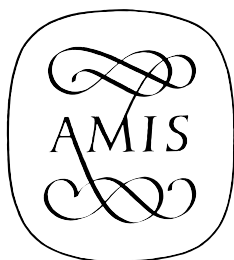


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Early American Clarinet Makers and Sellers, 1761–1820

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THE HISTORY OF THE CLARINET IN EARLY AMERICA is a topic that has received little scholarly attention. The role of the clarinet in military bands, especially during the Revolutionary War, has long been acknowledged and some efforts have been made to document it,¹ but beyond this limited sphere the instrument's overall status in early American musical life has remained unknown. Recent research, however, shows that the clarinet occupied a prominent place not only in the military, but also in theatre orchestras, on concert stages, and in homes.² Its appearance can be documented as early as 1758, when an advertisement was placed in the *New York Gazette and Weekly Postboy* asking for performers on the "Hautboy, French Horn, Clarinet, or Bassoon" to join General Lascell's regiment at Amboy.³ As will be seen, the first instrument maker known to produce clarinets in America was advertising them in 1761. The first clarinet soloist whose name is known (a "Mr. Hoffmann," probably the military musician Charles Hoffmann) performed in Philadelphia in 1769; and from the late 1770s onward the instrument was played regularly by individuals who can clearly be identified as specialist players, even virtuosi.⁴ To judge from the frequency with which the clarinet is

1. See especially Raoul F. Camus, *Military Music of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1976).

2. I have presented the first large-scale study of this topic in my Ph.D. dissertation, "The Clarinet in Early America, 1758–1820" (The Ohio State University, 2004).

3. *New York Gazette and Weekly Postboy*, December 23, 1758; in Mary Jane Corry, Kate Van Winkle, and Robert Keller, *The Performing Arts in Colonial American Newspapers, 1690–1783* (New York: University Music Editions, 1997), referred to hereafter as PACAN.

4. Oscar Sonneck noted Hoffmann's appearance in his *Early Concert Life in America* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1907; repr. New York: Musurgia, 1949), 73; I made the connection with the military musician named Charles Hoffmann through information in Camus, *Military Music*, 138–139. For biographical information on other clarinet soloists active in early America, such as Lewis Dubois, Pierre Foucard, Auguste Gautier, Frederick Granger, Mr. Henry [Henri], Margaret Knittel, Florant Meline, Patrick Moffat, Andrew Wolff, and more than fifty others, see Ellsworth, "The Clarinet in Early America," Appendix A ("A Biographical Dictionary of Early American Clarinetists and Clarinet Teachers, to 1820"), 195–313.

mentioned in newspaper concert advertisements, it seems to have rivaled the violin (and outstripped all of the other woodwinds) as a solo instrument. In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the appearance of numerous clarinet tutors published in America attests to its growing domestic popularity as well. To supply the needs of the increasing number of professional and amateur clarinetists, instrument makers and music shop owners began in the 1760s to manufacture and import clarinets. In this article I will lay out and examine the evidence for the types of instruments in common use in America between 1761 and 1820, and present an overview of clarinet makers and sellers during these years.⁵

The use of the clarinet in early America did not lag significantly behind its use in Europe.⁶ As I shall show, the kinds of instruments available to early American clarinetists were similar to those a European clarinetist could have obtained, and improvements to the instrument by European makers were transmitted to America without much delay. By the late 1750s and early 1760s, and certainly in the 1770s, four-key clarinets would have been common in Europe; the standard clarinet in the last quarter of the eighteenth century had five keys. Nicholas Shackleton

5. I wish to thank Dr. Albert Rice, curator of the Fiske Museum in Claremont, California, for generously sharing with me his knowledge about the organological history of the clarinet on many occasions over the last several years. His help has been invaluable in clarifying terminology, identifying specific instruments and makers, and in countless other ways.

6. The clarinet first appeared in Europe 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 (see Pierre Constant, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel, 1725–1790* [Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1975], 299). 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.

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.”⁷ The earliest European 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 1770.⁸ The instruments in most common use in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were those pitched in C, B-flat, and, to a lesser degree, in A.

The evidence for the kinds of clarinet used in early America is of several types, including military documents, newspaper advertisements (containing verbal descriptions of instruments as well as occasional wood engravings), clarinet tutors (with fingering charts and illustrations), and existing instruments.⁹ The information provided by written documents such as newspaper advertisements is often not 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 nominal pitch, number of keys, type of material, or price. Nevertheless, enough details can be gleaned from these sources to offer some idea of the kinds of clarinets that were available and used by players of the day.¹⁰

The Instruments

Nominal Pitch. Instruments pitched in the keys of B-flat and C seem generally to have been the most common types of clarinets used in America

7. Nicholas Shackleton, “Clarinet,” Section II: “The Clarinet of Western Art Music,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., 29 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 5:901.

8. According to Nicholas Shackleton, “The Development of the Clarinet,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Clarinet*, ed. Colin Lawson (Cambridge University Press, 1995), 19.

9. My knowledge of the existing instruments mentioned in this article comes from secondary sources such as catalogs and photographs, not from first-hand inspection.

10. For newspaper references up to 1800, I have used two main secondary sources: the CD-ROM database by Corry, Van Winkle, and Keller, *The Performing Arts in Early American Newspapers, 1690–1783* (cited above in note 3) and Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life in America* (cited in note 4). Whenever possible I have double-checked these secondary sources with the original newspapers (on microfilm). For the sake of clarity in this article, when I have not been able to check the original source I will cite the secondary source (as I have done, for example, in note 3). For all newspaper references from 1801 through 1820 I have personally examined microfilms of the original newspapers.

in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A Revolutionary War-era military document provides the earliest information on nominal pitch. On May 14, 1779, Samuel Hodgdon, commissary general of military stores for the Continental Army, wrote a letter to James Pearson, commissary of quartermaster stores, inquiring about some items requested for Colonel Crane's artillery regiment but not yet received, including "four B. clarinets."¹¹ In 1793 William Callender of Boston offered "C. and B. Clarinets" for sale,¹² and from that time onward his advertisements usually mention these nominal pitches. Over the next two decades other Boston merchants also advertised clarinets in B-flat and C: in 1803 both Peter Von Hagen and Daniel Hewes were importing them from London, and in 1809 N. H. Henchman did the same.¹³ The Philadelphia piano maker and music merchant Charles Taws offered "B & C Clarionets, tipt and plain" in 1809.¹⁴

Although most music shop advertisements for clarinets, from the earliest in 1774 through 1820, did not specify any nominal pitch, a majority of those that did so mentioned only clarinets in B-flat and C. A few merchants offered a greater selection, however. Beginning in 1812, Gottlieb Graupner of Boston advertised "B C E & F Clarinets."¹⁵ This is a wide variety, and the higher-pitched clarinets in E-flat and F were probably used mainly in military bands.¹⁶ Graupner continued to offer this variety, or something close to it, in numerous subsequent advertisements. In 1815, perhaps to compete with Graupner, Callender also added E-flat clarinets to his stock.¹⁷ On the other hand, the Boston merchant I. E. Glover offered only English-made C clarinets in his 1815

11. Camus, *Military Music*, 134. Clarinets in B-flat were at this time almost universally referred to by German pitch nomenclature, i.e., "Clarinet in B."

12. *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), November 16, 1793.

13. Von Hagen advertised in the *Independent Chronicle* (Boston), October 27, 1803; Hewes advertised in the same newspaper on December 22 of that year. Henchman's advertisement also appeared in the *Independent Chronicle*, May 11, 1809.

14. *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), October 13, 1809.

15. *Independent Chronicle*, October 12, 1812. In a manner similar to "Clarinet in B," the designation "Clarinet in E" refers to an instrument pitched in E-flat.

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

17. *New England Palladium*, October 27, 1815; cited in H. Earle Johnson, *Musical Interludes in Boston, 1795–1830* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1967), 268.

advertisements.¹⁸ Thomas Carr of Baltimore advertised in 1820 that he had just received “CLARIONETTS, B and C, also with A joint.”¹⁹ This is the only direct mention I have found in an early American newspaper of a merchant offering a separate, longer joint (*corps de rechange*) for repitching a B-flat clarinet to play in the key of A.

Another source of information about nominal pitch is the music that was played by clarinetists, including both the concert repertory performed by professionals and the tutors and sheet music used by students and amateurs. To judge from their repertory, professional players who performed in concert were using clarinets in both B-flat and C (and in a very few instances in A).²⁰ Early American tutors including instructions for the clarinet appeared from 1800 onward,²¹ but no tutor up to 1820 mentions the subject of nominal pitch in its verbal explanation. Where musical content is concerned, some tutors contain only single-line tunes, while others include ensemble music (duets, trios, etc.); clearly, it is only in the latter instance that the question of nominal pitch even arises. In tutors containing ensemble music, all the parts are invariably notated in C, and seldom carry labels for specific instruments. Many early tutors contain trios and quartets with both treble-clef and bass-clef parts; if clarinets were used as treble instruments in these ensembles, they would need to be pitched in C in order to play the parts as written. Even those few parts that are designated specifically for clarinets do not give the nominal pitch of the instruments to be used, and the notation of all parts in the score in C seems to imply the use of clarinets in that pitch unless the performer is willing to transpose. The same is generally true of other types of sheet music published in early America. The only instance I have found of a part for clarinet in B-flat is in a work for clarinet and piano written by Joseph C. Taws, entitled “Air and Variations,” that was published in at least four editions between about 1820 and 1835.²² In orchestral music, a wide variety of nominal pitches is naturally to be

18. Glover advertised in the *Independent Chronicle*, August 14 and November 20, 1815.

19. *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, June 13, 1820.

20. The repertory played by early American clarinetists is examined in Ellsworth, “The Clarinet in Early America,” 87–127.

21. See *ibid.*, 139–153, for a survey of these tutors. Clarinet tutors were also imported and sold in the United States from as early as 1773; it is likely that most of these were English, and were in circulation and use both before and after American clarinet tutors appeared.

22. *Ibid.*, 113–114.

expected; and, as already noted, higher-pitched clarinets were sometimes called for in military band music.

Besides nominal pitch, the question of absolute pitch level also arises. There was, of course, no uniform, standard pitch level in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As will be shown, most imported clarinets came to America from England, and Albert Rice has observed that most English clarinets produced in the early nineteenth century play at the modern pitch standard of $a' = 440$ Hz.²³ In general, European clarinets from this period play at a variety of pitch levels, ranging from $a' = 397$ to $a' = 445$ Hz.²⁴ No study of pitch level has yet been undertaken on early American-made clarinets, however, so at this time no conclusions can be drawn as to what standard or standards were adopted by American makers.

Materials. The most common material from which clarinet bodies were made in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was boxwood, with joint rings, or ferrules, made of ivory, horn, or boxwood. Sometimes clarinets were advertised as either “tip’t or plain,” as in Taws’ advertisement cited above. A clarinet that was tipped had ferrules made of a material that contrasted with the rest of the body, usually ivory.²⁵ This type of clarinet would presumably have been slightly more expensive than one that was “plain.” In 1798 William Callender advertised “A pair of ivory Clarionets, silver mounted.”²⁶ These were extraordinary instruments, not only because of the material from which the bodies were made (ivory), but also because they had silver ferrules; the latter were apparently also to be found on clarinets advertised in 1803 by the Hartford merchant Charles Mather, who stated that he had instruments “with brass and silver trimmings.”²⁷

23. Albert Rice, *The Clarinet in the Classical Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 22.

24. *Ibid.*

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

26. *Columbian Centinel*, April 28, 1798.

27. Mather’s advertisement is cited in Robert Eliason, “George Catlin, Hartford Musical Instrument Maker, Part 1,” this *JOURNAL* 8 (1982): 16–37, at p. 24. Albert Rice (personal communication) points 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.

Keys. Clarinet keys were usually made of brass, or more rarely of silver. Makers and merchants who advertised clarinets for sale seldom specified the number of keys on the instruments they offered. The majority of imported instruments came from England; 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.²⁸ This is supported by the fact that all of the early tutors published in America have clarinet fingering charts for five-key instruments, and those that contain illustrations also invariably depict instruments with five keys.²⁹ (Two fine illustrations of five-key clarinets from early American tutors are shown in figures 1 and 2.) In addition, the earliest surviving American-made clarinets (see below) have five keys. In 1797 William Callender advertised that his clarinets were “approved of by the first performers in Boston”;³⁰ 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 occasionally 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, &c.”³¹ The prominent Boston-area composer and music teacher Samuel Holyoke owned a six-key clarinet in 1814 (this instrument is discussed below). The English-made clarinets offered by I. E. Glover of Boston had extra keys, and while his advertisement did not specify the exact number, it stated that the instruments were “with shake.”³² This undoubtedly refers to the a’–b’ trill key common to clarinets of English manufacture in this period, and its presence

28. A pair of six-key clarinets was made in England as early as 1765 by George Miller; see Rice, *The Clarinet in the Classical Period*, 42.

29. A tutor by William Whiteley, *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), mentions the existence of an eight-key clarinet, although his fingering charts are for a five-key instrument. See Ellsworth, “The Clarinet in Early America,” 148.

30. *Columbian Centinel*, January 4, 1797.

31. *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, November 16, 1812. Caldcleugh & Thomas were purveyors of “fancy goods,” their stock including stationery, globes, clocks, mathematical and nautical instruments, and other fine or specialized items. Besides clarinets, they also sometimes listed pianos and flutes for sale.

32. *Independent Chronicle*, November 20, 1815. See also note 18.



FIGURE 1. Illustration of a five-key clarinet from the fingering chart (“Scale of Natural Notes”) in *Bacon’s Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet* (Philadelphia: A. Bacon, 1817). The Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

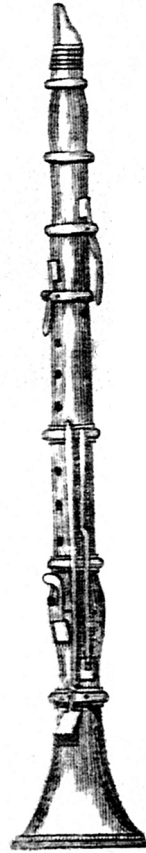


FIGURE 2. Illustration of a five-key clarinet from the fingering chart (“Scale of Natural Notes”) in *Blake’s New and Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet* (Philadelphia: G. E. Blake, 1820). Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.

suggests that these were six-key clarinets.³³ In 1819 Thomas Carr, at his Baltimore shop, offered clarinets with additional keys, without specifying

33. 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.

the number; in 1820, however, he advertised that he had “CLARIONETS, with 5, 6, 11 and 13 keys.”³⁴

As noted above, the keys on these clarinets would typically have been made of brass. Sometimes, however, they were made of silver, and these were undoubtedly more costly. In 1809 N. H. Henchman of Boston offered C clarinets imported from London, “with brass and plated Keys.”³⁵ An anonymous individual placed the following advertisement in a Charleston newspaper in 1813:

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.³⁶

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 on stage.

Clarinets (and other instruments) were sometimes described as “patent” or “common,” as in a 1798 notice by John Paff in Charleston, advertising “Musical Clocks and Automats, just arrived from Germany” as well as musical instruments, including “Patent Clarinets, Common d[itt]o.”³⁷ The term “patent” usually referred to instruments with extra keys or other special features that distinguished them from the more “common” version of the instrument.³⁸

Prices. Prices of clarinets are rarely mentioned in newspaper advertisements. Nevertheless, a few instances can be cited that give a rough idea of the range of prices for clarinets in early America. In 1779 James Rivington, a New York publisher and music merchant, advertised a pair of clarinets for sale at five guineas.³⁹ In 1809 C. & E. Hayt’s Umbrella

34. Carr’s advertisements appeared in the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, October 19, 1819, and June 13, 1820.

35. *Independent Chronicle*, May 11, 1809.

36. *Charleston Courier*, April 16, 1813.

37. *City Gazette* (Charleston), December 15, 1798.

38. My thanks to Albert Rice (personal communication) for clarifying the use of the terms “common” and “patent.” Dr. Rice suggests that Paff’s advertisement may refer to a standard five-key clarinet with a *corps de rechange*.

39. *Rivington’s New York Gazette*, April 24, 1779 (PACAN).

Manufactory of Boston placed an advertisement stating that they had clarinets for sale ranging from ten to sixty dollars.⁴⁰ In modern terms, this price range is the equivalent of about 150–900 dollars.⁴¹ 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 Clarionets” cited above mentions prices for the clarinets as used instruments (twenty-five dollars for the pair), as well as the price the advertiser paid for them when new (fifty dollars for the pair); no information is given as to the age of the clarinets. The extra set of silver keys was a great expense, though, at twenty dollars (forty percent of the original cost of the clarinets themselves).⁴² Other evidence suggests that clarinets could be obtained very cheaply. For example, when the early Philadelphia clarinet virtuoso Andrew Wolff died in 1820, his clarinet was sold at auction for four dollars;⁴³ and as late as 1846, an itemized bill of goods sold in Bethlehem by H. G. Gütter included a “C Clarinett” for five dollars.⁴⁴

American Clarinet Makers Before 1800

The earliest clarinet maker in America was Gottlieb Wolhaupter, who placed the following advertisement in the *New York Gazette* of November 16, 1761:

40. *Independent Chronicle*, September 21, 1809.

41. A reliable calculator for converting early American monetary values to modern ones is found on the web site of Economic History Services (http://eh.net/hmit/ppowerusd/dollar_question.php), sponsored by the Economic History Association and other affiliated societies. All monetary conversions in this article have been figured using this calculator (accessed April 3, 2006). For the sake of comparison, clarinets today can be purchased new for anywhere from \$150–250 for an inexpensive “beginner” model up to \$4600 for a top-of-the-line professional instrument.

42. Twenty 1813 dollars equates to about \$240 today; twenty-five 1813 dollars equates to about \$300; and fifty 1813 dollars equates to about \$600.

43. Papers pertaining to the administration of Wolff’s estate are at the Philadelphia Register of Wills (1820, file no. 25); for information on this important clarinetist’s life, see Ellsworth, “The Clarinet in Early America,” 300–311. Four 1820 dollars equates to about sixty-three modern dollars.

44. This bill is reproduced in Stewart Carter, “The Gütter Family: Wind Instrument Makers and Dealers to the Moravian Brethren in America,” this JOURNAL 27 (2001): 48–83, at p. 63.

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.⁴⁵

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.⁴⁶

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.⁴⁷ 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.”⁴⁸ 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, Maryland. 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. . . . He has opened an evening school for musick, at Mr. John Hepburn's, where he teaches the most modern and approved methods

45. *New York Gazette*, November 16, 1761 (PACAN).

46. *New York Mercury*, June 18, 1770 (PACAN); *New York Journal*, June 8, 1775 (PACAN). Scholars have traditionally identified Gottlieb and David Wolhaupter as the same individual, although no evidence has been cited to support such a supposition. See William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index: A Dictionary of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers and Inventors* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 435; and Rice, *The Clarinet in the Classical Period*, 60–61.

47. Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index*, 10.

48. Anthony's German-language advertisement appeared in the *Wochentliche Philadelphiaische Staatsbote*, September 29, 1772 (PACAN); his English-language notice, which is a direct translation of the German, appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of November 18, 1772 (PACAN). A facsimile of the English advertisement appears in Susan E. Thompson, “Traversi in Colonial and Post-Revolutionary Philadelphia as Noted in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1744–83,” *Traverso* 15/4 (October 2003): 13–15. Rice, *The Clarinet in the Classical Period*, 61, gives further information on Anthony Sr. (active to about 1804) and Jr. (active to about 1811).

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.⁴⁹

William Waterhouse lists a “Joseph Collings” or “Joshua Collinge” (or “Coinge”) who was active as a maker in England around 1771,⁵⁰ and it seems likely that this is the same individual who advertised two years later in Annapolis. Furthermore, Lubov Keefer mentions “one clarinet of Collins” that was brought to Baltimore on the ship *Eagle*.⁵¹ So, although clarinets are not specifically mentioned in the 1773 notice, Collins was clearly a teacher of the instrument, had probably made at least one clarinet, and may have continued to make them after moving to America.

Isaac Greenwood of Salem, Massachusetts, was another turner and instrument maker who produced clarinets. He advertised in 1781 that at his shop “gentlemen may be supplied [*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. . . .”⁵² By 1785 Greenwood had moved to Boston, where for a number of years he advertised himself as a dentist as well as a turner.⁵³ He continued to offer musical instruments for sale, including clarinets, but he seems eventually to have dropped his musical instrument making and concentrated entirely on dentistry.

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

50. Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index*, 69.

51. Lubov Keefer, *Baltimore’s Music* (Baltimore: The Author, 1962), 9–10, n. 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.

52. *Salem Gazette*, July 3, 1781 (PACAN). Frederick Selch, without citing his source, stated that Greenwood was self-taught; see his “Instrumental Accompaniments for Yankee Hymn Tunes: An Investigation of the Evidence” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2003), 314.

53. The earliest Boston advertisement I have found for Greenwood appeared in the *Massachusetts Centinel* of April 27, 1785. In this advertisement, besides offering his services as a dentist, he stated that he had flutes and fifes for sale. His earliest advertisement for clarinets appeared in the *Columbian Centinel*, on May 27, 1789. Most of Greenwood’s early advertisements also state that in addition to providing dentistry and dental care products (toothbrushes, tooth powder, artificial teeth, etc.) and selling products made of ivory (dice, billiard balls, and chessmen) and musical instruments, “said Greenwood offers his service to electerise 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.

William Callender (1756–1839) of Boston began advertising as an ivory-turner and musical instrument maker as early as 1784, offering at first only flutes and fifes.⁵⁴ By 1793 his newspaper advertisements listed clarinets for sale (whether of his own making or imported is not clear), along with “instructions for the clarinet.”⁵⁵ That he sold both imported clarinets and those of his own manufacture is made clear in an advertisement of 1797,⁵⁶ and he continued to offer clarinets through at least 1815, and probably beyond. (The particularly interesting pair of ivory clarinets advertised by Callender in 1798 has already been mentioned above.) Callender’s advertisements often included engravings of musical instruments; two that illustrate clarinets are shown in figures 3 and 4.

The only clarinets to survive from this early period are two instruments by Jacob Anthony, Sr. from around 1800. One of these is shown in figure 5, and both are listed and described in the table at the end of this article.

American Clarinet Makers Around and After 1800

The early nineteenth century saw an increase in clarinet-making activity in America, beginning with the work of the important instrument maker George Catlin (1778–1852), whose career has been well documented by Robert Eliason.⁵⁷ Catlin’s name appeared in the Hartford, Connecticut, 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,” and further advertisements in 1803 and 1805 also mention clarinets.⁵⁸ In 1812 he was in partnership with Allyn

54. Waterhouse (*New Langwill Index*, 55) states that Callender was known as an ivory-turner from 1789, and an instrument maker from 1796, but the first advertisement I have found is from the *Massachusetts Centinel* of October 27, 1784, giving evidence that he was active in both occupations earlier than previously thought.

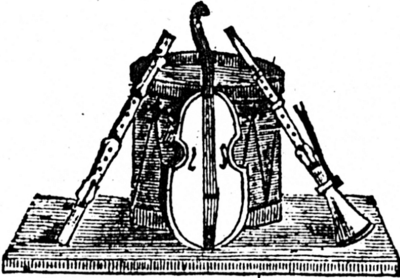
55. *Columbian Centinel*, June 29, 1793.

56. *Ibid.*, January 4, 1797.

57. See Eliason’s articles in previous volumes of this JOURNAL: “George Catlin, Hartford Musical Instrument Maker,” Part 1 in vol. 8 (1982): 16–37, and Part 2 in vol. 9 (1983): 21–52. See also Eliason, “Oboes, Bassoons, and Bass Clarinets, made by Hartford Connecticut Makers before 1815,” *Galpin Society Journal* 30 (May 1977): 43–51.

58. Eliason, “Oboes, Bassoons, and Bass Clarinets,” 44–45. Regarding the “tenor clarinet,” 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 appraised an anonymous bassoon-shaped alto clarinet owned by a private individual which was subsequently purchased by the Metropolitan Museum of Art and identified as an “alto clarion” (see appendix).

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.



William Callender,
Ivory-Turner, and Whip-Maker,

RESPECTFULLY informs his Customers, and the Public in general, that he has for sale, at his Shop, opposite the store of Messrs JAMES and THOMAS LAMB, No. 29, State-street, *Boston*,

A variety of Musical Instruments, such as Clarinets, German Flutes different prices, few octave dot and florio Flutes with additional Keys; very neat and good toned Fifes on different Keys, of his own manufacture, equal to any imported; Drums; a few good toned Violins different prices; Flagelets, Bassoon, and Houtboy Reeds, Violin and Bass Viol Strings, Screw Bows; Chessmen Shaving Boxes, with Brushes, Billiard Balls, Instructions for the Clarinet and German Flutes. *Also*, a handsome assortment of Cat-Gut Whips, of all prices; few neat Ladies Whips, with a variety of Coach, Phæton and Chaise Whips, of his own manufacture by the dozen, or single. *Also*, an assortment of Walking Sticks, of all kinds; a few neat Sword and Dant Sticks; Angling Rods of different lengths and prices; a great variety of Thongs of all lengths and prices, by the dozen or single, of this country manufacture, equal to any imported, and as cheap; with many other articles in his line, good and cheap.

Also, Black Ebony, and a few Elephants Teeth; Rattans, by the bundle, dozen, or yard.

Cash and the highest price given for Sea Cow TEETH.

Small alterations to any of the above Instruments, done gratis.

N. B. Any gentleman at a distance, that wishes to purchase any of the above Instruments, may rest assured, that the greatest punctuality will be observed, both in respect to the make and tone of any instrument they may wish to have sent them, and the smallest favours duly acknowledged.

Wanted, as an Apprentice to the above business, an honest, active, and industrious LAD. No other need apply. Inquire of the Printer. June 29.

FIGURE 3. William Callender's advertisement from the Boston *Columbian Centinel*, July 13, 1793 (first appeared on June 29, 1793). Early American Newspapers, Series I, 1690-1876 (New Canaan, CT: Readex Corporation, n.d.). The engraving depicts a five-key clarinet on the right.



BEST
 Roman Violin
 STRINGS for sale,
 AT
Wm. Callender's
 Music Shop,
 No. 62, Middle-Street,
 A Few Bundles of
 Roman Violin,
 AND
 Harp STRINGS,
 of a superiour
 Quality,
 AND
 very Cheap.
 Esq. in, May 27 1822.

FIGURE 4. William Callender's advertisement from the Boston *Independent Chronicle*, May 27, 1802. Early American Newspapers, Series I, 1690–1876 (New Canaan, CT: Readex Corporation, n.d.). Although the text of the advertisement does not mention clarinets, the engraving depicts a clarinetist.

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.⁵⁹ 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.⁶⁰ Eliason argues persuasively that Catlin's clarion was 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

59. Eliason, "George Catlin, Part 1," 30–37.

60. Eliason, "George Catlin, Part 2," 32–35. The existence of the bass "clarion" puts Catlin's "alto clarion" into clearer perspective: since he was already making a bass clarion with a bassoon shape, it would make sense for him also to make a higher-pitched instrument based on this same design.



FIGURE 5. Five-key clarinet in C by Jacob Anthony, Sr. Private collection; photo reproduced by permission of the owner.

the instrument “in response to military-band needs for a more robust instrument that was easier to play and maintain than the bassoon.”⁶¹

Other American-made bass clarinets antedating 1820 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 soprano clarinets and reeds.⁶² 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. Two other bass clarinets, one dated ca. 1813 and another ca. 1814, may also be by Miner (see appendix).⁶³

Another significant group of clarinet makers appeared in upstate New York in the early nineteenth century. The most important of these were William Whiteley of Utica and the Meacham brothers of Albany.⁶⁴ Whiteley (1789–1871) was active as a maker of wind instruments between about 1810 and 1854. A large number of Whiteley clarinets survive, all in U.S. collections; most of these are five-key instruments. The dating of these instruments is not certain, but since Whiteley began his instrument-making activities in 1810 it is likely that some of them were made before 1820.⁶⁵ John Meacham, Jr. (1785–1844) was a protégé of Catlin, with whom he worked in Hartford from 1806 to 1810. He began his own business in 1810 in Albany, in which he was joined about 1813 by his brother Horace (1789–1861).⁶⁶ They remained in partnership as

61. *Ibid.*, 48.

62. Eliason, “Oboes, Bassoons, and Bass Clarinets,” 46; see also Eliason, “George Catlin, Part 1,” 29–30.

63. Eliason, “Oboes, Bassoons, and Bass Clarinets,” 49–50; also Eliason, “George Catlin, Part 2,” 36–37.

64. 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,” this *JOURNAL* 5–6 (1979–80): 54–77, at p. 59. Two five-key clarinets by Hosford survive and are listed in the appendix, below.

65. A partial listing of Whiteley clarinets is found in Phillip T. Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments: An Inventory of 200 Makers in International Collections* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 253–54. Whiteley has already been mentioned as the author of a tutor containing clarinet instructions, *The Instrumental Preceptor* (Utica, 1816); see note 29.

66. Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 257. See also Eliason, “The Meachams,” 54–56 and 60.

J. & H. Meacham until 1827, when the firm became Meacham & Co. In 1828 they were joined by S. B. Pond, and the firm's name changed to Meacham & Pond, which it remained until its dissolution in 1860. Many clarinets with some variant of the Meacham stamp survive, but only a few of these date before 1820.⁶⁷

In New York City, Edward Riley, Sr. (1769–1831) immigrated to America from England in 1805.⁶⁸ He was active in New York City as a flutist, singer, music teacher and publisher, and as a musical instrument maker and dealer. Eight clarinets by Riley are known to survive in public and private collections (see appendix). In 1803 [Louis] Joseph Alexander de Peloubet (1764–ca. 1833), a recent French immigrant, advertised that his company, Monniot, Peloubet & Co., 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. One instrument thought to be by Peloubet survives in a private collection (see appendix).⁶⁹ In 1807 John Butler advertised his “Musical Instrument Manufactory.”⁷⁰ 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 might very well have included clarinets; whether they were actually made by Butler or just sold by him is not clear.⁷¹

67. A partial listing of Meacham instruments is given in Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*, 155–56; see also Eliason, “The Meachams,” 60–61.

68. There is conflicting information about dates relevant to Riley's life. Laurence Libin states that he came to New York around 1806 and died “probably in 1831” (*American Musical Instruments in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* [New York: W. W. Norton, 1985], 77), while Waterhouse (*New Langwill Index*, 328) states that Riley came to New York in 1805 and died on 18 August 1829.

69. Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 297. According to a Peloubet descendent, the listing of Peloubet's name in the *New Langwill Index* is incorrect; his given names were Joseph Alexander, not Louis Alexander. I thank Douglas Koeppel for this information. J. A. Peloubet's son, Chabrier de Peloubet (1806–1885), also made clarinets, a number of which survive; see Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 297.

70. *New York Evening Post*, June 26, 1807.

71. This may be the same J. Butler who earlier had advertised in the *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.” Another advertisement (*Charleston Courier*, November 23, 1806) identifies this instrument as a patent flageolet of Butler's invention.

Several clarinet makers were active in cities not already mentioned. Heinrich Christoph Eisenbrandt (1790–1860) 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.⁷² Several clarinets by Eisenbrandt survive (see appendix), and although most of them were probably made after 1820, it seems at least possible that he was making clarinets before that year as well.

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.⁷³ Eight clarinets with Gütter's name are known to survive in various American collections (see appendix), but it is not clear whether he manufactured his clarinets in Bethlehem or imported them from the family's instrument-making business in Germany. According to Stewart Carter, Gütter's woodwind instruments in general 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.⁷⁴

Little is known about the maker C. Toomey of Georgetown (now part of Washington, D.C.). According to Waterhouse he was active in the

72. For biographical information on Eisenbrandt, see Waterhouse, 104; Robert Eliason, "Eisenbrandt, Heinrich Christian," *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1984), 1:647; Libin, *American Musical Instruments*, 74–75; idem, "The Eisenbrandt Family Pedigree," in *Studia Organologica: Festschrift für John Henry van der Meer zu seinem fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Friedemann Hellwig (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1987), 335–342; and Rice, *The Clarinet in the Classical Period*, 61–62.

73. Gütter was named as a clarinetist by Rufus Grider in his list of Bethlehem musicians; he was also known to be a founding member of Bethlehem's Columbian Band. See Rufus A. Grider, *Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. From 1741–1871* (Philadelphia, 1873; repr. Winston-Salem, N.C.: Moravian Music Foundation, 1957), 25 and 38; and Ellsworth, "The Clarinet in Early America," 246.

74. Carter, "The Gütter Family," 66.

early nineteenth century. A ten-key clarinet by Toomey survives in a private collection.⁷⁵

Until now no notice has been taken 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 began to perform as a clarinetist in concerts in Baltimore.⁷⁶ By 1819 he had set up shop as a musical instrument dealer and maker, both importing and manufacturing clarinets.⁷⁷ 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.

Two clarinets survive by a maker named N. Curtiss (see appendix). He is believed to have been an American maker, perhaps active in Connecticut around 1800, but virtually nothing is known about him.⁷⁸

Imported Clarinets

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, including Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Charleston, and Baltimore. Most advertisements for imported clarinets did not specify the manufacturer; but, as is evident from many of the advertisements already cited, the majority of imported instruments came from London. 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).”⁷⁹ In Baltimore in 1819, Thomas Carr notified the public that he had clarinets from

75. Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 402. Albert Rice (private communication) believes this clarinet was made after 1820.

76. For further biographical information on Bunyie see Ellsworth, “The Clarinet in Early America,” 202–203.

77. An advertisement appeared in the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, June 19, 1819.

78. I thank Douglas Koeppel (private communication) for the little information that is available about this maker.

79. *Independent Chronicle*, December 19, 1817. George Astor and Muzio Clementi were London instrument makers.

Dresden with extra keys and other improvements designed by Iwan Müller (these are discussed at length below).⁸⁰ Sometimes music merchants who were also clarinet makers themselves 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 manufacture, imported from their family's workshop elsewhere, or from another maker altogether.⁸¹

Philadelphia. 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.⁸² Other individuals who advertised clarinets in Philadelphia during and immediately after the Revolution were Henry Deaberger, William Prichard, Charles Mory, Benjamin Carr, William Beynroth, George Willig, and R. Shaw.⁸³

In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the main suppliers of imported clarinets in Philadelphia seem to have been the music

80. *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, October 19, 1819.

81. 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.

82. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 5, 1764. Ten years later Hillegas was still advertising imported clarinets: *ibid.*, May 11, 1774. More information on Hillegas can be found in Jo Ann Taricani, "Music in Colonial Philadelphia: Some New Documents," *Musical Quarterly* 65 (April 1979): 185–99 (see especially 192–98).

83. Henry Deaberger advertised "claronets" for sale in Philadelphia in 1778 (*Pennsylvania Packet*, October 10, 1778 [PACAN]); no further information has been found about Deaberger, and it is not known if he was a maker or just a seller of clarinets. In 1791 the Philadelphia bookseller William Prichard stated that he had just received books and musical instruments, including clarinets, from London and Dublin (*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, October 21, 1791). Charles Mory sold clarinets and other instruments, "lately imported from Paris," beginning in 1792 (*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, September 5, 1792). The music merchant and publisher Benjamin Carr (1768–1831) first advertised his musical repository, where he sold "Clarinets of various prices," in 1793 (*The Federal Gazette, and Philadelphia Evening Post*, July 26, 1793). William Beynroth regularly imported a large assortment of general goods (usually from Hamburg), and these often included clarinets (*The Philadelphia Gazette and Universal Daily Advertiser*, July 19, 1794). The music publisher and merchant George Willig (1764–1851) began offering clarinets in 1795 (*The Philadelphia Gazette and Universal Daily Advertiser*, January 21, 1795), and continued to do so well into the nineteenth century. Also in 1795 an individual named R. Shaw offered clarinets imported from London (*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, January 26, 1795); Shaw later moved to Baltimore.

dealer Charles Taws and the firm of Caldcleugh & Thomas. 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.⁸⁴ Taws first advertised clarinets (and clarinet music) for sale in 1806,⁸⁵ and his advertisements appeared with some regularity through 1820. An 1807 newspaper notice also advertised “Grand and Square Piano Fortes, Clarionets and Patent Flutes”; since the pianos were by Clementi, perhaps the woodwinds came from London as well.⁸⁶

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 has already been mentioned (see note 31) as a “fancy goods” shop. Beginning in 1807 they advertised imported clarinets for sale on a regular basis,⁸⁷ and occasionally also listed flutes and pianos in their advertised stock. 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.”⁸⁸ 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).⁸⁹

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, and Klemm & Brother.⁹⁰ George Blake was 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.⁹¹ Rice

84. Martha Novak Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano, 1700–1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 296; J. Bunker Clark, “Taws, Charles,” *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock and Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1986), 4:354–55. Clinkscale notes that Taws had been in New York in 1786.

85. *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, November 22, 1806.

86. *Ibid.*, May 20, 1807.

87. *Ibid.*, January 7, 1807.

88. *Ibid.*, November 16, 1812. On November 17, 1812, Charles Taws advertised that he had also received clarinets off the *Mandarin*.

89. *Ibid.*, May 18, 1818.

90. Another of lesser importance, but worth mentioning, was Jacob Sperry, a dealer in general household goods. He advertised clarinets for sale in *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, March 21, 1808.

91. *Ibid.*, August 22, 1815.

mentions a clarinet of English origin, dated about 1830, that carries Blake's stamp; this illustrates the practice, not uncommon in early America, of merchants imprinting their own names on imported instruments.⁹² The firm of Bacon & Hart was established in Philadelphia around 1814 by Allyn Bacon (1789–1864), in partnership with the engraver Abraham Hart.⁹³ They advertised clarinet music as well as “plain and tipped clarinets,” “flutes and clarinets in paper boxes,” and clarinet reeds for sale in 1818.⁹⁴ In the same year, the firm of Klemm & Brother advertised the opening of their new music store and offered clarinets and reeds for sale.⁹⁵ 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.⁹⁶

New York City. 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 early 1780s. He was the first merchant in early America to advertise the sale of clarinet reeds (in 1772)⁹⁷ and clarinet tutors (in 1773).⁹⁸ By 1778 he was advertising 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.”⁹⁹ His 1779 advertisement for a pair of clarinets at a price of five guineas has already been mentioned; the sale of instruments in pairs seems to indicate that he was aiming at the military market.¹⁰⁰ Rivington regularly advertised clarinets for sale throughout the early 1780s. By the second half of the 1780s, a number of other merchants had gotten involved in the importation and

92. Rice, *The Clarinet in the Classical Period*, 62.

93. Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 15. Bacon may have been an apprentice of George Catlin; *ibid.*, 59.

94. *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.

95. *Ibid.*, October 22, 1818.

96. Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 206. The Klemm brothers also published music.

97. *New York Mercury*, June 18, 1772 (PACAN).

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

99. *Ibid.*, October 28, 1778 (PACAN).

100. It was not uncommon at this time for oboes, clarinets, bassoons, and horns to be sold in pairs, or even in whole sets. It seems unlikely that instruments would be bought in pairs by individual buyers; since military bands of music used these instruments in pairs, sellers were probably marketing toward the needs of the military.

sale of clarinets. Perhaps the best known of these was John Jacob Astor, who began selling imported clarinets in 1785.¹⁰¹ Other merchants who sold clarinets in New York before 1800 were E. Walfahrt; Thomas Dodds (later Dodds and Claus[e]); Bradford, Gulliford & Co.; William Grigg; Archibald Whaites; James Harrison; C. Mougénot; George Gilfert; Kirner & Paff; and William Howe.¹⁰²

After the turn of the nineteenth century, numerous merchants appeared in New York City who sold clarinets. Perhaps the most important

101. The date of Astor's arrival in America is usually cited as 1786, but his first advertisement actually appeared in New York's *Daily Advertiser*, November 19, 1785, where he stated that he had for sale "an elegant assortment of musical instruments, such as Pinnaforte's German-flutes, Violins, Clarinets, Hautboy's, Guitar's &c.," imported from London. See also Rice, *The Clarinet in the Classical Period*, 42 and 61. It should be noted that John Jacob Astor's brother, George Astor, was an instrument maker in London, and it is undoubtedly from George that John obtained his imported instruments.

102. In 1784 an individual named E. Walfahrt ran an advertisement in the *New York Packet* (January 5, 1784), stating that he was "lately arrived from London" and had brought with him a number of wind instruments, including clarinets. He also stated that he "makes and sells them at the lowest prices," so it could be that Walfahrt was also a clarinet maker, although no instruments by him are known. Thomas Dodds arrived in America from London in 1785, and advertised himself in New York's *Independent Journal* (August 13, 1785) as a keyboard maker; he also offered for sale other kinds of musical instruments, including clarinets. In 1792 he acquired a partner and advertised as Dodds & Claus[e]. His relation to the English Dodd family, makers of bows for stringed instruments, has not been determined. A firm called Bradford, Gulliford & Co. advertised clarinets for sale beginning in 1788 (*New York Packet*, June 27, 1788); they stated that their instruments were imported "From their Manufactory, Fountain Court, Cheapside, London." Another individual named Bradford operated in Charleston, also beginning in 1788, so these may have been brothers (see note 123). William Grigg frequently advertised various household goods for sale beginning in 1789, and his stock usually included clarinets (*New-York Daily Gazette*, February 4, 1789). The music merchant Archibald Whaites began advertising clarinets in 1792 (*The Diary, or Loudon's Register*, August 21, 1792), and continued to advertise them frequently thereafter. James Harrison also advertised often beginning in 1794 (*New-York Daily Gazette*, May 2, 1794), offering various musical instruments for sale, including clarinets. By 1795 his business was called the Apollo Warehouse. He also maintained a circulating music library. An individual named C. Mougénot, "musical instrument maker from Paris," offered clarinets beginning in 1794; whether these were imported or of his own manufacture is not made clear in his advertisement (*The Daily Advertiser*, November 6, 1794). The pianist George Gilfert supplemented his performing income with activity in the music business, and in 1794 offered clarinets for sale at his "Musical Magazine" on Broadway (*The Daily Advertiser*, November 12, 1794). The firm Kirner & Paff advertised violins and clarinets for sale in 1796 (*Argus. Greenleaf's New Daily Advertiser*, September 7, 1796). Finally, the keyboard maker William Howe took over Dodds' business in 1797, and offered clarinets imported from London (*The Daily Advertiser*, May 9, 1797).

of these was the firm of John and Michael Paff, who took over Astor's business in 1802.¹⁰³ The Paffs began selling clarinets in that year, continuing to offer them on a regular basis through at least 1815.¹⁰⁴ In 1804 they advertised clarinets imported on the ship *Martha* from London,¹⁰⁵ and in 1805 they received musical instruments (including clarinets) from London, Amsterdam, and Paris.¹⁰⁶ The violinist James Hewitt also operated as a music merchant and publisher. He advertised musical instruments, including clarinets, for sale in 1801.¹⁰⁷ In the later part of the period under consideration, clarinets were sold at the shops of Edward Riley and William Dubois. Riley, mentioned earlier as a maker, was also a music merchant; he advertised clarinet music for sale in 1816, and clarinets in 1820.¹⁰⁸ In 1817 the music publisher and dealer William Dubois advertised "B. & C. clarinets" along with clarinet reeds and, in 1820, clarinet music.¹⁰⁹ 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.¹¹⁰

Boston. 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

103. Rice, *The Clarinet in the Classical Period*, 61.

104. Their first advertisement appeared in the *New York Evening Post*, April 19, 1802.

105. *Ibid.*, June 30, 1804.

106. *Ibid.*, December 5, 1805.

107. *Ibid.*, December 3, 1801.

108. *Ibid.*, March 27, 1816, and April 4, 1820.

109. *Ibid.*, July 22, 1817, and January 18, 1820. Dubois also published a clarinet tutor in 1818: *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 progressive series of Popular Airs & Duets*. I examined the microfilm copy held by the Library of Congress (MUSIC 778).

110. Among the dealers of lesser importance were: the firm of Waites and Charters, which advertised clarinets for sale in 1803 (*New York Evening Post*, December 7, 1803); a merchant named J. C. Zimmerman, who advertised "a small assortment of Tapes and pound Ribbons, Some Violins, Guitars, 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, who sold clarinets in 1817 (*ibid.*, July 17, 1817). According to Albert Rice (personal communication), there is an E-flat clarinet by the Paris firm of Godfroy at the National Music Museum (no. 4663) that has a dealer's stamp of "J. A. & W. Geib."

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. Almost all of the advertisements placed in newspapers by Von Hagen and Graupner indicate that they imported their clarinets from London.¹¹¹

Numerous other Boston merchants sold clarinets and related accessories in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Of these, the two most prominent were N. H. Henchman, whose advertisements have already been mentioned, and John Ashton, Jr.¹¹² Ashton sold clarinets beginning in 1818, and continuing into the 1830s and 1840s.¹¹³ It has been thought that where musical instruments were concerned he was mainly a dealer, but it is also clear that he made instruments, at least clarinets; in 1820 he advertised “B C E and F Clarionets (Ashton’s make), warranted to be of superior quality.”¹¹⁴ Other merchants advertised clarinets and related merchandise for sale as well, so that Boston, like New York, had a

111. 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).

112. 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.

113. Waterhouse (*New Langwill Index*, 11) gives Ashton’s dates as ca. 1813–1849; but Johnson, in *Musical Interludes in Boston, 1795–1830*, 277, mentions John Ashton, Jr. as a music dealer beginning in 1818, stating that he took over C. & E. Hayt’s business in that year (and citing a newspaper advertisement as proof). It therefore seems that the birthdate given by Waterhouse must be incorrect. (There is an additional error in Johnson, who confusingly states that Ashton’s stock “in 1815” included, among many other instruments, clarinets. The year 1815 must be a misprint, since Johnson has just been discussing Ashton’s 1818 activity.) I have located an advertisement for clarinets by Ashton in the *Columbian Centinel* of August 12, 1820. Ashton was also active as a music publisher, and among many other things he published a clarinet tutor: *A New and Complete Preceptor For the Clarionet With a Selection of Lessons and Favourite Airs Adapted for the Instrument* (Boston: John Ashton, ca. 1825).

114. *The Euterpeiad*, October 21, 1820. Waterhouse lists Ashton as a publisher and dealer, not a maker. Rice (personal correspondence) states that he has examined several clarinets stamped “J. Ashton/Boston,” which he dates from the 1830s or 1840s; he believes these to have been made by Graves & Company and stamped with Ashton’s name. Rice thinks that the instruments advertised by Ashton in 1818 and 1820 may likewise have been made by another company or maker (perhaps an English one), but the *Euterpeiad* advertisement complicates the situation. Much still remains to be discovered about Ashton and his activities.

plentiful supply of these items from at least the 1780s (if not earlier) through 1820 and beyond.¹¹⁵

A Boston advertisement from 1814 offers some rare and important details about the type of clarinet that might have been available to professional musicians in a large urban area. Samuel Holyoke (1762–1820) was an important musical figure in Salem and Boston, active primarily as a composer, tunebook compiler, and music teacher. Frank Metcalf stated 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.”¹¹⁶ That Holyoke did indeed own a clarinet is confirmed by the following notice that he placed in the *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.¹¹⁷

The details given in this notice 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

115. Other Boston suppliers of clarinets and clarinet-related merchandise were: Nathaniel Blake, a purveyor of general goods, who offered London clarinets for sale in 1793 (*Columbian Centinel*, April 20, 1793); Abraham Perkins, likewise a general merchant, who counted clarinets (probably from London) in his stock in 1797 (*Impartial Herald*, May 20, 1797); a partnership named Linley and Moore, who 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); 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, whose 1815 advertisements have also already been cited.

116. Frank J. Metcalf, *American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music* (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1925), 119.

117. *Independent Chronicle*, December 29, 1814.

expensive instrument, since it was tipped “with ivory and silver”; but it was also obviously well-worn, with a number of cracks, even though Holyoke kept it warmly wrapped in sheepskin.¹¹⁸ 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.¹¹⁹

Charleston. In Charleston, South Carolina, Robert Wells sold clarinet reeds at his music shop as early as 1774.¹²⁰ He may have been selling clarinets at that time as well, but the first documentary evidence of his doing so comes from 1781, when he advertised clarinets, reeds, and tutors, all “just received from London.”¹²¹ In 1784 a firm called Charles Morgan & Co. advertised clarinets and clarinet instructions for sale.¹²² By 1788, the 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.”¹²³ John Paff’s 1798 advertisement for clarinets has already been mentioned; it may be that his

118. 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 a 1776 notice of a lost clarinet, mentions that it was in a “red leather case” (*Newport Mercury*, February 19, 1776 [PACAN]); Graupner sold red leather clarinet cases in 1808 (*Independent Chronicle*, May 26, 1808); Klemm & 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 & 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.

119. Rice, *The Clarinet in the Classical Period*, 48. My thanks to Dr. Rice (personal communication) for pointing out the relevance of Wood’s design to this clarinet.

120. *South Carolina & American General Gazette*, May 6–13, 1774 (PACAN).

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

122. *South Carolina Weekly Gazette*, March 3–6, 1784.

123. *City Gazette*, February 1, 1788. I have also found advertisements for clarinets and clarinet reeds by Bradford in 1791 (*City Gazette*, September 5, 1791), 1795 (*City Gazette*, January 1, 1795), and 1812 (*Charleston Courier*, December 18, 1812). Another individual named Bradford, perhaps a brother, operated a music business in New York; see note 102.

clarinets were imported from Germany, since the other goods in his advertisement came from that country.

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.¹²⁴ Five years later, J. Eckhard was selling clarinets that he had received on the ship *Octavia*, also from London.¹²⁵ 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.¹²⁶ 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.¹²⁷ The auctioneer A. Remoussin advertised clarinets for sale on October 30, 1820.¹²⁸ Finally, toward the end of 1820 Siegling’s Music Store advertised clarinets for sale;¹²⁹ this firm was to become one of Charleston’s main music merchants for the remainder of the nineteenth century and far into the twentieth.¹³⁰

Baltimore. Very little information has been found about Baltimore’s music shops that sold clarinets and related merchandise, and most of this comes from no earlier than 1794.¹³¹ The most important Baltimore

124. *Ibid.*, December 3, 1801.

125. *Ibid.*, November 17, 1806.

126. *Ibid.*, December 29, 1813.

127. *Ibid.*, February 25, 1817.

128. *Ibid.*, October 30, 1820.

129. *Ibid.*, November 22, 1820.

130. The firm was in operation from 1819 to 1970. See John Joseph Hindman, “Concert Life in Ante-Bellum Charleston” (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1976), 255 and 259.

131. The earliest notice of clarinets for sale in Baltimore comes from 1794, when an individual named A. LeClercq offered an assortment of imported goods for sale, including clarinets (*The Baltimore Daily Intelligencer*, September 23, 1794). In the same year, John Carr sold London-made clarinets (*Federal Intelligencer*, November 26, 1794). In 1800 R. Shaw, whose name has already been noticed at an earlier date in Philadelphia (see note 83), gave notice of the removal of his music shop to Light Street, at the same time advertising musical instruments (including clarinets) for sale (*Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, January 11, 1800). 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.

music seller seems to have been the Carr family, whose store (operated first by John Carr, then Joseph, then Thomas) offered clarinets for sale from at least 1794 to 1820. Some of their clarinets were imported from London,¹³² and Joseph advertised that he had them “constantly on sale.”¹³³ The following 1819 advertisement by Thomas Carr contains significant details about the types of clarinet he had for sale:

CLARINETS (Dresden) with *additional* keys, and the most modern improvements lately invented by EVAN MULLER, and recently introduced by the first professors of that instrument in Europe.¹³⁴

The type of clarinet referred to here is that developed by the virtuoso clarinetist Iwan Müller (1786–1854).¹³⁵ 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 players 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.”¹³⁶ 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 mentioned above, but also thirteen-key soprano clarinets on Müller’s design.¹³⁷

132. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1800.

133. *Ibid.*, November 21, 1800.

134. *Ibid.*, October 19, 1819.

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

136. *Ibid.*, 70.

137. My thanks to Albert Rice (personal communication) for noting this important point. Rice notes that the Grenser workshop is not known to have produced clarinets with more than eleven keys. While Carr’s 1819 advertisement does not specify the exact

Second, the 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 (Müller published a fingering chart for this clarinet in that year, probably to help players gain at least a basic understanding of his new instrument), it is clear that the thirteen-key design did not find immediate acceptance; Müller did not publish a complete tutor until about 1821.¹³⁸ It is unlikely that the instrument had much widespread use in Europe before this time, so its appearance in America in 1819 is noteworthy.¹³⁹

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*."¹⁴⁰ 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.

A few other Baltimore merchants offered clarinets, clarinet supplies, and music for sale, but none seems to have been as prominent as Carr. 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 other store in this city."¹⁴¹ Beginning in 1818 Joseph Robinson, bookseller and owner of a circulating library in Baltimore, advertised clarinet music,¹⁴² and in 1819 and 1820 he advertised clarinets for sale.¹⁴³ Robert Bunyie has already been mentioned as a Baltimore maker and seller of clarinets from around 1819; in that same year, the pianist

number of keys on the instruments he was selling, the mention of Müller and his improvements strongly suggests that they were thirteen-key instruments. Carr's 1820 advertisement (see note 140), which does mention thirteen-key instruments, reinforces this. Assuming that the clarinets in the 1819 advertisement were indeed thirteen-key, and assuming (cautiously) that the mention of Dresden implies that they came from the Grenser workshop (with which Müller had earlier been associated), then we may have at least documentary evidence that the Grensers made thirteen-key clarinets as well as ones with fewer keys.

138. *Méthode pour la nouvelle clarinette et clarinette-alto* (Paris, ca. 1821).

139. Thanks to Albert Rice for bringing these points to my attention. Dr. 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).

140. *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*; June 13, 1820.

141. *Ibid.*, July 24, 1816.

142. *Ibid.*, January 24, 1818.

143. *Ibid.*, February 11, 1819 and May 13, 1820.

Christopher Meinicke advertised that he had clarinets for sale at his music store.¹⁴⁴

Conclusions

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the evidence presented here. The most common type of clarinet in America prior to 1820 was probably a boxwood instrument with five keys, pitched in C or B-flat. The keys were made of brass (although silver was not unknown), and the instrument may or may not have had ferrules made of ivory. Clarinets with fewer than five keys may also have been used; and instruments with more than five keys were certainly available by 1812, if not earlier. By 1820, at least one shop in Baltimore was offering clarinets with up to thirteen keys. Besides the common keys of C and B-flat, by 1812 clarinets in other nominal pitches were being sold in Boston, including the higher-pitched clarinets in E-flat and F. Clarinets using Iwan Müller's improvements were being offered in Baltimore by 1819.

The majority of clarinets available in early America were probably imported from England. Many newspaper advertisements placed by music merchants indicate this, even if they rarely name specific manufacturers. Some instruments may have come from Germany; clearly Thomas Carr of Baltimore was getting them from Dresden (perhaps from the Grenser workshop) by 1819. The fact that Carr was selling clarinets with Iwan Müller's designs is noteworthy since it shows that the newest European improvements were available to at least some American clarinetists within only a few years of their availability in Europe.

There were clarinet makers residing in America from the early 1760s onward. They were active in all the major urban centers (except, apparently, Charleston), and in some other smaller cities as well. At least one of them, George Catlin of Hartford, made a unique contribution to clarinet design with his bass "clarion." Elsewhere in New England, William Callender of Boston is now known to have been active at an earlier period than previously thought, and to have produced clarinets as well as fifes, flutes, and drums. His fellow Bostonian, John Ashton, Jr., has been viewed primarily as an instrument dealer who included clarinets in his stock, but the 1820 *Euterpeiad* advertisement cited above clearly shows that he did indeed make clarinets as well.

144. *Ibid.*, November 1, 1819.

In addition to introducing information on several clarinet makers about whom little or nothing has previously been known—including Joshua Collins of Annapolis, Isaac Greenwood of Boston, and Robert Bunyie of Baltimore—this article expands our knowledge of the music business in major early American cities, and shows the extent to which the clarinet was a part of musical life. The fact that there were numerous clarinet makers and sellers in America even before the Revolutionary War, as well as during and immediately after it, attests to the relatively early arrival and dissemination of the clarinet in the colonies. The growing number of clarinet makers after 1800 indicates the instrument's rising popularity, a fact also supported by the publication of the earliest American clarinet tutors beginning in that year, and by the frequent appearance of clarinet soloists in concerts.

In sum, the activities of early American clarinet makers and sellers help to show that the clarinet was an important presence in the musical life of the day. Clarinetists, both professional and amateur, were well supplied with the necessary tools of their trade.

APPENDIX

Early American Clarinet Makers and their Surviving Instruments, 1761–1820

The following table lists early American clarinet makers and their extant instruments (if any). The information presented here is as complete and accurate as possible at this time; additions and corrections are welcome (see contact information below). Columns one and two give the maker's name, location, and the earliest known date of clarinet-making activity. Apart from the anonymous clarinets listed first, the makers are listed in chronological order by the earliest date given in column two. Column three lists each known instrument, with a brief description and current location. Unless otherwise noted, keys are made of brass. Column four lists the sources from which information was drawn for each instrument. Published sources are referred to by the author's surname; full bibliographic information is given below. When the owner of an instrument in a private collection is the source of information, this is noted.

Since this article covers clarinet-making activity up to the year 1820, the makers included in this table are those whose activities began before or during that year. Some of them continued making instruments long past 1820. I have attempted to list all known clarinets by each maker, even though some of the individual instruments themselves undoubtedly postdate 1820.

I wish to thank Albert Rice for his help in compiling this table. Thanks are also due to Douglas F. Koeppel, Marlowe A. Sigal, Robert E. Eliason, Barbara Lambert, Brenda Neece of the Duke University Musical Instrument Collections, and CarolAnn Missant of the Henry Ford Museum in Dearborn, Michigan.

To contribute additions or corrections to this table, please contact the author by e-mail at <ellsworthj@kenyon.edu>.

Bibliographic Abbreviations

Borders	Borders, James M. <i>European and American Wind and Percussion Instruments: Catalogue of the Stearns Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Michigan</i> . Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1988.
Carter	Carter, Stewart. "The Gütter Family: Wind Instrument Makers and Dealers to the Moravian Brethren in America." This JOURNAL 27 (2001): 48–83.
Eliason [1]	Eliason, Robert E. "George Catlin, Hartford Musical Instrument Maker, Part 2." This JOURNAL 9 (1983): 21–52.
Eliason [2]	Eliason, Robert E. "The Meachams, Musical Instrument Makers of Hartford and Albany." This JOURNAL 5–6 (1979–80): 54–73.
Good	Good, Edwin M. <i>The Eddy Collection of Musical Instruments: A Checklist</i> . Berkeley, CA: Fallen Leaf Press, 1985.
Libin [1]	Libin, Laurence. <i>American Musical Instruments in the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i> . New York: W. W. Norton, 1985.

- Libin [2] Libin, Laurence. "Recent Acquisitions: A Selection 1994–1995." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series, 53/2 (Autumn 1995): 53.
- Rice Rice, Albert R. *The Clarinet in the Classical Period*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Waterhouse Waterhouse, William. *The New Langwill Index: A Dictionary of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers and Inventors*. London: Tony Bingham, 1993.
- Young Young, Phillip T. *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments: An Inventory of 200 Makers in International Collections*. London: Tony Bingham, 1993.

TABLE 1. Early American clarinet makers and their surviving instruments, 1761–1820.

Name of maker	Location(s) and date(s) of earliest known clarinet-making activity	Surviving clarinets	Source(s) of information
Anonymous maker		Bass clarinet, 7 keys, maple, with ivory and brass fittings, 1815–20 (Concord, NH Historical Society)	Eliason [1], 37 and 43 (photo)
Anonymous maker (Perry Marsh? Fisher & Metcalf?)		Bass clarinet, 7 keys, boxwood, with ivory and brass fittings, 1815–20 (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, no. 65.0609)	Eliason [1], 37 and 42 (photo)
Anonymous US (?) maker		3 keys, in C, stained boxwood with metal, ca. 1820 (Lillian Caplin Collection, New York, NY)	Rice, 232, n. 229; Owner (personal communication)*
Anonymous maker	New England	Alto clarinet, 6 keys, in E-flat, maple with brass, ca. 1820 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, no. 1994.365.1)	Libin [2], 53 (photo); Albert Rice (personal communication)†
Gottlieb (David) Wolhaupter Jacob Anthony, Sr.	New York City, 1761 Philadelphia, 1772	None known 1) 5 keys, in A, stained boxwood with ivory (Dayton C. Miller Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC) 2) 5 keys, in C, stained boxwood with ivory (Private Collection)	Waterhouse, 10; Rice, 61
Joshua Collins (?)	Annapolis, 1773	None known	
Isaac Greenwood	Salem, 1781	None known	
William Callender	Boston, 1793	None known	

TABLE 1. Early American clarinet makers and their surviving instruments, 1761–1820, *continued*

Name of maker	Location(s) and date(s) of earliest known clarinet-making activity	Surviving clarinets	Source(s) of information
George Catlin (also Catlin & Bacon)	Hartford, 1799 Philadelphia, from 1815 or 1816	1) Bass clarinet (bassoon-shaped, called a “clarion” by Catlin), 6 keys, maple with brass and ivory fittings, ca. 1810 (Henry Ford Museum, Dearborn, MI, no. 77.68.1) 2) Bass clarinet, 9 keys, maple with brass and ivory fittings, brass bell joint, ca. 1812; labeled “Catlin & Bacon” (Letchworth State Park Museum, Castile, NY)	Waterhouse, 59; Eliason [1], 33–37
Catlin School		1) Bass clarinet, in B-flat, 7 keys, maple with brass ferrules and a copper bell joint, ca. 1815–20 (Eddy Collection, Duke University Musical Instrument Collections)‡	Good, 28; Eliason [1], 37
N. Curtiss	Connecticut (?), ca. 1800 (?)	1) 5 keys, in C, boxwood, unmounted, with a stamp of thirteen stars (Private Collection) 2) 5 keys, in C, boxwood (?), unmounted (Marlowe A. Sigal Collection, Newton Centre, MA, no. 2003.44)	1) Owner (personal communication) 2) Marlowe A. Sigal (personal communication)
(Louis) Joseph Alexander Peloubet (attr.)	New York City, 1803	5 keys, in C, boxwood with ivory, missing barrel and bell (Private Collection)	Owner (personal communication)
Edward Riley, Sr.	New York City, 1805	1) 5 keys, in B-flat, boxwood with ivory (Henry Ford Museum, Dearborn, MI, no. 71.70.32) 2) 5 keys, in C, boxwood with ivory (Henry Ford Museum, Dearborn, MI, no. 73.85.18)	1) Waterhouse, 328–29 1–2) Robert Eliason (personal communication); CarolAnn Missant (personal communication)

John Butler (?)
Heinrich Christian
Eisenbrandt

New York City, 1807
Philadelphia, 1808
Baltimore, from 1819

- 3) 7 keys, in C, boxwood with ivory (Stearns Collection, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, no. 1555)
 - 4) 5 keys, in B-flat, boxwood with ivory (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, no. 1982.42)
 - 5) 5 keys, in C, boxwood with ivory (Private Collection)
 - 6) 7 keys, in C, boxwood with ivory (Private Collection)
 - 7) 5 keys, in E-flat, boxwood with ivory; missing bell (Private Collection)
 - 8) 5 keys, in C, boxwood with ivory (Ralph D'Mello Collection, DeWitt, NY)
- None known
- 1) 5 keys, in E-flat, unknown dark wood with ivory; silver keys (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, no. 1985.0900)
 - 2) 5 keys, in C, boxwood with ivory (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, no. 1979.443)
 - 3) 5 keys, in C, boxwood with ivory (Private Collection)
 - 4) 9 keys, in B-flat, rosewood with ivory; silver keys (Private Collection)
 - 5) 5 keys, boxwood with ivory; lower joint, stock joint, and bell only (National Music Museum, Vermillion, SD, no. 2862)
- 3) Borders, 32
 - 4) Libin [1], 77 (including photo)
 - 5–7) Owner (personal communication)
 - 8) Albert Rice (personal communication)
- 1) Gary Sturm (personal communication, via Thomas MacCracken)
 - 2) Libin, 74–77 (including photos)§
 - 3–4) Owner (personal communication)
 - 5–7) Albert Rice (personal communication)
 - 8) Waterhouse, 104; Gary Sturm (personal communication, via Thomas MacCracken)

TABLE 1. Early American clarinet makers and their surviving instruments, 1761–1820, *continued*

Name of maker	Location(s) and date(s) of earliest known clarinet-making activity	Surviving clarinets	Source(s) of information
C. & E. Hayt (?) William Whiteley	Boston, 1809 Utica, 1810	6) 5 keys, in A, boxwood with horn (National Music Museum, Vermillion, SD, no. 4241)	
		7) 8 keys, blackwood with brass (Schubert Club Museum, St. Paul, MN)	
		8) Albert system, rosewood with silver and mother-of-pearl (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, no. 383371)	
		None known	
		1) 5 keys, in C, boxwood with ivory (Frederick Selch Collection, New York, NY, no. 580; ex-coll. Music Museum, Deansboro, NY)	1) Waterhouse, 427; Young, 253; Albert Rice (personal communication); Barbara Lambert (personal communication)
		2) 5 keys, in C, boxwood with ivory (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, no. 65.792a)	2–14) Young, 253–54 8) and 13) Barbara Lambert (personal communication)
		3) 5 keys, in C, boxwood with ivory (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, no. 65.792b)	15–17) Owner (personal communication)
		4) 5 keys, in B-flat, boxwood (Henry Ford Museum, Dearborn, MI, no. 71.70.30)	18–21) Albert Rice (personal communication)
5) Clarinet in B-flat, boxwood; number of	22–23) Marlowe A. Sigal (personal communication)		

- keys not known (Derwood Crocker Collection, Windsor, NY)
- 6) 5 keys, nominal pitch not known, boxwood (Buffalo and Erie Historical Society, Buffalo, NY)
- 7) 5 keys, in C, boxwood (Frederick Selch Collection, New York, NY)
- 8) 9 keys, in C, boxwood with ivory (Frederick Selch Collection, New York, NY, no. 584; ex-coll. Music Museum, Deansboro, NY)
- 9) Clarinet in C, number of keys not known (Hans C. Petersen Collection, Minneapolis, MN)
- 10) Clarinet, no other details known (Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, RI)
- 11) 5 keys, nominal pitch not known, boxwood with ivory (Ralph D'Mello Collection, DeWitt, NY)
- 12) 5 keys, in B-flat, boxwood with ivory (William Maynard Collection, Massapequa, NY) II
- 13) 5 keys, in C, boxwood with ivory (Frederick Selch Collection, New York, NY, no. 577; ex-Maynard Collection)
- 14) 10 keys, in D, boxwood (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, no. 1985.0714.01)
- 15) 5 keys, in E-flat, boxwood with ivory (Private Collection)

TABLE 1. Early American clarinet makers and their surviving instruments, 1761–1820, *continued*

Name of maker	Location(s) and date(s) of earliest known clarinet-making activity	Surviving clarinets	Source(s) of information
		16) 5 keys, in D, boxwood with ivory; barrel missing (Private Collection)	
		17) 5 keys, in C, boxwood with ivory (Private Collection)	
		18) 8 keys, in B-flat, boxwood with ivory (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 1982.328)	
		19) 10 keys, in D, boxwood; silver keys (National Music Museum, Vermillion, SD, no. 5923)	
		20) 6 keys, in E-flat, boxwood with ivory (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, no. 1991.290)	
		21) 5 (or 6?) keys, in B-flat, boxwood with ivory; incomplete, with right-hand joint, stock, and bell only (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, no. N.A.4.1991)	
		22) 5 keys, in C, boxwood with ivory (Marlowe A. Sigal Collection, Newton Centre, MA, no. 2003.48)	
		23) 5 keys, in B-flat, boxwood with ivory (Marlowe A. Sigal Collection, Newton Centre, MA, no. 2003.09)	

John Meacham (also: J. Meacham, J. & H. Meacham)	Albany, 1810	<p>1) 5 keys, nominal pitch not known, boxwood with ivory (Himie Voxman Collection, Iowa City, IA)</p> <p>2) 5 keys, in C, boxwood with ivory (New York State Museum, Albany, NY)</p> <p>3) 5 keys, in B-flat, boxwood with ivory; stamped J. & H. Meacham (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, no. 1988.29)</p> <p>4) 5 keys, in B-flat, boxwood with ivory; stamped J. & H. Meacham (Private Collection; ex-Frederick Oster Collection)</p>	<p>1–2) Young, 155–57</p> <p>3) Young, 156</p> <p>4) Owner (personal communication)</p>
Uzal Miner	Hartford, 1811	<p>1) Bass clarinet, 9 keys, maple with brass and ivory fittings, silver key guard; ca. 1812 (Farmington, CT Historical Society)</p> <p>2) Bass clarinet, 9 keys, maple with ivory and brass fittings; ca. 1813 (Buffalo & Erie County Historical Society, Buffalo, NY)</p> <p>3) Bass clarinet, 9 keys, maple with ivory and brass fittings; ca. 1814 (Henry Ford Museum, Dearborn, MI, no. 77.63)</p>	<p>1) Waterhouse, 66</p> <p>1–3) Eliason [1], esp. the table on pp. 36–37; photos on pp. 39–41 (Nos. 2 and 3 are unmarked but attributed to Miner.)</p>
Harley Hosford	Albany, 1813	<p>1) 5 keys, in C, boxwood with ivory; ca. 1815 (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 1977.69)</p> <p>2) 5 keys, in C, boxwood with ivory; ca. 1812 (Private Collection)</p>	<p>1) Waterhouse, 182; Eliason [2], 59; photo on museum’s website (www.mfa.org)</p> <p>2) Owner (personal communication), who attributes this instrument to Hosford</p>

TABLE 1. Early American clarinet makers and their surviving instruments, 1761–1820, *continued*

Name of maker	Location(s) and date(s) of earliest known clarinet-making activity	Surviving clarinets	Source(s) of information
Heinrich Gottlob Gütter	Bethlehem, PA, 1817 (?)	1) Clarinet, boxwood; number of keys and nominal pitch not known (Northampton County Museum, Easton, PA [no number]) 2) 5 keys, in C, boxwood (Whitefield House, Nazareth, PA [no number]) 3) 5 keys, in E-flat (Brethren's House, Lititz, PA, no. 14) 4) 5 keys, in B-flat, boxwood (National Music Museum, Vermillion, SD, no. 5722) 5) 5 keys, in C, boxwood (Wachovia Museum, Winston-Salem, NC, C-174) 6) 5 keys, in C, boxwood (Wachovia Museum, Winston-Salem, NC [no number]) 7) 5 keys, in C, boxwood, date 1822 marked on clarinet (Henry Frassetto Collection, Canton, GA) 8) 5 keys, in C, boxwood with horn (Private Collection)	1–7) Carter, 67 5–6) Waterhouse, 150 8) Owner (personal communication)
Klemm & Brother #	Philadelphia, 1818	1) 5 keys, in B-flat, boxwood with ivory (Private Collection) 2) 6 keys, in E-flat, boxwood with ivory (Private Collection)	1–2) Owner (personal communication)

		3) 5 keys, in C, boxwood with ivory (Marlowe A. Sigal Collection, Newton Centre, MA, no. 2002.31)	3) Marlowe A. Sigal (personal communication)
		4) 6 keys, in B-flat, boxwood with ivory (Marlowe A. Sigal Collection, Newton Centre, MA, no. 2002.09)	
Robert Bunyie	Baltimore, 1819	None known	

* This may be a modern reproduction.

† Rice attributes this bassoon-shaped instrument to the Catlin School (personal communication).

‡ According to Brenda Neece, curator of the Duke University Musical Instrument Collections, this instrument does not have the spade-shaped key flaps characteristic of the Catlin School (personal communication).

§ Libin dates this instrument from the mid-19th century.

|| Whiteley no. 12 is possibly now in the Frederick Selch Collection, New York, NY.

These clarinets might postdate 1820; moreover, it is not clear if the Klemms would have produced them in Philadelphia or imported them from their family's workshop in Neukirchen, Germany.