffner) in New York in 1817, but this work has not been traced. In 1817 Knittel performed a clarinet quartet by Lefèvre in Baltimore; Lefèvre is known to have written at least six clarinet quartets.\textsuperscript{65}

The clarinet duet occupied the next most popular position in early America, with twenty-one performances (seven by unspecified composers) between 1793 and 1820. Composers of clarinet duets performed in early America included Michel, Grenser, Pleyel, and David Moritz Michael. Clarinet duets were especially popular on concerts at Nazareth, although they were also occasionally performed in larger cities like Boston and Philadelphia. Duets for clarinet and violin, including some by Michel, were performed from time to time as well. The clarinet duets of Grenser and David Moritz Michael were performed exclusively by the Moravians; these have been discussed in Chapter Three. Michel wrote a total of forty-eight duos and twelve “airs variés” for two clarinets.\textsuperscript{66} These were published as Opp. 1-7, 10, and 12 by various Parisian, English, and German publishers between 1785 and 1800. In addition there is a Duo Concertante for two clarinets that was never published.\textsuperscript{67} Michel also published twelve duos (Op. 8, in 1785, and Op. 9, in 1799) for clarinet and violin.\textsuperscript{68} Pleyel did not compose any original duos.


\textsuperscript{67} Weston, \textit{More Clarinet Virtuosi}, 278; \textit{Yesterday’s Clarinetists}, 186.

\textsuperscript{68} Ibid.
for two clarinets. In May of 1794, however, Harrison of New York advertised for sale “Twelve Duets for 2 Clarinets adapted from Pleyel by Mr. Priest of the New Theatre, Philadelphia,” and perhaps it was these that were performed in early America. Another possibility (more remote) is that these were the duets arranged by Gebauer (see above) from a number of movements of Pleyel’s violin duos.

Trios of various instrumentations including the clarinet were performed from time to time in early America, though they were not frequent. In 1799 a trio for the unusual combination of clarinet, violin and lute was performed in Baltimore. The clarinetist was Wolff, while Dubois apparently played the lute part. No composer’s name was given in the concert announcement. A trio for two clarinets and violin was played in Baltimore in 1812; the clarinetists are not specified, nor is the composer. In Charleston in 1815, an “Extraordinary Trio, by three Clarionets” was played by Messrs. Andral, Foucard, and Labatut. This is indeed extraordinary, since it is the first and only documented performance of a work for this combination in early America. A large number of works for three clarinets were written by European composers in the nineteenth century; it is

71 See Wolfgang Suppan, ed., “Preface” to Sechs Duos für 2 Klarinetten (Vienna, Universal Edition UE 18262, 1991[?]). Suppan does not indicate who the original publisher of these arrangements was, nor the date of publication; he states only that “at around 1800 the manuscripts [sic] were written in Paris.” He seems to be referring here to prints of the Gebauer arrangements, but this is not completely clear.
72 Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 57.
73 Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, October 26, 1812.
74 Hindman, 370.
unfortunate that the name of the composer of the work performed in Charleston is not known. A trio for clarinet, violin, and cello by Schmitt was performed in 1817 in Boston by the clarinetist Hart. Gerber lists a Nicol Schmitt who was a bassoonist and composer in Paris, who wrote various works including the clarinet; he lists no trios, however. Fétis confirms Gerber’s account, adding that Schmitt was a flutist and clarinetist as well as a bassoonist, and was active in Paris as a member of the Gardes-Françaises and a theater musician from about 1779 to 1802. Fétis also lists no trios. However, a composer by the name of N. Schmitt appears in Whistling and Hoffmeister’s 1817 list of publications, and among his works are five trios for clarinet, violin, and cello or bassoon that were published in Paris by Sieber sometime after 1790.

Duos, trios and quartets for clarinets and horns were sometimes performed on early American concert programs. This combination, really a subdivision of the Harmoniemusik ensemble, had a long tradition in England and Germany. It was used not only on military occasions, but was found in London’s pleasure gardens, where musicians performed on these instruments for the entertainment of patrons. It is not surprising, then, that these traditions were transferred to America with British and German troops

---

75 *Independent Chronicle*, August 20, 1817.
and citizens. Given the high degree of military presence, and the existence of pleasure gardens in major American cities, works for clarinets and horns were probably played even more frequently than documentary evidence suggests. The earliest concert performance of a work of this type was apparently in 1788, when a “Piece for Clarinetts and horn” was played on a concert in Boston. 80 On a Philadelphia concert in 1798, “several much admired airs on the French horn and clarinet” were played by the clarinetist Dubois and the horn player Collet; 81 and in Boston in the same year, a trio for two horns and clarinet was performed by the clarinetist Schaffer, with Mr. and Mrs. Rosier playing the horn parts. 82 In Nazareth, as has already been noted in Chapter Three, works for two clarinets and two horns were common on concerts at least as early as 1796 until the end of the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, the names of composers of these works are never mentioned in the sources.

Between 1795 and 1820, nine performances of quintets for clarinet and other instruments have been documented. In 1795, the clarinetist Henri (Henry) appeared in Hartford, Connecticut playing a “Quintette” with the string players Relain, Siruo, Abel and Rosindal. 83 The instrumentation of the work is not given, and it could be that Henry performed not as a clarinetist but as a second violinist in this work; an earlier work on the program was a “Violin Quartette by Monsr’s. Relain, Henry, Siruo and Rosindal.”

80 Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 282.
81 Ibid., 147-48.
82 Ibid., 306.
83 Ibid., 323.
suggesting that Henry was also a violinist. The same is true for a Quintet performed by
Henry and colleagues in New York in 1800.\textsuperscript{84} The first performance of a quintet
definitely including the clarinet was given on March 19, 1812 in Philadelphia, when a
“Quintetto, 2 Clarinetts, 2 French Horns, and Violin,” composed by Carusi, was
performed. The clarinetists may have been two of the “three Masters Carusi” listed
among the performers of the work.\textsuperscript{85} A “Quintetto, Clarionet, Violin, two Tenors and
Bass” by Wranitzky was performed in 1818 in Baltimore, perhaps by the clarinetist
Carusi, Jr.\textsuperscript{86} Paul Wranitzky (1756-1808) is not known to have composed any works for
this combination. He did, however, compose six quintets for oboe, violin, two violas, and
cello (published in 1789),\textsuperscript{87} and perhaps the work performed in Baltimore was an
arrangement of one of these. The clarinetist Margaret Knittel often performed clarinet
quintets on her concerts between 1816 and 1820. The composers of these quintets are
variously listed in newspaper announcements as F. Haffner,\textsuperscript{88} Kuffner,\textsuperscript{90} Kruiffer,\textsuperscript{90} and

\textsuperscript{84} Ibid., 247.

\textsuperscript{85} Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser, March 18, 1812.

\textsuperscript{86} Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, January 2, 1818.

\textsuperscript{87} Milan Postolka and Roger Hickman, “Wranitzky, Paul,” The New Grove Dictionary of Music and

\textsuperscript{88} See Poulson’s Daily American Advertiser, November 16, 1816.

\textsuperscript{89} See the Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, December 18, 1816; and the Charleston
Courier, October 23, 1820.

\textsuperscript{90} See the New York Evening Post, March 8, 1817. This announcement is full of misprints, and identifies
this piece as a “Grand Quertello for the Clarion.” It is easy to imagine how a typesetter, reading from
handwritten copy (perhaps in an unfamiliar and difficult German script?), might read “Knüffer” as
“Kruiffer.”
Knuffer,\textsuperscript{91} and it may be that these all refer to the same composer: Joseph Küffner (1776-1856), whose name has already been mentioned above. Küffner is known to have written two Clarinet Quintets, Opp. 32 and 33, both published in 1815.\textsuperscript{92}

Concert performances of works for clarinet and piano seem to have been rare in early America. A work entitled “Duetti, arranged for the Piano Forte and Clarinet” by John Christopher Moller was performed by Wolff (with Miss Moller at the piano) in Philadelphia in 1792.\textsuperscript{93} In 1809 the “Brazil Waltz” was performed in New York by an unnamed clarinetist, with Mr. Weklen at the piano.\textsuperscript{94} There was a work written and published by Peter Weldon (perhaps the pianist in this performance) entitled “Favorite waltz Brazilense.” It was first published in 1810 and subsequently appeared in at least seven more editions up to 1821.\textsuperscript{95} All of the editions have the flute as the solo instrument printed in the score, but the title pages state that the work is for “piano forte, with an

\textsuperscript{91} New York Evening Post, April 21, 1817. This announcement lists a “Grand Quintetto for clarinet” with the composer’s name given as Sacchini; immediately below it is a vocal work with the composer “Knuffer.” I speculate that the typesetter accidentally reversed the names of the two composers, and that “Knuffer” [Küffner] is actually the composer of the clarinet quintet, while Sacchini is the composer of the vocal work. Sacchini’s vocal works were frequently sung on concerts in this period.

\textsuperscript{92} Matthias Henke, “Küffner, Joseph (Georg),” Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. Ludwig Finscher, 2nd ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), Personenteil 3:800-802; see also Rice, The Clarinet in the Classical Period, 195; Eitner 5:464; Fétis 5:126-27; and Whistling and Hoffmeister (1817), 198. Henke lists the quintets as for clarinet and string quartet, but Rice notes that they are for clarinet, violin, two violas, and cello. A description of the quintets, and a sampling of themes, is given in Newhill “Küffner’s Works for Clarinet,” 34.

\textsuperscript{93} Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 89.

\textsuperscript{94} New York Evening Post, October 9, 1809.

\textsuperscript{95} Wolfe, Secular Music in America, 3: 949.
accompaniment for the flute, clarinet, or violin.”96 Another work for clarinet and piano was performed in New York in 1809, when the clarinetist Moffat performed a “Concertante, Piano Forte & Clarionette” (composer unspecified) with Mr. Deshavie.97 In 1820 there were two performances of a set of variations on “Is there a heart that never lov’d” for clarinet and piano, both given in New York by Auguste Gautier and the pianist Charles Thibaut (the work was composed by Gautier).98 Two performances of works for clarinet and harp have been documented. In New York in 1819 Gautier and “a young lady” harpist performed a “Fantaisie and variations on the Italian air Guarda mi un poco.”99 The composer’s name is not clearly decipherable in the newspaper advertisement, but it may have been “B. Henry,” whose “Variations for clarinet and harp” were played in 1820 in New York, again by Gautier (this time the harpist was Miss Gauffreau).100

Mention should be made of a work by Joseph C. Taws, entitled “Air and Variations” and originally published about 1820 by George Blake of Philadelphia. The title page of this work indicates that it is “for the Piano Forte, with an accompaniment for the Flute or Violin and Violoncello.” At the bottom of the title page is the indication,

---

96 Copies of this work are held in numerous locations; see Wolfe. Secular Music in America, 3:949 for details. I examined five editions available at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts (Am.1-I).

97 New York Evening Post, December 14, 1809.

98 New York Evening Post, January 25, 1820; and August 29-30, 1820.

99 New York Evening Post, April 24, 1819.

100 New York Evening Post, December 2, 1820.
“N.B. The Accompaniment is also arranged for the Clarinet.” The clarinet part to this piece is for “B Clarinetto in F,” that is, a B-flat clarinet playing in the written key of F major. The part is technically sophisticated, and its range extends regularly to f‴ (and in one place, to g‴). No public performances of this work have been documented, but it deserves mention as an early work for clarinet and piano by an American composer.

**Songs and Airs with Clarinet Obbligato**

Solo vocal works with clarinet obbligato accompaniment were performed in concert with some regularity in early America beginning in 1794. In most cases at least the titles of the songs, if not the names of composers, are given in newspaper announcements. For example, in January of 1794, and again in March of that year, the singer Mrs. Hodgkinson sang a song entitled “Sympathetic echo,” with clarinet obbligato (although the clarinetist’s name is not given). The clarinetist Wolff accompanied Mrs. Marshall in a “New Song” (title and composer not indicated) on a concert in Philadelphia in 1796, and in 1799 he played for Miss Broadhurst, who sang the song “Spirit of the blest.” A Boston concert in 1801 included an “Air… accompanied on the Oboe, clarinet, tenor and bass,” sung (and composed) by Trajetta, as well as Storace’s song with

---

101 I examined the copies held by the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts (AM1-I). The NYPL’s holdings include four editions of the work: those of George Blake (Philadelphia, ca. 1820); Bacon & Co. (Philadelphia, 1820?); J.G. Klemm (Philadelphia, 1822-24); and Graupner (Boston, 1826-35). Of these, only the Klemm edition has surviving parts for the accompanying instruments (flute or violin, clarinet, and “basso”). Graupner’s edition does not mention clarinet on the title page.


103 Ibid., 146.

104 Ibid., 150.
clarinet obbligato, “My plaint in no one pity moves,” sung by Mrs. Graupner; in both songs the clarinetist was Granger. In 1802, the New York singer Madame Deseze performed “The Air de Gugliani… with an additional accompaniment for a violin principale, which Mr. Gautier will execute on the clarinet.” Madame Deseze and Gautier also performed an unidentified song with clarinet obbligato in 1805. In the same year in Boston, Mrs. Graupner sang the song “Aeolian harp,” with Granger accompanying on the clarinet. In March of 1808, a Boston theatre announcement noted that the evening’s performance of the Virgin of the Sun would include the song “Softly waft ye Southern breezes,” sung by Mrs. Graupner, with the clarinet obbligato played by Moffat. Moffat was again the clarinet accompanist, this time in New York, for two song performances in 1809: in January of that year he accompanied Miss Dellinger in a concert performance of a song from the opera Lodoiska; and in February he accompanied Mrs. Clark on the song, “Deep in my breast.” In April of 1809, also in New York, the acclaimed Mrs. Oldmixon sang the song “Too happy when Edward was

105 Independent Chronicle, May 14-18, 1801.

106 New York Evening Post, February 28 and March 8, 1802.

107 Ibid., December 12, 1805.

108 Johnson, Musical Interludes, 61. A copy of an early printed edition of this song is found in the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. (M1.A1S), dated ca. 1806 and printed by G. Graupner. The song was composed by Francis Schaffer. The print shows the violin as the obbligato instrument, but it is easily playable on the clarinet as well.

109 Independent Chronicle, March 21, 1808. Graupner and Moffat also performed this song on July 25, 1811; see the Independent Chronicle, July 25, 1811.

110 New York Evening Post, January 17, 1809. The song may have been “Sweet bird,” which Dellinger and Moffat again performed on July 9, 1811 in New York; see the New York Evening Post, July 9, 1811.

111 Ibid., January 25, 1809.
kind,” with Mr. Gentil playing the clarinet obbligato. In Philadelphia in 1814, on a grand concert of sacred music (“the band will consist of upward of a hundred performers”), the clarinetist Thibault accompanied a “lady amateur” in a performance of Benjamin Carr’s song, “As pants the heart.” In the summer of 1819 the singer Mr. Wilkinson gave a concert in New York that included songs “accompanied by two famous clarionets.” The newspaper announcement lists song titles, but does not specify which songs are to involve the (unnamed) clarinetists.

**Harmoniemusik**

As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, *Harmoniemusik* not only formed an important part of the repertory of military music but also played a significant role in American concert life, especially that of the Moravians. Outside of the Moravian communities, it was performed in concert in the larger American cities as well. For example, the clarinetist Henry’s concert in Philadelphia in November of 1794 included not only a clarinet concerto and other concert music, but also “Two airs in harmony, by eight wind instruments.” Likewise, a Philadelphia concert of February, 1799, included among concertos, songs, etc., a “Grande ariette from L’Amant Statue, arranged for two clarinets, two French horns, and two bassoons.” This is a wind arrangement of a vocal

---

112 Ibid., April 11, 1809.

113 *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, April 12, 1814.

114 *New York Evening Post*, August 19, 1819.

number from an opera by Dalyrac.\textsuperscript{116} Concerts in Boston sometimes included Harmoniemusik; the clarinetist Granger participated in performances of “Armonia” or “Harmony” pieces by Pleyel and Rosetti in the Spring of 1801,\textsuperscript{117} and a “Harmony” by Rosetti was again performed in Boston in November of the same year.\textsuperscript{118} “Select Pieces, for Wind Instruments,” by Gyrowetz, were performed by the clarinetists Wolff, Thibault, and colleagues in Philadelphia in 1803;\textsuperscript{119} and “Harmony Pieces on Wind Instruments” were played by Wolff and colleagues in 1807.\textsuperscript{120} The “Overture to ‘Le petit matelot’ (by wind Instruments)” was performed by Dubois and other players in Charleston in 1808.\textsuperscript{121} In the same city in 1814, the “Overture, Panurge, with wind instruments” was played on the clarinetist Labatut’s concert.\textsuperscript{122}

Music for Amateurs

The previous sections in this chapter have focused primarily on music performed in concert by professional clarinetists. There was a certain amount of music published for use by amateurs as well. Besides clarinet tutors (discussed in detail in Chapter Four),

\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., 149. Many of Dalyrac’s vocal works were arranged for Harmonie ensemble; see Eitner (1817), 28.

\textsuperscript{117} Independent Chronicle, April 9-13 and April 30-May 4, 1801.

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., November 2-5, 1801.

\textsuperscript{119} Poulson’s Daily American Advertiser, March 18, 1803.

\textsuperscript{120} Ibid., April 11, 1807.

\textsuperscript{121} Hindman, 341.

\textsuperscript{122} Ibid., 368-69. The concert announcement identifies the composer of this work as “Gretzy.” An “Ouverture de Panurge arr. à grande Harmonie” was published in Paris by Sieber; see Eitner (1817), 34.
which are obviously intended for instructional purposes, there were tunebooks and duets, which may have been used as supplemental material in lessons or may have been played from purely for pleasure at home. The earliest clarinet tunebook was *The Philadelphia Pocket Companion for the Guittar or Clarinet* printed in 1794 by Carr of Philadelphia.\(^{123}\) The title page indicates that it was “a Collection of the most favorite Songs &c selected from European Performances and Publications of the last twelvemonth,” and although it was intended to be an annual publication, only this first volume is known to have appeared.\(^{124}\) The *Pocket Companion* consists largely of unaccompanied single-line melodies of songs (most of which are actually printed with their words) by various composers. Several of the pieces are obviously meant specifically for guitar, since they contain occasional chords, but most of the collection seems to be intended for melodic playing only. Another collection of this type is *Aitken’s Fountain of Music*, published somewhere between 1807 and 1811.\(^{125}\) The title page indicates that the collection is for the flute, clarinet, and violin, and although the subtitle states that it includes duets, it is in fact simply a book of 100 single-line tunes.\(^{126}\) A slightly later tunebook is *Blake’s*

\(^{123}\) *Early American Imprints, # 27517.*

\(^{124}\) Benjamin Richard Compton, “Amateur Instrumental Music in America, 1765 to 1810” (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 1979), 143.

\(^{125}\) Dating according to Wolfe, *Secular Music in America*, 1:6. I examined two copies of this collection. The copy held by Columbia University, Hunt-Berol Sheet Music Collection, is dated 1808, according to Columbia’s shelf slip. This very fragile copy is bound in sheets of old newspaper (from Albany, 1813), and bears the ink inscriptions “William W. Denison’s Book, 1813” and “William Wheeler Denison” on this binding. The American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, holds a less fragile copy; it differs from the Columbia copy, however, in that it incorporates “Aitken’s Flute Preceptor” on pages 1-12, and then presents tune numbers 49-96 (pp. 13-24). Page 25 contains directions for double tonguing on the flute.

\(^{126}\) Number 33 is titled “Begone dull care a Duett,” but only one line is given.
Evening Companion, for the “flute, clarinet, violin or flagelet,” published in two volumes of six books each in 1808-13 (volume I, books 1-6) and 1821-26 (volume II, books 7-12). It contains a large number of tunes.127

Numerous sets of clarinet duets were published in early America, and these may have been marketed for amateurs. In May of 1794, Harrison of New York advertised “TWELVE DUETTS FOR 2 CLARINETS adapted from Pleyel by Mr. Priest of the New Theatre, Philadelphia.”128 The arranger of these duets was probably William Priest, a bassoonist who was active in various theatre orchestras.129 In 1799 or 1800 Benjamin Carr’s Dead March and Monody, which had been written for and performed at George Washington’s funeral on December 26, 1799, was published in an edition that included not only a score for piano (and voice), but also a two-staff arrangement for “two flutes, violins, clarinetts, or guitars.”130 Sometime between 1801 and 1804, George Willig of Philadelphia published New Instructions for the German Flute, which contained “Jefferson’s March,” for two clarinets, two flutes, or two violins.131 An important collection was Blake’s Collection of Duetts for Two Flutes, Clarinets, or Violins published around 1807 by George Blake of Philadelphia, who also published the earliest

127 For a complete listing of contents, see Wolfe, Secular Music in America, 1:81-87. I examined a copy held by the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts (Mus. Res. *MYR).


129 For more about Priest see Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 144-45 and 156. Priest wrote a memoir entitled “Travels in the United States of America, commencing in the year 1793, and ending in 1797” (London, 1802).

130 I examined the copy held at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.

131 Wolfe, Secular Music in America, 1:448.
American clarinet tutor (see Chapter Four). Blake’s *Duetts* were “selected and arranged from the works of the best authors,” as the title page states; these authors include Mozart, Pleyel, Shield, Wragg, Vanderhagen, and a few others. These duets assume a fairly sophisticated level of technical skill on the part of the performer, and are obviously intended for the more advanced amateur. In 1811 the Boston publisher Gottlieb Graupner issued *Twenty Five Duettinos for Two Clarinet’s*. The title page indicates that the compositions in this collection, consisting of “Favourite Songs, Marches & Waltzes,” were selected by the clarinetist Frederick Granger. This collection includes arrangements from popular stage works and anonymous duets, as well as works by Mozart, the clarinetist Francis C. Schaffer, and by Granger himself. All are moderately difficult. In 1813, Blake of Philadelphia published another set of clarinet duets, titled *Blake’s Military Amusement*; no copy of this survives, however. Riley of New York published *Three duetts for flutes or clarinets, “By a professor,”* in 1816. This collection also contained an added bass part, “to form trios ad libitum.”

Another large class of amateur music comprises songs for voice and piano, in which the vocal line was also printed for optional instruments (most commonly flute,

---

132 I examined a copy of *Blake’s Collection of Duetts* held at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts (JPG 78-22).


134 Wolfe, *Secular Music in America*, 1:87. The Baltimore firm of Neal, Willis & Cole advertised in the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser* of September 30, 1813 that they had “a few more copies of Blake’s Military Amusement, for 2 Clarionets.”

clarinet, violin, or guitar). Between the years 1801 and 1820, about seventy publications of this type were issued that include optional clarinet parts. Many of these were songs popular at the time in theatres, and the title pages of the sheet music often mention the name of a singer whose rendition of the song was well known. In this type of publication, the instrumental lines are normally printed at the end of the piano-vocal score, and are usually transposed into a key that is comfortable for the instrumentalist; this key may or may not enable the instrumentalist to play the tune along with the piano, as a substitute for the voice part. For example, the song “From thee, Eliza, I must go,” published in McCulloch’s *Selected Music* (1807), includes an additional instrumental part designated for “clarinet, flute, or guitar.” The piano-vocal score is in the key of B-flat major, while the added instrumental line is given in the written key of C major. The lack of sharps or flats in the latter key signature would make the tune easy for any instrumentalist to play alone; however, only the clarinetist with an instrument pitched in B-flat (i.e., sounding a step lower than written) could play directly from this music and match the key of the piano score. The flutist or guitarist—or, for that matter, the clarinetist with an instrument pitched in C, as was not uncommon—would need to transpose the melody back into the awkward key of B-flat in order to play with the piano. This suggests that perhaps these instrumental parts were meant to be played alone, and

---

136 This number is calculated from Wolfe, *Secular Music in America*.


138 I examined a copy of this song held by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Cal.M1805).
not necessarily used as a substitute for the voice. While most of these songs were published singly, a number of them appeared in collections or serial publications. McCulloch’s *Selected Music* (1807) has already been mentioned. Beginning in 1819 some songs with optional clarinet parts were printed in the *Lady’s and Gentleman’s Weekly Literary Museum and Musical Magazine*, a serial published in Philadelphia from 1817 to 1820.139

“The New Favorite Federal Song,” published in 1798 by Carr of Philadelphia, includes not only an additional instrumental transposition of the vocal line for flute or violin, but also a suggestion that other instruments might take part as well. At the head of the piano introduction (where one might expect to find a tempo marking), is the designation, “For the Voice, Piano Forte, Guittar and Clarinett.” The way in which the clarinet and guitar are meant to participate is not specified; perhaps they were to fill out the instrumentation by doubling the piano harmonies and the vocal melody *ad libitum*. Small cue notes are given in the piano’s right hand, which also serves as the vocal part, and these may have been played by pianist or by the added instrumentalists. At any rate, the implication seems to be that the instrumentation of this song is flexible.140

A number of publications contained works for instrumental ensembles that included the clarinet. Several of these, such as Holyoke’s *Instrumental Assistant* (volume 1, 1800; volume 2; 1807), Herrick’s *Instrumental Preceptor* (1807), and Shaw’s *For the gentlemen* (1807), fall into the category of tutors, and as such are discussed in Chapter


Five. “The Vermont March” appeared in Hill’s *A number of original airs, duetto’s and trio’s*, published in Northampton around 1803; it is scored for two clarinets and bassoon.\(^{141}\) Timothy Olmstead’s *Martial Music*, published in Albany, New York in 1807, contains trios generically scored for “primo,” “secundo,” and “bass”; in a few cases, however, clarinets are specified in the instrumentation. Moreover, the full title of the publication indicates that the trios are “familiar and easy to perform on the clarinet, oboe, bassoon, &c.”\(^{142}\) Another collection, entitled *National Martial Music and Songs*, published in Philadelphia in 1809, includes two wind ensemble works that involve the clarinet: “Freedom and peace,” with music by Raynor Taylor, scored for two clarinets, two horns, and bass; and “When brazen trumpets,” set for two clarinets, flute, two trumpets, two horns, timpani, and two bassoons.\(^{143}\)

A few pieces for small wind ensemble including the clarinet were published individually. For example, “Gov. Sullivan’s march” by U.K. Hill was published in 1807-1808 in an edition for two clarinets, bassoon, and tenoroon.\(^{144}\) “President Madison’s


\(^{143}\) *National / Martial Music and Songs: / being the / Songs, Marches, and Music in Score, / with some / Poetical Compositions / offered to the / Militia Military Association of Philadelphia, / In June, Eighteen Hundred and Eight / on the Award of a Medal for the Best National Song or Martial Tune. / Arranged and Adapted / for Full Performance, with Transpositions for Single Instruments. / Philadelphia: / Printed and Published by W. McCulloch, 306, Market-Street. / June, 1809*. I examined a copy held at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

\(^{144}\) Wolfe *Secular Music in America*, 1:385.
march,” by C. Southgate, was published in 1809 “for a full band;” it is scored for two clarinets, two horns, and “basso” (bassoon).145

In addition to Weldon’s “Brazil Waltz,” and Taws’ “Air and Variations,” mentioned above, a few other clarinet works involving the piano were published and might have been played by amateurs. A work entitled “Marcha del General Palafox” was published between 1808 and 1812 in New York, probably by Weldon, who may also have written the work. The title page indicates that it is for piano, violin, and clarinet.146 A piano sonata based on Mozart’s The Magic Flute, by one “Kirmair,” was provided with accompanimental parts for the flute, clarinet, or violin; it was published in Baltimore by Thomas Carr around 1819-20.147

The Clarinet in the Church “Gallery” Orchestra

The clarinet seems to have played a role in the small instrumental ensembles known as “church gallery orchestras” that often played in New England churches.148 The earliest reference to the clarinet in this context comes from January 1, 1776, when a clarinet and a “bass viola” replaced the broken organ at a church service in Cambridge, Massachusetts; George Washington was in attendance on this occasion.149

The Reverend

145 Ibid., 2:832.

146 Ibid., 2:540.

147 Ibid., 2:609.

148 The main scholarship on this subject is found in Frederick Selch, “Instrumental Accompaniments for Yankee Hymn Tunes: An Investigation of the Evidence” (PhD diss., New York University, 2003).

149 Ibid., 90.
William Bentley, in his diary, mentioned the use of clarinets as part of an instrumental ensemble in his Salem church in 1792, and Samuel Gilman, himself a church clarinetist for a time, discusses the practice in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in his *Memoirs of a New England Village Choir*. Beginning around the turn of the century, parts for clarinets were sometimes present in published collections of sacred music. For example, the *Albany Collection of Sacred Harmony* (1800) designates clarinets, among other instruments, to double the voice parts. Samuel Holyoke, who besides being a music teacher and composer was also a clarinetist (see Chapter Five and Appendix A), published anthems that included clarinet parts. Oliver Shaw’s “Thanksgiving anthem” (1809) is for choir with the accompaniment of keyboard and other instruments (including clarinet); the title page indicates that the work contains “symphonies and interludes for instruments ad libitum,” and these are scored for “clarinetto, violino, tenore, [and] basso.” A favorite instrumentation for the church gallery orchestra seems to have included clarinets, violins and “bass viols” (cellos), and Selch maintains that by 1820 the presence of these ensembles in church was common and expected.

---

150 Ibid., 161.
151 Ibid., 163-64.
152 Ibid., 116.
153 Ibid., 123, 125-26.
154 Ibid., 126; see also Wolfe, 2:794.
Conclusions

This examination of the clarinet repertory in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century America leads to a number of conclusions. Works with orchestra (concertos, symphonies concertantes, and other works) were the most frequently performed clarinet compositions. Nearly 300 performances of this type of work took place between 1769 and 1820. Chamber music involving the clarinet, though less frequently performed, still amounted to over 100 performances; if performances of Harmoniemusik are added into this total, the number more than doubles.

The most popular composers of solo and chamber music were Pleyel, Michel, and Lefèvre; in Harmoniemusick, Pichl, Rosetti, and the Moravian composer Collauf. Other composers whose names figured prominently were Duvernoy, Vanderhagen, Goepfert Crusell, and Stamitz. Some of the clarinetists discussed here were active not only as performers but also as composers: most prominently Gautier, but also Schaffer, Norton, and Andral. A few clarinetists championed a particular repertory. Gautier played works by a variety of composers, but only he himself performed his own works. Knittel was the only clarinetist in early America to perform Crusell’s works. The concertos of Stamitz seem not to have been performed outside the Moravian community of Nazareth, Pennsylvania; this is also true of the concertos of Rosetti, Latrobe, and Fodor.

The French repertory was very important in early America. It seems to have been introduced to American audiences by immigrant French clarinetists such as Gautier, who gave the first performance in America of a concerto by Lefèvre in 1795; Foucard, who likewise gave the American premiere of a concerto by Michel in 1796; and Dubois, who
also performed the works of these composers. It may well be that some of these early
American clarinetists had studied with Michel or Lefèvre before coming to America.
Non-French clarinetists were probably introduced to this repertory by their French
colleagues; Wolff, for example, began to include concertos by Lefèvre and Michel in his
repertory beginning in 1799, perhaps having been introduced to these composers by
Dubois.

No evidence has been found so far to indicate that late eighteenth- and early
nineteenth-century works that are now staples of the clarinet repertory, such as those of
Mozart and Weber, were performed in America before 1820.  Very few American
premiere performances of the standard clarinet repertory have been documented at all,
however, and it may be that further research will turn up earlier performances of these
works.

In Europe, Mozart’s Clarinet Concerto, K. 622, was premiered in the year of its composition, 1791,
although not published until 1801; it should be noted, however, that it was not played for the first time in
England until 1838.  See Weston, Clarinet Virtuosi, 55 and 109-110.  The premiere performances of
Weber’s clarinet works in Europe were in the years of their composition: 1811 for the Concertino and the
two Concertos, and 1815 for the Clarinet Quintet.  See Weston, Clarinet Virtuosi, 119-21 and 129.  The
Concertino was published in 1813, but the concertos were published no earlier than 1822; see Frank
Heidlberger, “Carl Maria von Weber’s Clarinet Concertos: A Challenge for the Editor and the Clarinetist,”
The Clarinet 30/1 (December 2002), 50-61.

Johnson lists premiere performances of only two clarinet works: Weber’s Second Clarinet Concerto,
performed first in 1830 by the clarinetist Herwig with Philadelphia’s Musical Fund Society, and Mozart’s
clarinet concerto, performed first in 1862 by Thomas Ryan and the Mendelssohn Quintet Club in Boston.
See H. Earle Johnson, First Performances in America to 1900: Works with Orchestra, College Music
Society, Bibliographies in American Music No. 4 (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1979), 270 and 391.
CHAPTER 5

CLARINET TEACHING AND TUTORS

It has already been noted in Chapter Two that teaching formed an essential part of the clarinetist’s livelihood in early America. The present chapter will examine in detail the teaching activities of early American clarinetists, as well as the materials and methods they might have used with their students.

Teachers

Newspaper advertisements give evidence of a fair number of clarinet teachers active in the major urban centers of America. The earliest of these advertisements appeared in the July 27-August 3, 1767, issue of the South Carolina Gazette, where an unnamed Charleston musician advertised as follows:

Any young gentleman, desirous to be instructed to play the German Flute, or Clarinet, may be instructed, by a musician living at Mr. Kalteisen’s in King-Street, where he may be spoke with at any hour of the day.¹

Advertisements such as this, where the teacher is not named, were fairly common in the second half of the eighteenth century. There are also instances where the name of the teacher is given, and the earliest of these date from 1773, when two clarinet teachers are

¹ South Carolina Gazette, July 27-August 3, 1767 (PACAN).
documented by name. The first was Joshua Collins, who had come to Annapolis, Maryland, from Manchester, England. He advertised his services as a musical instrument maker, and also as a teacher:

[Joshua Collins] has opened an evening school for musick, at Mr. John Hepburn’s, where he teaches the most modern and approved methods of playing the German flute, hautboy, clarinet, bassoon, &c. Having been educated in that science, under the care of some of the greatest masters in England. Those whom it may please to encourage the subscriber may depend on being served on the most reasonable terms; and such gentlemen as cannot attend his evening school may be waited on in the day time at their own apartments.2

Some months later John William Beck of Charleston placed the following advertisement in the South Carolina & American General Gazette:

John William Beck, musician, begs leave to acquaint the publick that he teacheth to play on the following instruments, viz., clarinet, flauto traverso, flauto a bec, hautbois, or oboe de Simon, bassoon, violin, tenor violin, and bass violin as perfectly as any master in America. Any persons who apply may depend on his assiduity and punctual attendance on very reasonable terms, either at their own houses or at his house, one of Mr. Harbrick’s tenements in Jew’s Alley, King Street, and he flatters himself he shall give general satisfaction.3

Advertisements often appeared from newly arrived musicians trying to set up a teaching income in their adopted cities. The following advertisement from Philadelphia in 1777 is typical:

A person is lately arrived in this city, who is capable of giving instruction for the Guitar, German Flute, Violin, and Clarinet [sic]. He likewise tunes harpsichords and spinnets… Inquire next door to Mr. Anthony’s, instrument maker, the upper end of Second-Street.4

2 Maryland Gazette, February 25, 1773 (PACAN).

3 South Carolina & American General Gazette, December 17-24, 1773 (PACAN).

4 Pennsylvania Evening Post, January 21, 1777 (PACAN). The advertisement was reprinted six times between this date and April 5; apparently it took him some time to build his clientele. By March 25 the address had changed to “the house formerly occupied by Mr. Claypoole, on the north side of Market-Street, six doors above Front-Street.”
Night schools were sometimes organized for the benefit of pupils who could not attend lessons during the day, as in Joshua Collins’ 1773 advertisement. Another instance occurred in Hartford, Connecticut, where a 1777 notice advised the public that gentlemen named Fagan and Ballantine would be available to teach arithmetic, mathematics, and music. Instruction was offered on many instruments, including the clarinet. The advertisement also noted that “Gentlemen may be attended at their own apartments; and a night school will also be kept from six til nine o’clock.”

From these early advertisements we learn several things about the way music lessons took place. First of all, teachers often advertised that they were capable of teaching more than one instrument. Collins’ versatility on multiple winds, and Beck’s on both winds and strings, is not at all unusual. Second, teachers seem to have been willing to go to some length to accommodate their pupils, offering to teach them either at the teacher’s place of business or at the pupils’ own homes, and in the evening as well as during the day. Third, the clarinet seems to have been considered an instrument appropriate only for “gentlemen.” This is not surprising, since in Europe wind instruments in general were reserved for men, under the notion that the facial expressions required for their playing were not becoming to “ladies.” As will be seen, this gender restriction continued well into the nineteenth century, although Margaret Knittel (see Chapter One and Appendix A) was an important exception.

---

3 *Connecticut Courant*, February 3, 1777 (PACAN).
Other clarinet teachers in late eighteenth-century America included Bartholemew Hobzl, first seen in 1778 in Charleston, and “lately arrived from Germany”; Mr. Shippen, who appeared in 1782, teaching at the Bunch of Grapes tavern in Philadelphia; Peter Kalkoffer, first seen in 1782 in Annapolis; Philip Pfeil (usually Phile and Fruntz (Fritz) Tremner, who advertised together in Philadelphia in 1783; Mr. Roth, also in Philadelphia in 1783; and Mr. Hewill (Hiwell), former Inspector and Superintendent of Music for the Continental Army, who advertised in 1784 in Providence, Rhode Island. Horatio Garnet of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, has already been mentioned in Chapter Four as a performer and composer of a clarinet concerto; he also advertised himself in 1788 as a teacher, stating that, “having received his musical education in some of the principal cities in Europe, he proposes teaching the Violin, Bass-viol, Hautboy, Clarionet,

---

6 *South Carolina & American General Gazette*, May 25, 1778 (PACAN).

7 *Pennsylvania Journal*, November 2, 1782 (PACAN).

8 *Maryland Journal*, November 19, 1782 (PACAN).

9 *Pennsylvania Journal*, June 21, 1783 (PACAN). See also Sterling E. Murray, “Music and Dance at Philadelphia’s City Tavern,” in *American Musical Life in Context and Practice to 1865*, ed. James Heintze (New York and London: Garland, 1994), 23. It is not clear which one might have taught clarinet, as Tremner was a cellist and Phile a violinist. Both were named as musicians on a receipt of costs incurred for a celebration at the City Tavern on September 15, 1787, but their instruments are not specified on this receipt.

10 *Pennsylvania Packet*, September 23, 1783 (PACAN). Roth advertised again in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of January 7, 1789, as a teacher of (among many other instruments) the clarinet.

Flute, etc. and also to give Lessons to Ladies on the Guittar.” In New York in 1789, Peter Van Hagen (perhaps best known as a violinist), advertised that he would teach, among other instruments, the clarinet. William Belstead, organist of Boston’s Trinity Church, advertised in 1792 to teach many instruments, including the clarinet. (See Appendix A for biographical details on these individuals.)

Andrew Wolff has already been discussed in previous chapters as a theatre musician and soloist. He is not known to have advertised himself as a teacher in the newspapers. He is sometimes listed in city directories as “professor of music,” but the term “professor” is problematic since it was often used at this time as a synonym for “professional.” That Wolff did teach is demonstrated by an announcement for his benefit concert of February 10, 1801, which indicated that the program was to include Pleyel’s Sinfonie Concertante for two clarinets, played by Wolff and “a gentleman pupil of Mr. Wolff.” Moreover, Wolff is listed specifically as “teacher of music” in the Baltimore city directory of 1814-15. It seems likely that many musicians, perhaps including Wolff, gained pupils by word of mouth rather than through newspaper advertisements; indeed,

---


14 *Columbian Centinel*, May 30, 1792.

15 Wolff appears with this designation in Philadelphia city directories of 1804-1808, and in 1812.

16 *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, February 6, 1801.
for a prominent musician like Wolff, who was often in the public eye as a performer, it was probably easy to obtain pupils without having to advertise.

On the other hand, some clarinetists advertised actively as teachers. Joseph Rouault, whose name has been mentioned in Chapter One in connection with the 1809 dispute between the orchestra and management of New York’s Park Theatre, was one of these. His first advertisement appeared in 1809, when he announced that he would teach the German flute, clarinet, and flageolet at 37 Chatham Street in New York.\textsuperscript{17} By 1815 he had changed addresses; an advertisement announced his new location at 59 Church Street, where he “continues teaching the Flute, Clarinet, and Flageolet after the best and simplest method.” He further stated that “the improvements made by his former scholars are his best encomium, and leaves him no doubt but he will meet again with a generous patronage.”\textsuperscript{18} In 1818 he once again advertised a change of address, to 126 Chamber Street, and solicited further pupils.\textsuperscript{19} Rouault was listed steadily in New York City directories between 1810 and 1825.\textsuperscript{20}

Another New York clarinetist who advertised as a teacher was Florant Meline. His first advertisement appeared in 1811, when he stated that he was “lately from Paris

\textsuperscript{17} New York Evening Post, October 31, 1809.

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., October 23, 1815.

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., October 21, 1818.

and Italy” and would teach the clarinet, flute, and flageolet.\textsuperscript{21} In 1817 he ran the following “card” in the newspaper:

Mr. Meline, having fixed his residence in this city, No. 53 Chapel-street, offers his services to the gentlemen of New-York and its vicinity, for the instruction of the single and additional-key’d Flute, Clarionet, French and English Flageolets. Mr. M., having acquired an easy method in instructing the above instruments, hopes to receive the patronage of those who are desirous of becoming perfect in either [sic] of the above mentioned instruments. For terms, inquire as above.\textsuperscript{22}

By this time Meline must have had a healthy income from his musical activities, since he could afford to repeat this advertisement frequently, often with a beautiful engraving to attract the newspaper reader’s attention. By 1820 he was running a newspaper advertisement that not only continued to tout his teaching abilities, but also supplies the modern reader with interesting information about the cost of lessons at this time:

Mr. Meline, professor of music, begs leave to inform his friends and the public that he has determined to devote his time to the tuition of a select and limited number of gentlemen. Mr. M. is possessed of all those advantages that a perfect knowledge of the science can produce, and flatters himself that he is fully competent to the task of conveying instruction with the most easy method.

Mr. M. proposes instructing the single and additional-key’d flute, clarionet, and French and English flageolet.

Terms of tuition, $15 per quarter: $5 to be paid in advance; the balance at the end of the quarter. For further particulars apply at Mr. M.’s residence, No. 34 Chapel, between Murray and Warren-streets.

Gentlemen wishing to become perfect in either of the above-mentioned instruments may rest assured that no pains or efforts will be spared on the part of Mr. M.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{21} \textit{New York Evening Post}, December 3, 1811.

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., September 15, 1817.

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., January 22, 1820.
Meline was obviously a shrewd advertiser, imparting an air of exclusivity (“a select and limited number of gentlemen”) as well as touting his own “perfect” knowledge of music and his ability to instruct his pupils by “an easy method” to a “perfect” level of mastery on their instruments.

The ability to teach the flute and flageolet in addition to the clarinet seems to have been common; besides Rouault and Meline, a Mr. Taylor advertised himself as a teacher of these instruments in New York in 1812 and 1813. This individual may be identical to P.H. Taylor, who in 1817 gave notice to “the Amateurs of Flute and Clarinet” that he would teach these instruments to any interested gentlemen who would “please to apply at Tammany Hall or leave their addresses at any of the music stores.” Margaret Knittel also advertised as a teacher of the flute and flageolet as well as the clarinet.

A number of clarinet teachers were active in the vicinity of Baltimore and Annapolis beginning in the early nineteenth century. The first of these was Mr. Foley, “lately from Italy,” who in 1805 advertised to teach piano, violin, clarinet, and French

24 Ibid., October 1, 1812 and September 27, 1813.
25 Ibid., September 8, 1817.
26 Charleston Courier, November 14, 1820. Though she performed most often as a clarinetist, Knittel apparently thought of herself as primarily a teacher of the piano (though she taught many instruments). Her interesting advertisement warrants full citation: Mrs. Knittel “MOST respectfully informs the public, that she intends teaching the PIANO FORTE, after the new invented Logerian System, with the help of the Chiropileat, which is now gaining great progress throughout Great-Britain. A number of pupils may be taught at once, and attain the taste and knowledge of Musical education, much sooner than heretofore. Lessons will be divided, part in theory and part in practice on this instrument. Likewise, the Spanish Guitar, double and single Flageolet, Clarionet, Flute and Violin, on terms very moderate. Mrs. Knittel hopes that by her continued assiduity, the proficiency of her scholars will gain her a portion of the patronage of this city. For particulars, enquire at MR. SIEGLING’S MUSIC STORE, nearly opposite the Court-House, Broad-street, where applications will be promptly and thankfully attended to.”
horn, along with vocal music “in the Italian mode.” In 1811 another Italian, Mr. Lorie, stated that he would teach the violin, French horn, and clarinet “at any hour in the day.” He furthermore confided to the public that, “as his principal aim is to obtain a living for a large family, he is resolved to teach on the most liberal terms.” In 1817, “Signior Carusi and Family” set up what seems to have been a music school of sorts, taking pupils for lessons on the piano, harp, guitar, violin, clarinet, flute, “and a variety of other instruments, very seldom used.” At first they lived at the Pavilion Garden, but soon moved to Bank Street. Carusi, or perhaps his son, also advertised to teach piano, violin, clarinet and flute in Annapolis. In the same year another clarinet teacher, Charles DeRonceray, appeared in Baltimore. DeRonceray’s first advertisement suggests that he had already been living and teaching in Baltimore for some time; he stated that he had changed addresses but was continuing to teach the piano, violin, flute, and clarinet. DeRonceray was apparently a teacher of long standing in Baltimore; his name appears in city directories until at least 1831, and his death was recorded in the Baltimore Sun in 1844. Two additional teachers appeared in Baltimore in 1819: a Mr. Kelly advertised

27 Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, April 26, 1805.

28 Ibid., November 27, 1811.

29 Ibid., July 24, 1817. For some time previously Carusi had been in Annapolis; on July 11, 1816, he bade farewell to the Annapolis public, thanking them obsequiously for their patronage and stating his intention to return there, “should he succeed in his attempt to establish a Musical School.” Maryland Gazette and Political Intelligencer, July 11, 1816.

30 Carusi advertised the change of address in the Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser of August 18, 1817.

31 Maryland Gazette and Political Intelligencer, November 6, 1817.

32 Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, July 24, 1817.
that he continued to teach piano, violin, flute, flageolet, clarinet, Patent Kent Bugle, “and various instruments used in military bands;”\(^{33}\) and Mr. DeJonge, just moved to the city, gave notice that he would teach clarinet, flute, French horn, trumpet and bassoon.\(^{34}\)

Some of these individuals were performers as well as teachers, while others—such as Foley, Lorie, and DeRonceray—are now known only as teachers (though they may also have given performances for which documentation no longer exists). To the latter list must be added Jonas P. Barret\(^{35}\) and Francisco Masi,\(^{36}\) both of Boston, a Mr. Holland of New York,\(^{37}\) and a Mr. Peters of Charleston.\(^{38}\)

In addition to individual teachers, there are a few instances of music “schools” offering clarinet lessons. For example, in 1801 the Boston musicians Mallet, Graupner, and Trajetta advertised the musical conservatory they had started in that city, stating that it had met with such success that they would now open one for young ladies. “The new School for young Ladies, will be on Mondays and Wednesdays from 3 to 6 P.M. and gentlemen for wind instruments from 7 to 10 same Evenings.”\(^{39}\) This may be the same

\(^{33}\) Ibid., January 2, 1819.

\(^{34}\) Ibid., August 6, 1819.

\(^{35}\) See Johnson, *Musical Interludes in Boston*, 292. According to Johnson, Barret advertised as a teacher of clarinet, oboe, flute, bassoon, violin and bass viol in 1802.

\(^{36}\) Ibid., 293. Johnson quotes the advertisement as stating that Masi was “Master of the Italian Band, teaches Piano Forte, Clarionet, Violoncello, Violin, French Horn, Trumpet, Flute, French Guitar, &c. Produces certificates from the Church of St. Peter in Rome.”

\(^{37}\) *New York Evening Post*, June 5, 1817.

\(^{38}\) *Charleston Courier*, November 14, 1820.

\(^{39}\) *Independent Chronicle*, June 11-15, 1801.
school referred to by Johnson, who states that in 1802 “an evening school for flute and clarionet was begun [in Boston] at three dollars entrance fee and eight dollars a quarter as special accommodation to young men.”40 In 1816 E. Riley (probably Edward Riley, Sr., the New York music shop owner and woodwind maker) advertised “A Music School for Instruction on the Piano Forte, Singing, German Flute, Violin, Tenor, Violoncello, Clarinett, Flageolete, &c., by proper masters.”41 Also in New York, in 1820, the “American Conservatorio” (at No. 1 Thames-street) advertised its schedule: “Classes of ladies for the piano forte, harp, singing, &c. on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons; classes of gentlemen for the violin, violoncello, flute, clarionet, &c. on Wednesday and Saturday evenings.”42

Little information is available about the cost of lessons during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; specific amounts are politely omitted from the majority of newspaper advertisements. Occasionally, however, one finds some concrete numbers. The 1801 fee at the Boston conservatory run by Graupner, et al.—three dollars entrance fee and eight dollars a quarter—has just been mentioned. In 1811, T. Carr of Baltimore offered piano or singing lessons for $8.00 per month (this included twelve lessons), while thoroughbass lessons were $1.50 each. Meline’s 1820 lesson fees have already been noted above and, at $15.00 per quarter, seem to be a good bargain; but there is simply not enough information available to establish what the norm was.

40 Johnson, 181.

41 New York Evening Post, March 27, 1816.

42 Ibid., May 3, 1820.
The specific methods by which lessons were conducted are difficult to determine. Advertisements provide little help, at most giving general statements such as “teaches the most modern and approved methods.” Nevertheless, some idea of the types of materials that might have been used can be gained by examining some of the tunebooks, anthologies of ensemble music, and tutors that were available.

The first clarinet tutor published in America (George Blake’s *A New and Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet*, discussed below) appeared around 1803. Prior to this time, teaching materials used in clarinet lessons probably consisted of music written out by the teachers themselves, published collections of tunes (such as *The Philadelphia Pocket Companion*, and others, discussed in Chapter Three), along with tutors that were imported from England or France. Beginning in 1773, newspaper advertisements appear that list clarinet tutors for sale, but titles and authors are never specified.43 The advertisements could be referring to any one of a number of important European publications that appeared from the late 1760s through the beginning of the nineteenth century, containing fingering charts and instructions for playing the clarinet.44 It is

---

43 The first of these is found in *Rivington’s New York Gazette* of October 14, 1773 (PACAN). Rivington’s ad begins, “A Catalogue of Music, Just Imported and sold by James Rivington.” Far down the list appear “Tutors, or instructors for playing on the harpsichord, and piano forte, violin, german flute, fife, bassoon, hautboy, French horn, clarinet, and for learning to sing.” Robert Wells of Charleston began advertising clarinet tutors in 1781; *Royal Gazette*, October 17-20, 1781 (PACAN).

44 A listing of these is found in Albert Rice, “A History of the Clarinet to 1820” (Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1987), Appendix 3: “An Annotated Inventory of Instructional Materials for the Clarinet which Include a Fingering Chart, 1732-1843,” 466-97. It will be noted that no German clarinet tutor appeared until about 1803. Rice, however, has brought to my attention (in a personal communication) a German publication of 1801, entitled *Lehrbuch der theoretischen Musick in systematischen Ordnung* (Leipzig: W. Heinsius), which includes some instructions and a fingering chart for the clarinet.
probable that music shops imported and sold English-language tutors, and as we shall see, early American clarinet tutors were modeled after one specific London publication; but it also seems likely that French-language tutors were transported in the suitcases of the many clarinetists of French origin who performed and taught in America from the 1790s onward, and these might have been used in the instruction of pupils.

The first American publication to provide instructions for playing the clarinet was the volume one of Samuel Holyoke’s *Instrumental Assistant*, published in 1800 and “containing instructions for the Violin, German-Flute, Clarionett, Bass-Viol, and Hautboy.” It was printed by H. Ranlet in Exeter, New Hampshire.⁴⁵ Though not devoted solely to the clarinet, it contains two fingering charts (one for the “Plain Scale” and another for the “Flatted and Sharped Letters”), along with some brief instructions for holding the instrument and placing the fingers. The fingering charts indicate a five-key clarinet, with two keys on the upper joint (a register key, operated by the left thumb, and a key producing a', operated by the left first finger) and three on the lower (for e/b' and f♯/c♯', both operated by the left little finger, and for a♯/e'', operated by the right little finger). The overall range is e to f''', and the registers of the clarinet are identified as chalumeau (up to a') and clarionett (b' to f''''). The fingering diagrams designate holes to be opened or closed, whether by direct stopping with the fingers or by the action of a key. This presents some confusion at first glance, since the keys are not specified as such in

⁴⁵ THE / Instrumental Assistant. / CONTAINING INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE / Violin, German-Flute, Clarionett, Bass-Viol, and Hautboy. / COMPILED FROM LATE EUROPEAN PUBLICATIONS. / ALSO / A Selection of favorite Airs, Marches, &c. Progressively Arranged, / and adapted for the use of Learners (Exeter, New Hampshire: H. Ranlet, c. 1800). Found in Early American Imprints, # 37643. There is also a second volume, published in 1807 (Early American Imprints, #S12775).
the diagrams and one can only determine how to use them by referring to the verbal instructions about finger placement (there is no graphic depiction of a clarinet); even then, confusion may arise from the fact that keys operated by the left little finger are actually shown as part of the “right hand” half of the diagram.\textsuperscript{46} Alternate fingerings are given for f\#", g\#", d''' and e'''.

Holyoke gives no instructions for forming the embouchure, but advises the player to “blow the Chalumeau notes moderately strong. But the Clarionett notes must be blown a little stronger, pinching the reed a little with the lips. The reed should not be touched with the teeth.”\textsuperscript{47} These sketchy instructions suggest that, at least where the clarinet is concerned, this book was not meant for self-teaching, but rather was to be used in conjunction with a teacher who could fill in the instructional gaps. Holyoke implies as much in his note to the reader at the very end of the tutor, where he states, “instructors may, perhaps, find some abridgement of their labors, should they see proper to introduce this book among their scholars.”\textsuperscript{48}

The music in \textit{The Instrumental Assistant} consists mostly of three-part arrangements (two unspecified treble-clef instruments and a bass-clef instrument, all notated in C) of marches and other works.

Holyoke stated in the title of \textit{The Instrumental Assistant} that his work was “compiled from late European publications.” \textit{The Instrumental Assistant} is clearly based upon the earliest English clarinet tutor, the anonymous work entitled \textit{The Clarinet}

\textsuperscript{46} Holyoke, \textit{Instrumental Assistant}, 1: 11-12.

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., 11.

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., 80.
Instructor published in London around 1780 by Longman & Broderip. Holyoke’s verbal instructions match those of the The Clarinet Instructor almost word-for-word.

Apart from the fact that the fingering chart of The Clarinet Instructor encompasses both diatonic and chromatic notes, while Holyoke separates these into two charts, the fingering charts of the two works otherwise match, including the same overall range and alternative fingerings. There can be no doubt that Holyoke used The Clarinet Instructor as his model, and this fact suggests that The Clarinet Instructor was known and perhaps used in early America.

The Instrumental Assistant was a primer for several different instruments, the clarinet among them. About three years after its publication, the first American tutor devoted solely to the clarinet appeared. This was A New and Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet, written and published by George Blake in Philadelphia around 1803. Blake became well known as the foremost American music publisher from about 1810 to 1830, and he apparently taught the clarinet (see Appendix A). Blake’s Preceptor consists of an introduction, two fingering charts for a five-key clarinet (like Holyoke, one for diatonic

---

49 The Clarinet Instructor by which / PLAYING on that INSTRUMENT / is rendered easy to anyone unacquainted with Music as it contains a / Compleat Scale… (London, Longman & Broderip, c. 1780). Dating according to Rice, “A History of the Clarinet to 1820,” 472-73. I examined a microfilm copy of this tutor held at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (MUSIC 778).

50 Rice has also noted that Holyoke’s chart is identical to that of The Clarinet Instructor; see Albert Rice, “Clarinet Fingering Charts, 1732-1816,” Galpin Society Journal 37 (March 1984), 25.

51 George Blake, A NEW AND COMPLETE PRECEPTOR / for the / CLARINET. / Being an Introduction to the Art of Playing on that Instrument / Explained in the most simple and comprehensive manner / ALSO / A Selection of the newest & most Favorite Airs, Song tunes, Marches, &c. (Philadelphia: G.E. Blake, c. 1803). The date is according to D.W. Krummel, comp., Guide for Dating Early Published Music: A Manual of Bibliographical Practices (Hackensack, New Jersey: J. Boonin, 1974): 66. The only known extant copy of this tutor is in the private collection of the late Frederick Selch. I thank Albert Rice for helping me obtain a photocopy of this tutor.
notes and one for chromatic), several pages of general explanation of music notation (clefs, rhythmic values, articulation marks, ornaments, syncopation, transposition and keys, time signatures, and other symbols), a one-page dictionary of musical terms, and thirteen pages of music. The musical material includes single-line melodies for marches and popular tunes (some from dramatic works) and closes with a “Prelude” of some technical difficulty.

Like Holyoke, Blake seems to have used *The Clarinet Instructor* as a model. In his introduction, Blake paraphrases a passage from the earlier English tutor’s introduction:

> The Clarinet is an Instrument not only much esteemed in the Army, but also in Concerts where its effect, in conjunction with other wind Instruments, is admirable; and even in Solo Airs and Duets, it may be rendered very agreeable [sic], by a judicious management.

Blake then goes on to explain the parts of the clarinet, with their names. He notes that there are five keys, stating (in a verbatim, but unacknowledged, quotation from *The Clarinet Instructor*), “to those Keys the Instrument is indebted for its chief use, as before they were contrived it was not used in Concerts.” He explains the placing of the fingers, but gives no specific instruction on embouchure formation; echoing Holyoke, he simply tells the player to “blow moderately strong the Low Notes, but for the high notes the Reed must be pinched with the Lips and blow a little stronger.”

---

52 George Blake, *A New and Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet*, 1.

53 Ibid.

54 Ibid.
Blake’s fingering charts extend the range of the clarinet a minor third beyond Holyoke’s, to g♯/a♭". Blake’s charts are somewhat more clearly laid out than Holyoke’s, in that they label the keys by number and show precisely when and how they are to be manipulated by the fingers. In his explanation of “cliffs” (clefs), Blake notes that the treble clef is used for the clarinet; but he also shows the bass, tenor, and “counter tenor” (alto) clefs, stating that “if the Scholar wishes to learn to play the Bass on the Clarinet he will find [these clefs] particularly useful as the Bass frequently changes into the Tenor Cliffs.”\textsuperscript{55} This seems to leave open the possibility that the clarinet was sometimes used as a low-voice instrument (perhaps taking the bottom line in, for example, the three-part arrangements in Holyoke’s \textit{Instrumental Assistant}). Like Holyoke’s tutor, Blake’s seems to be intended not for self-instruction but for use with a teacher. Neither gives adequate information on embouchure, and instructions for articulation by use of the tongue (or any other means, for that matter) are completely lacking in both tutors.\textsuperscript{56}

The year 1807 saw the publication of a number of important instrumental tutors that included instructions and/or music for the clarinet. First, it has already been mentioned that the second volume of Holyoke’s \textit{Instrumental Assistant} appeared in this year (see footnote 45). That volume contains basic instructions for the French horn and bassoon, and ensemble music ranging from trios to septets for the instruments covered by him.

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., 4.

\textsuperscript{56} For example, Blake, in his explanation of staccato (p. 6), states that “staccato is a Point or a Dot thus ‘’ or thus . . . and signifies that the notes over which they are placed should be played with spirit and taste and held only half their time, the remaining parts being made up by imaginary rests between each note.” Holyoke’s only instruction for tongue articulation on any of the woodwind instruments covered in his treatise consists of a method for double-tonguing on the flute.
both volumes. Included are compositions for two treble instruments and “basso” (sometimes the treble instruments are specified as clarinets); quintets for a *Harmonie* ensemble of two treble instruments (usually specified as clarinets), two horns, and basso; and several larger works for two clarinets or oboes, two violins, two horns and basso. The pieces are printed in open score, and the clarinet parts are for instruments pitched in C. Holyoke notes that the success of the first volume prompted him to issue this second, which he hoped would “be as convenient for Instrumental Clubs, as [the first volume] has been for learners.”

The “instrumental clubs” he had in mind might have been similar to that of Essex County, Massachusetts, a club with which Holyoke was familiar. The work could also have been used by military bands, dance ensembles, or for informal music-making.

Another important tutor published in 1807 was Joseph Herrick’s *The Instrumental Preceptor*, issued by Ranlet and Norris of Exeter, New Hampshire. Like Holyoke’s *Instrumental Assistant*, Herrick’s tutor includes multiple instruments. His clarinet instructions are obviously based on those of Holyoke and Blake, since he repeats parts of the texts from each of these previous works; he even reproduces one of Holyoke’s mistakes, stating in his explanation of the range names that the lowest note is g (when the

---

57 Samuel Holyoke, *The Instrumental Assistant*, vol. 2 (1807), p. [ii].

58 For more on this type of musical club, see Benjamin Richard Compton, “Amateur Instrumental Music in America, 1785-1810” (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 1979), chapter 2, “Instrumental Clubs,” 42ff.

59 Joseph Herrick, *The / Instrumental Preceptor; / COMPRISING INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE / Clarionett, German Flute, Violin, Bass-Viol, and Bassoon; / WITH A VARIETY OF / Airs, Minuets, Cotillions, Hornpipes, Marches, Duettos, Rondos, Trios, / &c. &c. / Original & Selected* (Exeter, New Hampshire, Ranlet and Norris, 1807). I examined the copy held at Yale University. It was owned by Richard Beebe, who signed the book and dated it 1820. Beebe was apparently a student at Dartmouth College.
fingering chart correctly shows the lowest note to be e\textsuperscript{6}). 60  Herrick must also have had a copy of *The Clarinet Instructor* at hand; in praising the qualities of the clarinet, he lifts several lines from that tutor:

> When played by itself, the fullness and sweetness of tone is very pleasing, but when joined with French horns only, or in concert with other instruments, its charming effect is too obvious, to be particularly described.\textsuperscript{61}

Herrick also follows *The Clarinet Instructor* (not Holyoke and Blake) in giving a single fingering chart that contains both diatonic and chromatic notes, reaching to f''\textsuperscript{6} (with some alternative fingerings for f#", g#", d"", and e"`). Once again, a five-key instrument is indicated. The musical material in the tutor includes not only single-line melodies but also a variety of ensemble music, including duets (for two treble instruments, or one treble and one bass), trios (two treble instruments and bass, as in Holyoke’s tutor), and quartets (three treble instruments and bass). All of the parts in the ensemble pieces are notated in C, in open score. Much of the material was composed by Herrick, while some pieces were adapted from works by other composers; there are marches, dances, tunes from popular operas, and a fair number of Scots melodies.

Also in 1807, Oliver Shaw’s *For the Gentlemen* appeared.\textsuperscript{62} This was a collection of ensemble music, mostly in four parts (though there are several duets and trios),

\begin{flushright}
60 Herrick, *The Instrumental Preceptor*, 8.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
61 Ibid.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
62 Oliver Shaw, *For the Gentlemen. / A / FAVOURITE SELECTION of INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC: / CALCULATED FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND MUSICAL SOCIETIES. / CONSISTING PRINCIPALLY OF MARCHES, AIRS / MINUETS, &c. / Written chiefly in four parts, viz. / TWO CLARIONETTS, FLUTE AND BASSOON; OR TWO VIOLINS, FLUTE, AND VIOLONCELLO. Likewise, / THE MUSICAL CHARACTERS, WITH THE SCALES, OR GAMUTS FOR THE SEVERAL /
\end{flushright}
including various combinations of clarinets, flutes, violins, cello and bassoon. The parts are printed in open score and notated in C, and the instrumentation is always specified. All but two of the pieces include at least one clarinet part, and most include two. Shaw’s clarinet instructions are similar, though not identical, to those of Holyoke, Blake, and Herrick. Shaw additionally advises that “you must be sure that your Instrument is in tune, and that your Reed is a good one, for without those, even the best performer cannot play correctly.”

Shaw’s fingering chart, like that of Herrick, includes both diatonic and chromatic notes; Shaw’s extends the range up to g‴ (still a half-step lower than the range given by Blake). The chart is for a five-key clarinet, but does not identify the left and right hands, nor does it indicate which fingers operate keys. Shaw instructs the beginner to learn to sound the notes up to c‴ with ease, then to practice in different keys. He gives the scales of C major and A minor as examples, referring the player to the other scales printed on page eight in the flute section of the treatise.

In 1811 the prominent Boston musician Gottlieb Graupner published a New Instructor for the Clarinet, Containing Elements of Music, Fourteen Progressive Lessons with a Collection of Airs, Songs, Marches, Duets, &c. Selected by Gottlieb Graupner. No copy of this work has been found, although one is supposed to exist at the Library of

---

63 Shaw, For the Gentlemen, 9.

64 Ibid., 10.
Congress in Washington, D.C. Evidence that the work was actually published is the granting of the copyright on January 15, 1811.\textsuperscript{65}

In 1816 William Whitely published his \textit{Instrumental Preceptor}.\textsuperscript{66} This tutor gives instructions for the flute, clarinet, oboe, and bassoon. Whitely’s clarinet instructions essentially mirror those of previous writers. Two fingering charts (diatonic and chromatic) are presented; these indicate a range from e to a'''. No alternative fingerings are given. There is no graphic illustration of a clarinet, but the holes and keys are clearly depicted in the charts. Whitely’s instructions are for a five-key clarinet, but he acknowledges that there are more sophisticated instruments. In the following passage he describes an eight-key clarinet:

Some Clarinets have sixteen holes, eight of which are stopped by keys: the extra keys are principally designed to execute particular passages in music, which are difficult to be taken without them. The first extra, or long key, on the upper joint, was designed to shake A; it makes B natural likewise; and by using the A key with the shake key, makes C natural; by using the B flat key with the A key and the shake key, makes C sharp. The second extra key, on the upper joint, is B flat; the third extra key, on the middle piece, is F natural.\textsuperscript{67}


\textsuperscript{66} \textit{THE / INSTRUMENTAL PRECEPTOR: / COMPRISING INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE / CLARINET, HAUTBOY, FLUTE AND BASSOON. / WITH A VARIETY OF THE MOST CELEBRATED / AIRS, MARCHES, MINUETS, SONGS, RONDEAUS, TRIOS, &c.} (Utica, 1816). I examined the copy held at the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts.

\textsuperscript{67} Ibid., 8. Albert Rice (\textit{The Clarinet in the Classical Period}, 45-47) discusses eight-key clarinets made by English makers in the first two decades of the nineteenth century.
Two clarinet tutors appeared around 1818. In Philadelphia, Allyn Bacon published *Bacon’s Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet*. His fingering chart for the natural notes includes an actual engraving of a five-key clarinet, to which the fingering chart refers. The range given extends to a''. The fingering chart for flats and sharps offers alternative fingerings for f sharp'' and g sharp''. Also in 1818, William Dubois of New York published *A Complete Preceptor For the Clarinet*. Like Bacon’s tutor, that of Dubois includes an engraving of a five-key clarinet with the fingering chart (Dubois prints a single chart including both diatonic and chromatic pitches). Dubois’s chart gives a range from e to a'', which seems by this date to be standard. Dubois presents a larger number of alternative fingerings than earlier tutors; he includes two each for b, c sharp'', f sharp'', g sharp'', g sharp''', c sharp''', d sharp'', e'' and f'', and four alternative fingerings for d'''. The brief instructions offer nothing new, and the music consists largely of the usual variety of single-line tunes and duets. At the end of the tutor are four technical “Preludes” the keys of C, F, and B-flat; the first of these is identical to that found in George Blake’s 1803 tutor.

---


69 *A / COMPLETE PRECEPTOR. / For the / Clarinet / Containing the most approved Instructions relative to that Instrument [sic]. / Explained in the most simple and comprehensive manner, including a pro /
Ezekiel Goodale published *The Instrumental Director* in 1819. It provides brief instructions and fingering charts or diagrams for the flute, patent flute, clarinet, bassoon, serpent, keyed serpent, flageolet, oboe, violin, and bass viol, along with ensemble music of various types. The instructions for the clarinet are brief and offer no new information beyond that found in previous tutors. Goodale’s single chromatic fingering chart extends from low e to g''', omitting low f and g and giving no alternative fingerings. The chart is for a five-key clarinet; at least in the 1829 edition, however, Goodale mentions the existence of a sixth key (the a'-b' shake key) on some clarinets.

In 1820 George Blake published an updated version of his 1803 *New and Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet*. The verbal instructions in the 1820 edition are the same as in the 1803 edition, but the fingering charts contain some differences. The later edition, like the earlier, includes separate fingering charts for diatonic and chromatic notes; however, the 1820 edition includes a very fine and accurate engraving of a five-key clarinet with each chart. The chromatic chart gives a range only up to f'' (compared...
to $g\#a$ in the 1803 edition). There are alternate fingerings for $f\#$ and $g\#$ in the 1820 edition.

Finally, instructions and fingering charts for the clarinet were published in the *Literary and Musical Magazine* of April and May 1820. The fingering charts (one diatonic and the other chromatic) are for a five-key clarinet and give a combined range of low e to a$'\prime\prime$.

**Conclusions**

Based on the evidence drawn from newspaper advertisements, it seems clear that the clarinet was taught widely in the urban areas of early America from a relatively early date, and teaching materials such as tunebooks and tutors (both imported and published in America) were readily available by at least 1773. The increasing frequency of teaching advertisements from the mid-1780s onward implies that the clarinet grew steadily in popularity among amateurs, the clientele targeted by these advertisements.

As seen in Chapter One, teaching formed an essential part of the clarinetist’s livelihood, and the evidence presented in this chapter supports this idea. It seems likely that most performing clarinetists taught lessons, though not all of these performers advertised themselves as teachers. No teaching advertisements have been found, for example, for the prominent performer Andrew Wolfe; but since on at least one occasion a pupil of his joined him on a concert, and since he sometimes is listed in city directories as a music teacher, he must have been active to at least some extent as a pedagogue. Some

---

72 *Literary and Musical Magazine* 4 (n.s. 1), April-May 1820, pp. 172, 176, and 180. I thank Albert Rice for providing me with a copy of pages 176 and 180, containing the fingering charts.
clarinetists, such as Rouault and Meline, advertised actively as teachers and probably earned a major portion of their income from teaching.

The printed clarinet tutors that were available for purchase from about 1773 through the end of the eighteenth century were imported, probably from England and perhaps also from France. Although newspaper advertisements in this early period never specify titles or authors, one can speculate about which tutors might have been sold by examining tutors that were published in England and France at the time. The fact that the earliest American tutors providing instructions for playing the clarinet were clearly based on existing English models (especially *The Clarinet Instructor*, published in London by Longman and Broderip in 1780) suggests that it was probably mainly English tutors that American clarinetists used in the last decades of the eighteenth century. Most of these early tutors give only sketchy technical instructions, and seem to have been intended for use in conjunction with a teacher rather than for self-instruction.\(^7\) The musical material in these tutors consists largely of single-line tunes, duets, trios, and sometimes larger chamber ensembles of mixed winds and strings. Clarinet teachers may also have supplemented this material with music from tunebooks, such as *The Philadelphia Pocket Companion*, *Aitken’s Fountain of Music*, or *Blake’s Evening Companion*, which presented popular airs, dances, and marches. Separate collections of duets and other chamber music were also available and were undoubtably used in lessons as well as for domestic amusement. (This amateur music has been discussed in detail in Chapter Four.)

---
\(^7\) French clarinet tutors from this period generally provide much more specific and detailed instructions in the technical aspects of playing the clarinet, such as how to form the embouchure, how to use the air, how to produce different kinds of articulation, and so on.
Clarinet tutors also indicate that the five-key clarinet was most common in early America. All of the tutors discussed in this chapter have fingering charts that specify five-key instruments; and although Whitely acknowledged the existence of eight-key instruments in his 1816 preceptor, the earliest American publication to include a fingering chart for anything other than the five-key clarinet did not appear until 1843.\textsuperscript{74} The clarinet parts to ensemble music contained in American clarinet tutors are without exception notated in C, and since no explicit instructions are ever given for transposing, it may be safe to assume that C clarinets were at least common, if not predominant. As will be seen in Chapter Six, music merchants normally sold C clarinets as well as B-flat clarinets.

\textsuperscript{74}This was Elias Howe, Jr., \textit{Howe's / School for the Clarionett; / Containing New and / Complete Instructions for the / Clarionett…} (Boston: Howe, 1843). I examined a copy of this tutor held at The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (MT382.H62S3 1843 [case]). It is clear from newspaper advertisements, however, that more sophisticated instruments (such as 13-key clarinets) were available to American clarinetists much earlier than 1843; see Chapter Six for a discussion of this topic.
CHAPTER 6

MAKERS AND SELLERS OF CLARINETS AND RELATED MERCHANDISE

A healthy music industry grew up in every large early American city, to supply amateur and professional musicians with the necessary tools of their trade: instruments, accessories, and sheet music. The aim of this chapter is to sketch a picture of the music business as it related to the clarinet, including makers and importers of such essentials as instruments, mouthpieces, and reeds, along with publishers and sellers of clarinet music.

In order to understand the kinds of clarinets that were sold and played in early America, it will be useful to review briefly the instrument’s development and status in Europe. The clarinet first appeared around 1700, but, as with any new invention, a considerable period of time elapsed before it gained general acceptance. By the late 1750s and early 1760s—the time of the clarinet’s first appearances in America—the instrument was just beginning to be used in European orchestras. The presence of two clarinetists in the Mannheim court orchestra in 1758 is often, and correctly, cited as a milestone, although the clarinet had been used sporadically in orchestras before that.

especially in opera orchestras. By the 1780s most orchestras incorporated clarinets, even if they were not always used by composers. Solo literature for the clarinet had appeared as early as the second decade of the eighteenth century; but, a handful of important concertos from the 1740s, 50s and 60s notwithstanding, solo writing for the clarinet was not widespread until the 1770s. This decade also marks the appearance of musicians who can be described as clarinet virtuosos, who truly specialized in the instrument; for example, in 1771 Josef Beer, arguably the first important clarinet virtuoso, began to appear in Paris as a soloist at the Concert spirituel (playing primarily concertos by Carl Stamitz).²

It seems, then, that although the clarinet was developed around 1700, it was not in general use in Europe until the 1770s and 80s. Its appearance in America in the late 1750s and early 1760s, and its regular use in orchestras and as a solo instrument beginning in the late 1780s (if not earlier), therefore, means that the clarinet’s use in early America was not far behind its use in Europe.³ Evidence (to be presented below) also indicates that the kinds of clarinets available to early American clarinetists were similar to those that a European clarinetist could have obtained. By the late 1750s and early 1760s, and certainly in the 1770s, four-key clarinets would have been common, although


³ The use of the clarinet in England is particularly relevant to this study. The clarinet had been known in England since at least the 1720s; Handel seems to have used it, albeit rarely. The virtuoso Mr. Charles played the clarinet widely in England and Ireland for two decades beginning in the 1740s, and two English players (Habgood and Pearson) performed in 1758. Shackleton (“Clarinet,” The New Grove Dictionary 5:906) notes that in England, “clarinets were being made and advertised for sale from the 1750s.” Opera composers such as Arne and J.C. Bach scored for clarinets in some of their operas from the early 1760s. Many clarinets by English makers have survived, dating from 1765 onward.
military musicians might have continued to use simpler clarinets. The standard clarinet in the last quarter of the eighteenth century had five keys; Shackleton notes that in England the five-key instrument “had entirely supplanted more primitive versions by 1770, whereas on the Continent even distinguished and innovative makers such as August Grenser were making four-key instruments later than this.”¹ (This fact has important implications for this study, since most clarinets imported to early America came from England.) The earliest clarinets were pitched in D and C, and clarinets in B-flat and A seem to have appeared sometime after 1750, though few exist that can be dated before 1770.

The evidence for the types of clarinet used in early America consists mainly of military documents, newspaper advertisements, clarinet fingering charts, and existing instruments. The information provided by written documents such as newspaper advertisements is not usually greatly detailed; it was common for a maker or music shop owner to announce simply that he had clarinets for sale, without specifying anything about the number of keys, nominal pitch, type of material, or price. It was not until 1779 that a document appeared that addresses any of these questions. On May 14 of that year, Samuel Hodgdon, commissary general of military stores, wrote to James Pearson, commissary of quartermaster stores, inquiring about some items requested but not yet

received, including “four B. clarinetts” that were ordered for Colonel Crane’s artillery regiment in the Continental Army.\(^5\)

No further documentation of nominal pitch is found until 1793. In that year William Callender of Boston offered “C. and B. Clarinets” for sale,\(^6\) and from that time onward his advertisements usually mention these nominal pitches. Instruments in B-flat and C seem generally to have been the most common clarinets used in America (as they were in Europe) in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Beginning in 1812, Gottlieb Graupner of Boston advertised “B C E & F Clarinetts.”\(^7\) This is a wide variety of nominal pitches, and the higher-pitched clarinets in E-flat and F were probably used mainly in military bands.\(^8\) Graupner continued to offer this variety in several subsequent advertisements (e.g., in 1814, 1815, 1817, and 1820), although in 1815 the F clarinet was not mentioned. In 1815, perhaps in competition with Graupner, Callender also added E-flat clarinets to his stock.\(^9\)

The most common material from which clarinets were made in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was boxwood, with ferrules (reinforcing rings inserted at joints) made of ivory or boxwood, and with keys made of brass. Sometimes clarinets

---

\(^5\) Clarinets in B-flat were at this time almost universally referred to by German pitch nomenclature, i.e., “Clarinet in B.”

\(^6\) *Columbian Centinel*, November 16, 1793.

\(^7\) In a manner similar to “Clarinet in B,” the designation “Clarinet in E” refers to an instrument pitched in E-flat.

\(^8\) The clarinet in high F was used in European military bands from about 1780 onward. See Basil Tchaikov, “The High Clarinets,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Clarinet*, ed. Colin Lawson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 52.

were advertised as either “tip’t or plain.” A clarinet that was tipped had ferrules made of a material that contrasted with the rest of the body, most usually ivory. This type of clarinet would presumably have been slightly more expensive than one that was “plain,” having boxwood ferrules. In 1798, William Callender advertised “A pair of ivory Clarionets, silver mounted.” These were extraordinary instruments, not only because of the material from which they were made (ivory), but also because they had silver ferrules; the same was true of clarinets advertised in 1803 by the Hartford merchant Charles Mather, who stated that he had instruments “with brass and silver trimmings.” Clarinets (and other instruments) were sometimes described as “patent” or “common,” as in a 1798 notice by John Paff advertising “Musical Clocks and Automatons, just arrived from Germany” as well as musical instruments, including “Patent Clarinets, Common do. [ditto].” The term “patent” usually refers to instruments with extra keys or other special features that distinguish them from the more “common” version of the instrument. Albert Rice suggests that Paff’s advertisement may refer to a standard five-key clarinet with an additional joint (a corps de rechange) for re-tuning the instrument to another nominal

---

10 My thanks to Albert Rice for explaining this term (personal communication). Rice notes that clarinets made in Germany, Austria, and Bohemia usually had ferrules made of horn.

11 Columbian Centinel, April 28, 1798.

12 Mather’s advertisement is cited in Robert Eliason, “George Catlin, Hartford Musical Instrument Maker, Part 1,” Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society 8 (1982), 24. I thank Albert Rice (personal communication) for pointing out that Callender’s and Mather’s advertisements refer to the material of the ferrules, not the keys. Rice notes that silver ferrules were common on oboes and flutes, but unusual on clarinets.

13 City Gazette, December 15, 1798.
pitch—the most frequent type at this time being a joint for re-tuning a clarinet in B-flat to play in A.\textsuperscript{14}

Makers and merchants who advertised clarinets for sale rarely specified the number of keys on the instruments they offered. The majority of imported instruments came from London; and since, as noted earlier, English makers were apparently producing instruments with no fewer than five keys from about 1770 onward, it seems reasonable to suppose that the five-key instrument predominated in America for much of the period under consideration.\textsuperscript{15} This is supported by the fact that all of the early tutors published in America have clarinet fingering charts for five-key instruments. In addition, the earliest surviving American-made clarinets also have five keys. In 1797 William Callender advertised that his clarinets were “approved of by the first performers in Boston”;\textsuperscript{16} it seems likely that professional players would be playing instruments with five keys by this time. By at least 1812, instruments with more than five keys were offered. In that year the Philadelphia firm of Caldcleugh & Thomas advertised that they had just received, from England, “Clarionetts of superior quality, with additional keys,

\textsuperscript{14} My thanks again to Albert Rice (personal communication) for clarifying the use of these terms.

\textsuperscript{15} Rice notes that a pair of six-key clarinets was made in England as early as 1765 by George Miller; see The Clarinet in the Classical Period, 42. Other English makers of this period mentioned by Rice (pp. 43-51) are Thomas Collier, John Hale, the Astor brothers (George and John Jacob), Thomas Stanesby, Caleb Gedney, Thomas Cahusac, Herman Wrede, Thomas Key, the Bilton firm, Goulding & Company, and D’Almaine & Company, Monzani & Company, the Millhouse firm, and others.

\textsuperscript{16} Columbian Centinel, January 4, 1797.
Samuel Holyoke owned a six-key clarinet in 1814 (for more about this instrument, see below). In Boston in 1815, I.E. Glover offered London-made C clarinets with extra keys, not specifying the exact number of keys but noting that the instruments were “with shake.” This undoubtedly refers to the a'-b' trill key common to clarinets of English manufacture in this period. Likewise, in 1819 Thomas Carr at his Baltimore shop offered clarinets with additional keys, without stating the number; in 1820, however, he advertised that he had “CLARIONETTS, with 5, 6, 11 and 13 keys.” Carr’s instruments were exceptional in other ways as well; this is discussed further below.

As noted above, the keys on these clarinets would typically have been made of brass, but sometimes they were made of silver; the latter were more costly. In 1809, Nathaniel Henchman of Boston offered C clarinets imported from London, “with brass and plated Keys.” An anonymous individual placed the following advertisement in a Charleston newspaper in 1813:

---

17 *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, November 16, 1812.

18 *Independent Chronicle*, November 20, 1815.

19 The a'-b' trill key was a key with a long touch-piece situated on the right side of the upper joint of the clarinet, and played by the index finger of the right hand. See Rice, *The Clarinet in the Classical Period*, 13.

Cheap Clarionets

TWO CLARIONETS, B. and C. are offered for sale at the low price of 25 dolls. They have two sets of keys to each, one of brass and one of silver. The original price of these Clarionets was 50 dolls; the set of silver keys having of themselves cost 20 dolls. The Clarionets are as good as when first bought.\footnote{Charleston Courier, April 16, 1813.}

It is difficult to imagine of what use two sets of keys would have been; perhaps the silver set could be mounted for performances, for a more impressive appearance onstage.

In a few instances, specific manufacturers of imported instruments are mentioned or implied. In 1817 Graupner of Boston advertised “a large assortment of CLARIONETS (Astor’s and Clementi’s manufacture).\footnote{Independent Chronicle, December 19, 1817. Astor and Clementi were London makers.} In Baltimore in 1819, Thomas Carr notified the public that he had clarinets from Dresden with extra keys and other improvements designed by Iwan Müller (these are discussed further below).\footnote{Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, October 19, 1819.} Sometimes music merchants who were also clarinet makers or belonged to clarinet-making families (such as Allyn Bacon, and Klemm & Brother, of Philadelphia, or H. G. Gütter of Bethlehem) advertised clarinets for sale, without specifying whether the clarinets were of their own or their family’s manufacture.\footnote{For example, Klemm & Brother’s advertisement in Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser, October 22, 1818; and Bacon & Hart’s advertisement in the same newspaper, November 12, 1818.}

Prices of clarinets are rarely mentioned in newspaper advertisements. Nevertheless, some instances may be cited that give a rough idea of the range of prices for clarinets in early nineteenth-century America. In 1809, C. & E. Hayt’s Umbrella
Manufactory of Boston placed an advertisement stating that they had clarinets for sale ranging from ten to sixty dollars. This obviously implies that varying qualities and types of instruments were available, perhaps made of several different kinds of wood, and with varying numbers of keys. The 1813 Charleston advertisement for “Cheap Clarinets,” cited above, mentions prices for the clarinets as used instruments (twenty-five dollars for the pair), as well as noting the price the individual paid for them when new (fifty dollars for the pair); no information is given as to the age of the clarinets, however. The extra set of silver keys was a great expense, though, at twenty dollars (forty percent of the original cost of the clarinets themselves). Other evidence suggests that clarinets could be obtained very cheaply. For example, Andrew Wolff’s clarinet was sold at auction after his death (in 1820) for four dollars;\textsuperscript{25} and as late as 1846, an itemized bill of goods sold in Bethlehem by H. G. Gütter includes a “C Clarinett” for five dollars.\textsuperscript{26}

**Individual Makers**

Clarinets were made in America as early as 1761. In that year Gottlieb Wolhaupter placed the following advertisement in the *New York Gazette*:

Gottlieb Wolhaupter, living at the sign of the Musical Instrument-Maker, opposite Mr. Adam Vanderberg’s, has just imported from London, a choice parcel of the best English box-wood: Where he continues to make and mend, all sorts of musical instruments, such as German flutes, hautboys, clareonets, flageolets, bassoons, fifes; and also silver tea-pot handles.\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{25} Papers pertaining to the administration of Wolff’s estate are at the Philadelphia Register of Wills, 1820, file #25; see also his biography in Appendix A.

\textsuperscript{26} This bill is reproduced in Stewart Carter, “The Gütter Family: Wind Instrument Makers and Dealers to the Moravian Brethren in America,” *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Association* 27 (2001), 63.

\textsuperscript{27} *New York Gazette*, November 16, 1761 (PACAN).
Thus, Wolhaupter is the earliest documented clarinet maker in America. In the 1770s a maker named David Wolhaupter also advertised clarinets in New York; this individual may be identical to Gottlieb, or may be a brother or son. In Philadelphia, the father and son Jacob Anthony, Sr. and Jr., were active from the 1770s to at least 1811 as wood turners and instrument makers. In 1772 Jacob Anthony, Sr. (1736-1804) advertised, first in German and later in English, that he made flutes, oboes, clarinets, and fifes, as well as repairing old ones and doing “all sorts of other turner’s work.”

It is not surprising that the Anthonys combined their general skill in wood-turning with woodwind instrument making, since the same basic tools and techniques would have been used for both. Another wood turner/instrument maker was Joshua Collins of Annapolis, who has already been mentioned as a clarinet teacher. He was also an instrument maker, and might have made clarinets. In 1773 he advertised as follows:

Joshua Collins, musical instrument-maker and turner from Manchester, begs leave to acquaint the publick, that he has commenced the said branches of business at Messrs Shaw and Chisholm’s Cabinet shop; where all sorts of turner’s work is executed in the compleatest manner; also German and common flutes, hautboys, fifes, &c. of all sorts and sizes; all sorts of music instruments repaired…

---


29 Waterhouse, New Langwill Index, 10.

30 Anthony’s German-language advertisement appeared in the Wochentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote, September 29, 1772; his English-language notice, which is a direct translation of the German, appeared in the Pennsylvania Gazette of November 18, 1772 (PACAN). Rice, in The Clarinet in the Classical Period, 61, gives further information on Anthony Sr. (active to about 1804) and Jr. (active to about 1811).

31 Maryland Gazette, February 25, 1773 (PACAN).
Although clarinets are not specifically mentioned in this notice, Keefer mentions “one clarinet of Collins” that was brought to Baltimore on the ship Eagle.\(^\text{32}\) Isaac Greenwood of Salem, Massachusetts, was another turner and instrument maker who made clarinets. He advertised in 1781 that at his shop “gentlemen may be supplyed [sic] with neat walking sticks; and ladies with umbrellas, neater and cheaper than those imported… Said Greenwood performs all kinds of turned work, Repairs violins; makes flutes, fifes, hoboys, clarinets, chaise-whips…”\(^\text{33}\) By 1788 Greenwood had moved to Boston, where for a number of years he advertised himself as a dentist as well as a turner.\(^\text{34}\) He continued to offer musical instruments for sale, including clarinets. He seems eventually to have dropped his musical instrument making and concentrated entirely on dentistry.

William Callender (1756-1839) of Boston began advertising as an ivory-turner and whip-maker as early as 1785, but started offering flutes and fifes in 1788.\(^\text{35}\) By 1793 his newspaper advertisements listed clarinets for sale (whether of his own making or

\(^{32}\) Lubov Keefer, \textit{Baltimore’s Music} (Baltimore: The Author, 1962), 9-10, fn. 27. Keefer is not clear about what time period he is referring to here, and does not cite his source; this clarinet might have arrived as early as the late 1750s, before Collins himself actually came to Maryland. It should be noted that Waterhouse, \textit{New Langwill Index}, 69, lists a “Joseph Collings” or “Joshua Collinge” (or “Coinge”) who was active in England around 1771.

\(^{33}\) \textit{Salem Gazette}, July 3, 1781 (PACAN). Frederick Selch, without citing his source, states that Greenwood was self-taught; see his “Instrumental Accompaniments for Yankee Hymn Tunes: An Investigation of the Evidence” (PhD diss., New York University, 2003), 314.

\(^{34}\) \textit{Columbian Centinel}, May 3, 1788, and May 27, 1789. Only the 1789 advertisement mentions clarinets. The 1788 advertisement states that in addition to selling toothbrushes, tooth powder, and artificial teeth, “said Greenwood offers his service to electrise those who stand in need of that almost universal remedy, at 1/6 each time, at his House. Advise with your physicians.” One shudders to think what this procedure might have involved.

\(^{35}\) Waterhouse, \textit{New Langwill Index} 55, states that Callender was known as an ivory-turner from 1789, and an instrument maker from 1796; I have found earlier dates in advertisements Callender placed in the \textit{Columbian Centinel}. 

164
imported is not clear), along with “instructions for the clarinet.” In several advertisements he specified that he had “C. and B. clarinets.” That he sold both imported clarinets and those of his own manufacture is made clear in an advertisement of 1797. The particularly interesting pair of ivory clarinets made by Callender has already been mentioned above. Callender continued to offer clarinets through at least 1815.

The only clarinets to survive from this early period are two instruments by Anthony from around 1800. Both are five-key instruments. One is pitched in A and, according to Rice, is based on German examples (as one might expect, since the Anthonys were German). The other instrument is pitched in C. Both are of stained boxwood with ivory ferrules, constructed in six sections.

The early nineteenth century saw an increase in clarinet-making activity in America. The important instrument maker George Catlin (1778-1852) spent the first part of his career in Hartford, Connecticut. His name appears in the Hartford city directory as early as 1799. In 1800 he advertised that he made “almost every kind of musical instrument now in use,” including clarinets and “tenor clarinets.” Further

---

36 *Columbian Centinel*, June 29, 1793. “Instructions for the clarinet” probably indicates that he had some type of printed clarinet tutor for sale at his shop.

37 Ibid., November 16, 1793; March 18, 1795.

38 Ibid., January 4, 1797.


40 Robert Eliason, “Oboes, Bassoons, and Bass Clarinets, made by Hartford Connecticut Makers before 1815,” *Galpin Society Journal* 30 (May 1977), 44. Regarding the “tenor clarinet” mentioned in this advertisement, Albert Rice (personal communication) believes that this instrument was “a bassoon-shaped alto clarinet in E-flat”. The existence of this type of instrument is not just hypothetical; in 1994 Rice
advertisements in 1803 and 1805 also mention clarinets. In 1812 he was in partnership with Allyn Bacon, and in 1813-14 with William Bliss; in 1815 or 1816 he moved to Philadelphia, first working with Bacon and then, in 1818, setting up an independent shop. He remained in Philadelphia until his death in 1852, but his Philadelphia career was apparently of limited success. Catlin’s major innovation was the invention of the “clarion,” a bassoon-shaped bass clarinet. He apparently began making these around 1810; Eliason dates an early surviving exemplar, now in the Henry Ford Museum in Dearborn, Michigan, from this time. This instrument is built of maple and has six brass keys, including a key that produces low D; the range of the instrument extends to low C. Catlin’s key flaps have a unique spade shape, a feature shown not only on his own instruments but also on other instruments built under his influence. Eliason argues persuasively that Catlin’s bass clarinets were developed independently of slightly earlier European experiments in bass clarinet design (for example, those of the Grensers in the 1790s), and he speculates that Catlin probably invented the instrument “in response to

appraised an anonymous bassoon-shaped alto clarinet owned by a private individual which was subsequently purchased by the Metropolitan Museum and identified as an “alto clarion.” It would make sense for Catlin to make a higher instrument based on the design he had already created for his bass clarion. My thanks to Albert Rice for sharing this information with me.


44 Albert Rice, personal communication. Another Catlin bass clarinet survives in the Letchworth State Park Museum near Castile, New York. This instrument carries the inscription “Catlin & Bacon,” and because of this is dated 1812 by Eliason. It is also constructed of maple, but has nine keys, and the range extends diatonically to low B-flat. Both this instrument and the Dearborn example are pitched in C, playing an octave lower than the soprano C clarinet. See Eliason, “George Catlin,” Part 2, 35.
military-band needs for a more robust instrument that was easier to play and maintain than the bassoon.”

Catlin may have trained several important makers of the next generation, including John Meacham Jr., Allyn Bacon, and perhaps Asa Hopkins, all of whom made clarinets. No soprano clarinets by Catlin survive.

Other bass clarinets antedating 1820 by American makers exist, including at least one by Uzal Miner (1785-1822). Miner was an apprentice to Catlin until 1811, when he took over Catlin’s shop. From 1811 to 1814 he placed newspaper advertisements for his wares, which included not only “Catlin’s patent clarions” but also clarinets and reeds. Whether Miner manufactured or simply sold these soprano clarinets is not certain; however, a bass clarinet by Miner survives in the collection of the Farmington, Connecticut Historical Society. It is quite similar to Catlin’s 1812 instrument. Two other bass clarinets, one dated 1813 and another 1814, may also be by Miner.

Another significant group of clarinet makers appeared in upstate New York in the early nineteenth century. The two most important of these were William Whitely of

---

46 Waterhouse, New Langwill Index, 59.
47 For a list of these see Eliason, “George Catlin,” Part 2, 36-37.
50 Ibid., 49-50; also Eliason, “George Catlin,” Part 2, 36.
51 One is in the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, Buffalo, New York; the other is at the Henry Ford Museum at Dearborn, Michigan. See Eliason, “George Catlin,” Part 2, 37.
Utica, and the Meacham Brothers of Albany. William Whitely [dates?] was active as a maker of wind instruments between about 1810 and 1854. Fourteen Whitely clarinets survive, all in U.S. collections. At least nine of these are five-key instruments, while one has nine keys and another ten. The dating of these instruments is not certain, but since Whitely began his instrument-making activities in 1810 it is possible that some of them were made before 1820. The firm of Meacham and Meacham flourished in Albany from about 1810 to 1832. John Meacham, Jr. (1785-1844) has already been mentioned as a protégé of Catlin, with whom he worked in Hartford from 1806 to 1810. In about 1813 he was joined in business by his brother Horace (1789-1861). There is a six-key clarinet in C, signed J. Meacham and thought to date from between 1810 and 1813, that is now at Albany, New York State Museum. There are also two clarinets by J. & H. Meacham that were probably made sometime between 1813 and 1827; both have five keys and are pitched in B-flat. One is at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and the other (with its original mouthpiece) is in a private collection in Philadelphia.

---

52 A less well-known maker from Albany was Harley Hosford (d. 1822), who was listed in the Albany city directory in 1813, and in that year also advertised clarinets for sale, “warranted equal to any of English manufacture,” as well as clarinet reeds. See Robert Eliason, “The Meachams, Musical Instrument Makers of Hartford and Albany,” Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society 5-6 (1979-80), 59. One five-key clarinet by Hosford survives, at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; see Waterhouse, New Langwill Index, 182.


54 Whitely is also mentioned in Chapter Five as the author of an instrumental tutor containing instructions for the clarinet.

55 Waterhouse, New Langwill Index, 257. See also Eliason, “The Meachams,” 54-56 and 60.

56 Young, 4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments, 155; Eliason, “The Meachams,” 60-61.

57 Young, 4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments, 156.
In New York City, Edward Riley, Sr. (1769-1829) immigrated to America from England in 1805. He was active in New York City as a flutist, singer, music teacher, and publisher, and as a musical instrument maker and dealer. He has already been mentioned in Chapter Four as a teacher of many instruments, including the clarinet, in 1816. One clarinet by Riley survives at the Henry Ford Museum in Dearborn, Michigan.\textsuperscript{58} Other clarinet makers in New York City included Louis Alexander Peloubet and John Butler.\textsuperscript{59}

In addition to these New York makers, several clarinet makers were active elsewhere. Heinrich Christoph Eisenbrandt (1790-1861) was born in Göttingen, Germany, but fled to America to escape military conscription during the Napoleonic Wars. From 1808 to 1815 he lived and worked in Philadelphia. At first he may have been connected with the shop of Jacob Anthony, but in 1811 he set up shop for himself. By 1815, however, he had moved to New York; and by 1819, after a short return to Germany, he resided in Baltimore, where he remained until his death.\textsuperscript{60} A clarinet by

\textsuperscript{58} Waterhouse, \textit{New Langwill Index}, 328-29.

\textsuperscript{59} In 1803, Louis Alexander de Peloubet (1764-ca.1833), a recent French immigrant, advertised that his company, Monniot and Peloubet, made all sorts of instruments, including clarinets. Peloubet later worked in other New York towns, including Athens, Albany, and Hudson, returning to New York City in 1812. None of his instruments is known to survive. (Waterhouse, \textit{The New Langwill Index}, 297.)

In 1807, John Butler advertised his “Musical Instrument Manufactory” in New York City. His newspaper notice advised that he made and sold wind instruments, specifically mentioning flageolets and flutes but also stating that “merchants may be supplied with all kinds of MILITARY MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS for Exportation.” These military instruments must have included clarinets; whether they were actually made by Butler or just sold by him is not clear. Butler advertised in the \textit{New York Evening Post}, June 26, 1807. It may be that this is the same J. Butler who advertised in the \textit{Charleston Courier} of September 5, 1806, that he had for sale a newly invented wind instrument, “patronized by the Royal Family and Nobility of G. Britain,” which was “truly fascinating” and “so simple and easy that any person may attain a proficiency in one third the time they are learning any other.” A later advertisement (\textit{Charleston Courier}, November 23, 1806) identifies this instrument as a patent flageolet of Butler’s invention.

\textsuperscript{60} For biographical information on Eisenbrandt, see Waterhouse, 104; Robert Eliason, “Eisenbrandt, Heinrich Christian,” \textit{The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments}, ed. Stanley Sadie (London:
Eisenbrandt survives in the collection of New York’s Metropolitan Museum. It is a five-key boxwood instrument, pitched in C. Libin dates it to the middle of the nineteenth century, but it is likely that Eisenbrandt was making clarinets earlier than this as well.\textsuperscript{61}

Another German, Heinrich Gottlob Gütter (1797-1847), moved to America from Neukirchen, Germany in 1817. He settled in the Moravian community of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where he opened a shop as a musical instrument maker and dealer in 1819. He was also a clarinetist (see Appendix A for a biographical sketch). Seven clarinets by Gütter survive, in various American collections. The majority of these are pitched in C; one is in B-flat and another in E-flat. All have five keys, and were made in Bethlehem. One carries a date of 1822, but the others are not dated.\textsuperscript{62} According to Carter, Gütter’s instruments were of average, workaday quality, “slightly old-fashioned in their design, largely reflecting late eighteenth-century styles of construction rather than the latest developments in Europe,” and were marketed primarily toward the Moravian communities and other amateur players in the locality.\textsuperscript{63}

\textsuperscript{61} Eisenbrandt was apparently a tough individual. He came to America from Germany on a ship on which a third of the passengers died of starvation. Later in life he was taken ill with yellow fever, went into a coma lasting forty-eight hours, and was mistaken for dead; only at his wife’s final farewell, when she grasped his hand, did he open his eyes and return to consciousness. This experience resulted in his inventing a coffin with a mechanism on the inside of the lid, by which the occupier might escape. He also fought in, and survived, the battle of North Point in the War of 1812. See Waterhouse, \textit{New Langwill Index}, 104; and Laurence Libin, “The Eisenbrandt Family Pedigree,” in \textit{Studia Organologica: Festschrift für John Henry van der Meer zu seinem fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag}, ed. Friedemann Hellwig (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1987), 339.

\textsuperscript{62} For details of these instruments, and about the Gütter family, see Stewart Carter, “The Gütter Family: Wind Instrument Makers and Dealers to the Moravian Brethren in America,” \textit{Journal of the American Musical Instrument Association} 27 (2001), 48-83.

\textsuperscript{63} Ibid., 66.
Little is known about the Georgetown maker C. Toomey. According to Waterhouse he was active in the early nineteenth century. A ten-key clarinet by Toomey survives in a private collection.\textsuperscript{64}

Until now no notice has been made of the Baltimore maker Robert Bunyie (d. 1839), who immigrated to America from Scotland, perhaps while still a minor. He became a naturalized citizen in 1802, but his name does not appear again until 1816, when he is listed as a clarinet performer (see the biographical sketch in Appendix A for details of his performances). By 1819 he had set up shop as a musical instrument dealer and maker, both importing and manufacturing clarinets.\textsuperscript{65} His name is listed in various Baltimore city directories beginning in 1816, but only in 1822-23 is he listed as a musical instrument maker. No instruments by Bunyie are known to survive.

**Music Shops**

Despite the activities of early American clarinet makers, the majority of clarinets purchased and used were probably imported and sold by music shops. Newspaper advertisements give ample evidence of this, documenting the existence of music shops in all of the major urban areas. The earliest evidence of the importation of clarinets is from 1764, when Michael Hillegas of Philadelphia advertised that he had imported clarinets for sale at his shop.\textsuperscript{66} Other individuals who advertised clarinets in Philadelphia during

\textsuperscript{64} Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 402.

\textsuperscript{65} See his advertisement in the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, June 19, 1819.

\textsuperscript{66} *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 5, 1764 (PACAN). Ten years later Hillegas was still advertising imported clarinets: Ibid., May 11, 1774 (PACAN).
and immediately after the Revolution were Henry Deaberger, William Prichard, and Benjamin Carr.\textsuperscript{67}

In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the main suppliers of imported clarinets in Philadelphia seem to have been the music dealer Charles Taws and the firm of Caldcleugh & Thomas. Charles Taws (1763-c. 1833) was active in Philadelphia from about 1787 as a maker of pianos and organs, and later also as a music publisher.\textsuperscript{68} Taws first advertised clarinets (and clarinet music) for sale in 1806,\textsuperscript{69} and his advertisements appeared with some regularity up through 1820. It is likely that he imported his clarinets from London. An 1807 newspaper notice advertised “Grand and Square Piano Fortes, Clarionets and Patent Flutes”; the pianos were by Clementi, so perhaps the woodwinds came from London as well.\textsuperscript{70} In 1809 Taws offered “B & C Clarionets, tipt and plain.”\textsuperscript{71}

Specialized music shops did not have a monopoly on the sale of instruments; sometimes purveyors of general goods advertised musical instruments (including clarinets) as well. The Philadelphia firm of Caldcleugh and Thomas primarily sold

\textsuperscript{67} Henry Deaberger advertised “claronets” for sale in Philadelphia in 1778; no further information has been found about Deaberger, and it is not known if he was a maker or just a seller of clarinets (\textit{Pennsylvania Packet}, October 10, 1778 [PACAN]). In 1791 the Philadelphia bookseller William Prichard stated that he had just received books and musical instruments, including clarinets, from London and Dublin (\textit{General Advertiser}, November 2, 1794). In 1794 the music merchant and publisher Benjamin Carr advertised clarinets for sale at his musical repository; see Irving Lowens, \textit{Music and Musicians in Early America} (New York: W.W. Norton, 1964), 108.


\textsuperscript{69} Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser, November 22, 1806.

\textsuperscript{70} Ibid., May 20, 1807.

\textsuperscript{71} Ibid., October 13, 1809.
stationary, globes, mathematical and nautical instruments, thermometers, and other
“fancy goods.” They occasionally also listed flutes and pianos in their advertised stock.
Beginning in 1807 they began to advertise imported clarinets for sale on a regular basis.\textsuperscript{72} Their instruments came from London; for example, in 1812 they gave notice that they had many musical instruments for sale, “imported in the ship Mandarin, from London.” These included “Clarionetts of superior quality, with additional keys, &c.,” and also “Reeds for Clarionetts.”\textsuperscript{73} In 1818 Caldcleugh & Thomas sold their business to W. C. Beck and S. M. Stewart, who continued to offer the same variety of goods (including clarinets).\textsuperscript{74}

Numerous other Philadelphia merchants offered clarinets for sale in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The most important of these were George Blake, Bacon & Hart, George Willig, and Klemm & Brother.\textsuperscript{75} George Blake has already been mentioned as a music publisher, who produced the earliest American clarinet tutor and other early publications for the clarinet. He also operated a music shop, and in 1815 offered clarinets for sale there.\textsuperscript{76} Rice mentions a clarinet of English origin, dated about 1830, that carries Blake’s stamp; this illustrates the practice, not uncommon in early

\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid., January 7, 1807.
\item Ibid., November 16, 1812. On November 17, 1812, Charles Taws advertised that he had also received clarinets off the Mandarin.
\item Ibid., May 18, 1818.
\item Others of less importance, but worth mentioning, were: an anonymous individual at No. 13 South Fourth Street, “Next Door to the Indian Queen Tavern,” who also offered “reads” for clarinets (Aurora General Advertiser, November 26, 1800); J. Chalk (Ibid.); and Jacob Sperry, a dealer in general household goods (Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser, March 21, 1808).
\item Ibid., August 22, 1815.
\end{enumerate}
America, of merchants imprinting their own names on imported instruments. The firm of Bacon & Hart was established in Philadelphia around 1814 by Allyn Bacon (1789-1864), who has already been mentioned as a possible apprentice of George Catlin. Bacon’s partner was the engraver Abraham Hart. They advertised clarinet music as well as “plain and tipped clarinets,” “flutes and clarinets in paper boxes,” and clarinet reeds for sale in 1818. In the same year, the music publisher and merchant George Willig (1764-1851) announced that he had received, per the ship Xenophon from Amsterdam, clarinets and clarinet music. Also in 1818, the firm of Klemm & Brother advertised the opening of their new music store and offered clarinets and reeds for sale. John George Klemm (b. 1795) and his brother Frederick August (ca. 1795-1876) were born in Neukirchen, Germany and were members of an instrument-making family. It may be that the clarinets they sold were supplied from the family shop in Neukirchen.

In New York City, the merchant and publisher James Rivington seems to have held a virtual monopoly on the sale of clarinet-related goods in the 1770s and 1780s. He was the first merchant in early America to advertise the sale of clarinet reeds (in 1772).

---

79 *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, June 24 and November 12, 1818. The November advertisement does not give enough information to determine if the clarinets might have been made by Bacon, or if he was selling imported instruments.
80 Ibid., September 1, 1818.
81 Ibid., October 22, 1818.
83 *New York Mercury*, June 18, 1772 (PACAN).
and clarinet tutors (in 1773). By 1778 he was advertising not only tutors, but also clarinets; a notice on October 28 of that year stated that he had for sale “an excellent pair of Concert Horns, Two Bassoons, and Two Clarinets.” Again in 1779 he offered a pair of clarinets for sale, at a price of 5 guineas. The sale of instruments in pairs seems to indicate that he was aiming at the military market. In the same year he advertised clarinet music, including “Giordani’s favourite Overture for Clarinets and Oboes,” “Dretzy’s grand Military Sonatas, for two clarinets, two Horns, and a Bassoon,” and possibly one of Mahon’s clarinet concertos (see Chapter Three). In 1780 Rivington advertised cases for clarinet reeds.

Rivington regularly advertised clarinets for sale throughout the early 1780s. The only sign of competition to his New York monopoly on clarinet merchandise seems to have been an anonymous individual at 242 Queen Street, who advertised in 1781 that he had clarinet reeds from London for sale. Later in the decade, starting in 1786 and continuing until about 1815, John Jacob Astor sold imported clarinets.

---

84 Rivington's New York Gazette, October 14, 1773 (PACAN).

85 Ibid., October 28, 1778 (PACAN).

86 Ibid., April 24, 1779 (PACAN).

87 Ibid., October 20, 1779 (PACAN).

88 Ibid., May 3 and December 23, 1780 (PACAN).

89 New York Mercury, October 29, 1781 (PACAN).

After the turn of the nineteenth century, numerous merchants appeared in New York City who sold clarinets and accessories. Perhaps the most important of these was the firm of John and Michael Paff, who took over Astor’s business in 1802. The Paffs began selling clarinets in that year, continuing to offer them on a regular basis through at least 1815. Their clarinets were imported: in 1804 they advertised clarinets imported on the ship Martha from London, and in 1805 they received musical instruments (including clarinets) from London, Amsterdam, and Paris. The violinist James Hewitt also operated as a music merchant and publisher. He advertised musical instruments, including clarinets, for sale in 1801, and in 1808 he offered George Blake’s Evening Companion for the flute or clarinet. In the later part of the period under consideration, clarinets were sold at the shops of Edward Riley, William Dubois, and Raymond Meetz. Riley, mentioned earlier as a maker and teacher, was also a music merchant; he advertised clarinet music for sale in 1816, and clarinets in 1820. In 1817 the music publisher and dealer William Dubois advertised “B. & C. clarinets” along with clarinet

---

91 Rice, The Clarinet in the Classical Period, 61.
92 Their first advertisement appeared in the New York Evening Post, April 19, 1802.
93 Ibid., June 30, 1804.
94 Ibid., December 5, 1805.
95 New York Evening Post, December 3, 1801.
96 Ibid., January 7, 1808.
97 Ibid., March 27, 1816, and April 4, 1820.
reeds and, in 1820, clarinet music. Raymond Meetz was a pianist who owned a music business, advertising clarinet music in 1819 and 1820. Other less important dealers offered clarinets and clarinet-related items as well, so New York was well supplied with this merchandise in the first two decades of the nineteenth century.

Clarinet music was advertised for sale in Boston newspapers in the 1780s and 1790s. The primary supplier of clarinets to Boston, beginning in the early 1790s and continuing well into the nineteenth century, seems to have been William Callender, who not only made clarinets (see above) but also sold imported ones. Callender gained some competition at the beginning of the new century, however, with the opening of music shops by Peter Von Hagen, where clarinets were offered regularly from 1800 to at least 1806, and Gottlieb Graupner, who sold clarinets from about 1806 to at least 1820.

---

98 Ibid., July 22, 1817, and January 18, 1820. Dubois also published a clarinet tutor in 1818; see the discussion of this tutor in Chapter Five.

99 Ibid., May 31, 1819, and January 4, 1820.

100 Among the dealers of lesser importance were: George Gilfert, a pianist who (like the violinist Hewitt) supplemented his performing income with his activity in the music business, and who offered clarinets for sale in 1802 (New York Evening Post, March 26, 1802); the firm of Waites and Charters, which advertised clarinets for sale in 1803 (Ibid., December 7, 1803); the firm of Thompson and Hart, who offered clarinet music in 1807 (Ibid., February 12, 1807); a merchant named J.C. Zimmerman, who advertised “a small assortment of Tapes and pound Ribbons, Some Violins, Guitarrs, Clarinets, and a parcel of Piano Cords” in 1816 (Ibid., January 5, 1816); John and Adam Geib, who sold clarinets at their music store in 1816 (Ibid., May 16, 1816); and Joseph Willson, another music shop owner, sold clarinets in 1817 (Ibid., July 17, 1817).

101 E. Battelle offered it at his bookstore in 1784 (Massachusetts Centinel, November 6, 1784); and J. Deverell advertised clarinet music, including the Philadelphia Pocket Companion, among his stock in 1794 (Columbian Centinel, August 27, 1794).

102 Callender began advertising clarinets in 1793. His early advertisements are not explicit as to whether the clarinets offered are imported or of his own manufacture; a notice from 1797 (Columbian Centinel, January 4, 1797) makes it clear, however, that at least by that time he is offering both. A partnership named Linley and Moore also advertised in 1799 that they had imported eight clarinets and other musical instruments, as well as “several sets of new Military Music,” on the ship Columbia (Columbian Centinel, February 9, 1799).
Almost all of the advertisements placed in newspapers by Von Hagen and Graupner indicate that they imported their clarinets from London.\textsuperscript{103} In 1808 Graupner offered not only clarinets but also reeds, reed boxes, and red leather cases for clarinets.\textsuperscript{104} By 1812 Graupner was selling clarinets in many keys; an advertisement in the autumn of that year stated that he had “B C E & F Clarinetts” and reeds.\textsuperscript{105} In 1817 he offered “a large assortment of CLARIONETS (Astor’s and Clementi’s manufacture)” along with clarinet music.\textsuperscript{106}

Numerous other Boston merchants sold clarinets and related accessories in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Of these, the two most prominent were Nathaniel H. Henchman and John Ashton. In 1809 Henchman offered “C Clarionets, with brass and plated Keys, tipt with ivory,” along with mouthpieces and reeds; he advertised clarinets again in 1812.\textsuperscript{107}

The music merchant John Ashton sold clarinets beginning in 1815, and continuing into the 1830s and 1840s.\textsuperscript{108} Other merchants advertised clarinets and related merchandise for

\textsuperscript{103} For example, in 1803 Von Hagen stated that he had received, per the ships Minerva and Tiger (from London); “B and C clarinets, of different qualities… Clarinet, Hautboy and Bassoon Reeds… French Horn, Clarinet, Trumpet and Serpent Mouth Pieces....” and music, including “Instruction Books for every instrument.” (Independent Chronicle, December 22, 1803.)

\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., May 26, 1808.

\textsuperscript{105} Ibid., October 12, 1812.

\textsuperscript{106} Ibid., December 19, 1817. Astor and Clementi were London makers.

\textsuperscript{107} Ibid., May 11, 1809 and May 18, 1812. Nathaniel H. Henchman is listed in the Boston directories of 1803 through 1807 as “turner” or “ivory turner.” Beginning in 1809, however, he is listed as “musical instrument maker,” so it is possible that the clarinets he offered in his 1809 and 1812 advertisements were of his own manufacture.

\textsuperscript{108} Johnson, 277, makes reference to Ashton in 1815; I have located an advertisement by Ashton in the Columbian Centinel of August 12, 1820. Rice (personal correspondence) states that he has examined
sale as well, so that Boston, like New York, had a plentiful supply of these items from at least the 1780s (if not earlier) through 1820 and beyond.  

The Charleston music shop of Robert Wells sold clarinet reeds as early as 1774. He may also have been selling clarinets at that time as well, but the first documentary evidence of his doing so is in 1781, when he advertised clarinets, reeds, and tutors, all “just received from London.” By 1788 another Charleston firm, Bradford & Co., was also offering clarinets for sale, along with “books of instruction” and “the latest music”; like Wells, Bradford imported his goods from London, stating that they came from his “Manufactory, Fountain-Court, Cheapside, London.” In 1798 John Paff advertised his display of “Musical Clocks and Automatons, just arrived from Germany,” also stating that he has musical instruments for sale, including “Patent” and “Common” clarinets. 

Other Boston suppliers of clarinets and clarinet-related merchandise were the firm of Kentner, von Harten & Co., purveyors of general goods, who in 1803 listed clarinets in their stock (Columbian Centinel, October 13, 1803); Daniel Hewes, who in 1803 advertised “B and C clarinets” and reeds, from London (Columbian Centinel, December 22, 1803); C. & E. Hayt’s Umbrella Manufactory, already mentioned above for their 1809 advertisement; and Israel E. Glover, who in 1815 offered the “best English C Clarionets, ivory tip’t [and plain],” along with “best English and French bassoon and clarionet Reeds” (Independent Chronicle, August 14, 1815). Glover also advertised clarinets on November 20, 1815, including “C Clarionets, tipt and plain…with shake Keys.” 

Other Boston suppliers of clarinets and clarinet-related merchandise were the firm of Kentner, von Harten & Co., purveyors of general goods, who in 1803 listed clarinets in their stock (Columbian Centinel, October 13, 1803); Daniel Hewes, who in 1803 advertised “B and C clarinets” and reeds, from London (Columbian Centinel, December 22, 1803); C. & E. Hayt’s Umbrella Manufactory, already mentioned above for their 1809 advertisement; and Israel E. Glover, who in 1815 offered the “best English C Clarionets, ivory tip’t [and plain],” along with “best English and French bassoon and clarionet Reeds” (Independent Chronicle, August 14, 1815). Glover also advertised clarinets on November 20, 1815, including “C Clarionets, tipt and plain…with shake Keys.” 

109 South Carolina & American General Gazette, May 6-13, 1774 (PACAN). 

110 Royal Gazette, October 17-20, 1781 (PACAN). Wells advertised several more times in the Royal Gazette in late 1781 and early 1782. 

112 City Gazette, February 1, 1788. I have also found advertisements for clarinets and clarinet reeds by Bradford in 1791 (City Gazette, September 5, 1791) and 1812 (Charleston Courier, December 18, 1812). 

113 City Gazette, December 15, 1798.
Between 1800 and 1820 numerous individuals and firms in Charleston offered clarinets and related merchandise, but their newspaper advertisements were sporadic, so it is difficult to discern which of these businesses was most prominent. In 1801 the firm of Thornhill, Wallis & Co. advertised clarinets for sale off the ship Columbus, from London.\textsuperscript{114} J. Eckhard was selling clarinets that he had received on the ship Octavia, also from London, in 1806.\textsuperscript{115} By 1813 a music store at “No. 52 Corner of Broad and Kind-Streets” was offering “C. and B. Clarionets” and clarinet reeds; later advertisements show that this was a music shop run by the musicians DeVillers and Muck.\textsuperscript{116} Several short-lived firms or individuals sold clarinets in the later part of the period under consideration. In 1817 Raymond & Mott received an assortment of goods to sell on consignment, including some musical instruments, among which were clarinets.\textsuperscript{117} William Sherbourn opened a music shop in 1819 and sold sheet music and preceptors for the clarinet, as well as reeds;\textsuperscript{118} Sherbourn died in 1820 at the age of 26, however.\textsuperscript{119} The auctioneer A. Remoussin advertised clarinets for sale on October 30, 1820.\textsuperscript{120} Finally, toward the end of 1820 Siegling’s Music Store advertised clarinets for sale;\textsuperscript{121} this firm was to become

\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., December 3, 1801.

\textsuperscript{115} Charleston Courier, November 17, 1806.

\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., December 29, 1813.

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., February 25, 1817.

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., December 30, 1819 and March 27, 1820.

\textsuperscript{119} He died on August 5, 1820; a notice of his death appeared in the Charleston Courier of August 11, 1820.

\textsuperscript{120} Charleston Courier, October 30, 1820.

\textsuperscript{121} Ibid., November 22, 1820.
one of Charleston’s main music merchants for the remainder of the nineteenth century and far into the twentieth.¹²²

Very little information has been found about Baltimore’s music shops that sold clarinets and related merchandise, and most of this information comes from the period around and after 1800.¹²³ The most important Baltimore music seller seems to have been Joseph Carr. His store (taken over by his son Thomas Carr in 1819) offered clarinets for sale from at least 1800 to 1820. Some of his clarinets were imported from London,¹²⁴ and he advertised that he had them “constantly on sale.”¹²⁵ In 1804 he also advertised that he had music for sale, including “Concertos, quintetts, quartettos, trios, duetts, sonatas, lessons, solos, overtures and waltzes, &c. for the piano forte, violin, flute and clarinet.”¹²⁶ Some of Carr’s later advertisements contain significant details about the types of clarinet he had for sale, and these will be discussed further below. A few other Baltimore merchants offered clarinets, clarinet supplies, and music for sale, but none seem to have been as prominent as Carr.¹²⁷

¹²² The firm was in operation from 1819 to 1970. Hindman, “Concert Life,” 255 and 259.

¹²³ The earliest notice of clarinets for sale in Baltimore comes from 1800, when an individual named R. Shaw gave notice of the removal of his music shop to Light Street, at the same time advertising musical instruments (including clarinets) for sale.¹²³ The advertisement implies that he had been in business for some time at another location, so perhaps he supplied clarinets to Baltimore prior to 1800 as well. Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, January 11, 1800.

¹²⁴ Ibid., June 7, 1800.

¹²⁵ Ibid., November 21, 1800.

¹²⁶ Ibid., March 16, 1804.

¹²⁷ The firm of Neal, Wills & Cole, which sold mostly paper and books, advertised new music for sale in 1813, including “a few more copies of Blake’s Military Amusement, for 2 Clarionetts” (Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, September 30, 1813); and an individual named J.R. Moussier offered clarinets and clarinet reeds for sale in 1816, claiming to sell his goods “50 per cent cheaper than in any
Three Important Advertisements

Three exceptionally detailed newspaper notices deserve special mention here. The first is an advertisement placed by the important New England musician and music educator Samuel Holyoke (see Chapter Four) in a Boston newspaper of 1814, notifying the public that he has lost his clarinet:

A Patent CLARIONET LOST.

LOST, on the 24th instant, between Boylston Market and Roxbury Meeting-house, a valuable PATENT CLARIONET lined with metal—six brass Keys—the joints tip’t with ivory and silver—two Mouth-pieces, one with a tin, other with a wooden Cap—the barrel cracked and bound in the middle with silver wire—the bell fractured at the bottom, close to the tip—Makers, Goulding & Co. London. It was rolled in a small sheepskin and tied up in a flag handkerchief. The Finder shall be satisfactorily Rewarded, if he will leave it at No. 88, Newbury-street, near the Boylston Market, Boston. S. HOLYOKE.\textsuperscript{128}

The details given in this announcement allow a quite precise identification of the type of clarinet played by Holyoke. His was a six-key instrument made by Goulding & Company of London. It was probably a relatively expensive instrument, since it was tipped “with ivory and silver”; but it was also obviously well worn, with a number of other store in this city” (Ibid., July 24, 1816). Beginning in 1818 Joseph Robinson, bookseller and owner of a circulating library in Baltimore, advertised clarinet music, including “Bacon’s complete PRECEPTOR for the CLARINETT, with a selection of Airs, Marches, &c. (Ibid., January 24, 1818); in 1819 and 1820 he advertised clarinets for sale (Ibid., February 11, 1819 and May 13, 1820). A notice of July 7, 1820, announced that Robinson had just received “a considerable invoice of imported music—consisting of Concertos, Quintettes, Quartettes, Trios, Duetts, Sonatas, Variations, &c. for Piano Forte, Violin, Flute, and Clarinet principals, with full orchestra accompaniment.” He cautioned his customers that, “as I have only a single copy of some of the pieces, those who are desirous of a choice had better call at once.” Robert Bunyie has already been mentioned (see above) as a Baltimore maker and seller of clarinets from around 1819; in that same year, the pianist Meinicke advertised that he had clarinets for sale at his music store (Ibid., November 1, 1819).

\textsuperscript{128} \textit{Independent Chronicle}, December 29, 1814.
cracks, even though Holyoke kept it warmly wrapped in sheepskin. The description “lined with metal” suggests that this clarinet carried James Wood’s newly-patented design that inserted metal tubes into the main part of the clarinet bore to prevent warping.

Rice states that in 1810 Wood joined the firm of Goulding & Company, and that his innovations were promoted by that firm. Holyoke’s ownership of a clarinet with Wood’s patent design is evidence of a swift transmission of the latest European developments to America.

More evidence of this swift transmission is found in two later advertisements by the Baltimore music merchant Thomas Carr. In 1819 Carr placed the following advertisement in the newspaper:

“CLARINETS (Dresden) with additional keys, and the most modern improvements lately invented by EVAN [sic] MULLER, and recently introduced by the first professors of that instrument in Europe.”

The availability of clarinet cases at this time is uncertain. I have found only four newspaper references to cases in the period up to 1820: Josiah Flagg, in his 1776 notice of a lost clarinet, mentions that it was in a “red leather case” (see Flagg’s biography in Appendix A); Graupner sold red leather clarinet cases in 1808 (Independent Chronicle, May 26, 1808); Klemm and Brother offered cases made of “pasteboard, leather and wool” in 1818 (Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser, October 22, 1818); and in that same year, Bacon and Hart advertised “Flutes and Clarinets, in paper boxes” (Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser, November 12, 1818). It may be that cases for clarinets were not common, since they do not appear frequently in advertisements; or it may be that they were such common stock that music merchants did not feel the need to advertise them.


My thanks to Albert Rice (personal communication) for pointing out the relevance of Wood’s design to this clarinet.

Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, October 19, 1819.
The type of clarinet referred to here is that developed by the virtuoso clarinetist Iwan Müller (1786-1854). Müller was born in Russia but lived and traveled throughout Europe during his life. By 1808 he was living in Dresden, where he worked with the maker Heinrich Grenser (1764-1813), who constructed an alto clarinet pitched in F based on Müller’s innovative designs; these included additional keys, improvements to the key mechanism, and the use of stuffed leather pads. By 1811 Müller had moved to Paris and had begun to design soprano clarinets with thirteen keys, stuffed pads, and greatly improved intonation. He referred to his clarinet as “omnitonique,” emphasizing that clarinetists would no longer need to own whole sets of clarinets in order to play in a wide variety of key signatures. In 1812 Müller presented his clarinet for adoption by the Paris Conservatory, but it was rejected; by 1814, however, the committee members had apparently changed their minds, and Müller’s design was adopted. Rice notes that Müller’s influence was extensive throughout Europe, stating that “[t]housands of thirteen-key clarinets… (subsequently known as simple-system clarinets) incorporated these improvements and were made in France and many other countries as late as the twentieth century.”

Carr’s advertisement is important for several reasons. First, it implies that the Grenser shop in Dresden may have made not just the alto clarinet of 1808 (noted above), but also thirteen-key soprano clarinets on Müller’s design. Second, the

---

133 For a good summary of Müller’s clarinet designs, see Rice, The Clarinet in the Classical Period, 65-70.

134 Ibid., 70.

135 My thanks to Albert Rice (personal communication) for noting this important point. Rice also notes that until now, the Grenser workshop has not been known to have produced clarinets with more than eleven keys.
advertisement demonstrates that Müller’s improved clarinets were available at a relatively early date in America. Although available in Europe perhaps as early as 1812, the thirteen-key design did not find immediate acceptance, as mentioned above. Müller published a fingering chart for this clarinet in 1812, probably to help players gain a basic understanding of his new instrument, but he did not publish a complete tutor until 1821. It is unlikely that the instrument had much widespread use in Europe before this time, so its appearance in America in 1819 is noteworthy.

In the following year, 1820, Carr advertised that he had for sale

“CLARIONETTS, B and C, also with A joint,” and “CLARIONETTS, with 5, 6, 11 and 13 keys, silver.” While this notice does not mention specific makers, it demonstrates that clarinets with a widely varying number of keys were concurrently available. It also shows that instruments with corps de rechange (“also with A joint”) were available.

In short, by 1820 American clarinetists could have obtained a range of clarinets, from the old-fashioned (but still common) five-key instrument, to instruments with the latest European improvements. The data surveyed in this chapter show that clarinets and clarinet-related accessories were easily obtained in the large urban areas, and even in some middle-sized cities as well. This suggests a reasonably large market of

---


137 Thanks once again to Albert Rice for bringing these points to my attention. Rice (personal communication) states that the earliest thirteen-key clarinet he knows of is an anonymous instrument, dated about 1820, in the private collection of Nicholas Shackleton (Cambridge, England).

clarinetist-customers, most of them undoubtedly amateurs. The data also show that the clarinet’s presence in America did not lag all that far behind Europe, though undoubtedly the quantity of clarinets and related merchandise sold in America was on a smaller scale. The overall picture that emerges is that the clarinet, while perhaps not as popular as the violin, flute, or piano, nevertheless found a ready market in early America.
A number of conclusions can be drawn from this study. The first and most obvious is that the clarinet was used regularly in early America, and played an important role not just in the military (as has often been assumed), but also on the concert stage. It is clear that the clarinet was a favorite solo instrument, rivaling even the violin and piano in frequency of concerto appearances for much of the period examined. Clarinet concertos certainly appeared more often on concert programs than concertos for other any other wind instrument. Chamber music using the clarinet as the principal instrument was also a frequent feature on concerts. It seems safe to say that the general public would have been quite familiar with the clarinet at least by the 1780s, and probably earlier. Urban audiences had relatively frequent exposure to the instrument not only through formal concerts, but also through pleasure gardens, dancing assemblies, and other entertainments.

The clarinet was also a regular member of early American theatre orchestras. All of the main theatre companies (the Old Americans, Wignell and Reinagle’s New Theatre company, and the companies in Charleston and Boston) employed clarinetists more or less steadily from the late 1780s and early 1790s onward. Theatre employment, although
low-paying, nevertheless occupied a surprisingly important place in the livelihood of many of the clarinetists documented in this study. Theatre work seems also to have been the key to employment in other venues in any given city.

The clarinet gained a certain amount of popularity as a domestic instrument. Every large city had numerous teachers of the clarinet from a very early date, suggesting that there was a demand from amateurs to learn the instrument; occasionally these amateurs even appeared as soloists on concerts. Music stores regularly offered clarinets for sale side by side with other well-loved instruments such as pianos, violins, flutes, and flageolets. Much of the clarinet music issued by American publishers from this period is for amateur use, including tutors, tunebooks, popular songs, and a certain amount of ensemble music. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the clarinet’s popularity as an amateur instrument seems to have been somewhat less than that of the flute, violin, or piano. Clarinet teachers often taught the flute (not to mention the flageolet) as well, and it is impossible to determine what proportion of their students were clarinetists.

Information as to the number of clarinets made, imported, or sold in comparison to other instruments has not been found; and as far as sheet music is concerned, there was much more published and sold for the piano, violin, and flute than for the clarinet. The evidence as it currently stands, then, leads to the conclusion that the clarinet was perhaps more popular as a professional instrument than as an amateur, domestic one.

Appendix A contains biographies for no fewer than sixty-one individuals who were clarinet performers and/or teachers in early America. The majority of these have not previously been identified and investigated. Like their modern counterparts, only a
very few earned their livings entirely from the clarinet; most seem to have needed to combine clarinet playing and teaching with other musical or non-musical occupations in order to garner a living wage. Although some remained in one location for their entire careers, most of them traveled to a certain extent from city to city, as members of a theatre company, as touring soloists, or simply because they were searching for the most fruitful job possibilities. Margaret Knittel deserves special attention, since female wind players, especially professional ones, were exceedingly rare at this time, even in Europe. As her biography in Appendix A attests, Knittel was an ambitious performer who was well aware of her special status as a female clarinetist, and who took advantage of this status to promote herself to audiences. She toured extensively in nearly all of the major American cities (with the exception of Boston), and she played difficult repertory that included works not performed by other clarinetists. She garnered more newspaper commentary than any other clarinetist active in early America, and earned favorable reviews. Most of the commentary focused, of course, on the fact that she was female, but this was not the only way she warranted notice; remarks were consistently made about her “variety and modulation of tone,” her “sweet warbling on that harsh instrument,” her “faultless” technique, and her musical “superiority.” One writer stated that she “richly deserves all that might be said of Gautier, or any other professor of the first rank on the

---

1 I know of only two other female clarinetists from this time: the Schleicher sisters of Switzerland. Pamela Weston gives an excellent account of Caroline Schleicher (also mentioning the other Schleicher sister, whose first name is not known) in Clarinet Virtuosi of the Past, 175-182. See also More Clarinet Virtuosi of the Past, 226-228. More recently, Weston has written an article in which she again discusses the Schleicher sisters, also giving a brief account of Margaret Knittel (based largely on information I shared with her). See Weston, “Out of Purdah: Three Early 19th-Century Female Virtuosi,” The Clarinet 31, no. 1 (December 2003), 90-92.
Clarionett.” Another noted that her performance on the clarinet had “never been equalled by any performer in Charleston, and is, perhaps, equal to any in the United States.”

These comparisons to other clarinetists, Gautier specifically, and Foucard implicitly, are important indicators that there came to be some sense of ranking of clarinet talent in early America, at least toward the end of the period examined.

Many of the important early clarinetists in America were French immigrants, and this reflects a broad general trend: the large influx of French refugees to America beginning in the early 1790s. They were fleeing not only the French Revolution of 1789 and its subsequent aftershocks, but also the slave insurrections taking place on the sugar plantations of the French-Caribbean islands, particularly on Saint-Domingue. When they arrived in America, these previously wealthy (and sometimes aristocratic) individuals found it necessary—some of them for the first time in their lives—to earn a living with their own hands. The newspapers of all of the large American cities of this period are filled with advertisements by French refugees seeking employment using skills they had acquired during their privileged upbringing: they taught French (and sometimes other languages as well), gave lessons in the polite arts (such as drawing, dancing, fencing and music), offered their services as translators, and not infrequently opened boarding or day schools for the general education of young people. Some even took up occupations as needle workers, bakers, confectioners, and so on. As musicians they filled many of the seats in theatre and concert orchestras of the day, and performed as soloists. Many became the leading musicians in the cities in which they resided, responsible for organizing and promoting concert activities. Some writers on American music have
commented on this French influx, but few have attempted to track any of its effects. Evidence seems to indicate that the French clarinetists who gained prominence in early America had a significant influence on concert repertory. Almost three-quarters of the performances of clarinet concertos between 1782 and 1820, where the name of the composer is known, were of works by composers who were French (either by birth, or by virtue of the fact that they spent most of their careers in Paris). These performances included works by Michel and Lefèvre, the two most important and influential French players and teachers of the clarinet of the time, who may well also have been the teachers of clarinetists of French origin active in America, such as Dubois, Gautier, and Foucard. In addition, it seems likely that non-French clarinetists may have been influenced by the presence of this French repertory. For example, it is probably no accident that Andrew Wolff began to play concertos by Michel in 1801, after these had been introduced to Philadelphia audiences by Dubois (who had performed them numerous times in 1798 and 1799), and after Wolff and Dubois had begun performing together in 1799.²

Some repertory was championed by specific clarinetists. For example, Gautier (who was obviously an expert self-promoter) played concertos of his own composition almost exclusively. Many different players performed concertos by Michel, but Dubois was particularly active in promoting them. Patrick Moffat was the earliest proponent of Duvernoy’s concertos, although other players eventually took them up (along with other clarinet works by Duvernoy). Margaret Knittel introduced a significant clarinet composer to American audiences when she performed concertos by Crusell, and she was

² Wolff had also played a “Rondo” by Michel in 1799; it is likely that this was a single movement from a
the only performer of his works in early America. Knittel’s repertory was, in fact, largely unique; the only composer whose works she held in common with other early American clarinetists was Lefèvre, whose concertos she performed on several occasions. The concertos of Vanderhagen were played only by Charleston clarinetists (Foucard and Labatut).

Moravian clarinetists also performed a repertory that was in many respects unique. For example, they were the only players in early America to perform concertos and chamber works by central European composers such as Rosetti, Stamitz, Pichl, Zimmerman, and Maschek. Their repertory also included, of course, works by Moravian composers not performed elsewhere, such as those of David Moritz Michael, Christian Ignatius Latrobe, Johann Christian Bechler, and others. In addition, Moravian archives hold important chamber works for clarinet by Pleyel, Backofen, Goepfert, Krommer, Neukomm, and Joachim Nikolas Eggert; although performances of these works have not been documented, their presence in Moravian collections suggests that they were part of the performance repertory.

Several works discovered in the course of this study deserve special mention because they have not, to my knowledge, previously been noticed by clarinet scholars. These include clarinet concertos by Latrobe, Fodor, and Pellisier, and a sextet for clarinet, horn, violin, viola, cello, and double bass, by Joachim Nikolas Eggert. It is a great pity that scores or parts have not been found for the concertos; they are known only concerto, so perhaps Dubois’s influence on Wolff was even more immediate.
by notices of performances. A print of Eggert’s Sextet exists at the Moravian Archive in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and it looks to be a work well worth performing.

The type of clarinet most commonly used in early America seems to have been a five-key instrument, pitched in C or B-flat; this is the clarinet most often indicated in the fingering charts found in early American tutors. Advertisements occasionally mention instruments with more keys, or in other nominal pitches (such as E-flat or F). The majority of instruments were imported from England, but there is also a small amount of evidence indicating that some came from Germany. There were clarinet makers who were active in early America, but only a few of their instruments survive. The business of clarinet manufacture in America grew markedly in the 1830s, and many more instruments survive from this time onward. This later period is beyond the chronological scope of this dissertation, but other scholars (including Albert Rice and Robert Eliason) have done work in this area. It is clear, however, that new developments in the clarinet’s design and mechanism were available to early American clarinetists relatively soon after their advent in Europe. The most important example of this is the Baltimore music merchant Thomas Carr’s 1819 advertisement for Iwan Müller’s new (and, ultimately, influential) clarinet design, which was only just gaining acceptance in Europe around this same time, and for which Müller did not even write a tutor until 1821.

---

In sum, this study reveals a remarkable degree of clarinet activity in early America, and the uncovering of the details of the instrument’s use and status in the Colonial and Federal eras adds an important chapter to the overall history of the clarinet.
APPENDIX A

A BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF EARLY AMERICAN CLARINETISTS AND CLARINET TEACHERS, TO 1820
Anderson

Notices of the clarinetist Anderson appear only twice, both times in Boston: on March 24 and June 1, 1796, he played duets in concerts with Granger (q.v.).\(^1\) Anderson and Granger may have been the clarinetists of Boston’s Federal Street Theatre.\(^2\)

Andral (Andrale, Andrall, Andril), Francis

Francis Andral was active in Charleston. He first appeared there on March 21, 1811, playing a clarinet concerto by Lefèvre on a benefit concert for the violinist Lefolle.\(^3\) On this concert he was listed as “an amateur,” but subsequent events show that he came to assume music as a profession. On October 31, 1811, he again played a concerto by Lefèvre, this time on a benefit for Miss Dupuy, a pianist.\(^4\) He appeared on two concerts in 1812: on March 3, for Mr. Garelli’s benefit, he played a concerto by Michel;\(^5\) and on April 29 he gave his own benefit, playing “Variations on the Clarionet” by Pleyel, and a “Solo on the Clarionet” which he himself composed.\(^6\) On March 16, 1813 he played on a benefit for Lefolle, performing a set of “Variations on the Clarionet” of his own

---


\(^3\) *Charleston Courier*, March 19, 1811; see also John Joseph Hindman, “Concert Life in Ante-Bellum Charleston” (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1976), 355.

\(^4\) *Charleston Courier*, October 30, 1811; Hindman, “Concert Life,” 357.

\(^5\) *Charleston Courier*, March 2, 1812; Hindman, “Concert Life,” 358.

\(^6\) *Charleston Courier*, April 27, 1812; Hindman, “Concert Life,” 359.
On May 6 of the same year he gave his own benefit, playing a concerto by Lefèvre “with the assistance of the Philharmonic Society, and some other Professors of Music.”

This suggests that Andral might have been a member of the Philharmonic Society. Andral made only one appearance in 1814, for his own benefit concert on April 18 of that year. On this concert he played not only a clarinet concerto by “Mitchell” (Michel), but also a violin solo (variations by Rode). From this concert announcement we also discover that he was married, since Mrs. Andral appears on the program playing the harp (as she does on concerts in subsequent years as well).

In 1815 Andral appeared twice: once on March 4, for Miss Ursule Labat’s concert (she was a pianist), playing a clarinet quartet (composer unspecified); and again on October 9, for his own benefit concert, when he played the “Fourth Concerto on the Clarionet” by “Michell,” and also an “Extraordinary Trio, by three Clarionets (Mr. Andral, Foucard, and Labatat [sic]).” Unfortunately no composer’s name is given for the latter work, but it is the only instance I have found of a work of this instrumentation being performed in early America. The performance also connects Andral to two other important Charleston clarinetists: Foucard and Labatut (q.v.). On October 21, 1816, Andral gave his benefit and performed the “Song of Joseph, with variations; arranged by the first Abbé of the King of France’s...
Chapel, to be played on the Clarionet.” The composer’s name is given as “Woght.” Also on this concert, Andral gave a performance of Rode’s seventh Violin Concerto. In November 1817 Andral again gave a benefit concert, where he played a “Rondo on the Clarionet” by “Duveiney” [Duvernoy], and also the “Romance of Joseph, with variations,” by “Voyt.” The latter is presumably the same work that he played on his 1816 concert. On October 27, 1818, Mrs. Andral gave a benefit on which her husband performed a “Solo, Medley on the Clarionet” (composer unspecified) and a violin solo by Rode.

Andral was active as a teacher as well as a performer. In 1818 he advertised that he intended “following the same line of teaching that he has already been encouraged in by the Citizens of Charleston,” namely, instruction of pupils on the violin, clarinet, flute, “&c.” He also offered to accompany lady pianists with the violin, in order to effect “a great improvement in keeping time.” The advertisement implies that he had already been teaching for some time. The Charleston city directory of 1819 lists a Francis Andril as a teacher of music, living at 4 Longitude Lane, the address given in all of Andral’s advertisements. He continued to perform in Charleston beyond 1820; Hindman lists a concert that he gave in 1821, on which Mrs. Knittel (q.v.) also performed.

---

14 Charleston Courier, October 27, 1818; Hindman, “Concert Life,” 379.
15 Charleston Courier, April 20, 1818. In an advertisement later that year, on November 18, Andral also offered to teach Spanish guitar and singing.
Barret, Jonas P.

Barret is recorded as a teacher of clarinet in Boston in 1802. He also taught oboe, flute, bassoon, violin, and bass viol. His newspaper advertisement directed potential pupils to “call at Mrs. Makean’s Elm Street.”

Beck, John William

Beck is one of the earliest clarinet teachers in America whose name is known. In 1773 he advertised in Charleston as follows:

John William Beck, musician, begs leave to acquaint the publick that he teacheth to play on the following instruments, viz., clarinet, flauto traverso, flauto a bec, hautbois, or oboe de Simon, bassoon, violin, tenor violin, and bass violin as perfectly as any master in America. Any persons who apply may depend on his assiduity and punctual attendance on very reasonable terms, either at their own houses or at his house, one of Mr. Harbrick’s tenements in Jew’s Alley, King Street, and he flatters himself he shall give general satisfaction.

Belstead, William

William Belstead was the organist of Boston’s Trinity Church. His name appeared in the Boston directories of 1789 (when he was listed as “musician”) and 1798 (when he was listed as “organist”). In 1792 he advertised to teach keyboard instruments, all of the stringed instruments, guitar, and woodwind instruments, including the clarinet.

---


18 *South Carolina & American General Gazette*, December 17-24, 1773 (PACAN).

19 *Columbian Centinel*, May 30, 1792.
Beranger (Berange, Barange)

Beranger is first mentioned on November 25, 1793, in Baltimore, where he performed both a “Quatuor on the clarionet” and a “Concerto on the clarionet.”

Two references to a musician named “Berange” or “Barange” have been found in 1794 in Philadelphia, both on the series known as the “Amateur and Professional Concerts.” The first was on April 22, when “Messrs Gillingham, Berange, [unreadable name], Shaw and Menel” played a Concertante by Pleyel. The instrument played by each musician is not noted, but from other sources we know that Gillingham was a violinist, Shaw an oboist, and Menel a cellist. On May 13 of the same year, Messrs. Henry (q.v.) and “Barange” played a Concertante for two clarinets by Pleyel. Beranger seems to have remained in Philadelphia. On March 3, 1795, he performed a “Symphony concertante for two clarinets” (composer unspecified, but perhaps once again Pleyel) with Mr. Lullier (q.v.). No further mention of him is made until 1798, when on April 24 he again played Pleyel’s Symphonie Concertante for two clarinets, this time with the clarinetist Dubois (q.v.).

---


21 *General Advertiser*, April 21, 1794. The unusual instrumentation of this work leads one to wonder if it is the same piece as that played by the clarinetist Henri (q.v.) in New York in 1803 and 1804. (See Chapter Four of this dissertation for a discussion of this work.) Sonneck prints an announcement of this concert that includes the name Stuart instead of Beranger.

22 Ibid., May 13, 1794. Sonneck did not note this concert.


24 Ibid., 148.
Berno

Berno’s name is found only once: on March 11, 1800, he played a clarinet concerto (composer not specified) in New York City.25

Blake, George (1775-1871)

George Blake was born in Yorkshire, England, and moved to Philadelphia in 1793. He was well known as the foremost American music publisher from about 1810-1830, and is discussed in Chapter Five as the author and publisher of the first American clarinet tutor (1803). He also published other music for the clarinet, including Blake’s Collection of Duetts for Two Flutes, Clarinets, or Violins (1807?), Blake’s Evening Companion (vol. 1, ca. 1808-1813; vol. 2, ca. 1821-1826), and Blake’s Military Amusement (1813). Prior to his publishing activities, however, he was also a music teacher; in 1794 he advertised himself in Philadelphia as a teacher of flute and clarinet.26 In 1807 he was still identifying himself as a teacher of clarinet, along with flute and flageolet; on the title page of his 1807 flageolet tutor, Blake lists himself as “music seller & teacher on the clarinet, flute & patt. flagelet [sic].”27

25 Ibid., 246.


27 Thanks to Albert Rice (personal communication) for drawing my attention to this 1807 mention, found in Richard J. Wolfe, Early American Music Engraving and Printing (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980), 80.
Bunyie, Robert (d. December 22, 1839)

According to his naturalization papers, Robert Bunyie was a native of Scotland. It is not known when he came to America, but it seems that he became a naturalized American in Baltimore in 1802, and he may have been a minor at that time. His name does not appear in newspapers, however, until 1816, when he advertised a concert for August 1 at the Pavilion Garden in Baltimore. The program included a “Concerto, two Clarinets” by Pleyel. The performers are not named, but one of them was undoubtedly Bunyie himself, since his next public appearance was as a clarinetist. On March 6, 1818, Bunyie gave a concert at Mr. DuClairacq’s Ball Room (Baltimore), “under the direction of Mr. Gillingham of Philadelphia, who visits this city for the express purpose of contributing his aid to the above performance.” The program included a “Concertante, on two Clarinets, Messrs. Bunyie and Carusi, Jr.” by Krommer.

At some point Bunyie set up a business as a musical instrument seller and maker. On June 4, 1819, the following advertisement appeared in the Baltimore Federal Gazette:

ROBERT BUNYIE, Corner of Eutaw and Saratoga-streets, Has just received and for sale, A variety of MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, [lists horns, trumpets, violins, flageolets, “clarionets,” etc.]… R.B. Continues to manufacture Clarionets, Violins, Violoncellos, &c. Repairs and tunes musical instruments generally.

28 Robert Andrew Oszakiewski, comp., Maryland Naturalization Abstracts, Volume 1: Baltimore County and Baltimore City, 1784-1851 (Westminster, Maryland: Family Line Publications, 1995): 50. It should be noted that the witnesses listed on the naturalization document were two prominent individuals on the Baltimore music scene: William Frick (q.v.), and the music publisher John Cole.

29 Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, July 31, 1816.

30 Ibid., March 2, 1818.

31 Ibid., June 19, 1819.
Baltimore city directories list Bunyie’s name in various years. In 1816 he is listed as a teacher of music, residing on N. Calvert Street; by 1819 he had moved to 10 Light Street. In the directory of 1822-23 he is listed as “musical instrument maker,” at 160 Bond Street, and in 1824 as “professor of music” living at 166-1/2 Baltimore Street. He died in Baltimore on December 12, 1839.\textsuperscript{32}

\textbf{Carusi, Gaetano? (ca. 1762-June 18, 1843) or Ignazio? (b. ca. 1796)}

A clarinetist named Carusi was active in the second decade of the nineteenth century in America, but his exact identity is difficult to determine, since he was a member of a family of musicians. Two possibilities exist for his identification: he was either Gaetano Carusi, or “J.” (Ignazio?) Carusi, son of Gaetano. Both individuals are discussed here.

According to Wolfe, Gaetano Carusi was born in Catania, Italy. In 1805, while still living in Italy, he was recruited by Captain John Hall (in the service of Commander Preble, whose fleet was in the Mediterranean region at that time) to enlist and serve as the director of the U.S. Marine Band. Carusi, along with his wife and three sons (Lewis, aged 10, and Ignazio, aged 9, both of whom were also enlisted into the band, and their younger brother Samuel) embarked on the frigate \textit{Constitution} and sailed to Washington, D.C., where they arrived in September of 1805. In the meantime, however, the Marine Band post that had been promised to Carusi had gone to someone else, leaving Carusi at

\textsuperscript{32} Baltimore Sun, December 25, 1839; see Thomas L. Hollowak, comp., \textit{Marriages and Deaths in the Baltimore Sun, 1837-1850} (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1978), 79.
loose ends.\textsuperscript{33} No further notice of him has been found until 1812. In that year his name appeared in a Philadelphia concert announcement advertising Mrs. Oldmixon’s concert at the Masonic Hall on March 19, which included a “Quintetto, 2 Clarinetts, 2 French Horns, and Violin. Mr. Gillingham, Master French, the three Masters Carusi.”\textsuperscript{34} The composer of this work is listed as Carusi; presumably this is Gaetano, while the “three Masters Carusi” who performed were his sons. The advertisement does not indicate who played the clarinet parts on this piece, but it is likely to have been two of the Carusi sons, since Gillingham was a violinist and no clarinetist is known with the last name of French.

\textsuperscript{35} The following year (1813), still in Philadelphia, Carusi advertised to teach “clarionet, French horn, bassoon, German flute, fife & flageolet as well as every string instrument.”\textsuperscript{36} On a concert of November 2, 1813, given by Miss Demilliere at Philadelphia’s Masonic Hall, the program included a “Concerto Clarinetto, Mr. Carusi” by the composer “Gapford” (probably Goepfert).\textsuperscript{37} Once again, the lack of a first name makes it impossible to know if the clarinetist referred to here is Carusi, Sr., or one of his sons. On September 15, 1815, the singers Lorenzani and Chiavere, “lately arrived from Italy,” gave a concert at the Masonic Hall, on which “Mr. J. Carusi” performed a clarinet

\textsuperscript{33} Wolfe, \textit{Secular Music in America}, 1:171.

\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser}, March 18, 1812.

\textsuperscript{35} It should be mentioned that on the concert of sacred music given on April 13, 1814 (see the listing on Thibault for more details of this concert), the trumpets are named as the “Messrs. Carusi’s [sic].” So at least some of the Carusi family were brass players, and could perhaps have played French Horn parts on Mrs. Oldmixon’s concert.

\textsuperscript{36} Cited in Wolfe, \textit{Secular Music in America}, 1:171.

\textsuperscript{37} \textit{Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser}, October 29, 1813.
concerto by “Michelle.” Perhaps the initial “J.” indicates that the son Ignazio was the soloist on this occasion.\textsuperscript{38} The theatre historian Durang noted that in the summer of 1815, “Carusi’s clarionet solos were very popular” at Philadelphia’s Vauxhall Gardens.\textsuperscript{39}

Sometime after this the Carusi family moved to Annapolis, because on July 11, 1816, the following advertisement appeared in the newspaper there:

\begin{center}
SIGNIOR CARUSI
\end{center}

Cannot take leave of the citizens of Annapolis without expressing the high sense of grateful feeling with which he is impressed by their generous and benevolent patronage. Distinguished as Annapolis ever has been as peculiarly the seat of liberal feeling and polished hospitality, the feeble testimony of a stranger could add nothing to its character; but as a grateful acknowledgment of the generosity he has experienced is demanded by his own feelings, he indulges a hope that he will not be considered obtrusive in this public expression of them.

It is the intention of Signior Carusi to return to this city, should he succeed in his attempt to establish a \textit{Musical School}.\textsuperscript{39}

The wording of the advertisement suggests that “Signior Carusi” (whichever one is meant here) had been in Annapolis for some time. The family seems to have remained in the Baltimore/Annapolis vicinity for a number of years. On January 7, 1817, they gave a concert in Annapolis that included a “Quartetto, Clarinett Obligato” by “Geoffert” (once again, probably Goepfert). The unnamed performer must have been one of Carusis. The second half of the concert was given over entirely to a military band (perhaps including all the members of the Carusi family) playing works by “File” (Phile), Carusi, Kozeluch, Warner, and arrangements of Haydn (“Martial Andante, The Surprise”) and Mozart.

\textsuperscript{38} Poulson’s \textit{American Daily Advertiser}, September 9, 1815. The letters “I” and “J” were commonly interchanged at this time. One of the Carusis also sang a trio with the Italian gentlemen on this concert.

\textsuperscript{39} Durang, “The Philadelphia Stage;” Chapter 53, column 1.

\textsuperscript{40} \textit{Maryland Gazette and Political Intelligencer}, July 11, 1816.
(‘Andante la Clemenza di Titus’).\textsuperscript{41} The family gave a similar concert on April 25, 1817; this concert included a “Harmony piece—2 Clarinetts, 2 French Horns, and Bass” by a composer named Rumi, and the second half was once again devoted to music for military band.\textsuperscript{42} During the summer of 1817 the Carusi family performed in Baltimore. On July 17 a concert was given at the Pavilion Garden, the program including a “Quartetto, with Clarinet Obligato, in which will be introduced ‘I have lov’d thee, dearly loved thee,’ Gepfert.” No performer is named, but “Signior Carusi” is mentioned as having arranged some other pieces on the program (“Harmony Pieces” and “Andante, The Surprise, with full military band, Haydn”), so it seems probable that one of the Carusis was also the clarinet soloist for the quartet.\textsuperscript{43} A concert on July 24 at the same location included a “Grand Military Piece, from La Clemenza di Titus, by Mozart, arranged Signior Carusi.”\textsuperscript{44} On August 18 “Signior Carusi and Family” advertised in the Baltimore newspaper that they had moved to No. 15 Bank Street.\textsuperscript{45} This means that they had either moved to Baltimore from Annapolis, or that they had lived in Baltimore all along and had been commuting to Annapolis to perform. It was a journey of about five and a half hours by coach, and would have been possible.\textsuperscript{46} Indeed, Carusi continued his activities in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{41} Ibid., January 2, 1817. The “Andante la Clemenza di Titus” is mistakenly listed as by Haydn.
\item \textsuperscript{42} Ibid., April 24, 1817.
\item \textsuperscript{43} \textit{Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser}, July 16, 1817.
\item \textsuperscript{44} Ibid., July 23, 1817.
\item \textsuperscript{45} Ibid., August 18, 1817.
\item \textsuperscript{46} In 1818 the proprietor of a daily line of stages out of Annapolis advertised “Quick traveling, to and from Baltimore,” stating a travel time of five and a half hours. See the \textit{Maryland Gazette and Political Intelligencer}, February 5, 1818.
\end{itemize}
Annapolis; on November 6, 1817, he advertised that he would give lessons there on the piano, violin, clarinet and flute.\textsuperscript{47} Two days later, on November 8, he performed in Annapolis for the concert of “Signior Moscarelli” (a violinist and guitarist), playing a “Solo on the Clarinet” by “Rodi” (probably Rode).\textsuperscript{48}

On January 5, 1818, the singer Mrs. McBride gave a concert at the Assembly Room in Baltimore; the program included a “Quintetto, Clarionet, Violin, two Tenors and Bass” by “Wranisky” (Wranitzky) and a clarinet concerto by Duvernoy. The performer is not named, but it may have been Carusi.\textsuperscript{49} He certainly played on a concert of March 6, 1818, given by Mr. Bunyie (q.v.), when Bunyie and “Carusi, Jr.” played a “Concertante, on two Clarinets” by Krommer, and Carusi, Jr. played a clarinet concerto by Duvernoy.

No further mention of the name Carusi has been found until 1820. On April 11 of that year a “Grand Oratorio” was given for the benefit of the Philadelphia Orphans’ and Widows’ Asylums and the Philadelphia Bible Society. The concert consisted of vocal numbers accompanied by orchestra; the clarinets in the orchestra are listed as “Two Amateurs,” but the name Carusi is mentioned as a bassoonist. This may be the same person as the clarinetist, or it might be another member of the musical Carusi family.

There were obviously numerous musicians in the Carusi family, and as stated above, the exact identity of the clarinet soloist is not clear. The Philadelphia notice of

\textsuperscript{47} Maryland Gazette and Political Intelligencer, November 6, 1817.

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{49} Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, March 2, 1818.
1815, which gives the first initial “J.,” may designate Ignazio; the Baltimore notice of March 6, 1818, which lists a “Carusi, Jr.,” clearly indicates one of the sons rather than the father Gaetano. While it is possible that either Gaetano or Ignazio could have been the clarinetist mentioned in the other performances, it seems more likely that the younger man, Ignazio, was the more active clarinetist. By the second decade of the nineteenth century Gaetano would have been in his fifties, an old age for the time (even granting the fact that he lived to age eighty-one). The wording of most of the Baltimore advertisements suggests that “Signior Carusi” was Gaetano, whose primary activity at that point seems to have been as a teacher, composer/arranger, and concert organizer, rather than as a player.

It should be noted that Claghorn’s dates for Gaetano Carusi (c. 1773-after 1846) are incorrect.\(^5\) An obituary appeared in the Baltimore \textit{Sun} on June 20, 1843, stating that Gaetano had died in Washington two days previously, on June 18, “in the 81st year of his age.”\(^5\)\(^1\) This means that Carusi would have been born in or around 1762. Claghorn may have arrived at an erroneous death date from the following circumstances: In 1835 Carusi petitioned Congress for $1000, in compensation for musical instruction given on the ship \textit{President} in 1805, and for “having been dismissed from his position [as director of the Marine Band] and abandoned in a foreign land.”\(^5\)\(^2\) This might seem a reasonable request,


\(^{51}\) Baltimore \textit{Sun}, June 20, 1843.

\(^{52}\) Wolfe, \textit{Secular Music in America}, 1:171.
but the petition was turned down—in 1846, eleven years after it was first made, and three years after Gaetano Carusi’s death.\footnote{Ibid.}

\textbf{Christ, Matthew} (1796-1882)

Matthew Christ’s name appears in Grider’s list of musicians at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania as a clarinetist, violist, and singer (tenor).\footnote{Rufus Grider, \textit{Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem, PA From 1741-1871} (Philadelphia, 1873; repr. Winston-Salem: The Moravian Music Foundation, Moravian Music Publications No. 4, 1957), 38. I have consulted both the 1957 reprint of this work, and an original manuscript, from about 1872, copied with additional notes by John Hill Martin (Historical Society of Pennsylvania). Martin’s manuscript contains some information that is not included in the reprint. For example, the reprint does not list viola as one of Matthew Christ’s instruments.} He was born at Lititz, Pennsylvania. As an adult, he was the landlord of the Sun Inn at Bethlehem, and was also a school teacher.\footnote{Augustus Schulte, D.D., \textit{The Old Moravian Cemetery at Bethlehem}, 3 vols. (publ. Info and page number)} He was one of the directors of the Bethlehem Philharmonic Society (founded in 1820 to succeed the Collegium Musicum),\footnote{Grider \textit{Historical Notes}, 28.} and was also a member of the Columbian Band.\footnote{Ibid., 25.} He was apparently active in the “serenading club” that existed in Bethlehem for the purpose of celebrating special events such as birthdays, anniversaries, births, arrivals of visitors to the community, and so on; Grider states that around 1835, and again in 1840, he played the clarinet in such a group. He also arranged some of the music for this ensemble.\footnote{Ibid., 23-24.}
Collins, Joshua

Waterhouse mentions a “Joseph Collings” or “Joshua Collinge” (or “Coinge”) who was active as an instrument maker in England around 1771. This may be the same individual as Joshua Collins, who advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* of February 25, 1773, that he had arrived in Annapolis from Manchester, England, and was setting up a business as a turner and instrument maker/repairer. He also stated that he was beginning an evening music school, where he would teach “the most modern and approved methods of playing the German flute, hautboy, clarinet, bassoon, &c. Having been educated in that science, under the care of some of the greatest masters in England,” adding that he would attend his pupils at their homes if they could not come to his school. Although Collins states in the advertisement that he makes flutes, oboes, and fifes, he might have made clarinets as well; Keefer mentions that the ship *Eagle* brought musical instruments to Baltimore, including “one clarinet of Collins.”

DeBissy

DeBissy’s name appears only once in concert. On February 20, 1806, he gave a benefit concert at Mr. Auriol’s Assembly room in Philadelphia, where he performed “Concerto Clarinets [sic], Michel.” No other clarinetist is indicated in the concert

---


60 *Maryland Gazette*, February 25, 1773 (PACAN).

61 Keefer, *Baltimore’s Music*, 9-10 n. 27. The exact time period to which Keefer is referring here is not clear.

62 *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, Tuesday, February 18, 1806.
announcement, so the plural must be a misprint. On April 15, 1806, an advertisement appeared notifying the public that DeBissy was a “Miniature Painter of the Parisian School,” and was available to paint portraits. In addition, the advertisement notes, “he continues also to give Lessons in Drawing, and on the Clarinet.” The address given in both advertisements is No. 127 Spruce Street.

DeJonge (D’Jonge, DeYonge)

Mr. DeJonge first appeared in Charleston, where in July of 1816 he advertised as follows:

THE Subscriber, having been re-engaged for the next Theatrical season by Mr. HOLMAN, intends to make Charleston his residence during the summer. He has the honor of informing his Friends and the Public in general, that he will take SCHOLARS for the Clarionet, Flute, French horn, Trumpet, or Bassoon. He hopes from his experience, his methods of teaching, and exact attendance, that the improvement of his pupils will be rapid, and he may deserve the patronage of the public.

He also offered to assemble bands for serenading. His address is given as No. 26 Mazyck Street. The advertisement implies that DeJonge was a member of the theatre orchestra, though what instrument he might have played is not specified. Later in the same year, however, on December 5, DeJonge gave a benefit concert on which he played the clarinet, performing the “First Concerto of Duvernoy for the Clarionet.” His name is listed here as “DeYonge.” By this time he was no longer playing in the theatre

63 Ibid., Tuesday, April 15, 1806.
64 Charleston Courier, July 4, 1816.
65 Charleston Courier, December 3, 1816; Hindman, 374-75. The program also included a “Concerto on the Violin, by Mr. Geo. De’Yonge,” but it is not clear if this performer is the same person as the clarinetist.
orchestra. A brief newspaper advertisement of November 22, publicizing the December
concert, noted:

Mr. D’Jonge, having quitted his situation in the Orchestra of the Theatre, (on account of
an unforeseen disagreement with those concerned) he is suddenly left without any
immediate employment. Thus situated, he has been kindly offered the assistance of the
Professors and Amateurs of Music; and he now respectfully informs the Ladies and
Gentlemen of Charleston that he will give a concert …

No further notice of Mr. DeJonge is found until 1819, when he appeared in
Baltimore. A newspaper advertisement of August 6 of that year notified the public that
Mr. DeJonge intended to reside in Baltimore and would teach “Clarionet, Flute, French
Horn, Trumpet and Bassoon.” He stated that he “would also be willing to teach a
military band, or to serve as leader of a band.” In addition, he copied music, taught
military trumpet calls, and would “undertake Serenading and other Musical parties,
[promising] to furnish the best bands the city affords.” He also sold music for all of the
instruments listed. His residence was at Mrs. Fairchild’s on Holliday Street, opposite the
theatre.

The differentiation of the names on the program seems to imply that they are two separate individuals. Mr.
Gallaher (q.v.) also appeared on this concert, but as a singer, not as a clarinetist.

66 Charleston Courier, November 22, 1816.

67 Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, August 6, 1819.
DeRonceray (DeRonseray, Deronserey), Charles M. (c. 1786-April 30, 1844)

In Baltimore in 1817, C.M. De Ronceray, “Professor of Music,” advertised in the *Federal Gazette* that he had moved from Albemarle Street to No. 82 Pitt Street, and that he continued to give lessons on the piano, violin, flute, clarinet, and other instruments. The advertisement also stated that he tuned pianos and copied music.\(^{68}\) The wording of this advertisement suggests that DeRonceray had been in Baltimore for some time already. His name has not been found as a performer, but he was apparently a long-standing and prominent music teacher. He is listed in Baltimore directories beginning in the 1817-18 issue, residing at 18 Albemarle Street. In 1819 he is listed at 82 Pitt Street, the address given in his 1817 advertisement. By 1822-23 he had moved to Granby Street and remained there for some time. The 1829 directory lists him at South High Street, and the 1831 directory gives the number as 94 South High.

Records show that DeRonceray was married on April 16, 1816, at St. Patrick’s Church, to Margaret Donnelly.\(^{69}\) Census records indicate that they had a large family; by 1840 they are listed with two sons and five daughters, ranging in age from under five to

---

\(^{68}\) Ibid., July 24, 1817, p. 3.

\(^{69}\) Robert Barnes, comp., *Maryland Marriages, 1801-1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1993), 47; see also the marriage notice in the Baltimore American, April 18, 1816.
teenagers. They also had one son who died in infancy in 1839.\textsuperscript{70} Charles DeRonceray died on April 30, 1844.\textsuperscript{71} His obituary states that he was 58 at the time of his death.\textsuperscript{72}

**Dorval**

Only a single notice of Dorval has been found. In 1782, “Monsieur Dorval” advertised in the *Independent Ledger*, the *Boston Gazette*, and the *Continental Journal*, that he would play a concert on April 11, on which he he would “perform several pieces, military music on the clarinet, assisted by French horns, bassoons, &c.”\textsuperscript{73}

**Dubois, Lewis**

Dubois first appeared in Charleston, where, on a concert of March 26, 1795, he played a clarinet concerto of his own composition.\textsuperscript{74} He played another concerto (composer unspecified) on April 16 of that year.\textsuperscript{75} The next notice of him is found on September 13, 1796, when he played a concerto (composer unspecified) in Boston.\textsuperscript{76} By

\textsuperscript{70} Hollowak, 151.

\textsuperscript{71} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{72} Baltimore *Sun*, May 1, 1844. The text of the obituary reads as follows: “DIED. On Tuesday morning, 30th ult., Mr. Charles DeRonceray, (Professor of Music) in the 58th year of his age. May he rest in peace. His male friends and acquaintances are invited to attend his funeral, from his late residence, South High street, this morning at 10 o’clock.”

\textsuperscript{73} *Independent Ledger* (Boston), April 8, 1782 (PACAN). The advertisement that appeared in the *Continental Journal* was on April 12, and stated that the concert was to take place that evening. This discrepancy of date is not accounted for; at any rate, the concert was postponed for some reason.

\textsuperscript{74} Sonneck, *Early Concert Life*, 30. Weston, *More Clarinet Virtuosi*, 90, mistakenly says that this performance was in Philadelphia.

\textsuperscript{75} Sonneck, *Early Concert Life*, 31.

\textsuperscript{76} Ibid., 304-5.
the Spring of 1798 he had gone to Philadelphia, because on March 19 of that year he played a concerto (composer unspecified) there; also on this concert he played “several much admired airs on the French horn and clarinet” with Mr. “Coliot” (Collet) on French horn.77 Dubois remained in Philadelphia for the next year. On April 24, 1798, he gave a benefit concert on which he performed Pleyel’s Symphonie Concertante for two clarinets (with the clarinetist Beranger [q.v.]), along with a concerto by Michel.78 On December 11, 1798, Dubois played a concert that included a duet for clarinet and violin (with Mr. Collet, who this time played violin), and a concerto.79

On January 25, 1799, Dubois played a concerto by “Michell” (Michel) on a benefit for the violinist Chateaudun.80 A concert of February 26 again included a concerto by Michel, along with a “Grand ariette from L’Amant Statue (by Dalyrac), arranged for two clarinet, two French horns and two bassoons. The principal part executed by Mr. Dubois.”81 On March 25 he played a duet by Michel with the violinist Boullay, and on the same concert a concerto by Michel.82 On April 11, Dubois played a concert that included Pleyel’s Symphonie Concertante for two clarinets, collaborating on this piece with Wolf (q.v.). These same two clarinetists then traveled to Baltimore to

77 Ibid., 147-48.
78 Ibid., 148. Weston (More Clarinet Virtuosi, 90) claims that Dubois played a concerto of his own composition on a Philadelphia concert of April 25, but Sonneck does not note this and no evidence of a concert on this date has been found.
79 Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 149.
80 Porcupine’s Gazette, January 17, 1799. Sonneck does not mention this concert.
81 Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 149.
82 Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 150.
play a concert on April 26, 1799, which included Dubois as the lute player on a “Medley Trio” for clarinet, violin and lute; on the same concert they also played the Pleyel Symphonie Concertante again, and Dubois played a concerto by Michel.

Further evidence of Dubois’ activities does not appear until 1807, by which time he had moved to Charleston. On December 15 of that year he placed the following advertisement in the newspaper:

Mr. Lewis Dubois, lately arrived in this city, has the honour of informing the publick, that he proposes giving a Vocal & Instrumental Concert, to conclude with a Ball, on THURSDAY the 17th inst. at MR. SOLLEE’S Long-Room …

This is the only mention of Dubois’ first name. The concert was postponed twice, but finally took place on January 19, 1808, when Dubois played a clarinet concerto by Michel. Also on the program was an “Overture, Iphigenia, (Pot-pouri)” composed by Gluck. Although the clarinet is not specifically mentioned in connection with this latter work, it seems likely that it was a piece for clarinet, since the program format makes it clear that the performer was Dubois. In addition, the program included an “Overture to ‘Le petit matelot’ (by wind Instruments).” On August 1, 1808, Dubois played a concerto by Michel.

---

83 This according to Weston, More Clarinet Virtuosi, 90. In Yesterday’s Clarinetists (p. 89), she states that this concert took place in Philadelphia; Sonneck’s information refutes this.

84 Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 57.

85 Charleston Courier, December 15, 1807.

86 Charleston Courier, January 19, 1808; see also Hindman, “Concert Life,” 341.

Weston identifies Dubois as the William Dubois who operated a business at 126 Broadway in New York City, which published and sold music (and pianos) from 1818-26, and issued a *Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet* in 1818.\(^8\) Presumably she obtained this information from Sonneck and Upton, who made the same identification. Wolfe, however, states that, “Sonneck and Upton were probably mistaken in assuming that he was the William Dubois who operated a music store in New York after 1800, though the two may have been related.”\(^9\) The evidence presented here serves to clarify the clarinetist Dubois’ identity, showing that he was indeed not the New York music dealer/publisher.

**Dupuy**

An individual in Charleston named Mr. Dupuy advertised in 1819 as a teacher of the guitar and clarinet.\(^9\) His sister, Miss N. Dupuy, was also available to teach guitar and piano; Miss Dupuy is occasionally found on Charleston concert programs as a pianist around this time. Their address is given as No. 190 Meeting Street. No further notice of Dupuy has been found.

**Flagg, Josiah** (1737-1795)

Josiah Flagg was known primarily as a composer and tune book compiler. He also performed on, or at least organized, concerts in Boston in the 1760s and 70s. In

\(^8\) Weston, _More Clarinet Virtuosi_, 90. See Chapter Five for a discussion of the 1818 clarinet tutor.

\(^9\) Wolfe, _Secular Music in America_, 1: 255.

\(^9\) *Charleston Courier*, December 1, 1819.
addition he may have been a military musician and bandmaster. He was sometimes assisted in concert by the band of the British 64th Regiment, and in a 1773 advertisement stated that he had “instructed a Band of Music to perform before the Regiment of the Militia in this Town.” The only direct notice of his connection with the clarinet is the following advertisement, which he placed in the *Newport Mercury* of February 19, 1776:

Lost, between Newport and Howland’s ferry, a certain instrument of music, called a clarionet, inclosed [sic] in a red leather case: Whoever has found the same, and will return it to the subscriber, shall be handsomely rewarded, and the favour gratefully acknowledged, by their humble servant, Josiah Flagg

**Foley**

Mr. Foley, “lately from Italy,” advertised to teach piano forte, violin, clarinet, or French horn in Baltimore in 1805. He said he would also teach vocal music “in the Italian mode.” His address is given in the advertisement as No. 4 south Gay street.

**Foucard, Pierre (Peter) Joseph** (ca. 1756- February 17, 1818)

Foucard was a native of Valenciennes, France. His name is mentioned on the French-Caribbean Island of Saint-Domingue as early as June 4, 1785, when he played a

---


92 *Newport Mercury*, February 19, 1776 (PACAN).

93 *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, April 26, 1805.

94 This according to Foucard’s obituary, given in the Charleston *Courier* of March 3, 1818; see Nicholas Butler, “Votaries of Apollo: The St. Cecilia Society and the Patronage of Concert Music in Charleston, South Carolina, 1766-1820” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2004), 324, n. 215.
clarinet concerto at Port-au-Prince.\textsuperscript{95} In the same year, on December 17, he played a clarinet quartet in that city.\textsuperscript{96} He is also mentioned in connection with operatic productions at the theatre in Saint-Marc.\textsuperscript{97} Foucard undoubtedly came to America, like many of the French on Saint-Domingue, as a refugee from the slave insurrections of the early 1790s. His first appearance in America was in 1793 in Philadelphia, where, on January 15, he performed a “Quartetto (Petit) with variations for the clarinet.”\textsuperscript{98} On February 7 of the same year Foucard played another concerto in Philadelphia.\textsuperscript{99} By April 1793 he had moved to Boston, and seems to have been playing in the theatre there; a concert that he and his colleagues Petit, Boullay, and Mallet had planned to give on April 4 had to be postponed because of a conflict with their theatre work.\textsuperscript{100} The concert was finally given on May 15, when Foucard played a clarinet concerto (composer unspecified) and a “Quartetto” with Petit, Boullay and Mallet (perhaps this was the same quartet by Petit that was performed on January 15 in Philadelphia).\textsuperscript{101} On May 30, still in Boston, Foucard performed a “Quartetto (by Pleyel)” with the string players Petit,

\textsuperscript{95} John G. Cale, “French Secular Music in Saint-Domingue (1750-1795) Viewed as a Factor in America’s Musical Growth” (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 1971), 158.

\textsuperscript{96} Ibid., 161.

\textsuperscript{97} Ibid., 173 and 177.

\textsuperscript{98} Sonneck, \textit{Early Concert Life}, 139. Petit was a violinist who appeared frequently in Philadelphia, and the program listing seems to indicate that he composed this quartet.

\textsuperscript{99} Ibid., 155.

\textsuperscript{100} According to a notice in the \textit{Columbian Centinel}, April 6, 1793.

\textsuperscript{101} Sonneck, \textit{Early Concert Life}, 290-91.
Boullay, and LeRoy, and a concerto (composer unspecified);\textsuperscript{102} on June 13, a “Clarinette Quartetto with variations” (composer unspecified);\textsuperscript{103} and on June 20 a concerto (composer unspecified).\textsuperscript{104} By the end of 1793 Foucard was in Charleston, South Carolina, where on December 17 he performed a concerto (composer unspecified) on a benefit he gave along with the musicians, Petit, LeRoy and Villars; all four gentlemen were said to be “instructed by the most eminent professors in their line in Europe.”\textsuperscript{105} Willis, in her history of the Charleston theatre, notes that in the play \textit{Mirza and Lindor}, given on June 7, 1794, “two of Charleston’s musicians, Messrs. Petit and Foucard, were brought in to render the solos.”\textsuperscript{106}

The next notice of Foucard is not until 1796. From this year onward, his activities are confined to Charleston; since his last known activity in 1794 was also in this city, it is probable that he had resided there in the interim. He remained in Charleston for the rest of his life, and was a prominent member of the musical community. According to Weston, Foucard played in the Charleston theater orchestra from 1796-1799.\textsuperscript{107} He was

\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid., 291.
\item Ibid., 292.
\item Ibid., 286.
\item Ibid., 29. Also on the concert was a clarinet quartet performed by an amateur.
\item Eola Willis, \textit{The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century} (Columbia, South Carolina: The State Company, 1924): 246.
\item Weston, \textit{More Clarinet Virtuosi}, 103. A more likely initial date is 1794, as noted by Willis.
\end{enumerate}
probably also a member of the St. Cecilia Society orchestra. He was a frequent performer on public concerts. On March 21, 1796 he played a concerto by Michel, followed closely on March 24 by another concerto performance (composer unspecified). In 1797 Foucard’s name is listed as a member of the ensemble that played a concert on March 9, for the benefit of the widow and children of Mr. Joseph Lafar, a deceased musician. On November 8, 1798, Foucard played a concerto by Michel, and on March 5, 1799, he played a concerto by Pleyel. It should be noted that Foucard is also mentioned as a composer in 1799; Willis states that in an advertisement for a “fete … of Dancing, Dialogue and song called: Charleston’s Celebration, or the Happy Return,” a piece by Foucard, called “General Pinckney’s March,” was performed.

The next notice of Foucard is not until 1802. On January 11 of that year the “gentlemen of the Orchestra” (this seems to refer to the theatre orchestra) gave a concert on which Foucard played a concerto by Vanderhagen. In February of 1803 Mrs.

---

108 Butler believes that all of the Charleston orchestral players who appeared regularly on benefit and oratorio concerts, and at the theatre, were the core members comprising the St. Cecilia Society orchestra. See “Votaries of Apollo,” 299-302.

109 Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 33.

110 Ibid., 302.

111 Ibid., 53.

112 Ibid., 37.

113 Ibid., 38.

114 Willis, The Charleston Stage, 421-22.

115 City Gazette and Daily Advertiser, January 9, 1802.
Broadhurst offered a benefit concert in memory of her deceased daughter, Miss Broadhurst (a singer at the theatre, who had recently died of fever) at the Carolina Coffee House, and on this occasion Mr. Foucard played a concerto by Devienne.\textsuperscript{116} On April 11, 1804 (postponed from April 5 because of inclement weather), the singer Miss LaRoque gave a benefit on which Foucard played a concerto by Michel,\textsuperscript{117} and on June 7 of the same year he performed a concerto by Duvernoy on Mr. Labotierre’s benefit.\textsuperscript{118}

Foucard’s name is not found again until 1807. In this year he made two solo appearances: on March 25, on “An Oratorio of Sacred Music, for the benefit of the Gentlemen who compose the orchestra of [the] St. Cecilia Society,” he played a concerto by Michel;\textsuperscript{119} and on August 31, for his own benefit concert at Vauxhall Gardens, he performed a “Concerto on the Clarionet (for the first time at Vauxhall Gardens).”\textsuperscript{120} The composer of the latter work is not specified, and the wording of the advertisement makes it difficult to determine if this was the first time a solo clarinet had been heard at Vauxhall Gardens, or if this was the first time this (or any) clarinet concerto had been heard.

No mention of Foucard has been found for the year 1808. On May 9, 1809, for Mrs. Sully’s benefit concert, he performed a concerto by “Wonderbogen” (probably

\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., February 18, 1803.

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., April 5, 1804.

\textsuperscript{118} Charleston Courier, June 7, 1804; see Butler, “Votaries of Apollo,” 392 n. 99.

\textsuperscript{119} Charleston Courier, March 23, 1807; Hindman, “Concert Life,” 335.

\textsuperscript{120} Charleston Courier, August 28, 1807; Hindman “Concert Life,” 339.
Vanderhagen);\textsuperscript{121} this concert was advertised as being presented with the assistance of “the Gentlemen of the Philharmonick Society,” suggesting that Foucard was a member of that organization.\textsuperscript{122} On August 29 of the same year he gave a benefit concert at Vauxhall Gardens; the program included no solo clarinet work, but began with “Military Musick and Select pieces of Harmony,” on which Foucard presumably played.\textsuperscript{123} In 1810, on November 20, he performed a concerto by Michel. On November 29, 1813, he gave a benefit on which he again performed a concerto by Michel;\textsuperscript{124} and on October 9, 1815, he joined the clarinetists Andral and Labatut (q.v.) to play an “Extraordinary Trio, by three Clarionets” (composer unspecified).\textsuperscript{125}

Charleston city directories list Foucard as a musician in 1802 and 1803. In 1806 he is listed as Peter J. Foucard, “music master.” In 1807 he is found in the directory in the special section, “School-masters, School-Mistresses, Teachers of Music, &c.,” and is also listed in the main body of the directory as Peter J. Foucard, music master. He appears in the 1809 directory as P.I. Foucard, musician; after that year he is not listed again. His address remained consistent at 256 (after 1807, 255) King Street. Foucard

\textsuperscript{121} Charleston Courier, May 9, 1809; Hindman, “Concert Life,” 343.

\textsuperscript{122} Charleston Courier, May 6, 1809.

\textsuperscript{123} Charleston Courier, August 23 1809; Hindman, “Concert Life,” 349. Hindman did not note the postponement of the concert from August 24 to August 29.

\textsuperscript{124} Hindman, “Concert Life,” 365-66.

\textsuperscript{125} Ibid., 370.
married an Irish woman named Cecelia (or Celia). They may have had a son, for there is a Joseph W. Foucard listed in the 1816 Charleston city directory with the occupation of musician, at 353 King Street (the same address as Celia Foucard, widow, in the 1819 directory). Peter Foucard died on February 17, 1818.

It should be noted that Foucard also started a kind of pleasure garden in 1811. Initially he called it a “Lemonade Garden.” His first advertisement is worth citing in full, since it shows that he hired (and perhaps played in) a band for the entertainment of his customers.

MR. FOUCARD respectfully returns his sincere thanks to those Ladies and Gentlemen, who, since the opening of his Garden, have honoured him with their company; and respectfully acquaints them and other Ladies and Gentlemen of Charleston generally, who in future may be pleased to encourage his efforts for their accommodation and amusement, that a BAND OF MILITARY MUSICK, performed by Gentlemen Professors and Amateurs, to perform three times a week, viz. On Monday, Wednesday and Friday Evenings from 8 till 10 o’clock; but that the Garden will be open every day, and illuminated every evening gratis, except on the evenings of performance; and that nothing may be wanting for their entertainment, the Garden will be supplied with the most cooling and palatable Beverages, Fruits, &c. and that all disorderly persons will be excluded.

The price of admittance, when there is a performance, 25 cents.
N.B. Societies may have, at a reasonable price, the use of the Garden, and suitable Dining rooms on the 4th of July.

By 1814 Foucard was calling his garden the Apollo Garden. In an advertisement of September of that year he announced that in addition to military music, he had

---

126 Cecilia Foucard died on June 2, 1822, at the age of 48, of dysentery. She was buried at St. Mary’s burial ground in Charleston. See See Susan S. King, *Roman Catholic Deaths in Charleston, South Carolina, 1800-1860* (Columbia, South Carolina: SCMAR, 2000), 172.

127 Butler, 324 n. 215. The obituary ran in the Charleston *Courier* of March 3, 1818, as follows: “Departed this life, on the 17th ult. after a lingering illness, which he bore with fortitude, Mons. Pierre J. Foucard, Musician, aged 61 years; a native of Valancienne [sic], (France) but a resident of this city 25 years. He was truly a just, upwright [sic] and honest man.”

128 *Charleston Courier*, June 25, 1811.
on display an exhibition of transparencies; from the titles given in the
advertisement, these seem to be some of the transparencies painted by Labatut
(q.v.) and used at Labatut’s concert the previous March. 129

**Frick, William (?1790-1855?)**

A clarinetist named “Wm. Frick” performed a concerto by the composer Fodor at Nazareth, Pennsylvania on November 16, 1809. 130 There was a William Frick who, though a lawyer by vocation (according to city directories), was active in the musical life of Baltimore; he was a founding member of the Baltimore Harmonick Society in 1809 and played in that group’s orchestra (his instrument is not known). 131 He, along with the Baltimore music publisher John Cole, was also a witness to the naturalization papers of Robert Bunyie (q.v.) as well as to Bunyie’s will. 132 Wolfe identifies a “poet and amateur composer of Baltimore” by the name William Frick, who wrote several songs and piano pieces, and presumes him to be the same person as William Frick (1790-1855), “who was for many years a judge on the Supreme Court of Maryland.” 133 It has not been determined, however, if all of the individuals by this name are one and the same, or if any is identical with the clarinetist who performed in Nazareth in 1809.

129 Ibid., September 9, 1814.


131 Records of the Baltimore Harmonick Society, 1809, Maryland Historical Society, MS 78.

132 The citation for Bunyie’s naturalization papers is found in the entry on Bunyie, above; the information on Bunyie’s will is from Annie Walker Burns, comp., Abstract of Wills of Baltimore County, vol. 17 (1838 to 1840) (Washington, D.C., Homer A. Walker, n.d.): 61.

133 Wolfe, Secular Music in America, 1:286.
Gallaher (Gallagher), (P.?)

Mr. Gallagher’s name is first mentioned in Charleston. On May 16, 1812, on a benefit concert for the singer/actors Mr. and Mrs. Green, Gallagher played a clarinet concerto by Michel.134 Shortly thereafter, on May 27, he gave his own benefit concert, on which he also played a concerto by Michel, “in the course of which he will introduce the favorite Irish air of Erin go Bragh.”135 In 1813 Gallagher appeared three times, each time performing a concerto by Michel: on February 2 for Mrs. Burke’s benefit,136 on March 30;137 and on April 14, at a “Grand Oratorio, or, Concert of Sacred Music, by the Philharmonic Society.”138 In early 1814 (February 8) he gave a benefit on which he played a concerto by Vogel, and also performed as a singer.139 By the autumn of 1814 Gallagher had traveled to Philadelphia; on October 4 he played on Mrs. Green’s benefit at the Masonic Hall. On this occasion he performed a concerto by Michel, in the course of which he introduced “the beautiful Scotch air ‘The bonny wee thing.’”140 No performance by Gallagher has been found in 1815, although Durang states that he was

136 Charleston Courier, January 28, 1813. The concert was originally scheduled for January 28, but was postponed to February 2 (see the Charleston Courier, January 29, 1813); Hindman, “Concert Life,” 362, did not note this postponement.
137 Butler, “Votaries of Apollo,” 392, n 98.
138 Charleston Courier, April 13, 1813; Hindman, “Concert Life,” 363-64.
139 Charleston Courier, February 8, 1814; Hindman, “Concert Life,” 367.
140 Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser, October 3, 1814.
one of the principal performers at Vauxhall Gardens in the summer of that year. By 1816 Gallagher had returned to Charleston; on May 2 of that year he gave a benefit concert where he again played a concerto by Michel with an insertion of “The bonny wee thing.” On this concert he was joined by Andral (q.v.), who played a violin concerto by VIotti, and Taylor (q.v.), who played a flute solo by Hoffmeister. Gallagher also performed as a singer on this concert.

Porter mentions that a clarinetist named “Gallagher” was listed as a performer in Philadelphia during the 1813-1814 season. Wolfe notes a P. Gallaher as the composer of a song entitled “Comrad’s join the flag of glory,” published by Willig of Philadelphia around 1814, and states that this composer is “probably the ‘Mr. Gallaher’ who performed as singer and clarinetist in Philadelphia in 1814.”

**Garnet, Horatio**

Horatio Garnet seems to have been the pre-eminent musician at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in the late eighteenth century. He is first heard of in an advertisement he made in the *New Hampshire Spy* of July 2, 1788, announcing that, “having received his musical education in some of the principal cities in Europe, he proposes teaching the Violin, Bass-viol, Hautboy, Clarionet, Flute, etc. and also to give Lessons to Ladies on

---


142 *Charleston Courier*, April 30, 1816; Hindman, 372.


the Guittar.”¹⁴⁵ He issued another advertisement in March of 1789, indicating that he had received encouragement and would continue to teach.¹⁴⁶ He was also a composer of vocal music and, apparently, a clarinet concerto. An advertisement in the *New Hampshire Spy* of December 14, 1791, stated that, following the third act of the “Comedy of the West Indian,” there would be “a Clarinet Concerto, composed and to be performed by Mr. Garnet.”¹⁴⁷ According to Pichierri, Garnet appeared on many other concerts in Portsmouth, some of which might have included him as a performer on the clarinet. In addition to his teaching and performing activities, he was involved in founding and running the Bow Street Theatre.¹⁴⁸

**Gautier (Gaultier), Auguste**

Weston states that Gautier was the son of the pianist Louis Gautier, a Frenchman living in Holland, and that he was a pupil of Lefèvre in Paris. In 1795 he returned to Amsterdam where, according to Weston, he was befriended by the clarinet virtuoso Backofen, Gautier subsequently taking Backofen to Paris to meet Lefèvre.¹⁴⁹ The first mention of Gautier in America was on December 1, 1795; on this date he gave a benefit concert in Philadelphia, on which he played a concerto by Lefèvre, along with another of

---


¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 224-25.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 92.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 91.

¹⁴⁹ Weston, *Yesterday’s Clarinetists*, 72. Weston also maintains that Gautier “emigrated to America with his friend Dubois.” She does not give the source of this information.
his own composition. He did likewise on a concert on April 26, 1796, also in Philadelphia. No further mention of Gautier is found until 1801, by which time he was in New York City. There, on May 26, he placed the following advertisement:

A. GAUTIER, PROFESSOR OF MUSIC.
Lately from Madrid, Paris, and London, at which places he had the honor to perform before the Chief Consul of the French Republic, and their Majesties the Kings of England and Spain, from whom he received a gratification as a token of their approbation, being in this town for a few days, respectfully informs the public, that to gratify the curiosity of Several Amateurs who have expressed a desire of hearing him, he intends to give a CONCERT
AT MOUNT VERNON GARDEN
On TUESDAY, the second of June, when he will perform on the Clarinet, a variety of the most fashionable tunes, accompanied by a well chosen orchestra. He hopes that his endeavors to please an enlightened public will meet with encouragement, as no pains shall be spared to render the Music agreeable. Tickets, at One Dollar each, to be had at No’s. 66 and 86 Nassau-street. N.B. The arrangement of the Concert will be known by farther advertisement.

Gautier demonstrates a distinguished background indeed! The advertised concert was postponed by a week, but took place on June 9. On it, Gautier played a concerto of his own composition, as well as “Airs, with variations, on the Clarinet,” and a “Finale, Rondo, on the Clarinet.” Between 1801 and 1804 Gautier seems to have been living steadily in New York. He played a concert on June 17, 1801, at Corre’s pleasure garden, where he performed a clarinet concerto (composer unspecified); an “Andanti, with Variations” of his own composition; a “Pot Pourri, or Hodge Podge, By Mr. Gautier, being a mixture of English and French Airs, with Variations, to be finished by the BEAR

---

150 Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 144.
151 Ibid., 146.
DANCE, in the execution of which, Mr. Gautier will accompany the air on the Clarinet, with an imitation of the DRONE OF THE BAGPIPE;” and an “Air, with variations” of his own composition.153 On July 9, 1801, Gautier performed a clarinet concerto (composer unspecified) at the United States Garden;154 and on December 15, 1801, he did the same on a concert and ball given by Madame and Miss Deseze.155 On February 16, 1802, he performed a “Concerto on the Clarinett, composed by himself” on a “Ladies Concert” sponsored by the Columbian Anacreontic Society.156 On March 2 of the same year he was scheduled to give his own benefit concert, which he announced as being “his LAST PUBLIC PERFORMANCE, on the CLARINET.” This concert was to take place at the City Assembly Room on Broadway, and Gautier planned to perform a concerto of his own composition and a “Variety of elegant Airs on the Clarinet.”157 The concert was postponed until March 9; a March 8 newspaper notice announced that in addition to the aforementioned works, “the Air de Gugliani will then be given; with an additional accompaniment for a violin principale, which Mr. Gautier will execute on the clarinet.”158 Despite the announcement, this was not Mr. Gautier’s final performance, not even for

---

153 Commercial Advertiser, June 16, 1801.
154 Ibid., July 8, 1801.
155 New York Evening Post, December 9, 1801.
156 Ibid., February 12, 1802.
157 Ibid., February 28, 1802.
158 Ibid., March 8, 1802.
that season. On March 23 he performed on the violinist Hewitt’s benefit concert, which included a “Concerto Clarinet, composed and performed by Mr. Gautier,” and “Favorite Airs, with variations, on the Clarinet, by Mr. Gautier.”\textsuperscript{159} The wording of the program seems to suggest that Gautier composed these variations, since none of the other works on the program are listed as being “by” the performers. Gautier performed once more in 1802: on December 7 he played a concerto (composer unspecified) on a benefit for Madame and Miss Deseze.\textsuperscript{160} Three performances by Gautier have been recorded for 1803. On January 4 he played for a concert and ball given by Mr. Trigant de Beaumont, performing a concerto of his own composition and “Variations on the Clarinet.”\textsuperscript{161} The Philharmonic Society gave two public concerts in 1803, on April 14 and December 23; on both of these, Gautier played a clarinet concerto.\textsuperscript{162} On January 24, 1804, Gautier played a concerto on the annual concert and ball given by Madame and Miss Deseze,\textsuperscript{163} he also played a concerto on one of the “Professional Concerts” organized by Hewitt, on March 20.\textsuperscript{164} On April 24, 1804, Gautier played a concerto on a concert with Mr. De Chateaudun and Miss DeBrueys, “whom the late disasters in St. Domingo have placed under the necessity of utilising their talents for the Harp and Piano-Forte.”\textsuperscript{165} In August

\textsuperscript{159} Ibid., March 17, 1802.
\textsuperscript{160} Ibid., November 29, 1802.
\textsuperscript{161} Ibid., December 28, 1802.
\textsuperscript{162} Ibid., April 11, 1803, p. 3; and December 22, 1803.
\textsuperscript{163} Ibid., January 17, 1804.
\textsuperscript{164} Ibid., March 19, 1804.
\textsuperscript{165} Ibid., April 18, 1804.
of 1804, the violinist and ice-cream maker Charles Collet offered a concert at Columbia Garden, announcing ahead of time that “Mr. Gautier the celebrated performer on the Clarinet, whose talents have been crowned by universal applause by this City, being here for a few days, has kindly offered his services for that night only, and perhaps for his last appearance in this country.” This concert took place on August 27, and “Mr. Auguste Gautier” (we learn his first name) played “Variations on the most favorite tunes, on the Clarinet.”

Perhaps, as Collet’s announcement suggests, Gautier did leave the country after this, because he does not appear in New York again for well over a year. On November 26, 1805, Mr. Nicolas gave his concert and ball. He had informed his audience in the advertisements leading up to the concert that, “Mr. Gautier, lately returned to this City, has kindly offered his assistance, and will perform on the Clarinet.” The program included a “Concerto on the Clarinet, composed and… performed by Mr. Gautier.” On December 17 Gautier performed a concerto on a concert given by Madame and Miss Deseze; he also accompanied Madame Deseze as she sang a song (title unspecified). Gautier remained in New York for 1806, which was a busy year for him. On January 14 he played a concerto on a concert given at the Union Hotel for the benefit of Mrs. Henri,

---

166 Ibid., August 25, 1804.
167 Ibid., November 6, 1805.
168 Ibid., November 20, 1805.
169 Ibid., December 12, 1805.
“widow of the late Mr. Henri, first Clarinett at the Theatre.” On January 28 he played a concerto on Charles Gilfert’s concert at the Tea-Room of the City Hotel. In March, Mr. Nicolas announced his upcoming concert by stating that, “Mr. Gautier, the celebrated Clarinet player, has kindly offered his services to play a new great Concerto”; this concert was postponed several times and did not take place until May 6, but the program did include a concerto played by Gautier. Meanwhile, on April 10 he played a concerto on a public concert given by the Philharmonic Society, “For the Benefit of the Orphan Children of the late Mr. Hodgkinson (a popular actor at the theatre, recently deceased),” and on April 17 he played a concerto on a concert given by the pianist Meetz (who had been advertising himself as a pupil of Mozart) at the City Assembly Room on Broadway. On May 13, 1806, Gautier played a concerto on Miss DeBrueys’ concert at the City Hotel.

A period of about a year and a half elapsed before Gautier’s next performances; apparently he was away from New York, perhaps even out of the country. On November 3, 1807, Mr. Nicolas announced a concert and ball to take place at the City Hotel in New York, stating that, “Mr. Gautier, lately returned to this city, has kindly offered his services to play a new great Concerto.”

170 Ibid., December 31, 1805; and January 10, 1806.
171 Ibid., January 25, 1806.
172 Ibid., March 14, 1806.
173 Ibid., May 1, 1806.
174 Ibid., April 8, 1806.
175 Ibid., April 14, 1806.
176 Ibid., May 9, 1806.
services, and will perform a concerto on the Clarinet."\footnote{177} After a postponement, the concert finally took place on December 8, and it included “a new grand Concerto for the Clarinet, never performed yet, composed and to be executed by Mr. Gautier."\footnote{178} On January 5, 1808, Gautier played a concerto (composer unspecified) for the singer Madame George’s concert;\footnote{179} he did the same for Mr. Hewitt’s concert on February 15.\footnote{180} In the summer, Mr. Hogg announced a concert for August 11; his newspaper notice stated that he “embraces this opportunity of informing the public, that in addition to the attractions which will be held out for the above evening, MR. GAUTIER has kindly consented to add his astonishing powers on the clarinet.”\footnote{181} The concert took place as announced, and Gautier played a concerto (composer unspecified).\footnote{182} At the end of 1808 Gautier made two more solo appearances. On November 24, 1808, he announced a concert to be given “on behalf of a very meritorious French Family, now suffering under the influence of poignant and uncontrollable [sic] distress.”\footnote{183} This concert was originally announced for November 29, but was postponed to December 6; Gautier performed a concerto (composer unspecified).\footnote{184} Later in the month the violinist Borck

\footnote{177} Ibid., November 3, 1807.
\footnote{178} Ibid., December 4, 1807.
\footnote{179} Ibid., December 30, 1807.
\footnote{180} Ibid., February 11, 1808.
\footnote{181} Ibid., August 6, 1808.
\footnote{182} Ibid., August 10, 1808.
\footnote{183} Ibid., November 24, 1808.
\footnote{184} Ibid., December 2, 1808.
announced a concert for December 29, on which “Mr. Gautier, whose uncommon talents are so well known, has very obligingly volunteered the participation of his efforts, and will perform a grand Concerto on the Clarinette.”\textsuperscript{185} Subsequent announcements postponed the concert to the new year, first to January 6 and then to January 3; the explanation for this shuffling was that, “Mr. Borgh [sic], in order to avail himself of Mr. Gautier’s unequalled clarinet, is under the necessity of fixing on Tuesday evening the 3rd of January for his Concert and Ball … It will positively take place on that evening even if the weather should be unfavorable.”\textsuperscript{186} Evidently Mr. Borck thought that Gautier’s participation was essential to the success of his concert, since he was willing to accommodate Gautier’s schedule.

At the beginning of 1809, Gautier played two further concerts in New York: on January 17 for Mr. Comoglio’s concert, and on January 23 for Mr. Ogilvie’s charity benefit; on both occasions he played concertos.\textsuperscript{187} After this Gautier made a brief trip to Philadelphia. On January 31, 1809, he gave a concert at the Philadelphia Academy, “for the benefit of an Unfortunate Family,” on which he performed a concerto of his own composition.\textsuperscript{188} On February 28 he performed his own concerto and a “Solo and Rondo on the Clarinette,” on a concert given by Mr. Trigaut de Beaumont at Mr. Sicard’s Ball

\textsuperscript{185} Ibid., December 17, 1808.

\textsuperscript{186} Ibid., December 31, 1808.

\textsuperscript{187} Ibid., January 12 and 20, 1809.

\textsuperscript{188} Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser, January 31, 1809.
Room. Then he returned to New York, where on April 20 (postponed from April 13) the violinist Mr. Lefolle gave a concert that included “A new Concerto never performed here, composed and executed by Mr. Gautier.”

At the beginning of 1810 Gautier was traveling. On January 11, an advertisement in Philadelphia announced that Gautier was scheduled to perform a concerto on a concert for Miss DeBrueys at Mr. Falcone’s Ball Room on Spruce Street; it is not clear if this concert actually took place, however, since no subsequent notice appeared announcing the particulars of the concert, as was usual. By March he was in Baltimore. The writer of a letter to the editor of the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser* recommended that readers attend the violinist Neninger’s concert, and stated that, “in addition to that from others, Mr. N. will be assisted by the celebrated Clarionet of Mr. GAUTIER. Mr. G. will give his finest Concerto on the Clarionet.” By April, however, Gautier was back in Philadelphia. There he gave a concert on April 10 for the benefit of “two unfortunate families.” On this concert he performed two selections: a “New Grand Concerto on the Clarinet” and an “Air with Variations on the Clarinet.” From the

---

189 Ibid., February 24, 1809.
190 *New York Evening Post*, April 11, 1809.
191 Ibid., January 11, 1810.
192 *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, March 13, 1810. It should be noted that previous newspaper announcements of this concert made no mention of a clarinet concerto on the program, nor of Mr. Gautier’s participation.
positioning of the names on the program announcement, it appears that Gautier was both the performer and the composer of these works.\textsuperscript{193}

Nearly three years elapse before Gautier’s next appearance in America; perhaps he had returned to Europe during intervening this period. At any rate, for the next four years he remained steadily in New York. In March of 1813 he performed a concerto on Miss Pardo’s concert; the program also included the “American Tars Grande Marche, composed by Mr. Gautier.”\textsuperscript{194} On November 4 of that year he played a concerto of his own composition for a Philharmonic Society concert,\textsuperscript{195} and On December 23 (postponed from December 14) for Mr. Gilfert’s concert he did the same.\textsuperscript{196} In 1814 Gautier made four solo appearances: on January 6 he played an “Air, with variations of the clarinet” (composer unspecified) on a benefit for the Orphan’s Asylum;\textsuperscript{197} on February 15 he played a concerto of his own composition on Miss Pardo’s concert;\textsuperscript{198} on March 19 he played a concerto and a “Recitation and Rondo,” both of his own composition, on a benefit for the aged horn player Pelissier;\textsuperscript{199} and on December 20 he played his own “Grand Military Concert, on the Clarinet,” again for a benefit for Pelissier.\textsuperscript{200} In 1815

\textsuperscript{193}Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser, April 9, 1810.

\textsuperscript{194}New York Evening Post, March 1, 1813.

\textsuperscript{195}Ibid., October 29, 1813.

\textsuperscript{196}Ibid., December 9, 1813.

\textsuperscript{197}Ibid., January 4, 1814.

\textsuperscript{198}Ibid., February 9, 1814.

\textsuperscript{199}Ibid., March 12, 1814.

\textsuperscript{200}Ibid., December 17, 1814.
Gautier played concertos of his own composition on five occasions: January 31 for Mr. Gilfert’s concert, February 14 for Mr. Perossier’s concert, March 2 for Mrs. Burke’s concert, April 20 for Mr. Kinsella’s concert (“composed for this occasion”), and on December 19 for another concert given by Mrs. Burke. In 1816 Gautier appeared only twice, on May 21 and October 1. Both were concerts by Mrs. Burke, and both occasions included Gautier performing concertos of his own composition.

In early 1817 Gautier went to Charleston. On February 18, at Mr. Sollee’s Long Room, he gave a benefit concert that included a concerto and an “Air, with Variations,” both composed and performed by Gautier. On the day of this concert the *Charleston Courier* carried the following puff:

> The concert, which has been for some time past in contemplation, is announced for this evening, and the lovers of Music and Amateurs will be highly gratified at the extraordinary powers of Mr. GAUTIER on the Clarionett. This gentleman, in Paris and London, held a most distinguished rank, and was heard in all the oratorios with great delight. In this country, he is without a rival; and we doubt if such a combination of extraordinary acquirements on that instrument has ever before been exhibited here. In addition to the rich treat which may be anticipated from the masterly talents of Mr. GAUTIER, his bill of fare presents many attractions… we confidently anticipate a numerous and splendid assembly.

---

201 Ibid., January 30, 1815.
202 Ibid., February 8, 1815.
203 Ibid., February 25, 1815.
204 Ibid., April 19, 1815.
205 Ibid., December 15, 1815.
206 Ibid., May 16, 1816 and September 23, 1816.
207 *Charleston Courier*, February 18, 1817; Hindman, “Concert Life,” 376.
208 *Charleston Courier*, February 18, 1817.
This seems to have been Gautier’s only Charleston performance; by the summer he was back in New York, where he remained until 1820 (and possibly beyond). On July 2, 1817, the flutist Kinsella announced a concert on which Gautier is listed as a performer; no solo piece for clarinet appeared on the concert itself, however, so perhaps Gautier was simply a member of the orchestra. 209 Only one solo appearance by Gautier has been noted in 1818: on April 7 of that year he played a “Tyrolese, with variations” of his own composition on a concert by Mr. Thibault (the New York pianist, not the Philadelphia clarinetist) and Mr. Ostinelli. 210 In 1819 Gautier made two solo appearances: on January 12, for Mr. Ferrand’s concert, where he performed “Variations … on the favorite air of Robin Adair” of his own composition; 211 and on April 27, for the benefit of Miss Emily Gauffreau, age 9, on which occasion he again performed his “Robin Adair” variations, along with a “Fantasie and variations on the Italian air Guarda mi un poco, performed on the harp by a young lady, and accompanied on the Clarionet by Mr. Gautier.” 212

Finally, in 1820, Gautier made three solo performances. On January 25 he played a set of “Variations, Is there a heart that never lov’d, for clarionet and piano (Messrs. Gautier and Thibault), composed by Gautier.” 213 On August 31 he repeated this piece

209 New York Evening Post, July 2, 1817.

210 Ibid., April 3, 1818.

211 Ibid., January 9, 1819.

212 Ibid., April 24, 1819. The name of the composer of the Fantasie is given in the newspaper announcement, but is not fully legible; it appears to be “Benig… hurry,” but see the concert notice of December 2, 1820, below (footnote 215).

213 Ibid., January 25, 1820.
(with the same pianist) on Mrs. Burke’s concert. On December 5 he played a concerto of his own composition on Miss Gaffreau’s concert, along with “Variations on the harp, Miss Gaffreau, with clarionet accompaniments by Mr. Gautier,” composed by B. Henry.

**Geanty**

A clarinetist named Mr. Geanty was active in Baltimore. He first appeared there late in 1817; on December 29 of that year he played on a benefit for Messrs. Gilles, Sr. (oboe) and Jr. (cello), performing a “Solo on the Clarinett” by a composer listed as “Gibanier.” In 1818 he appeared twice: on April 17 he played on a benefit for Mr. Marye and Miss Chataudun [sic], performing a “Solo on the Clarionet” (composer unspecified), and on May 14 he played on Mrs. French’s benefit, performing a clarinet concerto (composer unspecified).

---

214 Ibid., August 30, 1820.

215 Ibid., December 2, 1820.


217 Ibid., April 13 and May 13, 1818.
Gentil, Peter Francis (d. 1808)

Gentil first appeared in New York in 1804, performing as a singer, cellist, and violinist. He appeared as a clarinetist for the first time in 1808; on April 7 of that year he played a duet for clarinet and violin with the violinist Mr. Bork, on Bork’s concert at the City Hotel. Further concerts in that year followed. On May 5 Gentil was supposed to play a “Quartetto Clarinet” with the violinist Hewitt and others, on Hewitt’s concert at the City Hotel Assembly Room, but the concert was postponed to May 10 and the program changed to include a duet for clarinet and violin instead of the quartet. On May 17 Gentil again played a duet for clarinet and violin with Bork. The composer of these duets is never specified; perhaps it was the same duet on all three occasions. On February 3, 1809 (postponed from January 30), on a benefit for the violinist Everdell and the clarinetist Moffat (q.v.), Gentil and Moffat played a clarinet duet (composer unspecified). On April 20 of the same year, Gentil accompanied the well-known singer Mrs. Oldmixon on the song, “Too happy when Edward was kind,” and on August 23, 

---

218 A short, general biography of Gentil can be found in Vera Brodsky Lawrence, “Mr. Hewitt Lays It on the Line,” 19th Century Music 5, no. 1 (Summer 1981), 5-6. Brodsky provides his middle name and his date of death.

219 New York Evening Post, April 6, 1808.

220 Ibid., May 2 and May 6, 1808.

221 Ibid., May 16, 1808.

222 Ibid., January 25, 1809.

223 Ibid., April 11, 1809.
he once again played a duet for violin and clarinet, with Mr. Hewitt, on Miss Dellinger’s concert at Vauxhall Gardens.\textsuperscript{224}

In 1810, on May 22, the musicians of the city of New York gave a concert for the benefit of distressed French families. The advertisement for this concert states that, “The letter addressed to the Committee of Benevolence instituted for the relief of distressed French families is signed with the following names,” followed by a list of signatories.\textsuperscript{225}

On this list is the name P.S. Gentil. An individual named Peter F. Gentil is listed in New York City directories at various addresses from 1807 to 1835, with the occupations of music master or professor of music, and even dancing master (1807).\textsuperscript{226} It seems safe to assume that P.S. Gentil is the same individual as Peter F. (Francis) Gentil, since no other musicians with this last name were active in New York at this time.

\textbf{Granger, Frederick (1770-1830)}

Wolfe states that Granger was married in Boston in 1785,\textsuperscript{227} but he is not mentioned as a clarinetist until 1793; on December 12 of that year he played a “Clarinet

\begin{footnotes}
\item[224] Ibid., August 19, 1809.
\item[225] Ibid., May 16, 1810.
\end{footnotes}
Concerto by Mr. Granger, Boullay, Mallet and Pick." On September 9, 1794, a concert presented in Salem, Massachusetts included a “Quartetto on the Clarinet, by Messrs. Granger, Boullay, Pick and Mallet.” Several notices of Granger come from 1795: on January 28, 1795, Mr. Stone (q.v.) and Mr. Granger played a “Duet on the Clarinet;” on April 15, Granger played a concerto (composer unspecified); and on June 18 he and Stone played another duet. On March 24, 1796, Granger played a duet with a clarinetist named Anderson (q.v.), and on June 1 of the same year these two players again performed a duet.

The next mention of Granger is not until May 15, 1798, when on a concert in Salem he performed a “Clarinet Quartetto” with Messrs. Laumont, Von Hagen and Graupner. On June 25, 1799, again in Salem, Granger played a “Solo on the Clarinet.” In 1800 he traveled with a group of Boston musicians to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he played a concerto on June 3. Granger was busy in the Spring of 1801. On April 7 he performed a “Quartet, clarinet” by Michel; also on this concert was an “Armonia, Clarinet, oboe, Corno and Fagotto” by Pleyel, on which he probably also

---

228 Sonneck, *Early Concert Life*, 293. Louis Boullay was a violinist, and Mallet and Pick appear on concert programs in many capacities, including as string players, singers, and pianists; in this case, it may be that they performed on stringed instruments, and that this “concerto” is actually a clarinet quartet.

229 Ibid., 313.

230 Ibid., 298-300.

231 Ibid., 302 and 304.

232 Ibid., 314.

233 Ibid., 315-16.

played. On May 5 he played a clarinet quartet by “Vogle,” along with a “Harmony, oboe clarinet, horns, bassoons” by “Rosetta.” On May 15, on a benefit concert in Salem for Gottlieb Graupner, he played a quartet by Michel. At Boston Conservatory Hall on May 19, Granger performed a concerto by “Schaffer of Boston” (q.v.), as well as accompanying a song, composed and sung by Trajetta, and a song by Storace, “My plaint in no one pity moves,” sung by Mrs. Graupner. The next notice of Granger is not until 1805; on December 17 of that year he again accompanied Mrs. Graupner, this time on the song “Aeolian Harp,” composed by Shaffer. On March 6, 1806, he played a duet by “Mitchell” (Michel) with the clarinetist Moffat (q.v.). Mangler states that in 1806 Granger was in Providence, Rhode Island, performing in concert with Delarue and Steiner, and also that he was “later [a] member of the Providence Theater orchestra with [his] son, Thomas, succeeding F.C. Schaffer (elder).”

It should be noted that “Mr. Granger” is listed as providing accompaniments (i.e., having composed them) to two glee songs sung on Mrs. Oldmixon’s concert of June 1, 1807, at the Federal Theatre; but it is impossible to know if the reference is to Mr. Granger Sr.

---

235 Independent Chronicle, March 26-30, 1801; Johnson, Musical Interludes, 53.
236 Independent Chronicle, April 30-May 4, 1801; Johnson, 54.
237 Weston, Yesterday’s Clarinetists, 76.
238 Independent Chronicle, May 14-18, 1801; Johnson, 49-50.
239 Boston Gazette, December 16, 1805; Johnson, 61.
240 Independent Chronicle, March 3, 1806; Johnson, 163.
(the clarinetist) or Jr. (the violinist). An entry in Dr. Bentley’s diary from December 1, 1812, mentions an oratorio of sacred music on which Granger played the clarinet, and he also may have participated in a performance of a “Harmony” at Washington Gardens on July 4, 1815.

Granger’s name appears regularly in Boston directories from 1796 through at least 1820; his occupation is always stated as “musician.” Wolfe states that Granger, Sr., in addition to being a clarinetist, was also a violinist, conductor, and composer, and was actively involved with the Philharmonic Society of Boston. Wolfe also mentions that Granger was “leader of the orchestra at the Federal Street Theatre until 1828, when he was succeeded by his son Thomas” (q.v.). Porter, however, states that Frederick Granger was a clarinetist (not leader) at the Federal Street Theatre, at least in the 1796-97 season. Weston informs us that he was a member of the orchestra of the Handel and Haydn Society from 1817 to 1822. Granger compiled a collection of twenty-five clarinet “duettinos,” published in Boston around 1811; he also composed piano works

Johnson, Musical Interludes, 65.

Ibid., 82 n. 47.

Ibid., 86.

It is interesting to note that in the 1798 directory, Gottlieb Graupner is listed as sharing Granger’s address (No. 10 Jarvis’s Buildings).

Wolfe, Secular Music in America, 1:322.

Porter, With an Air Debonair, 376-77.

Weston, Yesterday’s Clarinetists, 76.

Wolfe, Secular Music in America, 1:322. See also Joseph Estock, “A Biographical Dictionary of Clarinetists Born Before 1800,” (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1972), 143. Estock is mistaken when he states that Granger composed these duets; the title page clearly states that he “selected” them, and the
and songs.\textsuperscript{250} He may have had a stroke; Johnson mentions that a benefit concert during the 1819-20 season was given for “Mr. Granger Sr. the veteran who had suffered a stroke of palsy,” and that this benefit concert was to be an annual affair.\textsuperscript{251} Granger died on February 7, 1830.\textsuperscript{252}

\textbf{Gütter, Heinrich (Henry) Gottlob (1797-1847)}

Gütter emigrated to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania from Neukirchen, Germany in 1817. He came from a family of well-known musical instrument makers, and he himself was an instrument maker and dealer in Bethlehem from 1819.\textsuperscript{253} Grider names “Henry G. Guetter, clarinet” in his list of Bethlehem musicians;\textsuperscript{254} he also lists “Gottleb Guetter” (instrument not specified) as a founding member of the Columbian Band.\textsuperscript{255} The latter may be a different family member who preceded Heinrich to Bethlehem, since the band was formed in 1809 (according to Grider) or 1814 (according to Hall) and Heinrich Gottlob Gütter did not come to Bethlehem until 1817 (according to Carter).

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{250} See Wolfe, \textit{Secular Music in America}, 1:322-23, for a listing of published works by Frederick Granger.

\textsuperscript{251} Johnson, \textit{Musical Interludes}, 147.

\textsuperscript{252} Wolfe, \textit{Secular Music in America}, 1:322.


\textsuperscript{254} Grider, \textit{Historical Notes}, 38.

\textsuperscript{255} Ibid., 25.
\end{flushright}
Hart, John

Wolfe, probably taking most of his information from Johnson, writes the following biographical note about John Hart:

Hart, John
Musician, music teacher, conductor, and composer. Active in Boston from 1815, and perhaps earlier, where he was at one time usher at civil court. He was a member of the Handel and Haydn Society from June 1 1815 and appeared occasionally at concerts in Boston as clarinetist. In 1821 he advertised himself as teacher of the organ, piano forte, flute, clarinet, horn, trumpet and patent kent bugle. He was leader of the Boston Brigade Band ca 1825. His name has been found in the Boston directory for 1823 only, where he is described as “musician.” Together with Samuel P. Taylor he compiled the *Unitarian Harmony* (Boston 1823), on the t-p [title page] of which he is identified as “organist at the Rev. Mr. Channing’s congregation.”

According to the Salem merchant John B. Derby, Hart was “the finest clarionet player in the country with the softest tone, most brilliant in execution.” The name Hart is mentioned on a program announced in the *New England Palladium* of July 15, 1812, on which a “Harmony, for Wind Instruments” was performed by “Messrs. Hart, Wood, &c. &c.” On July 4, 1815, a concert was given at Washington Gardens that included a “Harmony Messrs. Granger, Turner, Hart, Norbaur, Wood, &c.” and on August 14, at the same location, “Military Music (consisting of new Marches, Quick Steps, Waltz’s, &c.)” by James Hewitt was performed by an ensemble that included Hart. In all of

---

257 Cited in Johnson, *Musical Interludes*, 126 n. 11.
258 Ibid., 77.
259 Ibid., 86.
these instances, it seems safe to assume that the individual referred to as Hart is the clarinetist.

In the summer of 1817 Hart traveled to New York. He played twice at the New York Vauxhall Gardens, on June 10 (“Mr. Hart from Boston, his first appearance in this City”) and June 24, each time performing a clarinet concerto (composer unspecified).\textsuperscript{261} On July 7 he performed on a benefit for Mr. Kinsella (a flutist) at the City Hotel, playing a set of “Variations on the clarinet (Duvernoy),” and on July 10 once more played a clarinet concerto at Vauxhall Gardens.\textsuperscript{262} Shortly thereafter Hart returned to Boston, where on August 21, 1817, he performed a Trio for clarinet, violin, and cello by Schmitt, and a clarinet quartet by Duvernoy, on a benefit for the singer Mr. Taylor.\textsuperscript{263} On August 28, he played a “Quartette—Clarionet Principal” by Duvernoy, on Miss Hewitt’s benefit.\textsuperscript{264} No performances by Hart have been traced for the year 1818, but on April 28, 1819 he performed a clarinet concerto for Mr. Holland’s benefit, which was given “under the Patronage of the Philo-Harmonic and Handel and Haydn Societies.”\textsuperscript{265} In 1820, Hart performed a Rondo on a benefit concert for Frederick Granger (q.v.) on April 13, and a “Clarionet Capricio” on Mr. Holland’s concert of April 25.\textsuperscript{266} In August of 1820 he

\textsuperscript{261} \textit{New York Evening Post}, June 9 and June 23, 1817.

\textsuperscript{262} Ibid., July 5 and 9, 1817.

\textsuperscript{263} \textit{Independent Chronicle}, August 20, 1817.

\textsuperscript{264} Johnson, \textit{Musical Interludes}, 100.

\textsuperscript{265} \textit{Independent Chronicle}, April 28, 1819.

\textsuperscript{266} Weston, \textit{Yesterday’s Clarinetists}, 79-80. Weston states that she found the information on the concerts of April 1820 in Johnson, \textit{Musical Interludes in Boston}; I have been able to confirm only the April 13 concert, which was advertised in the \textit{Independent Chronicle} of April 12, 1820.
played a concerto by Francis Shaffer (q.v.) at a benefit given for the aged Shaffer at Boylston Hall in Boston. Weston states that Hart himself “had 18 benefits in 1823.”

Henry (Henri) (d. 1805)

A clarinetist by the name of Henri is mentioned as playing a clarinet concerto on April 6, 1778, at Cap-Français on the island of Saint-Domingue. Weston states that he “was employed at the Théâtre du Cap at Santo Domingo. In 1782 he was also reported as a military musician.” Weston lists a second clarinetist with the name Henry, who played in Philadelphia and New York beginning in 1794. There is no reason to think that these two individuals were not the same person, since (as has been noted) many French, including musicians, fled to America after the slave revolts on Saint-Domingue in the early 1790s. As noted, Henry’s first appearance in America was at Philadelphia in 1794, and evidence suggests that he may have been principal clarinetist at the New Theatre on Chestnut Street at this time; he was remembered as such by a writer for The

267 Johnson, Musical Interludes, 114.

268 Weston, Yesterday’s Clarinetists, 79-80. Once again, Weston states that she found this information in Johnson, but I have not located it there. Eighteen benefits in one year is an unheard-of number, and these concerts have not been confirmed.


271 Weston, More Clarinet Virtuosi, 128.
*Euterpiad.* Henri was the most active clarinetist in Philadelphia in 1794; in April alone he played three solo concerto performances (on April 8, 22, and 29). He also played Pleyel’s Concertante for two clarinets with “Barange” (probably the clarinetist Beranger [q.v.]) on May 13, and a concerto on November 29 of that year. By 1795 Henry was in Hartford, Connecticut, where on July 27 he played a concerto and a “Clarinet Quartette” with Messrs. Relain, Laumont, and Savarin. On August 25 of that year, still in Hartford, he played a “Quintette” with Relain, Siruo, Abel, and Rosindal.

By late in 1796, Henry was in New York City, where on December 6 he played a concerto. He seems to have spent the remainder of his life in New York. He is listed in the New York City directory of 1797 as “Mons. Henry, musician, 69 Chambers.” He gave a series of concerto performances there in 1798, on August 7, 28, and September 4. At the opening of the Park Theatre in 1798, “Henri” is mentioned as a member of the orchestra; he may have been a member of the theatre orchestra since his arrival in

---

272 *The Euterpiad, or Musical Intelligencer* 2, no 7 (June 22, 1821), p. 52; cited in Porter, 374.

273 Sonneck, *Early Concert Life*, 95-96. The April 8 concert was reviewed favorably by the editors of the *General Advertiser* (April 11, 1794), who mention Henry’s name. This review is quoted in Chapter Two.

274 *General Advertiser*, May 13, 1794. Sonneck did not note this concert.


276 Ibid., 322-23.

277 Ibid., 323.

278 Ibid., 242.


New York two years earlier. With regard to the Park Theatre orchestra, Dunlap noted that “the musicians were principally French. Most of them [were] gentlemen who had seen better days, some driven from Paris by the revolution, some of them nobles, some officers in the army of the king, others who had sought refuge from the devastation of St. Domingo.” On July 9, 1799, a note in the program at Mr. Corre’s “Columbia Garden” concert mentions, “N.B. The subscriber begs leave to inform the ladies and gentlemen that he has engaged Mr. Henry and the Band of wind instruments to play every evening.” It is probable that this is Henry the clarinetist. In 1800 Henry played a concerto at Lovett’s Hotel in New York on February 27; and a program announcement for a concert on December 9 of that same year lists a Quintet (instruments unspecified) played by “Messrs. Henry, Deseze, etc.”

Nothing is known of Henry’s activities in 1801 and 1802. On April 14, 1803, on the annual public concert of the Philharmonic Society in New York, Henry joined “Messrs. Hewitt, Lynch, Gilfert, Nicolas and Pleyel” to play a “Concertante.” Surely this is a typographical error, and Pleyel is the composer. The same work (apparently) was played on March 6, 1804, on a “Professional Concert” organized by the violinist Hewitt; this concert announcement lists it as “Concertante for Violin, Flute, Clarinet,

---

283 Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 218.
284 Ibid., 246-47.
285 New York Evening Post, April 14, 1803. An earlier advertisement for the concert, from April 11, listed the piece as “Concertante—For Messrs. Hewitt, Henry, Lynch, H. Gilfert, and Hoffman” and gave the composer as Gyrowetz.
Violoncello and Bassoon” played by “Messr. Hewitt, David, Henri, Nicolas and Hoffman,” and the composer is not specified. Henry died in New York in 1805, sometime after early March. He is listed among the musicians providing music for a ball given by Messrs. Labottierre and Lalliet on March 5, 1805; but a benefit concert, first advertised on December 31, 1805, was given on January 14, 1806 for “Mrs. Henri (widow of the late Mr. Henri, first Clarinett at the Theatre).” Henry was also apparently an arranger and a flutist; he wrote a flute tutor that was published in New York by G. Gilfert around 1806. Porter mentions “Henrief [sic] (or Henri), clarinet” in a list of musicians active in Boston around 1800. This information has not been confirmed, but it could be accurate; no notice of Henry has been found in New York between late in 1800 and the spring of 1803, so perhaps he was in Boston for those years.

**Hiwell (Hewill), John** (d. 1788)

According to Camus, John Hiwell was the Inspector and Superintendent of Music in the Continental Army during the American Revolution. After the war ended he apparently moved to Providence, Rhode Island, where he worked as a musician. On April 24, 1784, he advertised that he would open “a school of instrumental music in

---

286 Ibid., February 29, 1804.
287 Ibid., February 25, 1805.
288 Ibid., December 31, 1805; and January 10, 1806.
College street,” where he would teach, among many other instruments, the clarinet.292

On June 28 of the same year he also advertised a “Concert of Instrumental Music, consisting of clarinetts, flutes, French horns, bassoons, etc. at the State House … beginning at early candle light.”293

**Hobzl, Bartholemew**

Hobzl advertised as follows in a Charleston newspaper of 1778:

Bartholemew Hobzl, musician, lately arrived here from Germany, presents his respects to the gentlemen of South Carolina and begs to inform them he teaches the violin, dulcimer, French horn, bassoon, and clarinet after the most approved manner. He may be heard of at Mr. Kastman’s in King Street, and he hopes he will be able to give satisfaction to those who may please to employ him.294

**Hoffman (Hoffmann), Charles**

Hoffman is the earliest clarinetist in America to be mentioned by name. A concert advertisement from the *Pennsylvania Journal* of November 16, 1769, mentioned that a “Solo upon the Clarinet” was to be played at that evening’s concert by “Mr. Hoffmann, junior.”295

A musician named Charles Hoffman belonged to the regimental band of Colonel Thomas Proctor. According to Camus, this band probably provided the entertainment for a gathering of Congress at the City Tavern in Philadelphia on July 4, 1778; William

---


293 Ibid.

294 *South Carolina & American General Gazette*, May 25, 1778 (PACAN).

Ellery mentioned in his diary that the orchestra on this occasion consisted of “Clarinets, Hautboys, French horns, Violins, and Bass Viols.” The band continued to play at other functions in Philadelphia in 1778. A military return of 1779 lists the names and places of birth of all of the band members, as well as their dates of enlistment in the Continental Army; according to this list, Charles Hoffman was born in Germany and enlisted on July 10, 1777. He is identified as Master Musician.

Holland, (R. B.?)

On June 5, 1817, “Mr. Holland, professor of Music, from London and Dublin,” advertised in New York as a teacher of piano and singing. He also stated that he would “attend a few pupils on the German Flute and Clarinet.” New York city directories for 1817 and 1818 list R.B. Holland, “pro. of music,” at 155 Chamber and 102 Eldridge, respectively. The clarinetist Hart (q.v.) played on a benefit concert for a Mr. Holland in Boston on April 25, 1820, but it has not been determined if this individual is identical to the clarinet-teaching Mr. Holland of 1817.

Holyoke, Samuel (1762-1820)

Samuel Holyoke is discussed in Chapter Five as the author of The Instrumental Assistant (1800), the earliest American publication to give instructions for the clarinet

---


297 Ibid., 139.

298 New York Evening Post, June 5, 1817.

299 Redway, Music Directory of Early New York City, 11.
(among other instruments). He was an important musical figure, active primarily as a composer, tunebook compiler, and music teacher. Compton, quoting Metcalf, states that “in early life Mr. Holyoke had a fine voice, but in later years it became so harsh that in the teaching of his vocal classes he was obliged to use a clarionet.” That Holyoke owned and used a clarinet is confirmed by the following advertisement, which he placed in the Boston Independent Chronicle in 1814:

A Patent CLARIONET LOST.

LOST, on the 24th instant, between Boylston Market and Roxbury Meeting-house, a valuable PATENT CLARIONET lined with metal—six brass Keys—the joints tip’t with ivory and silver—two Mouth-pieces, one with a tin, other with a wooden Cap—the barrel cracked and bound in the middle with silver wire—the bell fractured at the bottom, close to the tip—Makers, Goulding & Co. London. It was rolled in a small sheepskin and tied up in a flag handkerchief. The Finder shall be satisfactorily Rewarded, if he will leave it at No. 88, Newbury-street, near the Boylston Market, Boston. S. HOLYOKE.”

Kalkoffer, Peter

Kalkoffer advertised in the Maryland Journal of November 19, 1782, that he would teach the German flute and the clarinet. He had been a military musician, serving in the Revolutionary War as a member of Proctor’s regimental band, where he is said to have been born in Germany and enlisted on December 20, 1777.

---

300 Benjamin Richard Compton, “Amateur Instrumental Music in America, 1765 to 1810” (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 1979), 66.

301 Independent Chronicle, December 29, 1814.

302 Maryland Journal, November 19, 1782 (PACAN).

303 Camus, Military Music, 139.
Kelly, Patrick

A “professor of Music” named Mr. Kelly is first mentioned in connection with the clarinet in Baltimore in 1819. On January 2 of that year he ran a newspaper advertisement stating that he “continues to receive pupils at his residence No. 80 South Charles street corner of Pratt street [Baltimore] … He instructs on the Piano Forte, Violin, German Flute, single and double Flageolets, Clarionet, Patent Kent Bugle, and various instruments used in military bands.” Furthermore, “Gentlemen who wish to organize Military Bands, or musical Societies, will find it [to] their advantage to apply as above.”\(^{304}\) Prior to this time, Kelly had advertised in Baltimore as a teacher of the flageolet, which he often played in concert. On April 23, 1819, however, he gave a concert on which he not only played the flute and the double flageolet, but also an “Irish Air with variations, on clarionet,” composed by Holden.\(^{305}\) On November 25 of the same year he performed on a concert for Miss Victoire Boudet, playing “A popular air, with variations on the Clarionet, by particular request” (composer unspecified).\(^{306}\) A “professor of music” named Patrick Kelly is listed in the Baltimore city directory of 1819 living at 80 S. Charles Street, and again in the directory of 1822-23 at 16 N. Liberty Street. It seems probable that these references are to Kelly the clarinetist. Wolfe also mentions that Kelly appeared in the 1835 Baltimore directory as “professor of music, St.

\(^{304}\) *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, January 2, 1819.

\(^{305}\) Ibid., April 21, 1819.

\(^{306}\) Ibid., November 23, 1819.
Mary’s College,” and notes a march that he composed and arranged for the piano, which was published around 1824.\(^{307}\)

**Knittel (Knidel, Knitel), Margaret (Margreta) (b. 1788)**

Knittel first came to the United States in 1816. She and her husband Anton disembarked from the ship *Amphitrite* in the port of Philadelphia on November 4, 1816. The ship’s records note that her husband, aged 33 at the time, was from Baden and was a musical instrument maker. She is listed as “Margreta,” aged 28, born in Zurich.\(^{308}\) This places her date of birth as 1788. Once in Philadelphia, Knittel wasted no time in commencing her musical activities. On November 19, 1816, she gave a “Grand Concert” at the Masonic Hall in Philadelphia. In her newspaper advertisement she announced herself as “recently from Paris,” which may indicate that she had been studying or concertizing there just prior to her trip to America. On this concert she performed a clarinet concerto by Crusell, a “Quintett, Clarinett” by F. Haffner, and “Variations, Clarionet” by Francis Buhler.\(^{309}\) She was scheduled to play a “Quartetto, Clarinett” by Hoffman on Mrs. Bastian’s concert on November 26; but because of a disagreement between Knittel and Bastian (see Chapter Two for details), this did not occur. Knittel went forward with a second concert at the Masonic Hall on November 28, on which she played a concerto by Baer, a “Variation Clarinetto” by Tauber, the previously publicized


\(^{309}\) *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, November 16, 1816.
“Quartetto Clarinet” by Hoffman, and another “Variation Clarinet” (composer unspecified).\textsuperscript{310} On December 3 she performed on Mr. Hupfield’s annual concert, playing a “Quintetto Clarinet” and “The favorite Tyrolean Air, with variations, (by desire)” (composer unspecified in both cases).\textsuperscript{311}

Just after this concert, Knittel left Philadelphia for Baltimore. On December 18, 1816, the \textit{Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser} notified its readers as follows:

[The] Amateurs Subscription Concert, advertised to take place to-morrow evening, is postponed on account of the arrival of Mrs. Knitel, whose concert is advertised for Friday evening next. We may here remark, that this Lady’s unusual skill and unrivalled Fame on the Clarionett must render her Concert an object of Curiosity, and interest to the lovers of music.

Furthermore, on the day of Knittel’s concert (December 20), the following paragraph appeared in the same newspaper:

Mrs. KNITEL

We have for some time past heard of the performance of this celebrated Lady, and we understand that the praise of the Philadelphia Amateurs is not beyond her merits, but that she richly deserves all that might be said of Gautier, or any other professor of the first rank on the Clarionett. Her concert here has been announced for this evening at Mr. Bulet’s Room, and we must confess that we are anxious to see how this lady will acquit herself—to say the least, it is a novel appearance among us, who have always been led to think that the musical skill, at all events the pretensions of the ladies were confined to the Forte-Piano alone—and in this instance, we are not led to expect the bare attempt; but as our authority is good, we may promise the realization of all the richness and melody of which that instrument is so capable, combined with a variety and modulation of tone peculiarly her own. This Lady is represented as an accomplished musician, and from her peculiar situation entitled to all the attention which she has received in other cities and, where so much pleasure and novelty is proffered through an innocent and delightful exhibition, we hope but few will be backward in accepting the invitation.

\textsuperscript{310} Ibid., November 28, 1816.

\textsuperscript{311} Ibid., December 2, 1816.
On this concert Knittel performed a concerto by “Cruzell,” a “Quintetto for the Clarionet” by Kuffner, and “Variations, (Tyrolese air, merrily)” by Hoermann. On December 28, 1816, Knittel announced a second Baltimore concert for January 3, 1817; no subsequent notice of this concert appeared, however, so it is not clear if it actually took place. 

By March of 1817 Knittel was in New York. Advertising herself as “lately from Europe,” she gave her first concert there on March 11. Her pre-concert announcement on March 6 states that, “Independently of the assistance of gentlemen, first in the profession on [recte: of] music, she will herself perform several solos on the clarinet.” The announcement also notes that, “Mrs. Knittel having given several Concerts in Philadelphia, Baltimore, &c. to the entire satisfaction of large assemblages of Ladies and Gentleman, feels confident that she will be honored with equal patronage by the citizens of New-York.” The March 11 concert featured her playing a clarinet concerto by “LaFerte” (undoubtedly Lefèvre), a “Grand Quartello [sic] for the Clarion [sic] obbligato” by Kruiffer [sic], and “The favorite Tyrolese Air, with variations for the Clarionet” by Puiller [sic]. (Reading past the horrible typography, one suspects that the quartet is by Küffner, since she performed a work by this composer previously in Baltimore; and that the set of variations is by Buhler.) On March 28 and April 15, 1817,

---

312 Ibid., December 18, 1816. 
313 Ibid., December 28, 1816. 
314 New York Evening Post, March 6, 1817. 
315 Ibid., March 8, 1817.
pre-concert announcements appeared for a second concert,\textsuperscript{316} which was duly given on April 21. The program included a concerto by “Cruzell,” a “Grand Quintetto for clarinet” by Sacchini, and “The Tyrolese Air, with variations for the Clarionet” by Buhler.\textsuperscript{317}

Just after this April concert, Knittel returned to Philadelphia. A pre-concert announcement for G. Pfeiffer’s concert, scheduled for May 5, touts that “Madam Knitell, the celebrated Clarionet performer, just arrived in town, will on that evening execute the much admired Tyrolean Air with variations.”\textsuperscript{318} When the actual concert program appeared in the newspaper, it indeed included “the celebrated Tyrolean Air, with variations,” this time listed as by Muller.\textsuperscript{319} Later in the same month, on May 20, Knittel gave her own concert at the Masonic Hall. On this occasion she played a concerto by “Le Fevre,” a “Solo for the Clarinette, in which will be introduced the celebrated Swiss tune, ‘Le Rans de Vaches’” (composer unspecified), and most surprisingly, an “Air, with variations, performed on the Corno de Bassetto with an accompaniment, for the Viola” (composer unspecified).\textsuperscript{320} This is the first documented evidence of the basset horn in the United States.

\textsuperscript{316} Ibid., March 28 and April 15, 1817.

\textsuperscript{317} Ibid., April 17, 1817.

\textsuperscript{318} Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser, May 1, 1817.

\textsuperscript{319} Ibid., May 5, 1817.

\textsuperscript{320} Ibid., May 19, 1817.
Knittel apparently played at Philadelphia’s Vauxhall Gardens in the summer of 1817,\textsuperscript{321} but by the autumn she had returned to Baltimore. On October 9 of that year she gave a concert at Mr. Bulet’s room that included a clarinet concerto by Lefèvre, a quartet by the same composer, and “Variations on the Tyrolean [sic] air” by Buhler.\textsuperscript{322} Several months then elapsed during which Knittel apparently traveled elsewhere; on February 27, 1818, a notice appeared in the Baltimore newspaper stating that she “has again arrived in this city, and under a grateful recognition of past attentions, informs [the public] that she intends to announce another CONCERT as soon as the proper arrangements can be made.”\textsuperscript{323} On March 3 she ran a further advertisement, “respectfully announ[ing] to her friends and the public, that this being her last visit in this city, she proposes giving a Concert on TUESDAY NEXT the 10th inst. at Mr. DuClairacq’s Assembly Room, Charles-street.”\textsuperscript{324} The concert on March 10 included a concerto by Crusell and “Variations on the Clarinet” by Küffner.\textsuperscript{325}

The next notice of Knittel that has been found is in 1820, by which year she was in Charleston. Her first concert there, on October 23, was preceded by the following encomium in the \textit{Charleston Courier}:

\begin{quote}
Durang, \textit{The Philadelphia Stage}, Chapter 55, column 1, mentions “Mad. Knittel” as one of the performers at Vauxhall.

\textit{Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser}, October 6, 1817.

Ibid., February 27, 1818.

Ibid., March 3, 1818.

Ibid., March 6, 1818.
\end{quote}
MRS. KNITTEL’S CONCERT. — As the citizens of Charleston, ever recognized for their liberality, and for their encouragement of talents, are thereby subject to be deceived by the calls of the undeserving upon their generosity; and are now fearful of giving support where they may be again imposed upon, without knowing whether the object merits their encouragement, which one really possessed of talents, has never failed to receive from their bountiful hands, I would merely bring forward the superior talents of MRS. KNITTEL [sic]; that she, in receiving a just encouragement, may never be lead to say, “Charlestonians are void of generosity.”

The Clarionet is well known to be one of the most difficult instruments in present use; but when in the hands of an able performer, one of the sweetest. — MRS. KNITTEL’S performance on this instrument, has never been equalled by any performer in Charleston, and is, perhaps, equal to any in the United States. — Without pretensions to superiority, her merit shines still more strikingly, and exhibits itself in a more glaring light.

The amateur that listens to her sweet warbling on that harsh instrument, is delighted; the connoisseur is astonished, and finds her faultless.

With no other recommendation than her merit, she places herself before the public for their encouragement, and it is to be hoped she will receive a share of it.

The rarity of the sight must attract their curiosity, and the superiority of her music, will deserve their liberality.

Several select musicians have offered their services on the occasion, to add to the harmony of the night, and a Ball at the conclusion, will attract the lovers of music and dancing.

PHILO-MERITAS.  

She gave her concert at Sollee’s Concert Hall, playing a concerto by Crusell, a clarinet quintet by Küffner, a “Tyrolese Waltz, with variations,” here listed as by Mozart (!), and a set of variations by “Kaffner” (probably Küffner).  

Apparently this concert was well received, because on October 28 she advertised a second:

Mrs. Knittel returns her grateful thanks to the Ladies and Gentlemen of Charleston, for the kind patronage afforded her in their attendance at her late Concert, and respectfully informs them, that induced by offers made her, of further support, she intends to have another Concert, on Thursday, 2nd Nov. at which her best exertions will be used to give satisfaction.

---

326 Charleston Courier, October 21, 1820.

327 Ibid., October 23, 1820.

328 Ibid., October 28, 1820.
This concert was further promoted in the newspaper by a person signing himself “A Friend to the Arts,” who submitted the following paragraph:

Many of the fair sex at this period, are celebrated for their attainments in Music, both vocal and instrumental. The lovers of Music in this city, have lately received a rich feast from the astonishing powers of a female performer* [footnote: *Mrs. KNITTEL] on the Clarionet. Her performance on that difficult instrument, at her Concert, imparted satisfaction to the whole audience, who evinced their admiration, likewise, for her soft and sweet manner, in repeated and unbounded applause. I trust while this admired female performer remains among us, that a share of that patronage, which is the characteristic of our citizens towards strangers, will be bestowed.329

The concert was postponed, but finally took place on November 6. The program included a concerto by Lefèvre, a work entitled “Tryolcae” (A misspelling of “Tyrolese”?) composed by Knittel herself, and a set of variations by “Soller” (probably Solère). Knittel also played “Hope told a Flattering Tale, on the Fageolette” by “Hayden.”330

Around this time the first notice of Knittel as a teacher appeared. On November 14, 1820, she ran the following advertisement in the newspaper:

Mrs. Knittel MOST respectfully informs the public, that she intends teaching the PIANO FORTE, after the new invented Logerian System, with the help of the Chiropleat, which is now gaining great progress throughout Great-Britain. A number of pupils may be taught at once, and attain the taste and knowledge of Musical education, much sooner than heretofore. Lessons will be divided, part in theory and part in practice on this instrument. Likewise, the Spanish Guitar, double and single Flageolot, Clarionet, Flute and Violin, on terms very moderate. Mrs. Knittel hopes that by her continued assiduity, the proficiency of her scholars will gain her a portion of the patronage of this city. For particulars, enquire at MR. SIEGLING’S MUSIC STORE, nearly opposite the Courthouse, Broad-street, where applications will be promptly and thankfully attended to.331

329 Ibid., November 1, 1820.

330 Ibid., November 4, 1820.

331 Ibid., November 14, 1820.
It is interesting to note that although in public performance she most often played the clarinet, as a teacher she seems to have identified herself primarily with the piano, and only secondarily with the clarinet (and the other instruments listed, on some of which she also performed publicly).

On November 28, 1820, Knittel assisted on a benefit concert for Mrs. Chapuis, playing a “Quartetto—With variations on the Clarionet, by Mrs. Knittel, being her last appearance in public.” The reference to this performance as Knittel’s last subsequently proved incorrect, since she gave four performances in Charleston in 1821. No further concerts by Knittel have yet been traced.

Weston mentions that Knittel played on a concert in Kassel, Germany in 1816. A review of her playing appeared in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, stating that, “her delivery is cold, her skill trifling, but she received some applause for the unusualness of seeing the instrument played by a lady.” This contrasts markedly to the warm

---

332 Ibid., November 28, 1820. The composer’s name is not completely legible in the copy of the newspaper I examined; it appears to begin as “Raffiu…” or “Rassiu…”

333 Although not strictly within the scope of this dissertation, Knittel’s 1821 concerts were as follows: January 30, for the Union Harmonic Society, when she played a quartet by Hoffman and a concerto by Crusell (*Charleston Courier*, January 29, 1821); February 12, when she played a concerto by Duvernoy, a quartet by Hoffman, an “Air—Hope Told, with variations on the Clarionet” by Mozart (!), “A Popular Air, with variations, by Mrs. Knittel, on the Flageolet,” and “To conclude, by particular desire, with that famous Swiss Air, *Rans des Vaches*, in which Mrs. Knittel will imitate the Echo on the Clarionet” (*Charleston Courier*, February 9, 1821); March 3, when she played a quartet by Hoffman (*Charleston Courier*, February 27, 1821); and August 7, when her program at Mr. Fayolle’s Room on Sullivan’s Island included a concerto by Duvernoy, an “Air, with variations on the Guitar, Mrs. Knittel” by Zimmerman, “Polonaise Duett, Clarionet and Violin” by Kuffner, “Air with variations on the Clarionet” by Burger, a quartet by Crusell, a flageolet piece, an “Air, Tyroliein [sic], with variations” by “Buller,” and “several National Airs, as Duetts on Clarionet and Violin” (*Charleston Courier*, August 7, 1821).

reception she seems to have received in America. Weston also states that Knittel might 
have been a sister of Caroline Schleicher (1794-c. 1850), who was active as a clarinetist 
in Germany and Austria.\textsuperscript{335} Gerson notes that Knittel performed in Philadelphia in 1824, 
and that she “lived in Phila. [sic] some years after that date, appearing frequently on 
musical occasions.”\textsuperscript{336} An examination of one Philadelphia newspaper for 1824 and 1825 
has not confirmed this statement, but more research remains to be done on Knittel’s 
activities.

\textbf{Labatut, Pierre (Peter) Isadore} (ca. 1781-1856)

Labatut’s first name is sometimes given in sources as Peter, and sometimes as 
Isadore; he seems to have gone by both names. He was the son of the commander and 
owner of the Caribbean Island of Tortuga, and probably came to Charleston in the mid-
1790s.\textsuperscript{337} In 1798 he married Miss Remoussin, a member of a prominent family of 
Charleston musicians. He made his living, as did many French-Caribbean refugees, by 
drawing upon the many accomplishments acquired in the course of his wealthy 
upbringing. According to a 1799 letter from Margaret Izard Manigault (wife of Gabriel 
Manigault, one of the managers of the St. Cecilia Society) to her New York friend 
Josephine du Pont, Labatut was “extremely industrious & a very good husband. Takes 
lodgers, boarders, scholars. Teaches drawing, & music, & French. Plays at the Theatre,

\textsuperscript{335} Weston, \textit{Yesterday’s Clarinetists}, 89.

\textsuperscript{336} Robert A. Gerson, \textit{Music in Philadelphia} (n.p., Theodore Presser, 1940; repr. Westport, Connecticut, 

\textsuperscript{337} Butler, “Votaries of Apollo,” 327, cites Labatut’s marriage notice (which appeared in the \textit{City Gazette 
and Daily Advertiser} of May 11, 1798) as the source of this information.
at the Concert, with the Military Band. Does every thing & is esteemed.”

In 1800 Mrs. Manigault again wrote to Mrs. du Pont concerning the Labatut family, stating that Isadore “continues to work like a horse & with all his exertions makes about 1200 dollars a year. That is very well, & he provides for [his wife’s] every comfort.”

There are many newspaper references to Labatut’s activities as a painter and a drawing master, but his name is found only twice as a performer. On December 14, 1799, he gave a concert in Charleston for his own benefit, on which he played a concerto by Vanderhagen and a “Quartetto, Clarinet” (composer unspecified). Labatut was probably a member of the St. Cecilia Society; he is listed among the players in an 1805 charity concert (for the orphaned children of the late theatrical singer John Hodgkinson) sponsored by that Society.

On March 18, 1814, he gave an interesting multi-media performance that featured both his artistic and musical talents. The advertisement for this performance announces a “Concert and Ball, preceded by a Grand and Splendid Display of Transparencies, by Mr. Labatut. The Paintings also executed by Mr. Labatut, at Concert-Hall.” The transparencies and paintings included large-scale representations of famous Americans, including military figures from the recent War of 1812 and the four U.S.

---

338 Ibid. The letter is found in Betty-Bright P. Low, “Of Muslins and Merveilleuses: Excerpts from the Letters of Josephine de Pont and Margaret Manigault,” Winterthur Portfolio 9 (1974): 51. Butler notes that the reference to the “military band” probably refers the band that played in the summers at Charleston’s Vauxhall Gardens, and that “the concert” probably refers to the St. Cecilia Society concerts.


340 For example, in the Charleston City Gazette and Daily Advertiser, November 7, 1801; and June 19, 1805. The latter advertisement refers to his activities as a teacher of both drawing and music.

341 Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 38.

342 Butler, “Votaries of Apollo,” 312.
Presidents up to that time. The musical program lists no solo clarinet works, but includes the “Overture, Panurge, with wind instruments (First Clarionet by Mr. Labatut)” composed by “Gretzy” (Grétry?).

The Charleston city directory of 1802 lists a Peter Labattut, drawing master, at 37 Beaufrain Street, while the 1809 directory lists a Mons. Labatut, musician, at 84 Beaufrain Street. In 1816 he is listed as J. Labatut, musician and painter, at 82 Meeting Street. He is named in the censuses of 1800, 1810, 1830, and 1850. The 1850 census notes his place of birth as France, his age as 69, and his occupation as musician. It also lists a female in the household, Francois [sic] Labatut, whose place of birth is listed as St. Domingo, aged 60. Her race is listed as mulatto. This was presumably Labatut’s wife. Labatut died in 1856.

Lorie, Pasquole

In 1811 Pasquole Lorie took out an advertisement in Baltimore’s Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, stating that he was an Italian with many years of

---

343 Charleston Courier, March 15, 1814; Hindman, “Concert Life,” 368-69. This concert may have had a precedent. In the Charleston Courier of August 9, 1809, Labatut advertised a benefit concert at Vauxhall Gardens the next evening, at which there would be not only a concert, but also a display of a “Grand TRANSPARENCY, 10 feet square, representing The Immortal WASHINGTON, IN THE TEMPLE OF FAME…,” painted by Labatut. The concert program does not mention Labatut’s name as a performer; however, there are numerous unspecified works of “Harmony” on the program, as well as the Overture to “Panurge” (though here it is not specified as played by wind instruments), and it may be that Labatut performed on these as a clarinetist. It would be odd for a person to give a benefit concert (apart from a charity concert) without participating in the concert as a performer.

344 It is not known if the Labatuts had children. According to interment records of St. Mary’s church, there was child with that last name who died on May 19, 1802, and was buried in St. Mary’s burial ground; there is, however, no indication of the child’s parentage. See Susan S. King, Roman Catholic Deaths in Charleston, South Carolina, 1800-1860 (Columbia, South Carolina: SCMAR, 2000), 172.

345 Butler, “Votaries of Apollo,” 326.
experience in music, and offering to teach violin, French horn, or clarinet. “As his principal aim is to obtain a living for a large family, he is resolved to teach on the most liberal terms.” He gave his address as “lower end of Water-street, opposite the Bake-house of Messrs. Lovell, Brown and Sultzer.”

**Lullier (Lhulier, L’Hulier, L’huillier) (d. 1848?)**

Lullier’s name has been found only once as a clarinetist. On March 3, 1795, a benefit concert was given at Oeller’s Hotel in Philadelphia for Mr. Guenin and Mr. Menel; on this Lullier and Beranger (q.v.) played “A Symphony concertante for two clarinets.”

There was a musician named Lullier who was active in Port-au-Prince, Saint-Domingue in 1785.

Wolfe also mentions a musician named John B. Lhulier (or L’Hulier; d. 1848) who was a violinist, composer, and teacher in Philadelphia, where he appeared in city directories from 1802 to 1848; and a “New Waltz” composed by “Lhilier” is included in *Blake’s Collection of Duetts for Two Flutes, Clarinets, or Violins* (1807). It cannot be determined, however, if any of these is the same individual as the clarinetist Lullier.

---

346 *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, November 27, 1811.


Masi, Francesco (Francesco) (d. 1853?)

Johnson notes that Francisco Masi advertised himself in Boston in 1807 at No. 3 Hanover Street, as “Music Master of the Italian Band,” and offered to teach piano, clarinet, cello, violin, French horn, trumpet, flute, “French Guitar &c.” The advertisement further stated that he “produces certificates from [the] Church of St. Peter in Rome.” Shortly after the appearance of this advertisement Masi removed to No. 2 State Street; by 1811 he was at 9 Newbury Street, and by 1812 at 83 Newbury. He also seems to have been an organist, a composer of songs and piano music, and a music publisher; later, after moving to Washington, D.C., he became a jeweller.

Masserani

Masserani appeared briefly in Charleston in 1808. On February 9 of that year he gave a benefit concert on which he played a clarinet concerto by Michel, and also a concertante for two flutes (assisted by Mr. Stone). A month later, on March 8, he played a “Concerto Clarinetta” by Michel on a benefit for Miss Dastas (a pianist).

Meline, Florant (1790-1827)

Meline’s first appearance was in New York in 1811. On August 20 of that year, a newspaper advertisement announced that a “serenade” would be presented that evening at

---

351 Johnson, *Musical Interludes*, 293.

352 Ibid.


354 *Charleston Courier*, February 8, 1808; Hindman, “Concert Life,” 341.

the Battery, and that there would be a band of military music led by Florant Meline, “professor of music.” This same entertainment was advertised for the following two weeks (August 27 and September 2). Meline is not further identified until December of 1811, when he placed an advertisement stating that he was “lately from Paris and Italy,” and would offer lessons on the clarinet, flute, and flageolet. He subsequently performed publicly on all three of these instruments. On July 8, 1812, he played on Mr. McFarland’s annual concert at New Tammany Hall, performing a clarinet concerto by “Playel”; he also played a flute concerto on this program. For Mr. Everdell’s concert on July 23 of the same year, he performed a clarinet concerto by Goepfert (an asterisk in the program points the reader to a note stating that this concerto was “never performed before on the Continent”).

Meline then went to Philadelphia. There, on October 16, 1812, he presented a concert at the Masonic Hall, performing a clarinet concerto in which he introduced “the favorite air of Erin Ge [sic] Bragh,” along with a flute concerto. No composer was specified for the clarinet concerto, but it seems probable that it was composed by Meline himself, since it incorporates a favorite tune. On October 22 of the same year, Meline gave another concert at which he again played concertos on both flute and clarinet. This

356 New York Evening Post, August 20, 1811.
357 Ibid., December 3, 1811.
358 Ibid., July 6, 1812.
359 Ibid., July 22, 1812.
360 Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser, October 13, 1812.
time the clarinet concerto incorporated not only the tune “Erin Go Bragh,” but also (“by particular desire”) the “Yellow Haired Laddie.”

Claghorn states that Meline served in the War of 1812, and this is confirmed by a series of documents kept at the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore. According to Meline’s letter of appointment, dated October 13, 1813, he was a Third Lieutenant in the 15th Regiment of Infantry. A series of letters to Meline from Robert Carr, Lieutenant Colonel of the 15th Regiment, makes it clear that at least part of Meline’s job was the recruitment of new soldiers. He was sent to Philadelphia for that purpose in June of 1814; the letter instructs Meline that, “until you can enlist musicians you will hire two at 15 dollars, and one ration each.” Apparently he was successful, because in a letter of July, 1814, Carr praised him and noted that he would receive $400. Meline’s address at this time was No. 152 South Tenth Street. After the war ended Meline was ordered to return to Trenton (in February of 1815). Sometime after this he must have gone to Philadelphia, because two of his children were born there in 1815 and 1817 (see below).

No further musical notice of Meline is found until 1817, when he was back in New York. In September of that year he advertised as follows:

Mr. Meline, having fixed his residence in this city, No. 53 Chapel-street, offers his services to the gentlemen of New-York and its vicinity, for the instruction of the single and additional-key’d Flute, Clarionet, French and English Flageolets. Mr. M., having acquired an easy method in instructing the above instruments, hopes to receive the patronage of those who are desirous of becoming perfect in either of the above mentioned instruments. For terms, inquire as above.

---

361 Ibid., October 21, 1812.
363 Maryland Historical Society, MS 1846.
364 New York Evening Post, September 15, 1817.
This advertisement appeared repeatedly in subsequent weeks, often with a beautiful engraving to attract the reader’s attention. Meline must have succeeded in setting up an income as a musician, because his name appears frequently in New York in the following years as a performer, teacher, and band leader. On January 13, 1818, he gave a benefit concert at the City Hotel along with his wife (a singer). On this occasion he played a clarinet concerto by Michel. In addition, he performed a flute concerto, sang duets with Mrs. Meline, accompanied some of her songs on the flute, arranged the orchestral accompaniments to most of her songs, and composed some of the orchestral pieces on the program.365 On April 21 of the same year he played for Mrs. French’s benefit, performing “Variations on the Clarionet” by “Langhert.”366 Meline’s name appears only once in 1819; on July 22, he and his wife gave a joint benefit concert at New York’s Vauxhall Gardens, where he played a clarinet concerto (composer unspecified).367

1820 was a busy year for Meline. At the beginning of the year he renewed his newspaper advertisement for teaching, as follows:

Mr. Meline, professor of music, begs leave to inform his friends and the public that he has determined to devote his time to the tuition of a select and limited number of gentlemen. Mr. M. is possessed of all those advantages that a perfect knowledge of the science can produce, and flatters himself that he is fully competent to the task of conveying instruction with the most easy method.

Mr. M. proposes instructing the single and additional-key’d flute, clarionet, and French and English flageolet.

Terms of tuition, $15 per quarter: $5 to be paid in advance; the balance at the end of the quarter. For further particulars apply at Mr. M.’s residence, No. 34 Chapel, between Murray and Warren-streets.

365 Ibid., January 13, 1818.

366 Ibid., April 20, 1818.

367 Ibid., July 20, 1819.
Gentlemen wishing to become perfect in either of the above-mentioned instruments may rest assured that no pains or efforts will be spared on the part of Mr. M. 368

On June 30 of that year, Joseph Delacroix advertised his Fourth of July celebrations at Vauxhall Gardens. Besides grand fireworks, he promised that “the Grand Military Band of the 9th Regiment, in full uniform, under the direction of Mr. Meline, will entertain the company from 5 in the afternoon.” The program included some of Meline’s own compositions: “Col. Maier’s quick step,” a “Military Overture,” and a “Military Rondo.” 369 On July 20 there was again a “select band” under Meline’s direction at Vauxhall Gardens; whether this was a military (i.e., wind) band or an orchestra cannot be determined. 370 On July 31 Mr. Dwyer gave an entertainment at Vauxhall Gardens, with “music under the direction of Mr. Meline.” 371 Here, given the nature of the music on the program, it seems likely that this “band” was an orchestral ensemble. In keeping with Meline’s outdoor activities this summer, a newspaper advertisement appeared on August 8 bearing the heading “AQUATIC AMUSEMENTS.” It ran as follows:

An entertainment, consisting of vocal and instrumental music, recitations and personifications, will be given on board the steam-boat Nautilus, on Tuesday Evening, Aug. 8. She will, completely covered with an awning, proceed at half past 6 precisely, from Whitehall to Staten Island, and thence to the Narrows, and return before 10 o’clock to Whitehall… Leader of the band, Mr. Meline… The Vice President, Judge Livingston, and others of high consideration will honor the excursion [sic] with their presence. 372

368 Ibid., January 22, 1820.
369 Ibid., June 30, 1820.
370 Ibid., July 18, 1820.
371 Ibid., July 28, 1820.
372 Ibid., August 7, 1820.
This excursion was postponed to August 10 due to inclement weather; but it must have been a popular type of entertainment, since a similar event (sans dignitaries) took place on September 12, under the direction of Meline, who engaged the steamboat *Franklin* for the evening. The advertisement for this second steamboat excursion states that “the whole band of the Ninth Regiment N.Y.S.A. [New York State Artillery] will assist … Mr. Meline will in the course of the evening, perform several favorite Airs and Songs, with embellishments on the flute, double and single flageolets.”

Wolfe gives Meline’s dates as 1790-1827, and states that he may have been a French immigrant. According to Wolfe, Meline moved to Albany in 1824 and became the conductor of the 89th Regimental Band of the New York Militia. He died at Albany.

There was a musician by the name of “F. Meline” who was a founding member of the Baltimore Harmonic Society in 1809. His signature appears on the list of members who signed the organization’s constitution. It seems likely that this is Meline the clarinetist, since the name is not a common one.

Meline’s wife (née Catherine Butler) has been mentioned as a singer. The Melines had four children: James Paul, born at Sackett’s Harbor, New York in 1813;

---

373 Ibid., September 7, 1820.


375 Records of the Baltimore Harmonick Society, 1809. Maryland Historical Society, MS 78.
Florant Macomb, born at Philadelphia in 1815; Catherine Ann, born at Philadelphia in 1817; and Josephine, born in New York in 1818.\textsuperscript{376}

**Michael, David Moritz** (October 21, 1751-February 26, 1827)

David Moritz Michael was born at Kühnhausen, Germany (near Erfurt). His *Lebenslauf*\textsuperscript{377} contains an account of his youth. He studied at the Gymnasium in Erfurt, first intending to be a schoolmaster, and then an apothecary; he discovered that the latter vocation was closed to him because of his utter lack of a sense of smell (essential to an apothecary at this time). Michael then decided on a career as a musician. He was apparently a horn player, and at one point even thought of going to America with Hessian troops as a Waldhornist, but his friends persuaded him to stay in Germany. He must have been in the military, however, since he relates an account of going to the theatre in Harburg with “another hautboist from my regiment.”\textsuperscript{378} It was on this trip to Harburg that Michael met two musicians who were members of the Moravian Brethren, and decided to join the religious group himself.

\textsuperscript{376} Maryland Historical Society, Filing Case A, “Meline, Bible Records.”

\textsuperscript{377} As noted in Chapter Three, it was customary in the Moravian communities for a short biography called a *Lebenslauf* to be written for each “brother,” usually at the time of his death. Michael’s Lebenslauf is kept at the Unitätsarchiv in Herrnhut; I thank Albert Frank of the Moravian Archive in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania for providing a typescript copy of the document. It is unusual in that it was written by Michael himself during his lifetime, rather than someone else. It incorporates an account of his youth, written (remarkably, in verse) in 1783; and also a prose account, written in 1816, of the period from about 1781 to his death.

\textsuperscript{378} Michael *Lebenslauf*. “…wurde ich nebst einem andern Hautboist von meinem Regiment nach Harburg zur Comodie verschrieben.” He is probably using the word “hautboist” with the general meaning of “wind musician,” a usage of the term that was common at this time (see Camus, *Music of the American Revolution*, 25 and elsewhere).
In 1781 Michael went to the Moravian settlement at Barby, Germany, where he worked as a copyist. In 1783 he went to another settlement, at Niesky, where he eventually worked as a schoolmaster. In this capacity he was sent in 1795 to Nazareth, Pennsylvania. Michael was an active musician at Nazareth; it was apparently he who started the impressive series of concerts at Nazareth that are enumerated in the Verzeichniss derer Musicalien welche im Concert sind gemacht worden (for more on this document and these concerts see Chapter Three). In 1808 he moved to the nearby Moravian community of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where he continued his musical activities. He undertook the musical instruction at the boys’ school, and also seems to have organized concerts for the community. Rufus Grider, in his account of music in Bethlehem, mentions that Michael was a versatile performer, playing the violin, French horn, and clarinet, as well as other instruments. “I remember hearing my father relate,” says Grider, “that he saw [Michael] take two French horns, place one under each arm, place one mouth-piece on each side of his mouth, and play a duett on the two instruments. This is attested to by persons still living in Bethlehem….” Furthermore, “His violin performance excelled all that had been heard here up to that time. The young players all took lessons of him, and were greatly benefitted, they acquired more

proficiency, a better style, more neatness, and greater brilliancy of tone, and more spirit in executing.”

The only evidence of Michael playing the clarinet on a specific performance comes from the old Bethlehem musician Jacob Wolle, a bassoonist. He relates, through Grider, that Michael played second clarinet on a performance of his own composition, “Die Wasserfahrt” (“The Boat Ride,” as Grider translates it), in Bethlehem sometime between 1809-1813. It may be, however, that Michael was more involved with the clarinet than has heretofore been supposed. There is some evidence for the notion that he actually introduced the clarinet to the Moravian communities, or at least was responsible for promoting the instrument among the Moravians. The clarinet occupied a very important place in the concerts Michael organized at Nazareth (see Chapter Three); the list that he kept of these concerts rarely mentions names of performers, but it seems reasonable to suggest that he himself might sometimes have performed on the clarinet. Furthermore, no mention is made of the instrument’s use in Bethlehem until after Michael’s arrival there in 1808, suggesting that he may have been the person who brought the instrument to that community.

Michael was also a composer. In addition to sacred vocal music (some of his anthems include clarinet parts in the orchestral accompaniment), he also wrote thirteen “Parthien” for wind instruments, as well as two titled suites for winds (“Die

---


381 Ibid., 9-10. John Ricksecker (q.v.) was the first clarinetist on this performance.
Wasserfahrt,” and “Bey einer Quelle zu blasen”). Most of these are for two clarinets, two horns, and one or two bassoons—undoubtedly his experience as a military musician in Germany influenced this choice of instruments—but Parthia I adds a trumpet to the combination, and Parthia II adds a flute.

**Moffat, Patrick**

Moffat’s first appearance was in Boston, on December 17, 1805, when he played a clarinet concerto by Pleyel on a concert given by Gottlieb Graupner. On March 6, 1806, on a concert given by Mrs. E. Von Hagen, he and Granger (q.v.) played a “Duetto for 2 clarinets” by “Mitchell” (Michel), and on April 29 of the same year he performed a concerto by “La Feaver” at a concert given by Messrs. Everdell and Mumler. In 1807, on August 10, Moffat played a clarinet quartet by Pleyel on a concert at the Columbian Museum; and on March 21, 1809, he accompanied Mrs. Graupner in the song “Softly waft ye Southern breezes,” in a production of Kotzbué’s *Virgin of the Sun* at the theatre.

By 1809 Moffat had moved to New York, where for the most part he remained and was very active. Four New York performances took place in 1809: on January 17 he performed on Mr. Comoglio’s benefit, playing a clarinet quartet (composer

---

383 Ibid., 163.
384 Ibid., 62.
on January 20 he assisted on Mrs. Oldmixon’s concert, where he accompanied Miss Dellinger on a song from Lodoiska and also played a concerto (composer unspecified); on February 3 he gave a joint benefit concert with the violinist Everdell on which he accompanied Mrs. Clark on the song “Deep in my breast,” played a clarinet duet (composer unspecified) with Gentil (q.v.), and performed “Duverory’s [Duvernoy’s] first Concerto Clarinetto (by particular desire)”; and on December 19 he performed on Mr. Hewitt’s concert, playing a “Concertante, Piano Forte & Clarinette” with Mr. Deshavie on piano. One intervening concert, on April 29, took place in Boston, where Moffat performed a concerto by Lefèvre.

The year 1810 was also a busy one for Moffat. On February 5 he played a concerto by Duvernoy for Everdell’s concert, and on April 3 he played a clarinet quartet by Michel on Parossier’s concert. Later that spring, on May 22, a charity concert was given “for the relief of distressed French families,” and on this Moffat played a concerto by “Michael” (Michel). Finally, on December 6, another charity concert

---

387 New York Evening Post, January 12, 1809.
388 Ibid., January 17, 1809.
389 Ibid., January 25, 1809.
390 Ibid., December 14, 1809. It is especially unfortunate that the composer of this Concertante is not specified, since works for clarinet and piano were rarely performed at this time.
391 Johnson, Musical Interludes, 62.
392 Ibid., February 1, 1810.
393 Ibid., March 29, 1810.
394 Ibid., May 16, 1810.
was given by the Euterpean Society “for the relief of the sufferers by the late fire in Charleston,” and on this Moffat played a concerto (composer unspecified).\textsuperscript{395}

Seven performances by Moffat have been documented in 1811. On April 18 he played a concerto by Michel at Mr. Perossier’s concert;\textsuperscript{396} on April 25 he played a clarinet quartet by Michel on Mr. Nicolas’s concert, which had been postponed from April 2;\textsuperscript{397} on May 30 he played a concerto (composer unspecified) on a concert given by “The Gentlemen of the Orchestra of the N. York Theatre;”\textsuperscript{398} and on July 9 he played a concerto on Mr. McFarland’s concert, also accompanying Miss Dellinger on her song, “Sweet Bird,” from the opera \textit{Lodoiska}.\textsuperscript{399} By July 25 Moffat was in Boston, where on that date he performed a “Concerto Clarinet, in which will be introduced a favorite air,” and accompanied Mrs. Graupner on the song “Aeolian Harp”;\textsuperscript{400} and on August 6 (postponed from August 1) he performed a clarinet concerto and a “solo on the Clarionet” on a concert with Mr. McFarland.\textsuperscript{401}

By the end of September Moffat had returned to New York. On September 26 he played a concerto by Duvernoy on a concert at the Union Hotel, on which “The

\textsuperscript{395} Ibid., December 4, 1810.
\textsuperscript{396} Ibid., April 15, 1811.
\textsuperscript{397} Ibid., March 28, 1811.
\textsuperscript{398} Ibid., May 27, 1811.
\textsuperscript{399} Ibid., July 9, 1811.
\textsuperscript{400} \textit{Independent Chronicle}, July 25, 1811.
\textsuperscript{401} Ibid., August 1, 1811.
Gentlemen of the Theatre Orchestra will afford their assistance.” This, along with the reference to the theatre orchestra on the May 30 concert, seems to suggest that Moffat was himself a member of the theatre orchestra. Finally, on October 29 (postponed from October 22), Moffat played a concerto on Mr. Duffy’s concert. Mr. Duffy, in a pre-concert advertisement, gave notice that he would be assisted by “Mr. Moffat, whose excellence on the clarinet is so fully known.”

Only one notice of Moffat has been found in 1812: on July 21 of that year, the military band of the Second Regiment of New York Artillery, led by “Mr. Moffatt,” played a concert from the portico of the Flag Staff (a tavern) in New York. Oddly, in the announcement for this concert Moffat is referred to as “a gentleman well known in this city as a professed amateur.” Likewise, in 1813, little is found of Moffat; on July 27 and August 5 of that year he again led a band of “martial music” at the Flag Staff. His association with military bands at this time, along with his disappearance from the orchestral concert scene, suggests that perhaps he was serving in a military unit during the War of 1812. This may also explain the reference to him in the 1812 advertisement as a “professed amateur,” since at the time (if the hypothesis about his military service is correct) his profession would have been that of a soldier and not a musician.

402 New York Evening Post, September 25, 1811.
403 Ibid., October 17, 1811.
404 Ibid., July 20, 1812.
405 Ibid., July 22 and August 4, 1813.
Porter states that in the year 1814, “various New York concert notices list Gautier, Moffatt, and Curphiew as clarinetists.” I have found no notice of Moffat in 1814, however, nor in 1816, 1818, or 1820. The remainder of his concert activities were in New York, as follows: on December 12, 1815 he gave a concert on which he performed a concerto (composer unspecified) that incorporated the “Irish Air of ‘ERIN GO BRAGH’”; on April 17, 1817, he gave a concert on which he played a “Concerto Clarionet, in which will be introduced the favorite air of Robin Adair”; and on August 9, 1819, between the play and the farce at the Pavilion Theatre, he performed a concerto, “in the course of which he will introduce the favorite Irish air of Gramarchee.” The latter notice, along with the two 1811 notices already mentioned, seems to confirm the notion that Moffat was a theatre musician.

Norton, G. F.

Norton first appeared as a clarinetist in Charleston in 1817. On March 11 of that year he gave a benefit on which he played a concerto by Michel and a “Rondo, principal for the Clarionet,” composed by himself. Later that year he moved to Boston; on

---

408 Ibid., April 16, 1817.
409 Ibid., August 9, 1819.
410 *Charleston Courier*, March 11, 1817; Butler, 383 n. 98. From an earlier advertisement for this concert (*Charleston Courier*, February 21, 1817) we learn that the initials of Norton’s first names are “G. F.” It should be noted that a musician named Norton played a flute concerto by Devienne on a concert in Charleston on December 5, 1816; this is probably the same person as Norton the clarinetist. The concert was a benefit for Mr. DeJonge (q.v.).
August 28, 1817, Miss Hewitt gave a concert, and the program included an “Air—‘The Ploughboy,’ with variations, composed and to be performed on the Clarionet by Mr. Norton—his third appearance in Boston.”\footnote{Johnson, \textit{Musical Interludes}, 100.} Norton’s name is mentioned as late as 1825, when he played a concert in Charleston that included not only his “Ploughboy” variations for clarinet, but also featured him as a flute and flageolet player.\footnote{Hindman, “Concert Life,” 420-21.}

**Passage**

An individual named Mr. Passage, “lately from Paris,” advertised in Charleston as a teacher of clarinet, flute, bassoon and flageolet in 1819. He also stated that he would teach fencing.\footnote{\textit{Charleston Courier}, February 11, 1819.} The advertisement asks interested parties to make application at “Mr. L. Dubois’, 94 Queen-street”; this may refer to the clarinetist Lewis Dubois (q.v.). Passage has not been noted as a performer on the clarinet, although he did perform a bassoon concerto on a benefit for Miss Dastas in March of 1819.\footnote{Ibid., March 17, 1819.}

**Peters**

The lone reference that has been found to a clarinetist named Peters is an 1820 advertisement in the \textit{Charleston Courier}, where a Mr. Peters announces that he will teach
French, Spanish, and vocal and instrumental music. More specifically, “Mr. P. teaches Vocal Music, and the Violin, Guitar, Clarinet and German Flute.”

**Philpot (Phillpott, Filpot)**

The clarinetist Philpot first appeared in New York in 1818. On April 16 of that year the violinist Hewitt gave a concert, his program including a “Concerto Clarionet, by Mr. Phillpot, from the King’s Theatre, London; his first appearance here.” On June 10, 1819, an entertainment was presented at Chatham Garden in New York that included “water-works, illumination, and a complete serenade, full band … Mr. Philpott, Leader of the museum band, will display his talents.” The museum band referred to is probably that of J. Scudder’s American Museum, which had in recent years been advertising musical groups (including a “band”) playing at the museum. The nature of this “band” is not clear, but it may have been a wind band, since Mr. Philpott (a clarinetist) was its “leader.” Advertisements for this band appeared throughout June and July of 1819, all naming Mr. Philpott as the leader. The next notice of Philpot is in Philadelphia in February of 1820, when he played a clarinet solo of some kind on each half of a concert given by the singer Mr. Johnston. On this program his name is spelled “Filpot.”

---

415 Ibid., November 14, 1820.

416 *New York Evening Post*, April 13, 1818.

417 Ibid., June 10, 1819.

418 *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, February 8, 1820.
Philpot’s name is mentioned in 1822 and 1823 in Charleston, where he led bands and orchestras on various occasions.\textsuperscript{419}

**Ricksecker, John (Johann)** (August 2, 1780-December 20, 1827)

According to the *Lebenslauf* written at the time of his death,\textsuperscript{420} John Ricksecker was born at Lititz, Pennsylvania, but at an early age was taken by his parents to Bethlehem. When he was twelve years of age the family moved to Hope, New Jersey; but after his father’s death they returned to Bethlehem, where John learned the shoemaker’s trade. He married Elisabeth Kunkler in 1810, with whom he had three sons. After her death in 1819 he married again, to Anne Marie Schenk, with whom he had another son and a daughter. Little mention is made in the *Lebenslauf* of Ricksecker’s musical activity; it states merely that “he was always ready to serve the community with his excellent musical gifts, and to give pleasure with them.”\textsuperscript{421}

Ricksecker seems to have been the most prominent clarinetist in Bethlehem in the early nineteenth century. Grider, in his list of Bethlehem musicians, names him as “a noted clarinet player.”\textsuperscript{422} Sometime between the years 1809 and 1813 (and perhaps on more than one occasion during these years), Ricksecker played the first clarinet part on a performance of David Moritz Michael’s *Die Wasserfahrt*, with Michael himself on

\textsuperscript{419} See Hindman, “Concert Life,” 405, 406, and 412.

\textsuperscript{420} Ricksecker’s *Lebenslauf* is found at the Moravian archive in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; I thank Albert Frank for a copy of the document. For an explanation of the term *Lebenslauf*, see footnote 377.

\textsuperscript{421} “Mit seinen vorzüglichen musicalischen Gaben war er auch stets bereit der Gemein[d]e zu dienen u. [und] Vergnügen zu machen.”

\textsuperscript{422} Grider, *Historical Notes*, 38.
second clarinet. He was also the first clarinetist for the historic Bethlehem performance of Haydn’s *Creation* in 1811, the first performance of that work in the United States. Ricksecker was a member of the Columbian Band, evidently leading that group as well as playing in it. Ricksecker was reputed to be an excellent clarinetist; for a colorful account of his musical skill, see Chapter Three.

**Roth, Philip**

Roth placed an advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of September 23, 1783 as follows:

Mr Roth, Master of Music, In Sixth-street, between Arch and Race streets, near Cherry Alley. Acquaints his friends in particular and the public in general, that he has lately returned from the southward, to teach the ladies the Harpsichord, Guitar, and the gentlemen the Harp, Flute, Houtboy [sic], Clarinet, French Horn and Basoon [sic]. &c., and to attend ladies at their own houses, or any place most convenient; can also furnish a whole band of music and the way to play on all sorts of musical instruments that is [sic] mentioned before in a minute’s warning; and likewise to be sold, Violins and Flutes with three middle pieces, and French Horns and Basoons [sic].

Roth enlisted on February 1, 1779 as Music Master of Lee’s Partisan Corps band. According to Camus, he had written an overture for band that was played on a concert in Philadelphia in 1771. Roth was named as a musician on a receipt of costs incurred for

---

423 Ibid., 9-10.
424 Ibid., 6.
426 *Pennsylvania Packet*, September 23, 1783 (PACAN).
428 Ibid., 53.
a celebration held at the City Tavern on September 15, 1787, but his instrument is not identified on that receipt. Obviously, he played many. In 1789 he renewed his advertisement to teach, among other instruments, the clarinet, and he is heard of again in 1793 as a clarinet teacher.

**Rouault [Roualt], Joseph**

Rouault’s name is first mentioned in connection with the Park Theatre in New York in 1808. In that year a labor dispute took place between the “band” of the theatre and the manager, Thomas Cooper. (For details of this dispute see Chapter Two.) Rouault, along with the rest of the band, was dismissed from employment with the theatre. The instrument he played as a member of the theatre band is not known, but after his dismissal he started to advertise himself as a teacher of woodwinds. His first advertisement, in 1809, stated that he would teach the German flute, clarinet, and flageolet, and his address is given as No. 37 Chatham Street. No mention of Rouault is made again until 1815, at which time he placed an advertisement in the newspaper notifying the public of his change of address, and stating that he “continues teaching the Flute, Clarinet, and Flageolet after the best and simplest method. The improvements

---


430 Ibid.

431 General Advertiser, March 20, 1793.


433 New York Evening Post, October 31, 1809.
made by his former scholars are his best encomium, and leaves him no doubt but he will meet again with a generous patronage." He again advertised on October 21, 1818, stating that he had moved to 126 Chamber Street and continued to teach flute and clarinet. Rouault is listed almost continuously in the New York city directory as a musician at various addresses from 1810 through 1825.

**Schaffer (Shaffer), Francis C. (1722-1828)**

Schaffer was a prominent Boston clarinetist and musical figure. Wolfe notes that he was also a cellist and composer, and that he was often referred to as “Father Schaffer.” He is listed in Boston city directories from 1796 to 1823. His name first appears as a performer on June 1, 1796. On a concert on this date he is listed as playing a “Solo on a new instrument, called Spiccato, invented and played by Mr. Shaffer”. Later on the program he played “Lovely Nymph, assuage my anguish, on the spiccato,” What exactly was this “spiccato”? Weston believes it was a tonguing technique that used the reed on the lower lip, producing a “true bouncing staccato.” Sonneck, however, believes it to have been an actual instrument, as the program listing for this concert

---

434 Ibid., October 23, 1815.

435 Ibid., October 21, 1818.


suggests. Johnson states that it was “an instrument made of common nails.” As a clarinetist, Schaffer first appeared on April 2, 1798, performing a clarinet concerto of his own composition, as well as a trio for clarinet and two horns (the latter instruments played by Mr. and Mrs. Rosier). On May 2, 1798, he held a benefit concert where, according to the advertisement in the *Columbian Centinel* of April 25, 1798, he was supposed to “introduce a new instrument invented by him, possibly his spiccato, though the name is not given.” Since he had already introduced that instrument in 1796, it seems strange that the concert should have been billed in this way. On May 15, 1798, he performed his own concerto in Salem. On May 4, 1801, a concert was given in Boston that included a “Harmony, oboe, clarinet, horns, bassoons,” composed by “Rosetta” (Rosetti) and performed by “Messers. Graupner, Granger, Schaffer, &c.”

Schaffer might have gone to Providence, Rhode Island. Mangler, noting that there was also a Francis C. Schaffer, Jr., and that father and son have often been confused by historians, states that Schaffer, Sr. was a “German violinist from Boston in [the] Providence Theater orchestra.” She does not mention him as a clarinetist, and perpetuates the confusion by stating ambiguously that Frederick Granger (q.v.) was a

---


443 Ibid., 307. The quote is from Sonneck, not the newspaper.

444 Weston, *Yesterday’s Clarinetists*, 147.


“member of the Providence Theater orchestra with [his] son, Thomas, succeeding F.C. Schaffer (elder).” Was it Frederick or Thomas Granger who succeeded Schaffer? If it was Thomas (q.v.), then perhaps he was indeed replacing Schaffer on the violin; if it was Frederick, then he might have been replacing Schaffer on the clarinet. Mangler’s wording is not clear. At any rate, we do not hear of Schaffer again until 1820, by which time he was apparently “infirm, aged, and decayed.” In August of 1820 a concert was given for his benefit at Boylston Hall in Boston, on which the clarinetist Hart (q.v.) played a concerto by Schaffer.448

Francis Schaffer was the proprietor of a Vauxhall-style outdoor garden called Washington Gardens, on Common Street, where outdoor concerts were presented in the summer season.449 Wolfe states that Schaffer died at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, around January 5, 1828, at the ripe old age of ninety-five.450

Several problems in Schaffer’s biography remained to be solved, not least of which is the sorting out of identities of Francis Schaffer, Jr. and Sr. There are also some small details to be clarified; for example, Weston says that Schaffer performed his own concerto in Boston in 1796,451 but Sonneck lists performances of the piece only in 1798 and in 1820. Weston also believes that Francis Schaffer was possibly the brother of

---

447 Ibid., 19.
449 Johnson, Musical Interludes, 85.
450 Wolfe, Secular Music in America, 2:778.
Louis Schaffer, but this seems not to be the case (see the entry below on Louis Schaffer, under the heading “Doubtful Clarinetists”).

**Schneller, David Peter** (September 3, 1787-September 21, 1842)

According to his *Lebenslauf*, Schneller was born at St. John’s on the Caribbean island of Antigua, where his parents were stationed as Moravian missionaries. Shortly after his birth the family moved to St. Kitt’s, and at the age of seven Schneller was sent to the Moravian community of Nazareth, Pennsylvania, for his education. He then moved to nearby Lititz to learn the tailoring trade. At the end of his apprenticeship he returned to Nazareth, where in 1814 he married Catharina Bauer. They had five sons, three of whom died in infancy. Schneller taught at the boys’ school and served the community in various other ways. His activities included working in wine production and as a baker. All of these activities weakened his constitution, and he died after a prolonged illness.

Although Schneller’s *Lebenslauf* does not mention any musical activities, Rufus Grider notes that Schneller was a founding member of the Columbian band. In his list of Bethlehem musicians, Grider notes that Schneller played not only the clarinet, but also the horn.

---

452 Ibid.

453 Schneller’s *Lebenslauf* is at the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; I thank Albert Frank for a copy of the document. For an explanation of the term *Lebenslauf*, see footnote 377.


455 Ibid., 38.
Shippen, William

An individual named William Shippen was listed on a military return dated April 3, 1779, as among the musicians in Colonel Proctor’s regimental band; according to this list he was born in Philadelphia and enlisted on April 24, 1776. In 1782 in Philadelphia, a Mr. Shippen advertised that he had opened a dancing school at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern. He also stated that he taught the guitar, German flute, violin, “hautboy,” and clarinet.

Stone, William

Weston mentions that the clarinetist Stone was active in Boston starting in 1793. Sonneck does not mention Stone’s name until 1795, when the Columbia Centinel announced a concert on January 28 to include a “Quartetto on the Clarinet” (performers not named) and a “Duet on the Clarinet” played by Messrs. Stone and Granger (q.v.). On June 18 of the same year, Messrs. Stone and Granger again played a duet in Boston. Stone is also listed on many Boston concerts as an oboist and flutist.

---

456 Camus, Military Music, 139.

457 Pennsylvania Journal, November 2, 1782 (PACAN).

458 Weston, More Clarinet Virtuosi, 251. She does not cite the source of this information.


460 Ibid., 300.
He was a member of the Federal Street Theatre orchestra, at least during the 1796-97 season, and probably beyond that; he might have played oboe or flute there, however.\textsuperscript{461} Stone seems to have gone to Charleston at some point; by 1808 he was playing the flute on concerts there.\textsuperscript{462} In 1811 he advertised that he would teach flute, clarinet, or flageolet to interested gentlemen.\textsuperscript{463} In 1820 he advertised again as a teacher of the same instruments, but by this year he was willing to teach the flageolet to “the Ladies” (the flute and clarinet, however, were still reserved for “Gentlemen”).\textsuperscript{464}

**Taylor, P. H. (Patrick H.?)**

A clarinetist named Taylor appeared in Charleston starting in 1811. On April 16 of that year he gave a benefit concert where he played not only the flute (a quartet by Pleyel), but also a clarinet concerto by “Soller” (Solère).\textsuperscript{465} On May 21, 1812, Taylor assisted the violinist Lefolle on his concert, playing a clarinet concerto by Michel.\textsuperscript{466} By

\textsuperscript{461} Porter, *With an Air Debonair*, 376-77.

\textsuperscript{462} For example, he played the flute on a concert given by the clarinetist and flutist Masserani on February 9, 1808 (*Charleston Courier*, February 8, 1808; see also Hindman, “Concert Life,” 341).

\textsuperscript{463} *Charleston Courier*, November 26, 1811.

\textsuperscript{464} Ibid., July 4, 1820. This advertisement mentions his first name as William. It is interesting to note another *Charleston Courier* advertisement, from February 11, 1819, in which Mr. Passage (q.v.) specifically mentions that ladies may learn the flageolet. Apparently this was becoming the one acceptable wind instrument for females around this time.

\textsuperscript{465} *Charleston Courier*, April 15, 1811; Hindman, “Concert Life,” 356. It should be noted that Taylor played a flute concerto on a concert of March 21, 1811, according to the *Charleston Courier*, March 19, 1811; see also Hindman, “Concert Life,” 355.

\textsuperscript{466} *Charleston Courier*, May 21, 1812; Hindman, “Concert Life,” 360-61.
the autumn of 1812 Taylor was in New York; on October 1, 1812, he placed an advertisement in the newspaper offering to teach. He billed himself as “late of London and Dublin,” and declared “his intention of residing in New York and giving lessons on the clarinet, flageolet, and flute.” The advertisement also states: “N.B. Military Bands, instructed.” The latter statement may have been made to take advantage of the upsurge in military music as a result of the War of 1812. In 1813 he again advertised as a teacher the flute, flageolet, and clarinet. No further notice of Taylor appears until 1816, when he was back in Charleston. On March 25, 1816, he gave a benefit concert in that city, playing a clarinet concerto by Dacosta. Later in the year, on December 17, he performed a set of Variations by Dacosta on a benefit concert for the cellist Gilles. Taylor soon returned to New York, however. On September 8, 1817, he advertised his intent to reside in that city and to teach flute and clarinet.

The name Taylor is a common one, and there were numerous musicians by that name who were active in early America. The woodwind player and teacher seems clearly to have had the initials P. H., however. There is a P. H. Taylor listed as a teacher of

---

467 *New York Evening Post*, October 1, 1812.
468 Ibid., September 27, 1813.
469 *Charleston Courier*, March 25, 1816; Butler, “Votaries of Apollo,” 392 n. 99. In this advertisement we learn that the initials of his first name are “P.H.”
470 *Charleston Courier*, December 14, 1816.
471 Ibid., September 8, 1817.
music in the New York city directories from 1824 through 1830, and a Patrick H. Taylor is listed as a music teacher from 1831 through 1833.\textsuperscript{472}

**Thibault (Thiboudt, Thibaut, Thibeault, Theabout)**

Thibault was active only in Philadelphia. At Mr. Wolf’s (q.v.) benefit concert of March 22, 1803, the second half included “Select Pieces, for Wind Instruments, Messrs. Wolfe, Thiboudt, Homman, Wheeler, Shaw, Schoenman & Schetky—Girowetz.”\textsuperscript{473} From this advertisement it cannot be determined if “Thiboudt” is a clarinetist; however, on Miss DeBrueys’ benefit of December 31, 1805, one of the pieces performed was “Pleyel’s Sinfonia Concertant for two clarinets,” played by Mr. Wolf and Mr. Thibault.\textsuperscript{474} It seems likely that Thiboudt and Thibault are the same person. On January 19, 1808, the violinist Gillingham gave a concert on which “Mr. Theabout” played a “Quartetto—Obbligato for the Clarinet.”\textsuperscript{475} Porter, quoting the Philadelphia *Aurora* of June 20, 1810, states that when Benjamin Carr and others assembled a large orchestra in that year to perform excerpts from *The Creation* and *Messiah*, Thibault played principal clarinet.\textsuperscript{476} Late in 1810, on December 20 at the Masonic Hall, “Signor Garelli” gave a


\textsuperscript{473} *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, Friday, March 18, 1803.

\textsuperscript{474} Ibid., Monday, December 30, 1805.

\textsuperscript{475} Ibid., January 16, 1808.

\textsuperscript{476} Porter, *With an Air Debonair*, 375. Advertisements for this concert appeared as far afield as Baltimore; it was announced in the *Federal Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, May 26, 1810. Thibault’s name appears in the advertisement as principal clarinet.
benefit concert at which Mr. Thibault performed a “Concerto Clarinet—Pellisier.” The next appearance of Mr. Thibault is not until 1814; on April 13 of that year, a large concert of sacred music was performed at the Church of St. Augustine in Philadelphia, for the benefit of the Orphan Asylum of Philadelphia. Directed by Benjamin Carr and Raynor Taylor, the very long program included an “Air, lady amateur, with Clarionet Obligato, by Mr. Thibault—‘As pants the heart’,” composed by Benjamin Carr. At the bottom of the program announcement, the principal players are named, and Thibault is listed as “Principal clarionet.” On this occasion, according to the newspaper, the band numbered more than one hundred players. Mr. Thibault then disappeared from Philadelphia newspaper notices until 1818. On April 30, 1818, he is listed as one of the “principal performers” on a concert given at the Grand Saloon of Washington Hall by Mrs. French. The program listed no piece that obviously involved a solo clarinet, so perhaps Thibault was simply a member of the “full band” that performed on that concert. A week later (May 7) Mrs. French gave another concert on which “Thibeault” is listed as a principal performer, and again no solo clarinet work was advertised.

It should be remarked that there are numerous notices of musicians by the name of Thibaut or Thibault in early America. Sonneck lists a Philadelphia concert of April 7, 1810.

---

477 Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser, December 18, 1810.
478 Ibid., April 12, 1814.
479 Ibid., April 30, 1818.
480 Ibid., May 5, 1818. Krummel mentions that during this concert some of the plaster from the ceiling fell onto the audience (which numbered over 1000); see Donald Krummel, “Philadelphia Music Engraving and Publishing, 1800-1820: A Study in Bibliography and Cultural History” (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1958): 60. Mrs. French placed a “card” in Poulson’s on May 9, apologizing for the incident.
1795, with a “Quartetto of Pleyel, by Messrs. Gillingham, Collet, Thibaut and Menel.”
and it seems that here Thibaut is a string player.\footnote{Johnson, \textit{Musical Interludes}, 132.} Johnson lists a Boston violinist named Thibault,\footnote{Redway, \textit{Music Directory of Early New York City}, 22.} and there is also a Charles Thibault listed as a musician in various New York City directories from 1818-30.\footnote{City Gazette, March 25, 1797.} Charles Thibault was certainly a pianist, and is probably a separate individual from the clarinetist of the same last name. It has not been determined if the Boston string player is identical to the clarinetist Thibault.

**Turner, James** or **William**

An individual named Turner was active as a dancing master in Charleston throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; this individual was apparently also a clarinetist, as shown by the following 1797 newspaper advertisement:

\begin{quote}
A FRENCHMAN,
Well known in town, is desirous to be placed in a Family, either in town or country, to teach the French Language, Writing, Arithmetic and Music on the German Flute and Clarinet, from the best Principles. Apply to the printers, or to himself, at Mr. TURNER’S, King-street, opposite the Spanish Consul’s.\footnote{Sonneck, \textit{Early Concert Life}, 142.}
\end{quote}

Turner’s name is not mentioned again as a clarinetist in Charleston, although he continued to teach dancing there through at least 1809.

Starting in 1809 a clarinetist named Turner appeared in Boston, but it is not clear if this is the same individual as the Charleston dancing master. On September 14, 1809,
he performed a clarinet quartet by Pleyel on Graupner’s benefit concert.\textsuperscript{485} Graupner must have been pleased with Turner’s playing, because the next year, on June 13, 1810 (postponed from June 8), he once again invited Turner to perform; on this occasion Turner played a clarinet concerto by an unspecified composer.\textsuperscript{486} On June 28, at a “promenade & Concert” given at the Exchange Coffee House, he performed a clarinet quartet (composer unspecified).\textsuperscript{487}

The next notices of Turner appear in 1815. On March 13 of that year, he performed a Pleyel’s clarinet concerto on a charity concert.\textsuperscript{488} A program given in an announcement for July 4, 1815, for a concert to be given at Washington Gardens, included a “Harmony Messrs. Granger, Turner, Hart, Norbaur, Wood, &c,” and it is undoubtedly Turner the clarinetist who is referred to here.\textsuperscript{489} Turner was also probably the clarinetist in the ensemble that performed “Military Music (consisting of new Marches, Quick Steps, Waltz’s, &c. composed by J. Hewitt)” on August 14, 1815, at the same location.\textsuperscript{490}

The name Turner appears in connection with the Philharmonic Society; in 1816, one “Turner” received $5 for performing on a concert of that organization.\textsuperscript{491} Johnson, in

\textsuperscript{485} Independent Chronicle, September 14, 1809.

\textsuperscript{486} Ibid., June 7, 1810.

\textsuperscript{487} Ibid., June 28, 1810.

\textsuperscript{488} Ibid., March 13, 1815.

\textsuperscript{489} Johnson, Musical Interludes, 86.

\textsuperscript{490} Independent Chronicle, August 14, 1815.

\textsuperscript{491} Johnson, Musical Interludes, 138.
listing the members of the Handel and Haydn Society orchestra in 1817-22, states that, “We know from other sources that Wm. Turner and one member of the Loring family played, but their instruments are unknown.”\textsuperscript{492} Perhaps this William Turner is identical with the clarinetist. Broyles, however, states that the clarinetist’s first name was James, and that James Turner was active in Boston from 1810 to 1817.\textsuperscript{493}

**Van Hagen, Peter (P. A.) (1755-1803)**

Peter Van Hagen, Sr. (there was also a son named Peter van Hagen, d. 1837) was known primarily as a violinist, organist, concert presenter, and music dealer/publisher in New York and Boston.\textsuperscript{494} Only one reference to Van Hagen in relation to the clarinet has been found: in 1789 he placed an advertisement in a New York newspaper stating that he would teach “violin, harpsichord, tenor, violoncello, German flute, hautboy, clarinet, bassoon, and singing.”\textsuperscript{495}

\textsuperscript{492} Ibid., 126.


**Willis, Richard**

Richard Willis, notifying the public that he had just arrived from Dublin, advertised to teach the flageolet, flute, violin, “claronet,” French horn, and keyed bugle in New York in 1816.496 He later became the director of the West Point band.

**Wolff (Wolf, Wolfe, Woolfe), Andrew (d. 1820)**

Wolff is the earliest clarinetist in America for whom significant biographical and performance information can be assembled. According to Weston, he was a German clarinetist who settled in Baltimore in 1786.497 I have not been able to confirm this, however; ship passenger lists do not show any such passenger disembarking at Baltimore.498 There is an Andrew Wolf named on a passenger list for the ship Adolph, which came into the port of Philadelphia from Amsterdam on August 27, 1785; while it cannot be determined if this is the clarinetist, most of the clarinetist Wolff’s early activities were in Philadelphia.499 It is certain that Wolff’s first initial was “A” (see

496 _New York Evening Post_, April 24, 1816; quoted in Camus, “The Military Band in the U.S. Army Prior to 1834,” 453-54. The keyed bugle seems to have been Willis’ main instrument.

497 Weston, _More Clarinet Virtuosi_, 275. She may have gotten this information from Lubov Keefer, _Baltimore’s Music_ (Baltimore: The Author, 1962), 30-31. Keefer does not identify his source.

498 See P. William Filby and Mary K. Meyer, eds., _Passenger and Immigration Lists Index_. 3 vols., with annual supplements from 1982-2003 (Detroit, MI: Gale Research Company, 1981-). It is not at all clear where Weston (see footnote 5) got her information, as she does not give footnotes and lists only a brief bibliography at the back of her book.

499 Ralph Beaver Strassburger, _Pennsylvania German Pioneers: A Publication of the Original Lists of Arrivals In the Port of Philadelphia From 1727 to 1808_, vol. 2, p. 3.
below), and a musician with the name Andrew Wolf (Wolfe, Wolff) is listed in various Philadelphia city directories through 1822.\footnote{Wolff’s name first appeared in the Philadelphia city directory of 1793 (with the spelling Wolf, occupation “musician”), with an address of 190 South Fourth Street. He is not listed in the directories of 1794 through 1796. He reappears in 1797, having moved just a few doors down to 204 South Fourth Street. He is not listed in 1798. In 1799 he is again listed (with the spelling Wolfe, which the directories retain through 1808), now living “near Fifth st in Spruce st.” He is listed again in 1800, but disappears from 1801-1803. In 1804 he is listed as “professor of music,” now living at 29 North Eighth. By 1805 he has moved to 206 Cherry, which becomes his permanent address. The directories of 1806 through 1808 keep the same listing as in 1805. From 1809 through 1817 his name does not appear in any Philadelphia directories; then in 1818 and 1819, mysteriously, a musician named Anthony Wolff is listed, at 206 Cherry. By 1820 his first name as given in the directory has reverted again to Andrew (last name now spelled Wolff); in addition, just below his name is listed Peter Wolff, musician, also at 206 Cherry Street. The two names appear in directories of 1821 and 1822; neither is listed in 1823 or 1824. Beginning in 1825, Andrew Wolff’s name is no longer listed; Peter’s name appears alone, in that year and again in 1829 through 1833. After that year, neither man’s name appears.

Peter Wolff may be the person referred to in the following advertisement, placed in \textit{Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser} on September 22, 1824: “LA FAYETTE BAND / Persons desirous of obtaining a Band of Music on the occasion of escorting the Illustrious Guest to our City, may, on speedy application to Mr. P. Wolf, or John Coates, hear of a complete Band, which will be ready in a moment’s warning. Application to be made to P. Wolf, in Cherry, between Ninth and Tenth-streets, between the hours of 7 and 9 A.M. or from 2 to 6 P.M. or of Mr. John Coates, No. 60 Plumb-street. In future the above Band will hold themselves in readiness for any engagement, whether public or private, provided the notice be of not less than 6 hours.” The Index of Philadelphia Wills at the Pennsylvania Historical Society confirms that Peter Wolff died in 1833.}

Accounts from early American newspapers and other documents indicate that Wolff made his living largely as a theater and concert musician in Philadelphia. He also traveled to New York and Baltimore, probably moving with the theater companies with which he was employed as they ran their circuit (see Chapter Two).

The first notice of musical activities by Wolff in America came early in 1787, in Philadelphia, where he was mentioned as a performer at the Southwark Theatre on January 15.\footnote{Thomas Clark Pollock, \textit{The Philadelphia Theatre in the Eighteenth Century} (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933), 137. Pollock’s information comes from announcements in the \textit{Pennsylvania Packet}.} On January 19, also at the Southwark Theatre, the program included a
clarinet concerto;\textsuperscript{502} no performer is named, but it was undoubtedly Wolff; the nineteenth-century theater historian Durang states that “Mr. Woolf” was the principal clarinetist of the Southwark Theatre at this time.\textsuperscript{503} It is likely that Wolff performed on other “concerts and lectures” given at the Southwark Theatre during January and early February of 1787.\textsuperscript{504} The next year, on January 13, 1788, still in Philadelphia, he was listed in an announcement in the \textit{Pennsylvania Packet} as performing “Fisher’s Minuet, Clarinet” on a concert that evening.\textsuperscript{505} Later that year, on November 28, he played a clarinet concerto on Mr. Rehine’s benefit concert in Philadelphia.\textsuperscript{506} In 1789 Wolff was evidently traveling. He was listed as playing a clarinet concerto on Philip Phile’s concert of January 29 in Philadelphia;\textsuperscript{507} then later in the year he appeared on concerts in New York City, performing a concerto on October 6 and a “Quartett Clarinet” on October 30.\textsuperscript{508} By the autumn of 1790 he was back in Philadelphia, where he performed a “Solo on the Clarinett” on an oratorio concert (a concert of mostly sacred music) of September 22.\textsuperscript{509}

\textsuperscript{502} Oscar G. Sonneck, \textit{Early Opera in America} (New York: G. Schirmer, 1915), 73.

\textsuperscript{503} Durang, \textit{The Philadelphia Stage}, Chapter 12, column 8.

\textsuperscript{504} See Pollock, \textit{The Philadelphia Theatre}, 139.

\textsuperscript{505} Sonneck, \textit{Early Concert Life}, 153.

\textsuperscript{506} Ibid., 132-33.

\textsuperscript{507} Ibid., 94.

\textsuperscript{508} Ibid., 187-88.

\textsuperscript{509} Ibid., 120.
and a concerto and a song accompaniment at Gray’s Gardens on October 16.\footnote{Ibid., 100. From this concert announcement we learn that Wolff’s first initial is “A.”} On November 19 he played a “solo on the clarinet” at another oratorio concert.\footnote{Ibid., 121.}

The year 1791 was a busy one for Wolff. On January 15 he played a solo work of some kind on a Philadelphia concert.\footnote{General Advertiser, January 13, 1791.} Robert Drummond chronicles many concerts on which Wolff played in the following months (all on the Philadelphia series known as the “City Concerts,” unless otherwise noted): on January 22 he played a “Solo on the Clarinet”; on February 5, a “Concerto Clarinet”; on February 19, a “Concerto Clarinet”; on March 5, a “Quartetto Clarinet”; on March 19, a “Quartett Clarinet” (on a benefit for Master Duport); on March 26, a “Quartete, Clarinet”; on April 2, a “Concerto, Clarinetto” (on a benefit for Miss Moller); on April 16, a “Concerto, Clarinetto”; on April 30, a “Concerto, Clarinetto”; on May 18, “Fisher’s Rondo, Clarinett” (Vauxhall Gardens); on May 27, a “Quartetto, Clarinetto (Vauxhall Gardens); and on September 2, a “Solo Rondo, Clarinet” (Vauxhall Gardens).\footnote{Robert Drummond, Early German Music in Philadelphia, (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1910; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 62-68.}

In 1792 Wolff was still in Philadelphia, but his schedule seems to have been somewhat less busy, at least where solo playing is concerned. On June 16 of that year he played “A Solo on the Clarinet” on a concert given by the violinist Joseph Cézar;\footnote{Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 137.} on
November 8, a “Quartetto Clarinet” on Mrs. Hodgkinson’s benefit;\textsuperscript{515} on December 1, a double concerto for clarinet and bassoon (the bassoonist was a Mr. Youngblut) on the City Concert series;\textsuperscript{516} and on December 29, on the same series, “Duetti, arranged for the Piano Forte and Clarinet by Mr. Moller,” with Miss Moller at the piano.\textsuperscript{517} There is only one notice of Wolff in 1793: on January 12 of that year he played a clarinet concerto in Philadelphia.\textsuperscript{518} The year 1794 found Wolff once again in New York City, where on January 7 he performed a clarinet concerto on the City Concert series there;\textsuperscript{519} on January 14 he performed “Pleyel’s celebrated Concertante for violins, tenor, clarinett and violoncello” on a benefit for Madame DeSeze;\textsuperscript{520} and on April 1 he played another concerto, this time on James Hewitt’s benefit concert.\textsuperscript{521}

No further mention of Wolff’s name has been found until 1796. He is listed as playing a concerto and a song accompaniment in Philadelphia on July 5, on a concert given by the violinist Louis Boullay,\textsuperscript{522} and on September 12 he played a concerto at

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{515} Ibid., 138
\item \textsuperscript{516} Ibid., 89.
\item \textsuperscript{517} Ibid. Sonneck identifies Mr. Moller as John Christopher Moller; see Oscar G. Sonneck and William T. Upton, \textit{A Bibliography of Early Secular American Music} (New York: Da Capo Press, 1964), 115.
\item \textsuperscript{518} Sonneck, \textit{Early Concert Life}, 90.
\item \textsuperscript{519} Ibid., 196.
\item \textsuperscript{520} Ibid., 234.
\item \textsuperscript{521} Ibid., 238.
\item \textsuperscript{522} Ibid., 146. The concert announcement states that Boullay was assisted by “The whole orchestra of the New Theatre and several of the lovers of music,” implying that Wolff was a member of the New Theatre orchestra at this time.
\end{itemize}

304
Gray’s Gardens in Baltimore.\textsuperscript{523} Wolff appears only once in 1797, when on June 15 an advertisement in Porcupine’s Gazette (Philadelphia) listed his name among the instrumental performers on a concert at Bush Hill; no further information is given, however.\textsuperscript{524} In 1798 Wolff’s name also appears only once, when on January 2 he performed a concerto in Philadelphia on a concert series organized by Mrs. Grattan.\textsuperscript{525} In 1799 Wolff was once again in Baltimore, where he performed a concerto and also a Rondo by Michel on a January 22 concert benefiting the band of the New Theatre.\textsuperscript{526} On April 11, 1799, Wolff played a concert in Philadelphia where he collaborated with Mr. Dubois (q.v.) on Pleyel’s Symphonie Concertante for two clarinets; on this concert Wolff also played a song, “Spirit of the Blest,” accompanying the singer Miss Broadhurst.\textsuperscript{527} Shortly after this Wolff and Dubois traveled to Baltimore, where on April 26 they played a concert that included a “Medley Trio” for clarinet, violin and lute (with Dubois apparently playing the lute part\textsuperscript{528}), and a Sinfonia Concertante by Pleyel (perhaps the same one they played in Philadelphia on April 11).\textsuperscript{529}

\textsuperscript{523} Ibid., 53. On this Baltimore concert, too, the announcement states that the music was played “by the performers and band of the New Theatre.”

\textsuperscript{524} Ibid., 102.

\textsuperscript{525} Ibid., 98.

\textsuperscript{526} Ibid., 56.

\textsuperscript{527} Ibid., 150.

\textsuperscript{528} Weston, More Clarinet Virtuosi, 89-90.

\textsuperscript{529} Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 57.
No notice of Wolff has been found in 1800, but in 1801 he was back in Philadelphia. On February 10 he gave his own benefit concert at the City Tavern, where he played a “Concerto Clarinette—Micheau,” and a “Sinfonie Concertante, for two clarinets. By a gentleman pupil of Mr. Wolff and Mr. Wolff—Pleyel.” Wolff also accompanied on the clarinet a song sung by Miss Broadhurst, “Inventurata in van mi lagno” by the composer Anfossi.\(^{530}\) On February 24 Miss Broadhurst gave a benefit concert on which Wolff played a “Concerto of [sic] the Clarinet, Michel,”\(^{531}\) and on March 3 a concert by “Master Augustus Peticolas” was given at the City Tavern, including on the program a “Concerto on the clarinet” by “Mr. Wolf.”\(^{532}\) By the summer of 1801 Wolff was in Baltimore; there he gave a concert on June 17, when he performed a Sinfonia Concertante for flute and clarinet by Mozart (with “an amateur” playing the flute part), and a clarinet concerto by “Michelle.”\(^{533}\) No notice of Wolff has been found

---

\(^{530}\) *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, Friday, February 6, 1801.

\(^{531}\) Ibid., Monday, February 23, 1801.

\(^{532}\) Ibid., Monday, March 2, 1801. A further note on this concert appeared as an article in the following day’s paper; I quote it here because of the light it sheds on the admiration of child prodigies, as well as on the political exigencies of the day and the state of many French refugees. It reads as follows, under the headline “MUSICAL PRODIGY”: “The amateurs of music will not only have an opportunity of gratifying themselves by hearing a fine selection, but also of patronizing the most extraordinary instance of forward genius, that this country ever witnessed by attending the CONCERT of Master PETICOLAS, this evening, at the City Tavern. This young gentleman, only ten years of age, is master of the science. Those who have witnessed his performances in private, have been greatly and justly astonished at the display of powers which veterans in the science might have been proud to exhibit before a rival candidate for fame. The father is one of the many who, by the French revolution, has been obliged to have recourse to an accomplishment as a mean[s] of subsistence, and his son is one of his pupils. The honest exertions of a man, who has seen better days, to depend upon himself for support, by a profession, which, from the very circumstance of his necessities, must cease to be pleasing, and the truly grand performance of his little son, call loudly upon the feelings, to aid his first public attempt. The citizens of Philadelphia, never backward in encouraging merit, will no doubt come forward, and attend upon the present occasion.”

\(^{533}\) *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, June 16, 1801.
for the year 1802; there was an outbreak of yellow fever in Philadelphia during this year, and undoubtedly for this reason concert activity in general slowed down. On March 22, 1803, back in Philadelphia, Wolff gave his “annual concert” at the “Hall of the University in Fourth street,” where he played a concerto by Lefèvre. Also on this concert were “Select Pieces, for Wind Instruments, Messrs. Wolfe, Thiboudt, Homman, Wheeler, Shaw, Schoenman & Schetky—Girowetz.”

No appearance of Wolff is recorded during 1804, although his name is listed in the Philadelphia city directory of that year. In 1805 he was in Baltimore, where he played a clarinet concerto during Mr. Duport’s annual ball on May 2. At some point after this he went back to Philadelphia, because on December 31, 1805, he played on a benefit concert for Miss DeBrueys at the Shakespeare Hotel in that city. On this concert he collaborated with Mr. Thibault (undoubtedly the same person as the “Thiboudt” mentioned on the concert of March 22, 1803) to perform the Pleyel Sinfonia Concertante for two clarinets. On April 10, 1806, Mr. DeBrueys gave a benefit concert on which Wolff played a clarinet concerto by Lefèvre. Then it was back to Baltimore, where on June 11 Wolff played a clarinet concerto on a benefit concert for Mr. Bray and Mrs. Seymour of the theatre. In 1807 he was once again in Philadelphia. On February 3, 1807, Miss DeBrueys gave another benefit, on which Wolff played a clarinet concerto by

---

534 Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser, Friday, March 18, 1803.

535 Ibid., Monday, December 30, 1805.

536 Ibid., Tuesday, April 8, 1806.
Michel. A benefit was given by Mr. Bouchery on February 26, when Wolff played a clarinet concerto (composer unspecified). Wolff also gave his own benefit concert in the Spring of 1807, but the newspaper advertisements show that he had a hard time actually getting it to occur. He trying to schedule it for February 17, and then postponed it to February 19; after this, an advertisement appeared stating that, “MR. WOLFE, Respectfully informs his friends and the public that in consequence of the indisposition of several of the principal performers, his Concert is unavoidably postponed until further notice.” On March 31 the concert was announced again for that evening, with the full program listed, including a clarinet concerto played by Wolff and “Harmony Pieces on Wind Instruments” on the second half. Then, on April 1, Wolf ran the following advertisement: “Concert Postponed. MR. WOLFE, Presents his compliments to the Ladies and Gentlemen of this city, who intended honoring him with their company, that on account of the inclemency of the weather, his concert is unavoidably postponed, till Tuesday evening the 14th of April.” Finally, on April 11, an ad appeared stating that, “Mr. Wolfe’s Concert, Will positively take place on Tuesday, April 14…” No further advertisements appear, implying that the concert at last took place as scheduled.

537 Ibid., Saturday, January 31, 1807.
538 Ibid., Thursday, February 26, 1807.
539 Ibid., Tuesday, February 17, 1807.
540 Ibid., Tuesday, March 31, 1807.
541 Ibid., Wednesday, April 1, 1807.
542 Ibid., Saturday, April 11, 1807.
Up to this point Wolff seems to have divided his time between Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore, depending, it seems, upon the travel schedules of the theatre companies with which he was employed (see Chapter Two). By 1808-9, however, he was appearing in Baltimore at times outside of usual the theatre seasons there (which were generally October-November and April-May). Moreover, no appearances by him are recorded in Philadelphia during these years. All of this suggests that he made a more permanent residence in Baltimore beginning around 1808. On January 15 of that year he is named in the clarinet section (“Mr. Wolf and Amateurs”) on a concert of sacred music given by the Handelian Charitable Society at Christ Church in Baltimore, for the benefit of the “deserving poor.” In 1809 he appeared at least four, and possibly five times in Baltimore. On February 8 he played a “solo” on a charity concert “for the relief of distressed seamen.” On this concert he is also listed as directing a “Harmonie Military” on the first half of the program, and another on the second half. Later in the month, on February 24 he again directed “Military Harmonies” on a charity concert, this time “for the relief of the distressed poor.” On March 23 he is listed as a performer on the violinist Nenninger’s concert, although no solo clarinet piece appears on the program. On June 8, at the close of the theatre season, Mrs. Green, Mr. Jefferson, and “the Gentlemen of the Orchestra” (i.e., the theatre orchestra) gave a charity concert at the

---

543 Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, January 13, 1808.

544 Ibid., February 3, 1809.

545 Ibid., February 21, 1809.

546 Ibid., March 21, 1809.
Globe Inn, “for the purpose of assisting a sick widow and some orphan children”; the
program included a “Concertante Clarionet,” and although none of the soloists on the
program is named, it seems likely that the soloist for this piece was Wolff.\textsuperscript{547} To
conclude a busy year, on December 12 1809, Wolff played a clarinet concerto on the
public concert of Mr. Comoglio, a singer who had just given a concert for the Baltimore
Harmonic Society.\textsuperscript{548}

No notices of Wolff have been found in Baltimore (or anywhere else) in 1810-11,
but in 1812 he appeared in the Baltimore city directory as “Wolff, Andrew, professor of
music, 33 Saratoga-street.” No directory exists for 1813, but Wolff appeared again in the
directory of 1814-15, at the same address, this time listed as “teacher of music.” A
search of newspapers for the years 1812-15, however, has not turned up any
announcements of concerts he played during that period. Nevertheless, it seems that he
resided in Baltimore during the years 1812 and 1814-15 (and perhaps during the
intervening year as well); and it is possible that his Baltimore residence actually
encompassed the years 1808-15.

It has already been mentioned that Wolff’s name disappeared from the
Philadelphia city directories from 1809 through 1817, reappearing in 1818. He was back
in Philadelphia earlier than 1818, however, since on September 3, 1816, he played a
clarinet concerto on a concert given at the Columbia Garden by Mr. T. Robinson.\textsuperscript{549} This

\textsuperscript{547} Ibid., June 7, 1809.

\textsuperscript{548} Ibid., December 11, 1809.

\textsuperscript{549} Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser, September 3, 1816.
seems to have been Wolff’s last performance; he is not mentioned in any newspaper from 1817 through 1820.

Despite the presence of his name in directories for 1821 and 1822, Andrew Wolff died in 1820. He left no will, but administration documents for his estate exist. The administrator of the estate was Peter Wolff (see above, footnote 490), suggesting that Peter was Andrew’s son. The administration documents include an account of finances, an inventory of Andrew Wolf’s personal belongings, and an auctioneer’s tally from the sale of the belongings. It seems that Wolff may have been a violinist as well as a clarinetist, since both instruments appear on the inventory and auction list. His clarinet was auctioned for $4.00.

Many questions remain to be answered about Wolff’s life, particularly the period before he came to America, about which nothing is known for certain. Weston believes that the Wolff being considered here was probably the same as the clarinetist Wolff who appeared as a concerto soloist in Paris at the Concert spirituel on May 28, 1778; this possibility remains to be confirmed, however. There are also periods of Wolfe’s life in America for which no information about his activities has been found, especially 1795-96, 1810-15, and 1817-20.

---

550 Philadelphia Register of Wills, 1820, file #25.

DOUBTFUL CLARINETISTS

Two further individuals have been mentioned by several scholars as clarinetists active in early America: Thomas Granger and Louis Schaffer. My research has shown that these individuals were not themselves clarinetists, but have been mistakenly identified as such because they share last names with individuals who were; indeed, Thomas Granger was in fact the son of the clarinetist Frederick Granger. Evidence for my identification of these individuals is given in the entries below.

Thomas Granger

Weston states that Thomas Granger was “probably a brother of Frederick Granger. With the oboist Gottlieb Graupner he founded the Boston Philharmonic Society in 1810. He and Louis Schaffer were the original clarinetists in the orchestra.” In the entry on Frederick Granger (see above), however, we have already noted that Wolfe identifies Thomas Granger as Frederick Granger’s son. Moreover, Thomas Granger seems to have been a violinist, not a clarinetist. The original clarinetists of the Boston Philharmonic Society, so far as they can be determined, seem to have been Frederick Granger and John Hart. (See entry below on John Hart.) Mangler notes that Thomas is often confused with his father Frederick.

552 Weston, More Clarinet Virtuosi, 116.

553 See Johnson, Musical Interludes, Chapter 4, “Philharmonic Society” (pp. 120-154), where Thomas Granger is mentioned numerous times, exclusively as a violinist.

554 Ibid., 126.

555 Mangler, Rhode Island Music and Musicians, 19.
Louis Schaffer

According to Weston, Louis Schaffer was possibly the brother of Francis C. Schaffer (see above). She also mentions him in connection with Thomas Granger (see above). In identifying this clarinetist, Weston may have taken over an error from earlier writers. Johnson, in a discussion of the “old guard” of Boston musicians, states that “only Graupner, Francis Mallet, Granger Sr., and Louis Schaffer were in Boston before 1800 …” Surely he means Francis, not Louis, Schaffer. Howard also mentions a Louis Schaffer. In discussing Graupner’s founding of the Boston Phil-harmonic Society in 1810, Howard states that “two clarinetists were members: Thomas Granger and Louis Schaffer, though Schaffer probably played the cello at the meetings.”

The misidentification of Thomas Granger as a clarinetist has already been discussed; and the mention of Louis Schaffer as a cellist suggests confusion with Francis Schaffer, who was a cellist as well as a clarinetist. It seems that Louis Schaffer is a fictitious figure, created through an accumulation of mistakes handed down from one writer to the next over the course of the twentieth century.

---

556 Weston, More Clarinet Virtuosi, 220.

557 Johnson, 128.

558 John Tasker Howard, Our American Music: Three Hundred Years of It (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1929-31), 137.
APPENDIX B

A TABLE OF PERFORMANCES AND REPERTORY

The following table presents a chronological listing of clarinet performances in early America. The date and place of each performance are given, along with the name of the performer and composer (if known), the title of the work as indicated in the concert announcement, and the source of information for each performance. For details about performers, see Appendix A: “A Biographical Dictionary of Early American Clarinetists and Teachers, to 1820”; for further information about works and composers, see Chapter Four: “The Clarinet Repertory in Early America.” The “Source” column uses abbreviations for newspapers and for authors with multiple works in the “Works Cited” list; see the key to these abbreviations on the following page. Where only an author’s last name is given, see “Works Cited” for a full citation of the work.
Abbreviations used in Appendix B, “Source” Column

AU: *Aurora* (Philadelphia)
CA: *Commercial Advertiser* (New York)
CC: *Charleston Courier*
CGDA: *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* (Charleston)
ComC: *Columbian Centinel* (Boston)
BG: *Boston Gazette*
FGBDA: *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*
GA: *General Advertiser* (Philadelphia)
IC: *Independent Chronicle* (Boston)
MGPI: *Maryland Gazette and Political Intelligencer* (Annapolis)
NYEP: *New York Evening Post*
NYG: *New York Gazette*
NYGWP: *New York Gazette and Weekly Postboy*
NYM: *New York Mercury*
PADA: *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia)
PC: *Pennsylvania Chronicle* (Philadelphia)
PJ: *Pennsylvania Journal* (Philadelphia)
PorcG: *Porcupine’s Gazette* (Philadelphia)
RNYG: *Rivington’s New York Gazette*
Sonneck1: Oscar Sonneck, *Early Concert Life in America*
Sonneck2: Oscar Sonneck, *Early Opera in America*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>CITY</th>
<th>PERFORMER</th>
<th>COMPOSER/PIECE</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 3, 1764</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Grand Chorus Song, accompanied with Kettle Drums and Trumpets, or Clarinets”</td>
<td>NYG, March 26, 1764; Sonneck1, p. 172.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 9, 1764</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td></td>
<td>“song and grand chorus, God Save the King, &amp;c. accompanied with drums and clarinets.”</td>
<td>NYM, April 9, 1764; Sonneck1, 169.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 24, 1764</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td></td>
<td>“song and grand chorus, Rule Brittania, &amp;c. accompanied with drums and clarinets.”</td>
<td>NYGWPB, April 5, 12, and 17, 1764; Sonneck1 169.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 16, 1769</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Mr. Hoffman, Jr.</td>
<td>“Solo upon the Clarinet”</td>
<td>PJ, November 16, 1769; Sonneck1, 73.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 12, 1770</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Solo upon the Clarinet”</td>
<td>PC, October 1-8, 1770; Sonneck1, 74.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 8, 1774</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td></td>
<td>Music “Accompanied with Clarinets, Hautboys, Trumpets, Kettle Drums, &amp;c., &amp;c.”</td>
<td>Camus, 50; Sonneck1, 268-69.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 11, 1782</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Mr. Dorval</td>
<td>“Mons. Dorval, will perform several pieces, military music on the clarinet, assisted by French horns, bassoons, &amp;c.”</td>
<td>BG, April 8, 1782.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 27, 1782</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Clarenetto Solo Concerto of Mahoy” [John Mahon]</td>
<td>RNYG; Sonneck1, 184.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 24 and June 26, 1784</td>
<td>Providence</td>
<td>John Hiwell</td>
<td>John Hiwell advertises a “Concert of Instrumental Music (consisting of Clarinetts, Flutes, French-Horns, Bassoons, etc.)”</td>
<td>Camus, 178; Sonneck1, 318.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer, 1786</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Vincent M. Pelosi</td>
<td>Vincent M. Pelosi, proprietor of the Pennsylvania Coffee House, advertises concerts of “Harmonial Music” on Thursday nights, consisting of 2 clarinets, 2 French horns, 2 bassoons, and 1 flute.</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 99.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 15, 1787</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>A “Concert and Lectures” given at the Southwark Theatre, and among the performers was Wolff.</td>
<td>Pollock, 137.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 19, 1787</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td></td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck2, 73.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 21, 1788</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Wolfe</td>
<td>“Piece for Clarinetts and horn”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 282.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 28, 1788</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 133.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 29, 1789</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolfe</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 94.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 6, 1789</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Wolfe</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 187.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 30, 1789</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Wolfe</td>
<td>“Quartett Clarinet”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 188.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 22, 1790</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolff</td>
<td>“Solo on the Clarinett”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 120.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 16, 1790</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>A. Wolff</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 100.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 19, 1790</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolff</td>
<td>“solo on the clarinet”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 121.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 22, 1791</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolff</td>
<td>“Solo on the Clarinet”</td>
<td>Drummond, 62.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 5, 1791</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolff</td>
<td>“Concerto Clarinet”</td>
<td>Drummond, 63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 19, 1791</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolff</td>
<td>“Concerto Clarinet”</td>
<td>Drummond, 63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 5, 1791</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolff</td>
<td>“Quartetto, Clarinet”</td>
<td>Drummond, 64.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 19, 1791</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolff</td>
<td>“Quartetto, Clarinet”</td>
<td>Drummond, 66.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 26, 1791</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolff</td>
<td>“Quarteto, Clarinet”</td>
<td>Drummond, 64.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 2, 1791</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolff</td>
<td>“Concerto, Clarinetto”</td>
<td>Drummond, 66.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 16, 1791</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolff</td>
<td>“Concerto, Clarinetto”</td>
<td>Drummond, 64.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 30, 1791</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolff</td>
<td>“Concerto, Clarinetto”</td>
<td>Drummond, 65.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 27, 1791</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolff</td>
<td>“Quartetto, Clarinetto”</td>
<td>Drummond, 67.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2, 1791</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolff</td>
<td>“Solo Rondo, Clarinet”</td>
<td>Drummond, 68.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 14, 1791</td>
<td>Portsmouth</td>
<td>Garnet</td>
<td>Garnet: Concerto</td>
<td>Pichierri, 92.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 16, 1792</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>“Solo on the Clarinet”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 137.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 8, 1792</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>“Quartetto, Clarinet”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 138.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1, 1792</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>Concerto for clarinet and bassoon</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 89.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 29, 1792</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>Moller: “Duetti, arranged for the Piano Forte and Clarinet”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 89.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 12, 1793</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolff</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 90.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 15, 1793</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Foucard</td>
<td>Petit (?): “Quartetto with variations for the clarinet”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 139.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 7, 1793</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Foucard</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 155.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Piece Description</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 19, 1793</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Michel</td>
<td>“Duetto” for clarinet and violin</td>
<td>Sonneck, 28.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 16, 1793</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Pleyel</td>
<td>“Celebrated concertante, Violin, viola, clarinetto, and violoncello”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 193.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 15, 1793</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Foucard</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto; “Quartetto” for clarinet and strings</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 290-91.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 30, 1793</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Foucard</td>
<td>Pleyel: “Quartetto” for clarinet and strings</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 291.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 13, 1793</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Foucard</td>
<td>“Clarinette Quartetto with variations”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 292.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 20, 1793</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Foucard</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 286.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 25, 1793</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>Beranger</td>
<td>“Quatuor on the clarionet;” Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 49.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 29, 1793</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td></td>
<td>“A Duet on clarinets”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 293.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 12, 1793</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Granger</td>
<td>“A Clarinet Concerto by Mr. Granger, Boullay, Mallet and Pick”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 293.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 17, 1793</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Foucard</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 29.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same concert)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Clarinet quartetto, by an amateur”</td>
<td>(Ibid.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 7, 1794</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 196.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 14, 1794</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Woolfe</td>
<td>Pleyel: “Celebrated Concertante for violins [sic], tenor, clarinett and violoncello”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 234.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Music</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 21, 1794</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Song, accompanied by the clarinet, ‘Sympathetic echo’” (sung by Mrs. Hodgkinson)</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 197.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 21, 1794</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Sympathetic echo,” sung by Mrs. Hodgkinson</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 237.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1, 1794</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Wolfe</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 238.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 8, 1794</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 95.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 22, 1794</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 95.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 29, 1794</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 96.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 9, 1794</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Granger</td>
<td>“Quartetto on the Clarinet”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 313.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 29, 1794</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 141.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same concert)</td>
<td>&quot;Berange,&quot; et al.</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Two airs in harmony, by eight wind instruments”</td>
<td>(Ibid.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 28, 1795</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Stone and Granger</td>
<td>“Duet on the Clarinet”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 298-99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same concert)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Quartetto on the Clarinet”</td>
<td>(Ibid.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 3, 1795</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Beranger and Lullier</td>
<td>“Symphony concertante for two clarinets”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 142.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 26, 1795</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Dubois</td>
<td>Dubois: Concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 30.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 15, 1795</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Granger</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 300.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 16, 1795</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Dubois</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 31.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>Performer(s)</td>
<td>Works/Programs</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 18, 1795</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Stone and Granger</td>
<td>Duet</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 300.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 27, 1795</td>
<td>Hartford</td>
<td>Henri</td>
<td>“Clarinette Quartette”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 322-23.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 25, 1795</td>
<td>Hartford</td>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto; “Quintette” with strings</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 323.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1, 1795</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Gautier: Concerto; Lefèvre: Concerto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 21, 1796</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Foucard</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 33.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 24, 1796</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Foucard</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 33.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 24, 1796</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Anderson and Granger</td>
<td>Duet</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 302.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 26, 1796</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Gaultier</td>
<td>Lefèvre: Concerto; Gautier: Concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 146.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 23, 1796</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Stone(?) and partner</td>
<td>Michel: clarinet duet</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 303.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1, 1796</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Anderson and Granger</td>
<td>Duet</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 304.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 5, 1796</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto; and “New Song with accompaniments on the clarinet” (sung by Mrs. Marshall)</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 146.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 12, 1796</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>Wolfe</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 53.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 13, 1796</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Dubois</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 304-5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 4, 1796</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Clarinet quartet</td>
<td>Strauss, 32.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 11, 1796</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rosetti: Concerto; and a work for two clarinets and two horns</td>
<td>Strauss, 32.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Work Description</td>
<td>Composer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 25, 1796</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Stamitz</td>
<td>Concerto</td>
<td>Strauss, 32.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 6, 1796</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 242.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 9, 1796</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Clarinet duet</td>
<td>Strauss, 33.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 16, 1796</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stephanini: “Parthie No. 3”</td>
<td>Strauss, 33.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 30, 1796</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pichl: Clarinet Quartet; Pichl: “Parthie No. 3”</td>
<td>Strauss, 33.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 13, 1797</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pichl: “Parthie 1”</td>
<td>Strauss, 34.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 20, 1797</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pichl: “Parthie No. 2”</td>
<td>Strauss, 34.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 27, 1797</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pichl: “Parthie No. 4”</td>
<td>Strauss, 34.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 3, 1797</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Grenser: “Clarinet Duet 1, 2”</td>
<td>Strauss, 35.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 10, 1797</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pichl: “Parthie No. 8”</td>
<td>Strauss, 36.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 17, 1797</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Grenser: “Clarinet Duet 4, 5”</td>
<td>Strauss, 36.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 7, 1797</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pleyel: “Clarinet Duet 1, 2”</td>
<td>Strauss, 36.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 28, 1797</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Clarinet Concerto by M.”</td>
<td>Strauss, 37.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 30, 1797</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Latrobe: “Clarinet Concerto No. 3”</td>
<td>Strauss, 37.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 24, 1797</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Pleyel</td>
<td>Clarinet duet</td>
<td>Strauss, 38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 3, 1797</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pichl: “Parthie No. 3”</td>
<td>Strauss, 38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 10, 1797</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Rosetti</td>
<td>Concerto</td>
<td>Strauss, 39.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 17, 1797</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Zimmerman</td>
<td>“Parthie in 7 parts”</td>
<td>Strauss, 39.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1, 1797</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>“Parthie in 7 parts”</td>
<td>Strauss, 39.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 2, 1798</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 98.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 12, 1798</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Zimmerman</td>
<td>“Parthie in 7 parts”</td>
<td>Strauss, 40.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 19, 1798</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Rosetti</td>
<td>“Parthie 1-3 in 6 parts”</td>
<td>Strauss, 40.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 16, 1798</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>D.M. Michael</td>
<td>“Clarinet Duet No. 3”</td>
<td>Strauss, 42.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 19, 1798</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Dubois</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto; also, with Collet, “several much admired airs on the French horn and clarinet”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 147-48.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 30, 1798</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Stamitz</td>
<td>“Clarinet Concerto in A”</td>
<td>Strauss, 42.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>Composition Details</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 2, 1798</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Shaffer</td>
<td>Schaffer: Concerto; also, with Mr. and Mrs. Rosier, a trio for two horns and clarinet (composer unspecified)</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 306.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 24, 1798</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Dubois</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 148.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same concert)</td>
<td>Dubois and Beranger</td>
<td>Pleyel: Symphonie concertante for two clarinets</td>
<td>(Ibid.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 15, 1798</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Granger</td>
<td>“Clarinet Quartetto”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 307.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same concert)</td>
<td>Shaffer</td>
<td></td>
<td>Schaffer: Concerto</td>
<td>(Ibid.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1, 1798</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stamitz: “Clarinet Concerto in Bb”</td>
<td>Strauss, 43.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 7, 1798</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 243.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 26, 1798</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pleyel: “Clarinet 4, 5” [duets?]</td>
<td>Strauss, 43.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 28, 1798</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 244.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 4, 1798</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 243.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 23, 1798</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pichl: “Clarinet Quartet No. 1”</td>
<td>Strauss, 44.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 19, 1798</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pichl: “Partie No. 3”</td>
<td>Strauss, 44.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 26, 1798</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pichl: “Partie No. 4”</td>
<td>Strauss, 44.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 8, 1798</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Foucard</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 37.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 9, 1798</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>“4 part wind ensemble for 2 clarinets and 2 horns, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6”</td>
<td>Strauss, 45.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 16, 1798</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pichl: “Partie No. 5”</td>
<td>Strauss, 45.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 23, 1798</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>“2 clarinets and 2 horns in ensemble, 7, 8, 9”</td>
<td>Strauss, 45.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Performer/Composer/Work</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 30, 1798</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>D.M. Michael: “Clarinet Duet No. 3”</td>
<td>Strauss, 45.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 7, 1798</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>“2 clarinet and 2 horns in ensemble, 19, 18, 17, 26”</td>
<td>Strauss, 46.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 11, 1798</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Grenser: “Clarinet Duet 1, 2, 5;” also Zimmerman: “Parthie in 7 parts”</td>
<td>Strauss, 46.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 11, 1798</td>
<td>Philadelphia Dubois</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto; also, with Mr. Collet, a duet for violin and clarinet.</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 149.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 14, 1798</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Latrobe: “Clarinet Concerto No. 3”</td>
<td>Strauss, 46.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 28, 1798</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Pichl: “Parthie No. 3”</td>
<td>Strauss, 46.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 4, 1799</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>“4 part wind ensemble for 2 clarinets and 2 horns”</td>
<td>Strauss, 47.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 11, 1799</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Mozart/Stumpf: “Wind ensemble from the Zauberflöte”</td>
<td>Strauss, 47.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 22, 1799</td>
<td>Baltimore Wolfe</td>
<td>Michel: Rondo; also a clarinet concerto (composer unspecified)</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 56.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 25, 1799</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Bach: 3 marches</td>
<td>Strauss, 47.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 8, 1799</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Mozart/Stumpf: “Wind ensemble from the Zauberflöte”</td>
<td>Strauss, 48.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Composition/Work Description</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 26, 1799</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Dubois</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto; [Dalyrac]: “Grande ariette from L’Amant Statue, arranged for two clarinets, two French horns and two bassoons. The principal part executed by Mr. Dubois.”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 149.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1, 1799</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Collauf</td>
<td>&quot;Parthie No. 1&quot;</td>
<td>Strauss, 49.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 5, 1799</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Foucard</td>
<td>Pleyel: Concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 15, 1799</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Collauf</td>
<td>“Parthie No. 2”</td>
<td>Strauss, 49.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 25, 1799</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Dubois</td>
<td>Michel: Duet for clarinet and violin; Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 150.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 11, 1799</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Dubois and Wolfe</td>
<td>Pleyel: Symphony concertante for 2 clarinets</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 150.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same concert)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wolfe</td>
<td>Song with clarinet accompaniment, “Spirit of the Blest” (sung by Miss Broadhurst)</td>
<td>(Ibid.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 26, 1799</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>Dubois and Wolfe</td>
<td>Pleyel: Sinfonia concertante for two clarinets; “Medley Trio” for clarinet, violin and lute (composer unspecified)</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 57.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same concert)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dubois</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>(Ibid.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 23, 1799</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Collauf</td>
<td>“Parthie No. 7”</td>
<td>Strauss, 50.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 25, 1799</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Granger</td>
<td>“Solo on the Clarinet”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 315-16.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>Composition Details</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer, 1799</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>The proprietor of the Columbia Garden, Mr. Corre, “...bega leave to inform the ladies and gentlemen that he has engaged Mr. Henry and the Band of wind instruments to play every evening.”</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 218.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 15, 1799</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>“Partie No. 1”</td>
<td>Strauss, 50.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1, 1799</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Collauf</td>
<td>“Partie No. 1”</td>
<td>Strauss, 51.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 8, 1799</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>D.M. Michael</td>
<td>“Clarinet Duet No. 5;” Collauf: “Partie No. 2”</td>
<td>Strauss, 51.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 15, 1799</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Collauf</td>
<td>“Partie No. 3”</td>
<td>Strauss, 51.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 22, 1799</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Collauf</td>
<td>“Partie No. 4, the first half”</td>
<td>Strauss, 51.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 29, 1799</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Collauf</td>
<td>“Partie No. 4”</td>
<td>Strauss, 52.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 6, 1799</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Maschek</td>
<td>“Partie No. 5”</td>
<td>Strauss, 52.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 13, 1799</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Grenser</td>
<td>“Clarinet Duet No. 3;” Pichl: “Partie No. 1”</td>
<td>Strauss, 52.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 14, 1799</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Labatut</td>
<td>Vanderhagen: Concerto; “Quartetto, Clarinet” (composer unspecified)</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 24, 1800</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Zimmerman</td>
<td>“Partie in 8 parts”</td>
<td>Strauss, 53.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 7, 1800</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Quartet with Clarinet”</td>
<td>Strauss, 54.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 27, 1800</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 246.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Piece/Performance</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 11, 1800</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Berno</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 246.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 3, 1800</td>
<td>Portsmouth</td>
<td>Granger</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Picchiери, 126.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 5, 1800</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gyrowetz: “Parthie in 5 parts”</td>
<td>Strauss, 57.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 9, 1800</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>“Quintet” (composer and instrumentation unspecified, but probably includes clarinet and strings, since the performers are “Messrs. Henry, Deseze, etc.”)</td>
<td>Sonneck1, 247.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 16, 1801</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pichl: “Parthie No. 1, a, b”</td>
<td>Strauss, 58.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 10, 1801</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolff</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto; Pleyel: Sinfonie Concertante for two clarinets (Wolff and “a gentleman pupil of Mr. Wolff”)</td>
<td>PADA, February 6, 1801.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 24, 1801</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolfe</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>PADA, February 23, 1801.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 27, 1801</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Wolfe</td>
<td>Pichl: “Parthie No. 3”</td>
<td>Strauss, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 3, 1801</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>PADA, March 2, 1801.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 7, 1801</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Granger</td>
<td>Michel: Clarinet quartet; Pleyel: “Armonia, Clarinet, oboe, Corno and Fagotto”</td>
<td>IC, March 26-30, 1801; Johnson, 53.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>Composer</td>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>References</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 9-13, 1801</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td></td>
<td>Theatre announcement states the the musical interlude, “The Garden of Love, or The Wounds of Cupid heal’d by Hymen” will include “Harmonic Music, consisting of Clarinets, Horns, Oboes, Flutes, Bassoons, &amp;c. at a distance.”</td>
<td>IC, April 9-13, 1801.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 5, 1801</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Granger</td>
<td>Rosetti: “Harmony” (also included Shaffer); Vogel: “Quartette; Clarinet”</td>
<td>Johnson, 54.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 15, 1801</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Granger</td>
<td>Michel: Clarinet quartet</td>
<td>Weston, Yesterday’s, 76.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Schaffer</td>
<td>Schaffer: Concerto</td>
<td>Ibid., 147.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 19, 1801</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Granger</td>
<td>Trajetta: “Air… accompanied on the Oboe, clarinet, tenor and bass…”; Schaffer: Concerto; Storace: “My plaint in no one pity moves,” song with clarinet accompaniment (sung by Mrs. Graupner)</td>
<td>IC, May 14-18, 1801; Johnson 49-50.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 9, 1801</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Gautier: Concerto; also “Airs, with variations,” and “Finale, Rondo” (composer of these not specified)</td>
<td>CA, May 30, 1801; also Wagner, 59.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Repertoire Description</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 17, 1801</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto; Gautier: “Andanti, with Variations”; Gautier: “Pot Pourri, or Hodge Podge … being a mixture of English and French Airs, with Variations, to be finished by the BEAR DANCE, in the execution of which, Mr. Gautier will accompany the air on the Clarinet, with an imitation of the DRONE OF THE BAGPIPE”; Gautier: “Air, with variations.”</td>
<td>CA, June 16, 1801.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 17, 1801</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>Wolfe</td>
<td>Mozart: Sinfonia Concertante for flute and clarinet; Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>FGBDA, June 16, 1801.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 9, 1801</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>CA, July 8, 1801.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 6, 1801</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Rosetti</td>
<td>“Harmony”</td>
<td>IC, November 2-5, 1801.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 11, 1801</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Collauf</td>
<td>“Parthie No. 4”</td>
<td>Strauss, 63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 15, 1801</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, December 9, 1801.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 11, 1802</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Foucard</td>
<td>Vanderhagen: Concerto</td>
<td>CGDA, January 9, 1802.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 15, 1802</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Maschek</td>
<td>“Parthie No. 5”</td>
<td>Strauss, 64.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 29, 1802</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Collauf</td>
<td>“Parthie No. 7”</td>
<td>Strauss, 64.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 16, 1802</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Gautier: Concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, February 12, 1802.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 5, 1802</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Noack</td>
<td>Noack: “Parthie No. 8”</td>
<td>Strauss, 65.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Artist/Composer</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Source/Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 9, 1802</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>“Variety of elegant airs on the Clarinet; also, “The Air de Gugliani [sung] by Madame Deseze… with an additional accompaniment for a violin principale, which Mr. Gautier will execute on the clarinet.”</td>
<td>NYEP, February 28 and March 8, 1802.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 23, 1802</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Gautier: Concerto; also, “Favorite Airs, with variations” (also composed by Gautier?)</td>
<td>NYEP, March 17, 1802.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 3, 1802</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>“Parthie No. 3”</td>
<td>Strauss, 67.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 7, 1802</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, November 29, 1802.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 10, 1802</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Zimmerman</td>
<td>“Parthie”</td>
<td>Strauss, 67.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 4, 1803</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Gautier: Concerto; also “Variations on the Clarinet” (composer unspecified)</td>
<td>NYEP, December 28, 1802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 18, 1803</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>D.M. Michael</td>
<td>“Parthie in 6 parts”</td>
<td>Strauss, 69.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 25, 1803</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Stamitz</td>
<td>“Clarinet Concerto in A”</td>
<td>Strauss, 69.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February, 1803</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Foucard</td>
<td>Devienne: Concerto</td>
<td>CGDA, February 18, 1803.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 28, 1803</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>An amateur</td>
<td>Furche (Fuchs?): “Quartetto, on the Clarinet”</td>
<td>CGDA, February 28, 1803.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 11, 1803</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Grenser</td>
<td>Clarinet duet</td>
<td>Strauss, 69.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 22, 1803</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolfe, Thibault</td>
<td>Lefèvre: Concerto (Wolfe); Gyrowetz: “Select Pieces, for Wind Instruments, Messrs. Wolfe, Thiboudt, [etc.]”</td>
<td>PADA, March 18, 1803.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Composition</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 14, 1803</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>Gyrowetz (or Pleyel?): &quot;Concertante&quot; [for winds and strings]</td>
<td>NYEP, April 11, 1803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 22, 1803</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>(Ibid.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 25, 1803</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>&quot;Parthie No. 3&quot;</td>
<td>Strauss, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 23, 1803</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, December 22, 1803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 20, 1804</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Collauf</td>
<td>&quot;Parthie No. 1&quot;</td>
<td>Strauss, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 24, 1804</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, January 17, 1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 3, 1804</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Rosetti</td>
<td>&quot;Parthie for wind ensemble&quot;</td>
<td>Strauss, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2, 1804</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>&quot;Parthie&quot;</td>
<td>Strauss, 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 6, 1804</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Henri</td>
<td>&quot;Concertante for Violin, Flute, Clarinet, Violoncello and Bassoon;&quot; also a clarinet concerto (played by an amateur)</td>
<td>NYEP, February 29, 1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 20, 1804</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, March 19, 1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 11, 1804</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Foucard</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>CGDA, April 5, 1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 24, 1804</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, April 18, 1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 7, 1804</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Foucard</td>
<td>Duvernoy: Concerto</td>
<td>CC, June 7, 1804; Butler, 392, n. 99.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 27, 1804</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>&quot;Variations on the most favorite tunes, on the Clarinet&quot;</td>
<td>NYEP, August 25, 1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 25, 1805</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>D.M. Michael</td>
<td>&quot;Parthie for wind ensemble&quot;</td>
<td>Strauss, 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1, 1805</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>&quot;Parthie No. 3&quot;</td>
<td>Strauss, 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Composer</td>
<td>Concert/Accompaniment</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 22, 1805</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Viguerie</td>
<td>“Bataille of Maringo for wind ensemble”</td>
<td>Strauss, 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 5, 1805</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>Messrs. Labottierre and Lalliet, dancing masters, hire Henry (among other musicians) to play for their public ball.</td>
<td>NYEP, February 25, 1805.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2, 1805</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>Wolfe</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>FGBDA, April 20, 1805.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 26, 1805</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Gautier: Concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, November 20, 1805.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 17, 1805</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto; also a song, accompanied by clarinet (sung by Madame Deseze)</td>
<td>NYEP, December 12, 1805.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 17, 1805</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>Pleyel: Concerto</td>
<td>BG, December 16, 1805; Johnson, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same concert)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Granger</td>
<td>“Song, Aeolian Harp, Mrs. Graupner, accompanied on the Clarinet”</td>
<td>(Ibid.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 14, 1806</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, January 10, 1806.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 20, 1806</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>DeBissy</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>PADA, February 15, 1806.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 6, 1806</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Granger and Moffat</td>
<td>Michel: “Duetto for 2 Clarinets”</td>
<td>IC, March 3, 1806; Johnson, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 10, 1806</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolfe</td>
<td>Lefèvre: Concerto</td>
<td>PADA, April 8, 1806.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 10, 1806</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, April 8, 1806.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 17, 1806</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, April 14, 1806.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 29, 1806</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>Lefèvre: Concerto</td>
<td>Johnson, 62.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 6, 1806</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, May 1, 1806.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 13, 1806</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, May 9, 1806.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 11, 1806</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>FGBDA, June 9, 1806.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 3, 1807</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>PADA, January 31, 1806.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 26, 1807</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolfe</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>PADA, February 26, 1807.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 25, 1807</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Foucard</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>Hindman, 335.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 14, 1807</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolfe</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto; “Harmony Pieces on Wind Instruments”</td>
<td>PADA, April 11, 1807.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 10, 1807</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>Pleyel: Clarinet Quartet</td>
<td>IC, August 10, 1807.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 31, 1807</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Foucard</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Hindman, 339.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 5, 1808</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, December 30, 1807.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same concert)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“8 performers, lately arrived from Europe.”</td>
<td>“Grand piece of Harmony” (Ibid.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 19, 1808</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Théabout (Thibaut)</td>
<td>“Quartetto—Obligato for the Clarinet”</td>
<td>PADA, January 16, 1808.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 19, 1808</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Dubois</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto; Gluck: “Overture to Iphigenia, (Potpouri);” “Overture to ‘Le petit matelot’ (by wind Instruments)”</td>
<td>Hindman, 341.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 9, 1808</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Masserani</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>Hindman, 341.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>Performance Details</td>
<td>Source/Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 15, 1808</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, February 11, 1808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 8, 1808</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Masserani</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>Hindman, 342.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 21, 1808</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>“Softly waft ye Southern breezes,” song with clarinet obbligato from <em>Virgin of the Sun</em>, sung at the theatre by Mrs. Graupner.</td>
<td>IC, March 21, 1808.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 7, 1808</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gentil</td>
<td>Duet, clarinet and violin (with Mr. Bork)</td>
<td>NYEP, April 6, 1808.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 10, 1808</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gentil</td>
<td>Duet, clarinet and violin (with Hewitt)</td>
<td>NYEP, May 6, 1808.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 17, 1808</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gentil</td>
<td>Duet, clarinet and violin (with Mr. Bork)</td>
<td>NYEP, May 16, 1808.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1, 1808</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Dubois</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>CC, July 29, 1808; Hindman, 342.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 11, 1808</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, August 10, 1808.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 6, 1808</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, December 2, 1808.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 8, 1808</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Four marches for wind ensemble (2 Clarinets, 2 Horns, 2 Trumpets, 1 Bassoon)”</td>
<td>Strauss, 85.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 15, 1808</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Marches for 7 part wind ensemble</td>
<td>Strauss, 86.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 20, 1808</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Quatuor for Clarinette, Violin, Tenor and Base”</td>
<td>PADA, December 16, 1808.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 3, 1809</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, December 31, 1808.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 12, 1809</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stamitz: “Parthie”</td>
<td>Strauss, 86.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 17, 1809</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>“Quartetto on the Clarinet”</td>
<td>NYEP, January 12, 1809.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Piece Details</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 19, 1809</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>(Ibid.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 20, 1809</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>“Song—(from Lodois[k]a), Miss Dellinger (accompanied on the Clarinet by Mr. Moffat);” also a clarinet concerto (composer unspecified)</td>
<td>NYEP, January 17, 1809.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 3, 1809</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>“Deep in my breast,” sung by Mrs. Clark and accompanied on the clarinet by Moffat; also “Duvernoy’s first Concerto Clarinetto (by particular desire)”</td>
<td>NYEP, January 25, 1809.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 8, 1809</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>Wolff</td>
<td>“Solo for Clarinett”</td>
<td>FGBDA, February 3, 1809.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 9, 1809</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>Pichl: “Parthie”</td>
<td>Strauss, 87.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Performance Details</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 20, 1809</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gentil</td>
<td>Song, “Too happy when Edward was kind,” sung by Mrs. Oldmixon and accompanied on the clarinet by Gentil</td>
<td>NYEP, April 11, 1809.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same concert)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Gautier: “A new Concerto never performed here”</td>
<td>(Ibid.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 29, 1809</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>Lefèvre: Concerto</td>
<td>Johnson, 62.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 9, 1809</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Foucard</td>
<td>“Wonderbogen” (Vanderhagen): Concerto</td>
<td>CC, May 9, 1809; Hindman, 343.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 8, 1809</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>Gentil</td>
<td>Lefèvre: “Concertante Clarionet”</td>
<td>FGBDA, June 7, 1809.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 23, 1809</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gentil</td>
<td>“Duett, Violin and Clarinet” (with Hewitt)</td>
<td>NYEP, August 19, 1809.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 14, 1809</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>Pleyel: Clarinet quartet</td>
<td>IC, September 14, 1809.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 12, 1809</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Brazil Waltz, Piano Forte and Clarinet, accompanied, Mr. Weklen”</td>
<td>NYEP, October 9, 1809.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 16, 1809</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>“Wm. Frick”</td>
<td>Fodor: Concerto</td>
<td>Strauss, 88.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 12, 1809</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>“Concerto on the Clarionette”</td>
<td>FGBDA, December 11, 1809.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 19, 1809</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>“Concertante, Piano Forte &amp; Clarinet”</td>
<td>NYEP, December 14, 1809.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 5, 1810</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>Duvernoy: Concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, February 1, 1810.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 13, 1810</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td></td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>FGBDA, February 12, 1810.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 6, 1810</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td></td>
<td>“A Gentleman lately from Europe”</td>
<td>NYEP, February 28, 1810.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 13, 1810</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>FGBDA, March 13, 1810.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Piece Description</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 3, 1810</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>Michel: Clarinet quartet</td>
<td>NYEP, March 29, 1810.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 5, 1810</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Marches for wind ensemble— Clarinet— Bassoon— Horn— Trumpet”</td>
<td>Strauss, 90.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 22, 1810</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, May 16, 1810.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 13, 1810</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>“Concerto Clarinet”</td>
<td>IC, June 7, 1810.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 20, 1810</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Thibault</td>
<td>Handel: Messiah; Haydn: Creation (excerpts)</td>
<td>Porter, 375; also FGBDA, May 26, 1810.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 28, 1810</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>Clarinet quartet; also, a “Harmony in the Gallery”</td>
<td>IC, June 28, 1810.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 20, 1810</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Foucard</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>Hindman, 352.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 6, 1810</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, December 4, 1810.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 20, 1810</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Thibault</td>
<td>Pellisier: Concerto</td>
<td>PADA, December 18, 1810.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 21, 1811</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Andral</td>
<td>Lefèvre: Concerto</td>
<td>CC, March 19, 1811; Hindman, 355.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 16, 1811</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Taylor</td>
<td>Solère: Concerto</td>
<td>CC, April 15, 1811; Hindman, 356.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 18, 1811</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, April 15, 1811.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 25, 1811</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>Michel: Clarinet quartet</td>
<td>NYEP, March 28, 1811.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 9, 1811</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto; also, accompanies Miss Dellinger on her song “Sweet Bird,” from Lodoiska.</td>
<td>NYEP, July 9, 1811.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 25, 1811</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>“Concerto Clarinet, in which will be introduced a favorite air;” also accompanies Mrs. Graupner on the song “Aeolian Harp.”</td>
<td>IC, July 25, 1811.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 6, 1811</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto; also, a “solo, on the Clarionet.”</td>
<td>IC, August 5, 1811.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 26, 1811</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>Duvernoy: Concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, September 25, 1811.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 29, 1811</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, October 17 and 23, 1811.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 31, 1811</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Andral</td>
<td>Lefèvre: Concerto</td>
<td>CC, October 30, 1811; Hindman, 357.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 3, 1812</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Andral</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>CC, March 2, 1812; Hindman, 358.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 16, 1812</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Gallagher</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>CC, May 16, 1812; Hindman, 359-60.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 21, 1812</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Taylor</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>CC, May 21, 1812; Hindman, 360-61.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Work/Event Description</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 27, 1812</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Gallagher</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>Butler, 391-92, n. 98.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 8, 1812</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Meline</td>
<td>Pleyel: Concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, July 6, 1812.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 15, 1812</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Hart</td>
<td>“Harmony, for Wind Instruments”</td>
<td>Johnson, 77.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 23, 1812</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>&quot;Parthie&quot;</td>
<td>Strauss, 94.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 16, 1812</td>
<td>Concord, MA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>Johnson, 78.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 4, 1812</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>D.M. Michael: Die Wasserfahrt</td>
<td>Strauss, 94.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 16, 1812</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Meline</td>
<td>&quot;Concerto Clarinett… in which he will introduce the favorite air of Erin Ge Bragh&quot;</td>
<td>PADA, October 13, 1812.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 22, 1812</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Meline</td>
<td>&quot;Concerto Clarinett, in which will be introduced (by particular desire) the Yellow Haired Laddie and Erin Go Bragh&quot;</td>
<td>PADA, October 21, 1812.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 28, 1812</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Trio for 2 Clarinetts &amp; Violin&quot;</td>
<td>FGBDA, October 26, 1812.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 15, 1812</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>D.M. Michael: Die Wasserfahrt (&quot;a Selection from Part I&quot;)</td>
<td>Strauss, 95.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2, 1813</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Gallagher</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>CC, January 28, 1813.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 16, 1813</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Andral</td>
<td>Andral: “Variations on the Clarionet”</td>
<td>CC, March 1, 1813; Hindman, 363.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 9, 1813</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, March 1, 1813.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 30, 1813</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Gallagher</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>Butler, 392, n. 98.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Music Title</td>
<td>Source Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 14, 1813</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Gallagher</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>CC, April 13, 1813; Hindman, 363-64.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 6, 1813</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Andral</td>
<td>Lefèvre: Concerto</td>
<td>CC, May 6, 1813; Hindman, 364.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 29, 1813</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pichl: “Parthie No. 3”</td>
<td>Strauss, 96.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 2, 1813</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Carusi</td>
<td>“Gapford” (Goepfert): Concerto</td>
<td>PADA, October 29, 1813.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 4, 1813</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, October 29, 1813.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 29, 1813</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Foucard</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>Hindman, 365-66.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 23, 1813</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Gautier: Concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, December 9, 1813.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 6, 1814</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>“Air, with variations of [sic] the clarinet”</td>
<td>NYEP, January 4, 1814.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 8, 1814</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Gallaher</td>
<td>Vogel: Concerto</td>
<td>CC, February 8, 1814; Hindman, 367.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 15, 1814</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Gautier: Concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, February 9, 1814.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 18, 1814</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Labatut</td>
<td>Gretzy: “Overture, Panurge, with wind instruments (First Clarinet by Mr. Labatut)”</td>
<td>CC, March 15, 1814; Hindman: 368-69.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 13, 1814</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Thibault</td>
<td>B. Carr: “As pants the heart,” an “Air, lady amateur, with Clarinet Obligato”</td>
<td>PADA, April 12, 1814.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 18, 1814</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Andral</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>CC, April 9, 1814; Hindman, 369.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Repertoire</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 4, 1814</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Gallaher</td>
<td>Michel: “Grand Concerto on the Clarionet… in the course of which he will introduce the beautiful Scotch air ‘The bonny wee thing.’”</td>
<td>PADA, October 3, 1814.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 14, 1815</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Gautier: Concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, February 8, 1815.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 4, 1815</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Andral</td>
<td>“Quartetto on the Clarionet”</td>
<td>CC, March 4, 1815.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 13, 1815</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>Pleyel: Concerto</td>
<td>IC, March 13, 1815.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 20, 1815</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Gautier: Concerto (“composed for this occasion”)</td>
<td>NYEP, April 19, 1815.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 28, 1815</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>D.M. Michael: “First 2 and last piece from Die Wasserfahrt”</td>
<td>Strauss, 97.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 4, 1815</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Granger, Turner, Hart</td>
<td>“Harmony”</td>
<td>Johnson, 86.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 14, 1815</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Turner, Hart</td>
<td>J. Hewitt: “Military Music (consisting of new Marches, Quick Steps, Waltz’s, &amp;c.)”</td>
<td>IC, August 14, 1815.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 15, 1815</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>“Mr. J. Carusi”</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>PADA, September 9, 1815.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>Work Description</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 9, 1815</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Andral</td>
<td>Michel: “Fourth Concerto”</td>
<td>CC, October 5, 1815; Hindman, 370.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same concert)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Andral, Foucard, Labatut</td>
<td>“Extraordinary Trio, by three Clarionets”</td>
<td>(Ibid.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1, 1815</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>D.M. Michael: “Parthie with Trumpet”</td>
<td>Strauss, 98.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 30, 1815</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>D.M. Michael: “Suiten, Bey einer Quellen zu blasen for wind ensemble,” and “1st Parthie”</td>
<td>Strauss, 98.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 12, 1815</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>“Concerto Clarinet, in which will be introduced the Irish Air of ‘ERIN GO BRAGH’”</td>
<td>NYEP, December 11, 1815.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 19, 1815</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Gautier: Concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, December 16, 1815.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 25, 1816</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Taylor</td>
<td>Dacosta: Concerto</td>
<td>CC, March 25, 1816; Butler, 392, n. 99.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 17, 1816</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td></td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>FGBDA, April 12, 1816.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2, 1816</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Gallaher</td>
<td>Michel?: “Grand Military Concert[o] on the Clarionet… in the course of which he will introduce the favorite scotch Air, ‘The Bonny Wee thing’”</td>
<td>CC, April 30, 1816; Hindman, 372.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 30, 1816</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td></td>
<td>“A Parthie, called Das Hühner geschrey”</td>
<td>Strauss, 100.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Performer/Composer</td>
<td>Musical Work/Event</td>
<td>Source, Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1, 1816</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>Bunyie (?)</td>
<td>Pleyel: “Concerto, two Clarinets”</td>
<td>FGBDA, July 31, 1816.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 3, 1816</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>PADA, September 3, 1816.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1, 1816</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Gautier: Concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, September 23, 1816.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 19, 1816</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Knidel</td>
<td>Crusell: Concerto; F. Haffner: Quintet; Francis Buhler: Variations</td>
<td>PADA, November 16, 1816.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 28, 1816</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Knitel</td>
<td>Baer [Beer]: Concerto; Tauber: “Variation Clarinetto;” Hoffman: Clarinet quartet; and “Variation Clarinet” (composer unspecified for this last piece)</td>
<td>PADA, November 28, 1816.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 3, 1816</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Knitel</td>
<td>“Quintetto Clarinet;” “The favorite Tyrolean Air, with variations, (by desire)”</td>
<td>PADA, December 2, 1816.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 5, 1816</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>DeJonge</td>
<td>Duvernoy: “First Concerto”</td>
<td>CC, December 3, 1816; Hindman, 374-75.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 17, 1816</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Taylor</td>
<td>Dacosta: Variations</td>
<td>CC, December 14, 1816.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 7, 1817</td>
<td>Annapolis</td>
<td>Carusi (?)</td>
<td>Goepfert: Clarinet quartet</td>
<td>MGPI, December 28, 1816.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Repertoire</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 18, 1817</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Gautier: “Grand Concerto” and “Air, with Variations”</td>
<td>CC, February 18, 1817; Hindman, 376.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 26, 1817</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>D.M. Michael</td>
<td>“Partie in C major with Clarinet”</td>
<td>Strauss, 101.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 11, 1817</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Norton</td>
<td>Michel: Concerto</td>
<td>Butler, 392, n. 98.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 17, 1817</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>“Concerto Clarionet, in which will be introduced the favorite Air of Robin Adair”</td>
<td>NYEP, April 16, 1817.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 21, 1817</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Knittel</td>
<td>Crusell: Concerto; Sacchini: “Grand Quintetto for clarinet;” Buhler: “The Tyrolese Air, with variations”</td>
<td>NYEP, April 17, 1817.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 20, 1817</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Knittel</td>
<td>Lefèvre: Concerto; “Solo, for the Clarinette, in which will be introduced the celebrated Swiss tune, ‘Le Rans de Vaches’”; and “Air, with variations, performed on the Corno de Bassetto with an accompaniment, for the Viola”</td>
<td>PADA, May 19, 1817.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 10, 1817</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Hart</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, June 9, 1817.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 15, 1817</td>
<td>Nazareth</td>
<td>Pichl</td>
<td>“Echo from a Parthie”</td>
<td>Strauss, 102.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 24, 1817</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Hart</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, June 23, 1817.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 10, 1817</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Hart</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, July 9, 1817.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 6, 1818</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>Bunye and Carusi, Jr.</td>
<td>Krommer: “Concertante, on two Clarinets”</td>
<td>FGBDA, March 2, 1818.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(same concert)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Duvernoy: Concerto</td>
<td>(Ibid.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 16, 1818</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Phillpot</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, April 13, 1818.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 17, 1818</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>Geanty</td>
<td>“Solo on the Clarionet”</td>
<td>FGBDA, April 13, 1818.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 21, 1818</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Meline</td>
<td>Langhert: “Variations on the Clarionet”</td>
<td>NYEP, April 20, 1818.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 14, 1818</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>Geanty</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>FGBDA, May 13, 1818.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 27, 1818</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Andral</td>
<td>“Solo, Medley on the Clarionet”</td>
<td>CC, October 27, 1818; Hindman, 379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 12, 1819</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Gautier: “Variations for the clarionet, on the favorite air of Robin Adair”</td>
<td>NYEP, January 9, 1819.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Source, Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 27, 1819</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Solo on the Clarionet”</td>
<td>IC, March 27, 1819.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 17, 1819</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Concerto, Clarionet”</td>
<td>IC, April 17, 1819.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 23, 1819</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>Kelly</td>
<td>Holden: “Irish Air with variations, on clarionet”</td>
<td>FGBDA, April 21, 1819.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 27, 1819</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Gautier: “Variations on the Clarionet of the favorite air of Robin Adair,” also, B. Henry?: “Fantasie and variations on the Italian air Guarda mi un poco” for harp and clarinet.</td>
<td>NYEP, April 24, 1819.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 28, 1819</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Hart</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>IC, April 28, 1819.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 22, 1819</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Meline</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto</td>
<td>NYEP, July 20, 1819.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 9, 1819</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Moffat</td>
<td>Clarinet concerto, “in the course of which he will introduce the favorite Irish Air of Gramarchee”; played during a theatrical performance (between play and farce).</td>
<td>NYEP, August 9, 1819.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 19, 1819</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Wilkinson’s concert at Chatham Garden includes songs, “accompanied by two famous clarionets”</td>
<td>NYEP, August 19, 1819.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 25, 1819</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>Kelly</td>
<td>“A popular air, with variations on the Clarionet”</td>
<td>FGBDA, November 23, 1819.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>Work Description</td>
<td>Source Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 11, 1820</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Filpot</td>
<td>“Clarionet—solo”</td>
<td>PADA, February 8, 1820.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 13, 1820</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Hart</td>
<td>“Rondeau Clarionet”</td>
<td>IC, April 12, 1820.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August ??, 1820</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Hart</td>
<td>Schaffer: Concerto</td>
<td>Johnson, 114.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 28, 1820</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Knittel</td>
<td>Composer’s name given, but not fully legible (“Raffiu . . .”) or (“Rassiu . . .”): “Quartetto—With variations on the Clarionet”</td>
<td>CC, November 28, 1820.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 5, 1820</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Gautier</td>
<td>Gautier: Concerto; B. Henry: “Variations on the harp… with clarionet accompaniments”</td>
<td>NYEP, December 2, 1820.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
WORKS CITED

PRIMARY SOURCES

Newspapers (dates given are those examined, not the entire run of the paper)


City Gazette and Daily Advertiser (Charleston). November 1787-December 1788; January 1791-December 1792; January 1796-December 1798; January 1801-December 1805.

Columbian Centinel (Boston). June 1790-December 1799.


General Advertiser (Philadelphia). October 1790-November 1794.

Maryland Gazette (Annapolis). January 1801-December 1820

Massachusetts Centinel and the Republican Journal (Boston). March 1784-July 1790.


The Independent Chronicle and the Universal Advertiser (Boston). January 1800-December 1820.
Clarinet Tutors

Bacon, Allyn. *Bacon’s Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet, with a Selection of Airs, Marches, &c.* Philadelphia: A. Bacon, [ca. 1818].

Blake, George. *A New and Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet. Being an introduction to the art of playing on that instrument explained in the most simple and comprehensive manner. Also a selection of the newest & most favorite airs, song tunes, marches, &c.* Philadelphia: G.E. Blake, [ca. 1803].

_______. *Blake’s New and Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet, with a favorite Selection of Airs, Marches &c.* Philadelphia: G.E. Blake, [1820].

*The Clarinet Instructor by which playing on that instrument is rendered easy to anyone unacquainted with Music as it contains a Compleat Scale…* London: Longman & Broderip, ca. 1780.


*A Complete Preceptor. For the Clarinet Containing the most approved Instructions relative to that Istrument [sic], Explained in the most simple and comprehensive manner, including a progressive series of Popular Airs & Duets.* New York: William Dubois, [ca. 1818].

Goodale, Ezekiel. *The Instrumental Director. Containing Rules for all Musical Instruments in Common Use, Laid Down in a Plain and Concise Manner. To which is added a Variety of Instrumental Musick of the Riches and Most Popular Kind Extant; A Part of which was never before Published in this Country.* Hallowell, Maine: 1819.


Howe, Jr., Elias. *Howe’s School for the Clarionett; Containing New and Complete Instructions for the Clarionett, with a large Collection of Favorite Marches, Quick Steps, Waltzes, Hornpipes, Contra Dances, Songs, and Six Setts of Cotillions, arranged with the Figures, Containing over 150 Pieces of Music.* Boston: Elias Howe, Jr., [1843].

Shaw, Oliver. *For the Gentlemen. A Favourite Selection of Instrumental Music: Calculated for the Use of Schools and Musical Societies. Consisting principally of Marches, Airs Minuets, &c. Written chiefly in four parts, viz. two Clarionetts, Flute and Bassoon; or two Violins, Flute, and Violoncello. Likewise, the Musical Characters, with the Scales, or Gamuts for the several Instruments, to which the Music is Adapted.* Dedham, Massachusetts, 1807.


SECONDARY SOURCES


351


Durang, Charles. *The Philadelphia Stage. From the Year 1749 to the Year 1855*. Partly compiled from the papers of his father, the late John Durang; with notes by the editors [of the Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch]. Published serially in the *Sunday Dispatch*, Philadelphia, 1860-61.


