ALEXANDER REINAGLE AND HIS AMERICAN KEYBOARD SONATAS

BY

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INTRODUCTION, BACKGROUND, AND JUSTIFICATION

INTRODUCTION

The development of a cultural identity by a newly founded society is a very slow and gradual process. Music in particular is a cultural sphere for which many years usually are necessary before indigenous stylistic characteristics and patterns of development emerge. Consequently it is not at all surprising that the early years of Colonial America did not achieve a level of musical sophistication and musical culture in any way comparable to what existed in Europe at the same time.

Colonial America did, however, begin to develop a musical culture. And an important segment of that culture was very definitely an adjunct and a sort of continuation of the concurrent European musical traditions. The purpose of the present paper will be to examine certain aspects of the European musical tradition in America following the Revolutionary War.

The population of the colonies by the close of the American Revolution in 1783 was approximately four million,[1] and was comprised very largely of Western and Central European immigrants and their offspring. A sizable segment of the total colonial population consisted of African slaves and their families, who were brought

[1] The World Almanac for 1966, (N.Y. World-Telegram and The Sun), p. 324.

to America in droves starting as early as 1619. By 1785 there were almost three quarters of a million Negroes in the United States, almost ten percent of them free by that time. In fact, Negroes formed nearly seventeen percent of the entire population.

Those American Indians who chose to remain in the Colonies comprised another portion of the total Colonial population. But since the majority of the Indians migrated to the West with the coming of the white man, the Indian population made up only a very small percentage of the total.

Few, if any, of the Indians, and for the most part, none of the Negroes were socially and culturally integrated into Colonial society. Most certainly the Negroes and Indians had musical cultures, but their influence upon American culture was not immediately felt. Consequently, Negro and Indian music in the United States would constitute independent areas of study with regard to the European musical traditions of early America.

Another sizable percentage of the population was made up of minority religious sects who emigrated and subsequently settled in America because of the religious freedom guaranteed in the new land. Over 100,000 people settled in Pennsylvania alone by 1776,[2] including Cath-

[2] Gilbert Chase, America's Music, Rev. 2nd ed., (McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966).

olics, Lutherans, Menonites, Moravians, Mormons, Pietists, Quakers, Seventh Day Baptists, Shakers, and many other religious sects.

As was the case with all other immigrants to America (i.e., all other people except the Indians), members of religious communities brought with them a strong and important musical heritage which they endeavored to maintain after settling in their new home. But unlike most of the other settlers of the Colonies, the religious settlers attempted to perpetuate, to preserve, and to hold constant their musical traditions in the same way they did their religious rites and customs. Indeed music served as an integral part of most religious traditions, and was regarded for the most part as having only religious significance. Consequently, and with few exceptions, music in the religious sects was restricted to hymn singing with or without accompaniment. Dancing was usually not permitted and instrumental ensembles were rare, if indeed at all permissible in most sects.

The sole exception to the rigorous and absolute restrictions made upon people, with regard to their musical activities within religious sects, was the practice of followers of the Moravian traditions. Their archives have preserved a sizable body of secular as well as sacred music. Much of the music was composed by members of the settlements and apparently a good deal was also

brought over from Europe. Among other accomplishments, the Moravians are credited with founding the first Collegium Musicum in America; organizing the first trombone choir; constructing the first organs in the New World; and giving the first performances of many European oratorios, symphonies, and chamber music.

The musical achievements of the Moravians have indeed been considerable, and have been the topic of a number of important studies.[3] But sadly enough, their accomplishments were almost totally isolated from the musical traditions and practices of people not living in the communities. Because of the social and cultural isolation of the Moravians from the larger society, their music and musical achievements fall outside the scope of the present study. For the same reason the musical achievements of other isolated minority groups will not be discussed.

[3] Some representative studies of Moravian Music and musical achievements are: Hans T. David, Musical Life in the Pennsylvania Settlements of the Unitas Fratrum, (Winston-Salem, N.C., The Moravian Music Foundation, 1959); Rufus A. Grider, Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem Pennsylvania, 1741 - 1871, (Winston-Salem, N.C., The Moravian Music Foundation, 1957); Donald M. McCorkel, "The Moravian Contribution to American Music," Music Library Assoc. Notes, XIII (1955-56), pp. 597-606; McCorkel, "Moravian Music in Salem," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 2 vols., (Indiana University, 1958); and, Albert G. Rau and Hans T. David, A Catalog of Music by American Moravians, 1742 - 1842, (The Moravian Seminar and College for Women, 1938).

The term "European Concert Tradition" is extremely vague and requires further explanation. What is intended and implied by the use of the phrase is the concept of "art" music written for performance in a concert situation. In other words, the phrase implies music that is composed and performed usually as an end in itself, rather than providing a background for another event or a means by which to pray or perform certain tasks, or tell a story from oral tradition. The music itself is the art form and it is that which the listener supposedly endeavors to hear, subsequently to gain pleasure.

It is often taken for granted, but the entire concept of a "concert," as we know it, is a European invention, or at the very least a phenomenon that developed out of circumstances unique to the European culture of the late Baroque Era. By "concert" I mean a performance by one or more people who are specifically trained or skilled in what they are doing and who are usually paid for their services of entertaining an audience made up of people who have paid admission or have been specifically invited to attend, who sit in a room or hall specifically arranged or designed for such a performance, and who listen without taking active part in the music-making; and where the music that is performed is of a "secular" and "artistic" nature. In essence, a concert

is a form of popular public entertainment.

The public concert was a step, a very important step, in the continuing development of the support and control of music and musical performance. The Baroque Era witnessed an ever increasing secularization of all artistic and creative areas, resulting in the growth of aristocratic and civic patronage of the arts. Support by kings, nobles, and other rulers, as well as organizations of private persons (academies) consequently became the dominant support and subsequent control over musical performance.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, an increase in both the size and influence of the middle class was experienced. A new market was appearing and it was rapidly utilized by artists and writers alike. Within a very short time all areas of philosophy and science began to take account of a general public rather than a select group of experts and connoisseurs. Popular treatises were being written; literary works began to depict the common man; "back to nature" movements became popular; even manners and costumes were affected. The middle class achieved a new and important position of influence and power.

With the rise of the middle class the modern musical public came into being. Public concerts designed

for any and all who were able and willing to pay the price of admission began to rival and eventually win out over the older practice of private recitals and soirées.[4] Starting in England as early as 1672, when the first public concert was given, a long history of concerts and series can be traced through the present day.

With the "invention" of the concert a startling innovation transpired; namely that concert music - the performance of it and the packaging of it - became a commercial venture. The fundamental element allowing for the commercialization of music was the widespread use and classless nature of money. The shilling or the dollar in the hand of one person held the same value as in that of another, regardless of his family heritage, his education, his sex, his age, or his occupation.

The consequences of commercialization of music were as long-range as they were numerous. Possible relationships include aspects of development of musical style, architecture, the nature of performance practice, access into the professional field, and so forth. But primarily, immediate change occurred in two distinct areas: 1) the makeup of the audience, which for the first time in history became a truly heterogeneous one; and 2) the

[4] The practice of public concerts followed a tradition of public musical performances which began with opera in Venice in 1637, with the construction of the first public opera house.

autonomy of musicians, who were now paid for their services at specific performances rather than by a yearly or other stipend; who were no longer, in other words, dependent upon a patron, but were now essentially free to offer their services to any and all concert managers or booking agents as they pleased.

Germany followed England's lead some fifty years later, with the first of its public concerts. From there on momentum built up very rapidly. The French organized a series of concerts in Paris, in 1725; Vienna presented the first of that city's public concerts in 1728; and so on until by the end of the century concert organizations and societies flourished throughout most of Europe and the United States.

THE STATE OF MUSIC IN AMERICA PRIOR TO 1780

Due to the nature and the background of the colonial populace, concert life in the New World followed the European lead almost simultaneously. People who were brought up and "accustomed" to the musical life of Europe quite understandably attempted to continue their musical traditions when they later moved to the Colonies. Contact between the old and new worlds was fairly close, considering the means of transportation and communication of the day; and the music of European composers as well as the services of many noted performers were available

to the American public.

The first public concert in America took place in Boston in December of 1731. Similar performances occurred in Charleston several months later, and in New York in 1736.

Philadelphia, the largest and wealthiest city in the Colonies, had no city or public performances until many years later. The reasons for this were that the city was dominated by the Quakers, who did nothing to encourage any of the fine arts, music in particular. In fact, they vehemently opposed music of any sort. It was not until 1757 that the first public concert took place in Philadelphia.

The absence of public concerts in Philadelphia until 1757 is not in itself a clear indication of the lack of musical sophistication among all the city's citizens. Prior to the first public concert and for many years following, numerous private "musicales" were held, often at the home of the Governor. It is true that these events most likely were not heterogeneous, but for those who could attend they proved a way in which to avoid the enormous social and political pressures.

The musical activities of Charleston, South Carolina were extremely influential and important to the general development of music in the United States. Not only did Charleston run a close second to Boston in presenting the

first public concert in America, but it enjoys the distinction of having what is generally considered to be the first musical society in America, the St. Cecilia Society, founded in 1762, and remaining in existence until 1912.

The activities of the St. Cecilia Society were primarily to further the cause of music by presenting series of concerts. In addition, they employed a number of professional musicians (mostly European) during prescribed concert seasons. Quite obviously Charleston soon became attractive to musicians and consequently the number of concerts rapidly increased during the next decades. In addition to their other activities, the society also bestowed upon worthy musicians honorary life membership in the society.

Charleston was a very prosperous city, one that in some respects had social refinement similar to great European cities.[5] In addition to its other musical achievements, Charleston witnessed the first public performance of an opera in America, the ballad-opera Flora, or Hob in the Wall, performed in 1735. The success of this first performance led to a number of regular theat-

[5] Josiah Quincy, a Boston chronicler of the 18th c., following a visit to Charleston, S.C. in 1772 wrote his "Journal of a Voyage to South Carolina." See J.T. Howard, Our American Music, (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1931), p. 26.

rical seasons.

Charleston's musical importance began to diminish following the Revolution, when most of the musical attention began to be directed toward the Northern cities of the United States. But Charleston established a strong tradition of popular public entertainment on a fairly sophisticated level, providing an excellent model for other cities to follow.

An unusual state of affairs presents itself at this point, with particular reference to statements in the preceding paragraphs; namely the unique position of the musician in America both prior to and following the Revolution.

To begin with, America could not produce composers and musicians of comparable stature and training as were to be found in Europe. For the most part, neither the value of the music composed nor the quality of performance could be measured against what European musicians were producing at the same time. The result of the state of musical affairs in America was a scarcity of professional musicians. A few certainly existed. But unless a musician were truly outstanding in his field, and had a European reputation accompanying his name, he was usually considered something less than a gentleman. Only about half a dozen professional musicians of stature who lived in America prior to the Revolution are known to us today.

Theodore Pachelbel, son of Johann, the noted German organist, was a composer of merit and is generally credited with having given the first New York public concert in 1736, after which he resided in Charleston until his death in 1750. John Palma, a composer, harpsichordist, and teacher, settled in Philadelphia and is responsible for having directed that city's first concert in 1757. Giovanni Gualdo, also a composer, performer, and teacher, settled in Philadelphia in 1767. William Selby, an organist, harpsichordist, teacher and performer, performed in Boston and worked extensively in northern New England. And W.S. Morgan, a violinist, conductor, impresario, and performer, worked and performed in the greater Boston area.

There were numerous unknown instrumentalists who played in the orchestras for theatrical entertainments, such as ballad operas and dances, but most such musicians could not live entirely by their musical talents alone. They were forced to turn to more remunerative employment, either in a trade or other business.

A further result of the state of musical affairs was the honored and respected position of the "gentleman amateur." Such musicians often claimed immunity from any and all criticism by virtue of their voluntary service. In this way "gentlemen amateurs" could escape the stern and often harsh criticism and consequent treatment given

any musician who dared to consider himself a professional by demanding payment for his efforts, and then proving to be less than superior.[6]

The situation developed out of the following circumstances. Performances by visiting European artists raised the standards and musical expectations of concert audiences in the United States. Consequently, performances by most indigenous musicians were regarded as mediocre, if not poor. All professional musicians were therefore subject to strong criticism, if not severe attack by critics. Strong criticism and high standards had the effect of discouraging many capable musicians from entering the field of music on a professional level, and of forcing many who had already entered the field out of it. The consequence of this was an increasing scarcity of resident professional musicians and the subsequent elevation and reinforcement of the position of the gentleman amateur, who, of course, only participated in musical productions because of his love for music and the increasing demand for his talents. The elevation of the amateur status even further dissuaded musicians from becoming professionals, when they could so much more easily enjoy the noble prestige of their amateur status. Above all else it must be remembered that the amateurs were

[6] See Chase, op. cit., pp. 84 ff.

"gentlemen."

STATEMENT AND JUSTIFICATION OF THE PROBLEM

What then was the outcome of the unusual state of music in America immediately following the Revolutionary War? Musically speaking, the country was in an extremely ambivalent state. What was worse, even some of the few musicians who could support themselves professionally began quibbling over "authority" and what little control existed with regard to concert series and musical organizations. One of the few successful endeavors, the city-concerts in Philadelphia, initially organized by John Bentley, a European immigrant who had recently settled in America, was discontinued because of feuding between Bentley and several of his musical colleagues.

What was lacking was organization and strong leadership. But the situation was ripe: America was ready for professional organization. It needed direction and leadership to follow, and was obviously willing to rally to a new cause and to put a halt to the degeneration of the professional musician.

For those and many other reasons the conclusion of the American Revolution saw a sizable increase in the migration of European musicians to the American continent. One man in particular who chose this time to resettle in a new land was Alexander Reinagle.

Reinagle, a European-born composer-musician, immigrated to America in 1786 and rapidly established himself as a musical leader in the new nation. Through his multiple activities he achieved a position of importance and prestige on a professional level, which allowed him the opportunity to set a standard of excellence for the musical taste of the people, a standard which might otherwise have taken many years longer to attain. Reinagle's activities as a performer on a number of instruments, a teacher, an arranger, a manager-director, and a composer, all contributed to his total importance. In practically all musical ways Reinagle exerted a phenomenal degree of influence on the state of music in America.

Considering all his varied activities, Reinagle was a fairly productive composer. Because a number of his works are available to us today his contributions in the realm of musical composition may be studied by analytical methods; i.e., examining his music in terms of style and accepted practices of his time.

The task ahead, therefore, shall be as follows: by means of a biographical study of the life of Reinagle, I shall attempt to establish and justify Reinagle's importance in his own day. Further I hope to confirm that Reinagle's role in society was primarily that of a teacher, a promoter of "art music," a cultivator of musical taste; that his ambitions were to elevate the state of

music in America and to popularize the musical style which he brought with him from Europe and which he hoped to establish as a standard for America. Then I will attempt to show that all of his musical activities endeavored to fulfill his purposes and ambitions.

Most of the music Reinagle composed was written primarily for public performance. Because of his position and role in society I hold that for the most part his music is representative of the music of his day. In other words, for Reinagle to have been experimental or avant-garde with respect to his compositions would have been inconsistent with his greater objectives, as mentioned above.

Following the biographical study of Reinagle, therefore, is a style-critical analysis of a selection of his works. The purpose of the analysis is not to judge Reinagle by examples of his own music, but rather to draw conclusions as to the kind of music performed and enjoyed by concert-goers of his day.

Four keyboard sonatas, preserved in a manuscript in the Library of Congress, are among the only compositions Reinagle is known to have composed which have survived for us to examine. As will be seen in the ensuing biographical section, these sonatas are representative of the kind of work that occupied Reinagle after his arrival in America, and consequently are ideal for an investiga-

tion of his musical style in relation to other music being produced at the same time. Because of their availability, because of their representative position among Reinagle's works, and because of a scarcity of other works by Reinagle, these four sonatas are chosen as the subject of the intensive analysis, comprising Part III of this study.

Reinagle's influence and his importance to musical development in the early years of the United States can be seen in three areas: first, musical pedagogy; second, musical performance and "taste"; and third, musical composition. The subsequent biographical study and style-critical analysis are an attempt to examine the European musical tradition in America following the Revolutionary War from the point of view of the importance and contributions of one of America's recognized musical leaders.

PART II

ALEXANDER REINAGLE: PROBLEMS IN A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

THE EARLY YEARS

Alexander Reinagle was born in Portsmouth, England, presumably in April of 1756, since he was baptised in the Parish of Portsea on April 23rd. He was the eldest son of Joseph Reinagle and his wife, about whom nothing is known not even her given or maiden name.

Joseph Reinagle was an accomplished trumpeter. Austrian by birth, it is rumored that he fought in the Hungarian Army.[1] Prior to 1756 Joseph and his wife left their native country in an attempt to find work in England. From all that is known it appears that they first settled in Portsmouth, where Alexander was born.

Six years later, in 1762, Joseph was appointed trumpeter in the Court of King George III, and was stationed in the Portsmouth sector or division of the Royal Court. It was the practice of that time for the Royal Family to maintain a full working staff, including Court musicians, at each Royal residence.

Although there is no record of Joseph's professional career prior to his appointment, judging from the prestige and importance of such a position, it is obvious that he was well respected as a musician or he would not

[1] "Reinagle, Alexander," in Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th ed., (London, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1954), Vol. 7, p. 113.

have received the appointment. Consequently it can be assumed that prior to his Court appointment he was a performer and teacher in the Portsmouth area.

In the same year that Joseph received the appointment to the Royal Court his wife gave birth to a second son, Joseph Jr. A third son, Hugh, was born two years later in 1764. It also is known that a daughter, Maria Anna Teresa, was born to the Reinagles, although no date of birth or baptismal record has been found. Since there is no record of her birth, either English or otherwise, it is possible that Maria was born in Austria prior to her parents' emigration to England, and that her records, like those of her parents, were either left behind or lost. This would make her the oldest of the Reinagle children. But it is known that Maria was married in 1774, making her older than Joseph Jr. and Hugh. In view of the marriage customs of the day, however, Maria might very well have been fifteen or sixteen at the time of her marriage. English marital customs, together with the age difference between Alexander and his next younger brother, lead me to believe that Maria Anna Terese was younger than Alexander. This would mean that Maria was second oldest to Alexander, and would explain in part the activities of Alexander's parents during their first six years in England.

No knowledge of Alexander's early musical training

is known. In fact, other than his baptism, there are no records at all of the first eighteen years of his life. Consequently any speculation pertaining to Alexander's activities during his early years must be inferred from the customs of the day. Alexander most likely began his study of music with his father while living in Portsmouth.

In 1774 Joseph was transferred by the Royal Court from Portsmouth to Edinburgh. Joseph consequently moved his entire family to Scotland. In Scotland Alexander continued his musical education with Johan Georg Christoph Schetky, a cellist of considerable reputation and "routined" composer. It was Schetky who married Alexander's sister Maria, later in the same year, (1774). Schetky was also the teacher of Hugh, Alexander's youngest brother, who in his brief life became an accomplished cellist.

Shortly after arriving in Edinburgh, Reinagle formed a relationship which remained throughout his life one of the most influential and closest personal ones. In many respects Reinagle's musical training and the development of his musical ability may be attributed to Raynor Taylor.

Raynor Taylor (1747 - 1825), was an outstanding organist, harpsichordist, vocalist, and composer. Notoriety arrived early in Taylor's life. As a schoolboy Taylor studied in the King's singing school in London, and was a choir member of the Chapel Royal. In 1759, when Taylor

was twelve, the Chapel choir participated in the ceremonies at the funeral of George Frederick Handel. After the casket was lowered into the grave, Taylor, dressed as was everyone in formal attire, peered into the resting place of the great man. Lo and behold! off went his top hat, to be interred with Handel as the earth was filled in.

About the time the Reinagle family moved to Edinburgh, Taylor became the organist at Essex Church in Chelmsford, near London. Shortly after he also became the musical director at Sadler's Wells Theatre, also in London.

Considering the facts in the preceding paragraph to be correct, a curious problem develops. First of all, although reference to Reinagle's study with Taylor in Edinburgh has been stated in numerous printed sources, dating as far back as 1822,[2] no connection with Edinburgh can be located for Taylor other than his having given lessons to Reinagle. In effect, other than isolated statements of this fact, no substantiation can be given for Taylor's having been in Edinburgh in the first place. It is known,

[2] John R. Parker, "Musical Reminiscences," The Euterpeiade, Vol. II:2 (January 19, 1822), Boston, p. 170; Ernst C. Krohn, "Reinagle as Sonatist," Musical Quarterly, Vol. 18 (1932), p. 141; and, Gilbert Chase, America's Music, Rev. 2nd ed., (McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966), P. 112.

and can be documented, that while Reinagle was in Edinburgh Taylor was working in the London area.[3] Edinburgh is approximately four hundred road miles from London. Very little can be said for road conditions in the latter half of the eighteenth century in Great Britain, and it is understandable that a trip between Edinburgh and London in 1775 was no overnight journey. In Reinagle's own diary, about which more will be said later, one of his trips from Edinburgh to London lasted eleven days. How then was it possible for Reinagle to be studying with Taylor who was four hundred miles away? No clear cut answer is known, so it must be assumed either that Taylor was spending a good deal of time on the road commuting between the two cities, that Taylor was spending extended periods of time in both places, one after the other (summers, vacations, and the like), or that Taylor had no real contact with Edinburgh at all, that connection between Reinagle and Taylor was falsely extended to Reinagle's home in Scotland. No other explanation can be given; consequently I surmise that either of the latter two circumstances was the case.

[3] In addition to secondary sources, records of Essex Church and Sadler's Wells Theatre document these facts.

THE "LONDON" YEARS

In any event, Reinagle moved to London about this time, partly, perhaps, to continue his studies with Taylor, but possibly at the same time to be more in the midst of musical activities. The exact date of Reinagle's move is not known, but it is suspected to have been not later than 1780, as that is the year expert opinion is inclined to date one of his earliest publications.[4] Publications of this period are dated by the watermark, the type of paper used, the style of printing, and, if possible, by plate numbers and publisher's records.

London was indeed an active, cosmopolitan center of musical life at that time. London was far in advance of most European cities in the development of a system of public musical performances and subscription concert series. It was a city vibrant with the musical contributions of people such as Karl Fredrick Abel (1725 - 1787), Thomas A. Arne (1710 - 1778), William Boyce (1710 - 1779), John Gay (1685 - 1732), Maurice Greene (1695 - 1775), not to mention Raynor Taylor, and most importantly of all John Christian Bach (1735 - 1782).

[4] A collection of "Short and Easy Pieces" for the pianoforte, opus 1.

Reinagle quickly and demonstrably[5] came under the influence of J.C. Bach, the youngest son of Johann Sebastian, whose musical genius and courtly personality enabled him to dominate the English scene after the death of Handel in 1759. The influence of the "London Bach" on Reinagle will be specified later, but it is clear that Reinagle's compositions during this period demonstrate the influence of Bach with regard to form and structure, as well as medium and mannerisms. Reinagle's compositions of this time include two collections of "short and easy pieces" for the pianoforte, (op. 1 and 2), a "Collection of Most Favorite Scots Tunes with Variations for Harpsichord," (published in London in 1782), and a collection of "Six Sonatas for the Piano-Forte or Harpsichord, With an Accompaniment for a Violin." These are the only compositions by Reinagle known to have been written during this period of his life.

Little is known of Reinagle's activities during the period from 1780 to 1784 other than reference to publication of his compositions. But it is highly probable that Reinagle performed in the orchestra assembled for the Handel Festival in London during the months of May and June 1784, commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary

[5] For aspects of the direct influence of J.C. Bach on Reinagle see the analysis of Reinagle's Sonatas in Part III, below, particularly with regard to melody and texture.

of Handel's death. A "Mr. Reinagle" was listed in the program to have sat among the second violins. As no first name was given it is possible that the Mr. Reinagle referred to was someone other than Alexander, perhaps even his younger brother Joseph, since both of them played violin with considerable proficiency. But since it is not known with certainty where Joseph was at that time, and since Alexander's presence in London has been substantiated, it seems likely that it was Alexander who performed in the orchestra.

REINAGLE ON THE "CONTINENT"

In October of 1784 Reinagle began an extended trip to the European Continent, specifically to Lisbon, where he took his brother Hugh, who was in the last stages of tuberculosis, and who died while in Lisbon. The trip lasted over eight months in all, and included, aside from their transportation, numerous concerts and recitals in Lisbon. (Hugh, it should be restated, was apparently an extremely accomplished cellist.) One concert, on January 8, 1785, was given at the Royal Assembly Room, while a week later, on January 16th, a private performance was given for the Queen and the Royal Family. Apparently once the two brothers arrived in Lisbon they did very little traveling. As the weeks went by Hugh's health became worse. By the end of February Hugh had lost so much

strength he was "unable anymore to walk but from and to bed."[6] Hugh died on March 19th, and was buried there three days later. Reinagle then stayed only to complete whatever business transactions were still in progress and then returned to England in May of 1785.

One of the few autographed momentos left by Reinagle was a booklet of sixteen pages, bound together with a ribbon. The first five pages of the booklet are devoted to records and accounts of his trip to Portugal. Most of the rest of the booklet is devoted to "anecdotes," poems, and "stanzas," mostly written by Reinagle himself and signed Alexis, although there are several entries by others written in quite different hands. Only the final entry, other than Reinagle's own remarks, is signed - that being an untitled poem dated December 5, 1837, and signed by a "T.H. Chivers, M.D." Although attempts were made to identify and/or to locate Dr. Chivers or any reference to him, no success has come of it to date.

The first five pages of the booklet, those pertaining to Reinagle's trip to Lisbon, are of especial importance in that not only do they provide a chronology and account of the Lisbon trip, but they also contribute to solutions to other matters that have puzzled previous commentators. From them can be extracted the following

[6] Alexander Reinagle's "Memorandum Book for 1785," (unpublished material in the possession of the Library of Congress).

brief chronology of the main events of the trip:

Left Edinburgh	September 5, 1784
Arr. London	" 16, 1784
Left "	" 28, 1784
Arr. Dover.	October 2, 1784
Left "	" 13, 1784
Arr. Tagar.	" 21, 1784
Arr. Lisbon	" 23, 1784
Concert in Assembly Room. . . .	January 8, 1785
Perf. for Queen and Royal Family .	" 16, 1785
Hugh died	March 19, 1785
Hugh's burial.	March 22, 1785
Left Lisbon	April 23, 1785
Arr. Portsmouth.	May 17, 1785

Also included in the first pages of the memorandum book are notes on Reinagle's lodgings, the state of Hugh's health, a fairly extensive itemization of letters written and received, and an accurate expense list of all money earned and spent. From his concerts and teaching (apparently he gave music lessons), and the sale of pianos (mention of such sales is made),[7] Reinagle netted over £267, while his total expenses, including lodgings, food, medicines, and the funeral, amounted to only £81. His trip, aside from his personal grief due to the loss of

[7] Included in the Memorandum Book is a record of correspondence with Broadwood, one of the leading manufacturers of pianos at that time.

his brother, was obviously a financial success. It would seem from the royal recitals he gave and from the large sums of money he made that he must have been quite well known as a prominent musician.

Reinagle made another visit to the Continent at some time prior to February 1785, during which time he came under the influence of the celebrated Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Reference to Reinagle's visit to the Bach home in Hamburg is preserved in two letters from Bach to Reinagle, now owned by the Library of Congress. Further mention of this visit was made in a short biography of Reinagle, published in the Euterpeiad: or, Musical Intelligencer and Ladies' Gazette, on January 19, 1822.[8] The author of the article was John R. Parker, who was also the editor of the magazine, and a noted writer and critic of the early nineteenth century.

The Parker biography is probably the earliest biographical study accorded Reinagle. Parker's inclusion of Reinagle some thirteen years after the latter's death, as the fourth in a series of similar biographical studies of musical figures (Handel was one), is further evidence of the high regard in which Reinagle was held, even well after his death.

Several problems arise in attempting to date Reinagle's trip to Hamburg. Judging from the date of the

[8] Parker, loc. cit.

first of Bach's letters, the trip must have been made prior to February, 1785, since that is the date of the letter, and since the letter itself is in direct response to Reinagle's visit. Reinagle at this time, and for the half year preceding the date of the letter, was in Lisbon, or on his way there from Edinburgh. In addition, his memorandum book, which contains information both of personal and business matters, includes no mention of any trip to Germany or correspondence with Bach.

The absence of any reference to the trip or correspondence could mean any of a number of things. Reinagle may indeed have made the trip as an extension of his trip to Portugal, and for some unknown reason failed to make reference to it in any way; or, the visit to Hamburg may have come prior to his Lisbon trip, perhaps during the summer of 1784, or even before. Judging from the date and contents of the first letter, it is not likely that the trip occurred after Reinagle's Lisbon trip, as the trip to Lisbon was still in progress after the date of the first letter.

The first of the above possibilities seems inconsistent with Reinagle's accounts of his trip to Portugal. Had Bach sent the letter to England, however, during Reinagle's absence, Reinagle would not have received it until after his return from Lisbon. This would account for the absence of reference to the letter in his diary,

but would still leave open the date of the trip to Hamburg.

The content of the letters offers additional information pertinent to dating the events, and is of particular importance in understanding the relationship between the two men.

The first of the two letters was dated February 25, 1785, and was written in French. The second letter has no date, but is believed to have been written during the latter part of the same year, and was written in German.

From the content of the letters we learn that Reinagle had obtained some of Bach's music, that he was somewhat familiar with Bach's keyboard music, his rondos in particular, and that these works were not as well known in England as they were on the Continent. We know this because one of the results of his visit was a proposal to reprint all of the rondos contained in the second, third, and fourth collections of Bach's Sonaten, frien Fantasien, und Rondos für Kenner und Liebhaber in an English edition.

The extent to which the music of C.P.E. Bach was known in England at that time can only be surmised. One helpful source of information is Charles Burney's "The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces," published in 1773. In this travel journal Burney wrote, "The works which he /C.P.E. Bach/ produced, during his residence at Berlin, are so numerous, and, in general, so unknown in England, that I shall

specify the principal of them here, for the satisfaction of those who may wish to procure them."[9] The early piano sonatas that Burney mentioned were practically all reprinted in pirated editions in London, even as early as 1761, but, evidently, were not very widely circulated, if Reinagle thought it a good investment to reprint them in 1785.

Bach's response to Reinagle's proposal was a counter-proposal, to include the rondos in course of publication in the fifth collection, "for connoisseurs and amateurs," and in addition to compose four new rondos, the fee for the new works to be thirty-four guineas.

Bach's new proposition may have created conditions rendering the fulfillment of the project too difficult, for in any case the project never reached fruition.

In his first letter Bach also expressed a desire to have a portrait (or silhouette) of Reinagle to place in his cabinet or gallery of friends and musicians. Reinagle most certainly fully appreciated the honor of such a request, as Bach was recognized as one of the greatest musicians of the age. Like his contemporaries, Reinagle knew nothing of the art of Johann Sebastian Bach. The sons of Johann Sebastian were the men of the day, and

[9] Charles Burney, "The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces," also in Krohn, op. cit., p. 143.

Reinagle came under the personal influence of two of them. The art and personality of Carl Philipp Emanuel, in particular, made a deep and lasting impression on Reinagle.

It is interesting to point out the difference in language used in the Bach letters. The first one, although friendly, is far more formal than is the second. In fact the second one, in German, includes Bach's conveyance of sympathy over the death of Hugh Reinagle, clearly a very personal note on the part of Bach.

In light of the available information; the date of the first of Bach's letters, the contents of both letters, and the information in Reinagle's memorandum book, it can be inferred that Reinagle's trip to Germany most likely took place prior to his trip to Portugal, perhaps during the summer of 1784, and that the first of the two Bach letters was written after a considerable delay, at least six months, and was mailed to England, rather than to Lisbon.

ARRIVAL IN AMERICA

Reinagle did not remain in England very long after his return from Portugal. He had good professional standing, and most certainly enjoyed the benefits of his membership in the "Society of Musicians" in London. But he was approaching thirty, and for some reason must have felt that he stood at a turning point in his life for he

chose to abandon the security of his professional rank in England and to immigrate to America.

Peace was negotiated between Great Britain and America in 1783, ending the American Revolutionary War, and recognizing the "colonies" as an independent nation. Perhaps it was the ideological dream of starting anew in a new land that inspired Reinagle to immigrate, but in any event, in less than a year after his return from Lisbon Reinagle sailed for America, and according to Ernst C. Krohn, arrived in New York some time prior to June 9, 1786.[10]

Reinagle apparently became adjusted quite rapidly to his new life on the new Continent. After being in New York only a few weeks he gave a concert on July 20th, where he appeared as a pianist, cellist, and vocalist. He also placed an advertisement in a New York newspaper announcing his arrival and his willingness to take private pupils for musical instruction on the pianoforte, harpsichord, and violin.

Reinagle soon became dissatisfied with the state of musical activities in New York. Apparently response to his advertisement did not meet his expectations. Likewise, any prospects for the immediate future were discouraging. New York was the commercial center of the new nation, but

[10] Krohn, op. cit., p. 140. Krohn does not document his evidence as to Reinagle's date of arrival.

artistic and commercial interests are far from being the same, and New York had not yet developed the demand for musical culture found in other American cities.

Hearing of more favorable prospects to the south, within a short time Reinagle moved to Philadelphia, the cultural metropolis of the new country. In Philadelphia Reinagle was immediately greeted by a professional feud between three of his ex-European musical colleagues, Henri Capron, William Brown, and John Bentley. Reinagle effected a reconciliation between Capron and Brown, and Bentley conveniently left for New York. The first public mention of Reinagle's many varied musical activities in Philadelphia was his participation in a benefit concert for Henri Capron, on September 21, 1786, apparently as an aftermath to the musical reconciliation.

Reinagle's reception in Philadelphia was encouraging. His talent as a teacher and his mastery and proficiency as a pianist and composer found ready recognition. As a teacher he was employed by the most respectable families and the principal boarding schools in or near the city. He was even engaged as the teacher of George Washington's adopted daughter, Nelly Custis, a clear indication of the first President's high regard for Reinagle. Washington attended numerous concerts and recitals of Reinagle, and in the words of Gilbert Chase, "...whether he knew it or not, /he/ was hearing the finest piano playing and the

finest piano music produced in America up to that time."[11]

Perhaps Washington's first encounter with Reinagle, or at least one of his first, occurred in June, 1787, when Washington (still a general), was in Philadelphia as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention. His diary reveals that on June 12 he attended a concert for the benefit of a certain Mr. Alexander Reinagle, a musician from England, who had recently established himself in Philadelphia. The program began with an Overture by Johann Christian Bach, and ended with two compositions by Reinagle: a Sonata for the Pianoforte, and an Overture (in which is introduced a Scotch strathspey).

The short biography of Reinagle by John Parker, published in the Euterpeiad, as mentioned earlier,[12] is one of the very few contemporary sources offering the present-day scholar any information at all about the man, his music, and prevailing conditions of his time. It is one of the only sources that deals with Reinagle's compositional activities, specifically during his later years, and one of the few accounts of contemporary subjective testimony with regard to his personality and public disposition.

[11] Chase, op. cit., p. 110.

[12] See p. 30.

Consequently, despite the inaccuracies,[13] the numerous omissions, and the obvious patronizing style of the article, the biography remains one of the most important sources of information in the study of the life of Reinagle.

According to Parker, in his first few years in America Reinagle selected a number of fashionable English songs together with some melodies native to America and even some Italian airs, and arranged them, "in an easy and familiar style so as to make them attainable by his pupils."[14] It is not altogether clear what works Parker is referring to here because few of Reinagle's published or unpublished works as we have them now are of this type. It is likely that part of what Parker had in mind is the collection of "Scots Tunes," mentioned earlier,[15] which Reinagle had collected and arranged, and had published in London in 1782. This collection was republished in Philadelphia in 1787, hence, was in circulation and would have been available to Parker. No other compositions of this type are known to remain. A little book of lessons for

[13] Parker states that Reinagle died in 1810, rather than 1809. He also claims that Reinagle's trip to Hamburg was for "the sole purpose of hearing the great Bach...." This is viewed quite differently in light of the two Bach letters.

[14] Parker, loc. cit.

[15] See p. 26.

young performers, mentioned by Parker, may have included works of this type, but curiously enough even though this book is said to have been used extensively for more than thirty years, no copy has ever been found in any public or private library. It is likely, however, from what Parker says, that numerous works of this type did exist, and some may have been in unpublished form. But here too, any examples have either since been lost or are contained in those parts of Reinagle's effects that descendents have not yet made available.

Parker does not give the title of the "little book of lessons for young beginners," to which he refers, and nothing else is known about the work, though Parker says it was still in constant use when he was writing in 1822. From Parker's statement it can be determined that the book was written not later than the early 1790's, with no indication as to how long after 1822 it was still used. The book was proclaimed, "by numbers of experienced teachers," to be the best work of its kind for that purpose, in existance at that time, that "many editors have republished it, and /that/ several have pilfered copiously from it, both in America and England."[16]

In addition to the works already cited, Reinagle composed numerous variations on well-known melodies, and even arranged many of them into short rondos. These

[16] Parker, loc. cit.

accomplishments were important in ways other than merely affording students of music the opportunity to improve their technical proficiency. To quote Parker once again, "These efforts...were highly laudable, in as much as it was introducing his students to at least some knowledge of celebrated authors, and gradually leading them into a love of good compositions, with which otherwise, they could not become acquainted."[17]

Although Reinagle's arrangements of melodies and lessons for beginners are historically as well as musically important, and even though a great deal of his time and efforts were later devoted to theater music,[18] Reinagle's most important contributions to music consist of the art songs, chamber music, orchestral music, and keyboard works composed in Philadelphia shortly after his arrival there. We know of these works primarily from concert programs of the day, indicating that they were performed, as well as from secondary sources, which lead us to suspect that Reinagle composed a group of quartets in 1791, and completed a Concerto, "on the improved pianoforte with additional keys," in 1794.[19] In addition,

[17] Parker, loc. cit.

[18] See section on The Theater Years, starting p. 43.

[19] Reference to the quartets and Concerto are found in article on "Reinagle," in Thompson's International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians, (N.Y., Dodd, Mead & Co., 1964), p. 1765.

Reinagle composed numerous songs, which Parker claims would have been enough in themselves to justify Reinagle's reputation.[20] None of these compositions is believed to have ever been published, and except for a set of four sonatas for piano, which exists in manuscript form in the Library of Congress,[21] none of them has ever been found.

The four piano sonatas, one of which is undoubtedly that to which Washington made reference, were all composed during the period when Reinagle was intensively preoccupied with subscription concerts, recitals, and the like. Oscar G. Sonneck, in his book, Early Concert-Life in America,[22] offers a fairly complete and accurate record of concerts during the period 1731 to 1800, taken from his vast collection of concert programs. For the period of 1786 to 1793 Sonneck lists some twenty-six items, "Sonata Piano Forte...Mr. Reinagle." These entries most likely refer to Reinagle as the performer. But the absence of any distinction between composer and performer, in early concert programs, requires a careful study of the problem and is the reason for the qualified statement above. Because of the ambiguity between com-

[20] Parker, loc. cit.

[21] Gift of Lewis Johnson Davis in 1904. Davis is the son of the posthumous daughter of Reinagle by his second wife.

[22] Oscar G. Sonneck, Early Concert-Life in America, (Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907), pp. 82 - 95.

poser and performer, (a clear indication of the lack of established convention with regard to program format during that time), and because on several programs the names of Haydn, Mozart, Prati, Campioni, and Schröter all appear in such a way as to indicate that Reinagle was the performer, it is reasonable to assume that on some occasions where Reinagle's name appears next to a sonata with no other name present, Reinagle performed his own compositions. I also feel justified in surmising that the four piano sonatas were composed and publicly performed by Reinagle during the period 1786 to 1793.

Reinagle's earlier keyboard works, composed in England, reveal no marked individuality. Although he was far from a slavish imitator, and succeeded in incorporating many of his own ideas into his early music, he had not yet fully found himself as a composer. The four Philadelphia sonatas immediately display the influence of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, and to a lesser extent show the additional influence of Haydn and John Christian Bach. But it is apparent that these works are by no means mere imitations. In them Reinagle has achieved a personal style and has developed ideas that are both original and musically valuable.[23] It is my position that these four sonatas are his masterpieces, and deserve to rank among the most significant works to be written during the early

[23] See Part III, below.

years of America as a nation.

An additional milestone which Reinagle achieved during this period, is the introduction of four-hand piano music to America. In a benefit concert for the pianist James Juhan, in Philadelphia in the year 1787, Reinagle performed one of Haydn's four-hand sonatas together with Juhan.[24] This is said by most authorities to be the "first" in America.

THE THEATER YEARS

Not long after Reinagle arrived in America he began to develop an interest in the theater. Undocumented evidence in Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, indicates that Reinagle was probably connected with the "brilliant season of the John Street Theatre in New York" in 1789.[25] Grove's goes on to say that after completing two series of concerts in New York, Reinagle returned to Philadelphia to reopen the Southwark Theatre, which had been closed by an anti-theatre law. No other mention of Reinagle's early connections with the theater can be located, but such an interest would readily explain Reinagle's avid interest and preoccupation with the theater in the years that follow.

[24] Thompson's Cyclopedia, loc. cit.

[25] Grove's, loc. cit.

Apparently the theatrical company to which Grove's refers is the renowned Old American Company, which, following a suspension of activities during the early years of the American Revolution, made its return to the American scene in 1782. The period immediately following the American Revolution saw a renewed interest in theatrical productions, and in opera in particular.

By the end of the decade the Old American Company had a regular theatrical circuit; Philadelphia-New York-Baltimore, and, less importantly, Annapolis (known for the races during the month of October). They were a fully professional troupe, and had within their repertory all forms of stage entertainment, including a large number of operas.

The anti-theatre law, to which Grove's makes reference, was a very unpopular bill enacted in Philadelphia in 1778 to curb all theatrical exhibitions.[26] Ten years of determined opposition to the bill finally led to its repeal on March 2, 1789. A week later the Southwark Theatre, the Philadelphia hall used by the Old American Company since its reorganization, was opened by "by authority" as a theater. It is to this gala affair that Grove's refers when mentioning Reinagle's return to Philadelphia

[26] For further information pertaining to the extent to which it was avoided see Oscar G. Sonneck, Early Opera in America, (N.Y., G. Schirmer, Inc., 1915, reprinted by Benjamin Bloom, Inc., N.Y., 1963).

after a concert series in New York.

A chronological study of the concert seasons of the Old American Company during the years 1787 to 1792 substantiates the "brilliant season" in New York, in the year 1789. The season opened in April, in the John Street Theatre, the regular New York home of the company, and lasted through December 15, 1789. The New York season began immediately after the Old American Company's limited engagement at the time of the reopening of the Southwark Theatre. Since the New York season of 1789 immediately followed the Southwark Theatre reopening, Reinagle's involvement with both, as stated in Grove's, is quite plausible.

The 1789 theatrical season in New York was an unusually long one for the time, a circumstance which can easily be explained by the fact that New York was now (from 1789 to 1790) the seat of the United States government, and was rapidly developing an awareness and a demand for culture.

Reinagle's involvement with the Old American Company is still undocumented, and is consequently still a matter of conjecture. But it is made even more plausible by evidence of concert programs and newspaper advertisements of the day placing his activities in New York, and not in Philadelphia.[27]

[27] Sonneck, "Concert-Life," op. cit., p. 187.

In the latter part of the year 1791, or the early part of 1792, Thomas Wignell, a well-known and popular actor of the day, resigned his position with the Old American Company. He then, apparently, experienced little difficulty in convincing some financiers of Philadelphia that the erection of a new theater furnished with a company to defy comparison would be a worthwhile business venture. The project soon assumed tangible shape. A stock company was formed, and Wignell and Reinagle, (the two probably became acquainted through the Old American Company), were appointed managers; Reinagle as musical director, and Wignell as stage director as well as overseer of business affairs.

Reinagle's first task, however, was to supervise the building of the new structure that was to be known as the New Theatre in Chestnut Street, while Wignell's initial responsibility was to recruit a company of actors and singers from Europe. Reinagle, consequently, relinquished most of his performing and teaching engagements, and devoted himself almost exclusively to his new business undertaking. This marks a milestone in Reinagle's life.

The plans for the new hall were entrusted to a Mr. Richards. This fact is obtained from another of Mr. Sonneck's published works, Early Opera in America.[28] Sonneck points out that Mr. Richards was Reinagle's brother-in-law.

[28] Sonneck, "Opera," op. cit., p. 113.

As Reinagle had but one sister, who married Joseph Schetky, it can be surmised that Mr. Richards was related to Reinagle by the marriage of Reinagle to his sister. This is the first reference to Reinagle's personal life in the new world. (More will be said about Reinagle's marriages and descendents a bit later.[29])

In any case, Mr. Richards was well qualified for the job. Prior to the New Theatre project, it was he who furnished the designs for the remodelling of Covent Garden, in London. The Philadelphia establishment was a perfect copy of the Theatre Royal at Bath. Although the theater was occupied long before, the facade was not finished until 1805. The new hall was a sumptuous and impressive structure. It came to be considered "one of the seven wonders of America."[30]

Everyone was enthusiastic about the new project. In fact the workmen were so energetic that the interior of the theater was completed far ahead of schedule, already in January, 1793. But after the building was completed the stockholders showed such impatience for its opening Reinagle decided to preview the hall to the general public by throwing the doors open for public inspection of the theater, and by arranging three popular concerts to be held on February 2, 4, and 7, 1793, respectively.

After the public concerts the New Theatre was closed for slightly over one year. The reasons for this strange

[29] See p. 57.

[30] Sonneck, "Opera," op. cit., p. 113.

procedure were two-fold. First of all, Wignell was so deliberate in his selection of his company that he did not return to America until September, 1793. Then, when he arrived, he was immediately informed of the terrible yellow-fever epidemic which plagued Philadelphia. Under the circumstances, the company could not open the Chestnut Street Theatre at that time. They remained in New Jersey until December, and then went to Annapolis for two months, delaying the formal opening of the theater until February 17, 1794. The opening production of the company was a performance of Samuel Arnold's opera, The Castle of Andalusia.

The repertory of the New Theatre throughout the time of Reinagle's musical direction, included a variety of stage presentations similar to that of the Old American Company. But under Reinagle's musical direction a greater emphasis was placed on musical works, primarily ballad operas, such as Arnold's Castle, and John Gay's renowned Beggar's Opera. Even the spoken dramas included a great deal of incidental music as well as a variety of vocal selections interspersed throughout the plays as Reinagle felt necessary. Consequently, because of Reinagle's concern for the music and because of the intended stature of the New Theatre, the orchestra that Reinagle employed for his company was far more complete in its instrumentation than what was found elsewhere in America of that day. The orchestra, of course, was in addition to the resident troupe of operatic performers, actors, and choral members.

The size and make-up of Reinagle's orchestra is of considerable historical importance. The orchestra consisted of a full complement of strings, two flutes, two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, three trumpets, tympani, two grand pianos, and an organ. This ensemble of at least thirty performers gave to the American public a full and complete orchestra for the very first time, so far as any known records show.[31]

The first season of the New Theatre extended through mid-July of 1794, and included no less than seventy performances of forty-three different operas and pantomimes.[32] The rigorous, impressive schedule of the opening season was repeated for the six following ones, and with no less determination.

After the close of the first season, the company moved to Baltimore, the city decided upon as a permanent substation. But December of that year found them back in Philadelphia, where they again remained until June. The same schedule was repeated in 1795-96. Following this season, however, the company was obliged to close in May because of an expanded tour which found them giving performances in New York, Baltimore, and Annapolis, in much

[31] Parker, loc. cit.

[32] Sonneck, "Opera," op. cit., Table C, following p. 124.

the same way as did the Old American Company.[33]

The entire New Theatre project was based on the idea of giving equality to the dramatic and operatic departments, a significant fact in the development of English opera in America, and also a factor leading to the downfall and eventual failure of the project.

That the New Theatre was significant in the development of opera in the United States is incontrovertible. Not only did they produce so many performances of so many different works in four of the biggest metropolitan areas, but as revealed in journals contemporary to that period the performances were of such high quality that finding a company able to produce the equivalent could not have been possible anywhere outside of London. Statistics were cited earlier of the volume of productions given in Philadelphia, during the opening season. To these can be added some others relevant to the issue at hand. Philadelphia was in many ways the cultural capital of the U.S. during the last two decades of the eighteenth century. In relation to it Baltimore, the chosen substation of the Wignell-Reinagle company, was hardly an equal. True, it had had the benefit of the Old American Company before the New Theatre, but in no way could Baltimore be considered an operatic center to rival Philadelphia. In a sense

[33] Only once did they deviate from opening in December, when in 1799 the opening was delayed until the fifth of February.

it might be considered an operatic suburb of Philadelphia.

In 1794, following the opening season in Philadelphia, the New Theatre produced no less than thirty-one performances of twenty-five operas in less than two months at Baltimore. In the following year they gave fifty-four performances in four months, and in the years that followed similar schedules were maintained. Mere numbers of performances are not in themselves a true indication of the state of opera, but they constitute an important aspect of that state.

The tremendous preoccupation of the New Theatre with opera eventually led to its failure, at least with respect to enriching the stockholders, (as will be explained shortly). But for a prominent company to produce so many operas, obviously the performances were attended, otherwise the company would surely have gone bankrupt in no time.

The great failure of the Wignell-Reinagle endeavor was not the result of the inferiority of their productions, but rather, their inability to make money. Many factors were involved.

To begin with, the company started out with a debt of over $20,000. The yellow-fever epidemic, delaying the grand opening, accounted for a portion of the sum, as the troupe had to be maintained for the six months during which there was no income. This expense was over and above the

initial costs of hiring the troupe, paying their salaries and their transportation to the U.S. And the sum does not include the costs of erecting and equipping the new building itself.

These debts would have been incurred regardless of the policy to emphasize music, so what must be understood are those expenditures specifically related to musical productions. The immediate expenses include the enormous cost of maintaining a large orchestra as well as a chorus. In addition, the musical instruments of all kinds, as was the custom, were the property of the management. The orchestral music had to be obtained. In the case of the New Theatre this amounted to an expense of nearly two thousand dollars. (All of the music was later destroyed by fire.) Then the leading singers had to be paid. As most of the soloists had been taken from Drury Lane and Covent Garden, they were in a position to demand the highest salaries. And finally, the added costs of operatic production, so very much greater than stage plays, also increased the total expenses.

It is true that quite often the receipts of the house were increased by producing an opera rather than merely a drama, but such increases only represented gross receipts. The result of a balance of receipts and expenditures constantly proved that the extra expenses

rendered a profit scarcely within probability.[34] In effect, with such an outstanding debt to begin with, the Wignell-Reinagle endeavor was a losing proposition from the start. In fact, it is remarkable that they existed for as long as they did.

The turn of the century also found a decrease in interest in the musical theater. English opera was declining in popularity in favor of other forms of entertainment; dramatic plays, farces, and the circus were just a few of the more popular attractions. Under those circumstances it is not surprising that the industrious activities of Reinagle as opera-composer and arranger of imported works were doomed to speedy oblivion. Of his many years of tireless work in the theater only two compositions have been located. Two copies of an "Indian March," from Reinagle's opera Columbus, or The Discovery of America, have been found, as has a score to The Volunteers, a comic opera, the text of which was written by Mrs. Susanna Rowson, author of one of the earliest American novels, Charlotte Temple, 1791.[35]

No one knows precisely Reinagle's total output during the years 1793 to 1800. We know he had written at least eight complete operas and eight pantomimes, seeming-

[34] Sonneck, "Opera," op. cit., p. 125.

[35] Chase, op. cit., p. 115.

ly countless arrangements of songs and ensembles, overtures, ballets, not to mention incidental music for plays and other stage productions. It must be remembered that Reinagle was the musical director of the theater, and as such was involved as either composer, arranger, conductor, or performer, or all, in what can be estimated at somewhere between seven hundred and one thousand performances during that time. And all of this within seven years!

It suffices for now to mention only some of his major contributions, as determined from contemporary evaluation. The opera Columbus, referred to previously, was one of the few works of this period known to have been published. It was copyrighted at Philadelphia in 1799, but no copy has been located.

Other works include Slaves in Algiers, or A Struggle for Freedom, described as a play interspersed with songs; The Savoyard, or The Repentant Seducer, a musical farce; and Pizarro, or The Spaniards in Peru, an historic tragedy in five acts written in collaboration with Raynor Taylor, Reinagle's old friend and teacher from England, who followed him to America in 1793.

Pizarro was not the only work which Reinagle and Taylor wrote jointly. What is reported to have been a "great" work, and a most unfortunate loss,[36] since the

[36] Sonneck, "Opera," op. cit., p. 131.

work has never been located, is a "Monody" composed in December, 1799 as a tribute to the memory of George Washington.

Mr. Sonneck's table of information listing the dates of performances of the Wignell-Reinagle company stops with the completion of the 1800 season in Philadelphia, (May 31). Furthermore, as no attempt to offer information pertaining to events following the year 1800 has been made by Mr. Sonneck in his book Early Opera in America, and since his work in the field of early opera is the only major study of its kind, there is no record available as to the fate of the New Theatre. One obscure reference in another portion of Sonneck's book, states that in the year 1800 Wignell and Reinagle extended their sphere of influence to Washington D.C., where they, "Remodelled Blodgett's Inn for their own purposes and gave it a name so full of suggestion: The United States Theatre!"[37]

What the outcome of their Washington expansion was, what eventually happened in Philadelphia, in Baltimore, are all questions which must remain unanswered for the time being, and until new evidence is discovered. We do know that Thomas Wignell died in 1803, and that following Wignell's death Reinagle continued to manage the New Theatre for a short time. During this period Mrs.

[37] Sonneck, "Opera," op. cit., p. 196.

Wignell took over as co-director.

THE LAST YEARS

Practically nothing is known of Reinagle's activities in any area following the year 1800. One choice bit of information frequently referred to by modern chroniclers and encyclopedists, when writing about Reinagle, is a fact which can be traced back to the writings of John Parker. From Parker we learn of Reinagle's musical preoccupation during the latter years of his life. Reinagle was engaged in composing music to parts of John Milton's Paradise Lost, a work which he did not live to complete. It was intended to be performed in oratorio style, except that instead of recitatives, the best speakers were to be engaged in reciting the "intermediate passages."[38] From Oscar Sonneck we learn that the manuscript of this work was extant until about the turn of the twentieth century, when it disappeared from the private library of Reinagle's grandson, Mr. Lewis Johnson Davis, of Washington D.C.[39] Once again a work which could have been so helpful in the study of an important man has been lost, with little hope for its recovery. The only other thing

[38] Parker, loc. cit.

[39] Oscar G. Sonneck, Bibliography of Early American Secular Music, (Washington D.C., H.C. McQueen, 1905), p. 521.

known about Reinagle's activities during this first decade of the nineteenth century, years which turned out to be his last ones, is that he moved to Baltimore where he managed another theater until his death. Reinagle died in Baltimore on September 21, 1809, at the age of fifty-three.

Very little information is available pertaining to Reinagle's personal life. As was indicated previously, mention of Reinagle's brother-in-law was the first knowledge of any relations of his outside of his immediate family.[40] From his marriage to the former Miss Richards two sons were born; Thomas and Hugh. No dates of birth are available, or even knowledge as to which was the elder. But Hugh Reinagle (apparently named after Reinagle's youngest brother who died in Portugal), is believed to have been born around the year 1790. He grew to become a respected painter in Philadelphia, specializing in landscapes and scenes. He died near New Orleans in May, 1834.

On September 20, 1803, Reinagle married for the second time. Knowledge of his first marriage and its ensuing conclusion is veiled in mystery. Reinagle's second bride was Anna Duport, daughter of the celebrated dancing master, Pierre Landrin Duport, of Philadelphia and Baltimore fame. Duport was actively involved with many of the

[40] See p. 46.

Wignell-Reinagle productions, since dance became an increasingly popular medium in theatrical productions. A daughter, Georgianna, was born eight months after Reinagle's death in 1809. It was the son of this daughter who in 1904 donated to the Library of Congress what personal effects we have.

The biographical section just completed is as comprehensive a study of the life of Alexander Reinagle as is possible considering the information available to historians. But what sort of man was he?

In this area we are fortunate in having available several contemporary descriptions of his manners and personality. A very descriptive "pen-picture" of Reinagle appears in the reminiscences of Charles Durang, published in his History of the Stage in Philadelphia.[41]

> Who that only once saw old manager Reinagle in his official capacity, could ever forget his dignified "personne." He presided at his piano-

[41] Charles Durang, History of the Philadelphia Stage: 1749-1855, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, 1868), Chapter 19. A curious set of circumstances has manifest itself with regard to this source. Robert R. Drummond, in his article, "Alexander Reinagle and His Connection with the Musical Life of Philadelphia," published in the German-American Annals, Vol. 5 (1907), pp. 294-306, included four quotations from Durang's work, including the description of Reinagle quoted in the present study. Drummond's references to his quotes only stated the following: "Durang, History of the Stage in Philadelphia," and the appropriate chapter number. Since the publication of Drummond's article no less than four, and possibly more authors have included the same exact quotation as the one I have, in works of their own. (They include Chase, David Ewen, J.T. Howard, and Sonneck.)

> forte looking the very personification of the patriarch of music--investing the science of harmonious sounds, as well as the dramatic school, with a moral influence reflecting and adorning its salutary uses with high respectability and polished manners. His appearance was of the reverend and impressive kind, which at once inspired the universal respect of the audience. Such was Reinagle's imposing appearance that it awed the disorderly of the galleries, or the fop of annoying propensities and impertinent criticism of the box lobby, into decorum. No vulgar, noisy emanations were heard from the pit of that day; that portion of the theatre was then the resort of the well informed critic. The intellectual taste and analytical judgment of our city congregated there to listen, to follow the track of the actor's readings.... It was truly inspiring to behold the polished Reinagle saluting from his seat (before the "grand square pianoforte" in the orchestra) the highest respectability of the city, as it entered into the boxes to take seats. It was a scene before the curtain that suggested a picture of the master of private ceremonies receiving his invited guests at the fashionable drawingroom. Mr. Reinagle was a gentleman and a musician.[42]

From each of their footnote references it is clear that they took the quote directly from Drummond, as all of them are incomplete and Drummond's is chronologically the earliest. The source, incidentally, is a set of six scrapbooks made up chiefly of clippings of the author's articles and reviews in the Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch, plus pictures, portraits, and playbills. It is partially compiled from the papers of John Durang, (father of the author, and active participant in many of the productions given by both the Old American Company and the New Theatre), with notes by the author. The collection is also illustrated by Thompson Wescott, and has recently been filmed for distribution to libraries.

[42] Sonneck, "Opera," op. cit., pp. 118-19.

With regard to Reinagle as a performer the recollections of John Parker are both relevant and informative.

> His style of playing the piano forte was peculiarly his own. He never aimed at excessive execution, but there was a sweetness of manner, nay, in the way he touched the instrument I might add, there was a sweetness of tone which, combined with exquisite taste and neatness, produced unusual feelings of delight.
>
> His powers on the violin, though not equal to the latter, were nevertheless of the same nature. He could also take a part in a band on the flute, the trumpet, or the violincello."[43]

Reinagle was very likely, or according to Ernst Krohn, "undoubtedly the foremost American pianist of his time."[44] In Krohn's words, and with reference to Parker's description, "Reinagle stands revealed as a pianist who was preëminently a musician, to whom 'sweetness of tone' and 'the way he touched the instrument' were of exceeding import."[45]

So it is that Reinagle, both a gentleman and a musician, (a combination extremely difficult to achieve in those days), has contributed immeasurably to the development of three important areas of music. I have discussed his pedagogical contributions in terms of his work as a music teacher and composer-arranger of instructional materials. I have stressed his importance in the development of public taste and appreciation for good music, and have

[43] Parker, loc. cit.

[44] Krohn, op. cit., p. 148.

[45] Ibid.

shown that his contributions toward this end, both as a conductor and performer, are immeasurable. And finally, in the area of composition, I have tried to show (and will further substantiate the conclusions by musical analysis), that Reinagle's works rank among the most important to be written in the United States during his lifetime.

In view of the lacunae apparent in nearly every paragraph of the foregoing, one cannot help but be amused by Sonneck's statement in 1907, published in his Early Opera in America, "Data on the life of Reinagle...are now so easily accessible that they may be dispensed with here."[46] Apparently Sonneck had access to a great deal of information not available in 1968.

[46] Sonneck, "Opera," op. cit., p. 118.

PART III

A STYLE-CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE FOUR KEYBOARD SONATAS COMPRISING THE REINAGLE MANUSCRIPT L.C. NO. ML96.R28.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

The manuscript containing the four American keyboard sonatas of Alexander Reinagle is in the possession of the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. The manuscript was found among the personal effects of Reinagle, which were presented to the Library of Congress in 1904.

With regard to the manuscript, there is no way to prove the fact, yet at the same time there is no reason to doubt, that the manuscript was written, i.e., copied, by Reinagle himself. None of the music contained in the manuscript was ever published in his lifetime, or even until over one hundred fifty years after his death.[1] But it is known that Reinagle performed his own music; consequently it may be assumed that he performed the works reading from his own manuscript.

The sonata manuscript, (Library of Congress catalog number ML96.R28), contains seventy-two pages in all. In actuality the manuscript consists of two gatherings, apparently not joined; the first consisting of twenty-four pages, and the second, forty-eight pages. The music was written with black ink on white manuscript paper, the staves of which were printed. It is thirty-one cm. high

[1] A modern edition of the four American Sonatas is currently being prepared by Frederick Freedman and is already scheduled for publication by the Da Capo Press of New York.

by twenty-five cm. wide. Each gathering was at one time apparently sewn together with black thread.

The place of origin of the manuscript can be established as Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, since the cover page of the first gathering bears the name of the city in Reinagle's handwriting. The place of origin is also consistent with the fact that Reinagle lived in Philadelphia during most of his life in America.

No date is to be found anywhere in the manuscript. As has been previously stated, however, based upon written records of concert programs, the sonatas are all believed to have been written during the period of Reinagle's life when he was actively involved with concerts, recitals, and subscription series. This period begins no earlier than September, 1786 and extends to no later than December, 1791. Consequently, the probable date of the manuscript falls within this five year period. Because of frequent program entries during the years 1787 and 1788, indicating Reinagle as the composer of sonatas, the date of composition is most likely closer to the earlier date given above.

Except for a peculiar and incomplete numbering system, which may easily be disputed, and about which more is stated below, there is no clear indication as to which of the two gatherings ought to be placed first, or for that matter, whether the two gatherings belong together

in the first place. Although the dating of all music contained in both gatherings of the manuscript can be established, as stated above, there exists no evidence that the gatherings followed one another, or that several years did not separate the compositions of the music within them.

Furthermore, no evidence exists that would enable one to determine whether works contained within each gathering were composed or copied at the same time or following one another. It is conceivable that after completing one composition Reinagle may have waited months or even years before composing another, at which time he may have chosen to copy the new work on the blank pages of a partially filled manuscript book.

No complete catalog of the works of Reinagle has yet been attempted, and the likelihood of such a catalog is remote indeed. One reason is the tragic fire in the New Theatre, during the 1790's, at which time a vast quantity of Reinagle's music was supposedly destroyed. As mentioned earlier, we know from concert programs of the time that Reinagle composed a considerable amount of music during this period, in the form of art songs, chamber music, orchestral music, and keyboard music.[2] Of all the music he composed the keyboard sonatas contained in the manuscript under investigation in this paper are the only

[2] See Part II, p. 40.

examples of his music from this period of his life that have come down to us.

An analysis of the contents of the surviving manuscript follows. Because of the relatively small amount of Reinagle's music available, in comparison with all he has written, and because the keyboard works under investigation represent only one compositional period in the life of a composer who was active in many other periods and in many other media as well, the reader is asked to bear in mind that whatever information is presented is restricted by these built-in limitations. Comments about Reinagle's musical style and methods of composition drawn from an analysis of his sonatas can pertain only to those sonatas. No attempt will be made to generalize for all works Reinagle has written, as conclusions of that nature would be impossible to draw from so few works, and would consequently be of no value.

The Reinagle Manuscript, therefore, is a document in which is preserved a collection of four piano sonatas by a distinguished and renowned composer of the late eighteenth century. From direct evidence, i.e., the manuscript itself, from historical records, (programs and diary entries, by George Washington, among others), and from speculation based upon customs of the times, we may assume that the manuscript was written by the composer in the city of Philadelphia during at most a five-year period,

1786 - 1791. Furthermore, we may assume that the sonatas included in the manuscript are representative of the kind of music Reinagle wrote for that particular medium in that period of his life. And finally, we may assume that because of Reinagle's social and professional position in the musical world of America in the late 1700's, and because of the nature of that world, i.e., the musical traditions and performance practices, the sonatas are probably outstanding examples (models) of the kind of keyboard music being composed, performed and heard by the concert audiences in America. The ensuing detailed analysis, therefore, may reveal a great deal about the nature of the music composed, performed and heard during Reinagle's generation.

CONTENTS

The Reinagle Manuscript preserves the only known keyboard sonatas written by Reinagle, and is devoted to four sonatas exclusively.

There is ambiguity in the numbering order of the sonatas, which if maintained here could lead to confusion. The sonatas have been numbered in a different and possibly somewhat later hand from that of Reinagle. A Roman numeral appears at the beginning of the first system of the first movement of each sonata, except for the sonata which occurs third in the manuscript. The omission of an

identifying Roman numeral of the sonata which occurs third may very likely have been due to inattention on the part of the person who initially numbered the sonatas. The first and second sonatas occur in the sequence of their numbers. The sonata which appears third bears no number, and the sonata which appears last is labeled "Sonata III." Therefore, for purposes of the present study the sonatas shall be referred to by their order in the manuscript, regardless of the fact that this is at variance with the labeling in the last instance. Here then is the order and numbering that will be used in the ensuing study:

Sonata I in D Major
Sonata II in E Major
Sonata III in F Major
Sonata IV in C Major

The order of movements within each sonata is not numbered in the manuscript, but will be in this study, once again in the order in which the manuscript presents them. The number of each sonata will be referred to by its Roman numeral, and the movement number by a succeeding Arabic number. For example, III-2, refers to the third sonata, second movement.

As discussed in the preceding section, generally speaking, the collection of sonatas can be thought to be representative of keyboard compositions being written in the last half of the eighteenth century -- a sort of bridge between the pre-classical works of the Bach sons

and the more developed classical era of Haydn and Mozart. Strong elements of both exist. It is not in their originality that the primary value of these works lies, but rather in their own intrinsic value and in their historical function as one of the bases for musical taste in a new nation.

The overall structure of the "sonata group," in the 1780's, of which each of the Reinagle sonatas is a representative example, consists of a series of contrasting movements; each movement following established standards of character and form.

Three of Reinagle's sonatas (II, III, and IV) have three movements, arranged fast, slow, fast, while the first sonata has only two movements, both fast. But a curious thing is that two additional movements, both theme and variations, are appended to the two fast movements of the first sonata.[3] In all, therefore, the manuscript contains thirteen movements; four in some way associated with the first sonata, and three, with each of the other three sonatas.

The sonata group, of the fast-slow-fast type, which Reinagle clearly preferred, had been used extensively by instrumental composers as far back as Alessandro Scarlatti and Vivaldi. These men, among others, helped to establish

[3] Reasons for considering the two variations movements as being appended will be discussed later.

it as the standard form of the Italian overture and the concerto, for which it has been retained to the present day. Bach employed it for all but the first of his Brandenburg concerti, his Italian Concerto, and his six organ sonatas, which are said to be among the first keyboard sonatas written in this form.[4] Other composers of harpsichord sonatas, such as Sammartini, Galuppi, Paradisi, and Rutini, also wrote sonatas in three movements, but frequently reduced the number to two and even one, as the one-movement sonata form of Domenico Scarlatti.[5] The status of sonata movements between 1730 and 1760 can perhaps best be illustrated by mentioning characteristic sonata tempi:

Andantino-Allegro-Presto
Larghetto-Allegro-Minuetto
Allegro-Minuetto

It was only after the decline of the contrapuntal style of the Baroque that the classical three-movement sonata structure began to become more evident. Surely one of the earliest advocates of the form was Johann Stamitz, leader of the Mannheim School, and some of his followers, who are generally credited with establishing the four-movement sonata scheme Allegro-Adagio-Minuet-

[4] Willi Apel, ed., Harvard Dictionary of Music, (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 691 ff.

[5] For further information pertaining to the number of movements in Italian keyboard sonatas see William S. Newman, The Sonata in the Classical Era, (Chapel Hill, N.C., The University of North Carolina Press, 1963), passim.

Allegro.[6] C.P.E. Bach also greatly favored the fast-slow-fast three-movement sonata form, as can be seen by even a cursory glance at his keyboard works. In his six books of Sonaten für Kenner und Liebhaber, of the eighteen sonatas all but two are in three movements, with representative tempi as follows:

Prestissimo-Andante-Allegretto
Andante-Larghetto-Allegro assai
Allegretto-Larghetto-Allegro

The three Reinagle sonatas written in three movements have tempi as follows:

Allegro-Adagio-Allegro
Allegro-Andante-Allegretto
Allegro con Brio-Adagio-Allegro

The development of the sonata form into four movements, with the addition of a minuet or scherzo, was well under way by the time of Haydn and Mozart. Practically all the symphonies and quartets of Haydn and Mozart are in four movements. But for some reason the sonata structure of the keyboard sonata remained at three movements.

Of the fifty-five complete piano sonatas by Haydn,[7] forty-two are in three movements while eleven are in two and only two sonatas are in four movements. It is not until the generation of Beethoven that the four-movement

[6] Apel, op. cit., p. 644, "The introduction of the four-movement scheme...must be credited to the founder of the Mannheim School, Johann Stamitz...."

[7] Joseph Haydn, Sämtliche Klaviersonaten, 3 Vols., edited by Christa Landon, (Vienna, Universal Edition, 1964).

scheme becomes the standard type for all categories of sonatas.

The two-movement sonata group, the form of eleven of Haydn's and the first of the four Reinagle sonatas, is a form which has its roots in the Baroque period, as stated earlier. The two-movement sonata form was also the favorite of J.C. Bach, and many of his contemporaries. It is very likely that Reinagle was following J.C. Bach's lead when composing his first sonata, and only later saw advantages in the three-movement form.

To reiterate and emphasize a point at this time, it is only assumed that Reinagle's two-movement sonata, sonata I, was composed earlier than the other three. And what is more, there is no way of knowing at this time how much time separated the composition of Reinagle's keyboard works.

A discussion of the keys of movements now seems in order. The list below shows the key in which each of Reinagle's movements was written.

Sonata I-1	D	Major
2	D	Major
3	A	Major
4	D	Major
II-1	E	Major
2	e	minor
3	E	Major
III-1	F	Major
2	f	minor
3	F	Major

IV-1 C Major
2 c minor
3 C Major

Examining the three-movement sonata forms first, it can easily be seen that the last movements are always in the same key as the first of the same work, and that all fast movements are in major. Secondly it can be seen that the slow movements are all in minor, and what is more, they are all in the parallel minor of the key of the sonata.

This is a curious circumstance, that the slow movements are all in the parallel minors. Of the ten keyboard sonatas by J.C. Bach that are available to me, only four are written in three movements, and none has a key scheme between movements like that employed by Reinagle. Of the C.P.E. Bach sonatas in the six volumes of Sonaten, frien Fantasien, und Rondos für Kenner und Liebhaber, sixteen, as mentioned above, are in three movements, and of these only nine are in major, and of these only two employ the parallel minor as the key for the slow movement, or approximately 22%. Of the forty-two complete Haydn sonatas in three movements, thirty-seven are in major, and of these eight have the key scheme of major, parallel minor, and major for the three movements, or also approximately 22%.

From the above information it would appear that for Reinagle to employ the key scheme major, parallel minor,

major, for all three of his three-movement sonatas, he certainly must have preferred that combination to any other, but was not blindly following in an established tradition. Precisely what sonatas by other composers Reinagle admired, or for what matter even had available to him, is not known with certainty. Surely the J.C. Bach sonatas opus 5 and 17 were available to Reinagle, as were the C.P.E. Bach six volumes of sonatas. But because of the lack of direct reference to specific Haydn works, or any other works in the concert programs of the day,[8] the extent to which Haydn's keyboard works influenced Reinagle directly is difficult to establish. It would be most convenient if we knew of a specific model for Reinagle's key scheme. But it must also be understood that even though there is an abundance of possible examples, the concept is not so sophisticated; consequently Reinagle really would not have needed a model at all.

The first sonata by Reinagle, as mentioned earlier, has four movements in some way associated with it. A first impression would be that the sonata consisted of all four movements in the order in which they appear. Such an interpretation is unfounded, however, in view of the form and tempi of the respective movements. Movements one and two are both fast movements in sonata form, while movements three and four are both theme and variations in

[8] See Part II, p. 42.

a moderate or andante tempo. Such an arrangement and combination of movements in a sonata would indeed be unique. Nowhere in the literature of keyboard music of the eighteenth century can a sonata of this type be found.

What then is the relationship between the two variations movements and the two allegro movements? The relationship is not at all clear, nor is the placement of the variations movements relative to the other movements in the manuscript. In fact it is questionable that a connection was ever intended.

The two-movement sonata, however, was an accepted form; and the two allegro movements of Sonata I together could easily be considered a complete work. Both movements are written in the key of D Major, a key scheme that was the most common for two-movement sonatas, and a fact which further justifies considering them as a complete unit. In fact J.C. Bach employed this scheme in all of his two-movement sonatas, as did C.P.E. Bach in the only one which he composed,[9] and even Haydn in all of the eleven he wrote.

As two movements are already in an allegro tempo it is highly unlikely that a slower movement would be appended to them. It is possible that one or the other slower movements was intended as a contrasting middle movement.

[9] C.P.E. Bach, Sonaten...für Kenner und Liebhaber, Bk. II, Sonata No. 2 in F Major.

But as the first of the variations movements is in the key of the dominant while the second is in that of the tonic, and as neither is in the parallel minor, the contrasting key used in all of Reinagle's other sonatas, the function of the variations movements in Sonata I is made more obscure.

Another aspect further complicating our understanding of the presence of the two additional movements is the fact that they are both in theme and variations form. It is true enough that the variations form was common in that day, but movements I-3 and I-4 are the only examples of that form that are known to have been composed by Reinagle. As will be discussed shortly, Reinagle utilized the slow ABA song form or a modification of the song form as the contrasting middle movement of his other three sonatas. So, had Reinagle intended that an additional movement be inserted between the two fast movements of his Sonata I, a movement composed in the style of his other slow movements would most certainly have been more in keeping with the practice followed in Reinagle's other works.

Because the two-movement sonata, a sonata consisting of the two fast movements of Sonata I without a contrasting movement, was a standard form of the late 1700's, (J.C. Bach, C.P.E. Bach, and Haydn all composed in this form), because the two theme and variations movements

occur after the two fast movements without any explanatory note, and because the keys of the theme and variations forms further tend to disassociate them directly from the sonata, I suspect that Sonata I was initially intended to be a two-movement work, and that the theme and variations movements were composed at a later time, perhaps as incidental movements either to be performed as independent works, to fill out a concert program, or even to be used as encore numbers. They were perhaps even inserted, (if so only one at a time), between the two fast movements, where a longer work was called for, or where Reinagle chose to perform a work in the tradition of a three-movement sonata form. Ernst Krohn, in his article on Reinagle in Musical Quarterly,[10] offers as explanation to this problem that the additional movements were experiments. It is interesting to note that the only recording of the sonata includes only the two fast movements.[11]

As mentioned above, the theme and variations forms of Sonata I, movements 3 and 4, are the only examples of that form composed by Reinagle. The other eleven move-

[10] Ernst Krohn, "Reinagle as Sonatist," Musical Quarterly, Vol. 18 (1932), p. 146. Krohn, based upon the "sound" of the works prefers the first theme and variations movement, I-3, in A Major, to the second stating that if one were to be used as a contrasting movement, "The 'Andante' in A Major as middle movement...would prove to be the most satisfying...." (I tend to agree; see fn. 16, below.)

[11] The recording of Sonata I in D Major is performed by Eugene List on the Musical Heritage Society record no. 733.

ments in the manuscript contain five examples of modified sonata-allegro form, three examples of rondo-type form, and three examples of a slow song or modified-song form.

INTERNAL SONATA STRUCTURE

The different movements of each sonata contain no common material which would serve to unify the entire work. Each movement was apparently conceived of as an independent unit, the only thing remaining constant being the key relationship between the movements. With regard to melodic material, rhythm, meter, etc., Reinagle's sonatas remain very much in the tradition of the rococo, early classical keyboard sonatas of C.P.E. Bach and early Haydn.

The first movements of all four sonatas and the second movement of Sonata I are all in what can best be described as modified sonata-allegro form.

Sonata-allegro form, or "Sonata-form," is a term describing the design most often used since ca. 1750 for the first movement, and on occasions for the slow movements and last movements of a sonata (or multi-movement work such as a symphony, quartet, concerto, keyboard or instrumental sonata, etc.). No two scholars will ever agree on the exact plan or model for a sonata movement form, since the term is a generalization from many particulars, and to a greater or lesser extent nearly all compositions employing the structure of Sonata-form are modified in some way.

Nevertheless, by the end of the eighteenth century certain broader characteristics came to be associated with works composed along the general lines of the abstracted model.

There is an exposition section, consisting of a number of themes. There is a development section, sometimes called a discursive treatment, or fantasia section, during which time the composer amplifies, enlarges, unfolds, and generally treats or "matures" the material or a portion of the material he has introduced in the exposition. Finally there is a recapitulation or return or restatement of the original material in much the same way it was first presented in the exposition section, perhaps with minor modifications.

The last section is often followed by a coda of shorter or longer duration, rounding off and concluding the movement. Some movements actually were begun with an introductory section, usually written in a slower tempo, which leads to the statement of the material in the exposition section.

In the vast majority of the movements in sonata-allegro form, composed during the period 1750 to 1790, the exposition was repeated before going on to the development section. Explanation for the repetition usually takes into consideration the relative brevity of the section and the importance of impressing upon the listener

the material later to be "developed."

In addition to the superstructure a high degree of internal logic is maintained harmonically by the establishment of a "home key," and the consequent modulations away from it, building up tension, to the eventual return to the tonic. The modulation away from the tonic generally begins with that to the dominant (or relative major, if the home key is in minor). The second subject is usually introduced in the dominant or relative major. Following the exposition section, the development section then modulates farther and farther away from the home key, exploring more and more remote tonal centers. It then returns to the tonic for the recapitulation, remaining in the tonic for the restatement of the second subject so as to conclude the movement in the tonal region of the home key. A theoretical schematic diagram of the classical sonata-allegro form would then look as follows:

/Diagram 1/

Optional Intro.	Exposition	Development	Recap.	Optional Coda
	Th. 1 in Tonic Th. 2 in Dom.	...of material in Exposit.	Th. 1 in T Th. 2 in T	

Historically, the sonata-allegro form developed from its earliest noticeable likeness to the sophisticated model outlined in Diagram I over a period of sixty to eighty years. Dance movements, da capo arias, and operatic sinfonia were early prototypes of the sonata-allegro

form. These forms were all basically binary or ternary, and first appeared around the turn of the eighteenth century.

The overall structure of the early forms was essentially the same as that of the more developed sonata-allegro form except for the clear difference of the continuous style of the earlier examples, as compared with the use of contrasting themes of the more developed sonata movements. By 1742 the use of contrasting themes, (specifically in the Prussian Sonatas of C.P.E. Bach), was already fully developed and firmly established. The scheme of the sonata-form consisted of an exposition section, repeated, followed by a development and recapitulation, also repeated.

From the above stage of development to the fully developed form of the mature Haydn and Mozart sonatas the predominant changes are stylistic ones. But in addition, two other important schematic changes occurred. First, the repetition of the development and recapitulation was abandoned, and second, the repetition of the main theme, at the outset of the development section, was also abandoned. In other words, prior to the schematic changes, a diagram of the form would look as follows:

/Diagram 27

Exposition	Development	Recapitulation
Theme 1 Theme 2	Th. 1 (8-16 bars) ...then further development	Theme 1 Theme 2

Following the schematic and stylistic changes the sonata-form evolved as shown in Diagram 1, on p. 80.

I have included a superficial discussion of the development of the sonata-allegro form so as to better place Reinagle's sonatas, more specifically the first movements of all his sonatas and the second movement of Sonata I, in historical perspective.

All of the above five movements fall, to a greater or lesser degree, into the type of sonata-form prior to the schematic alterations, as in Diagram 2. In addition, each movement represents a varying degree of stylistic sophistication, bridging the expanse between the Rococo style of the middle 1700's and the mature Classical style of the end of the century. It must also be remembered that the sonatas were composed in Philadelphia, at that time very greatly removed from the musical developments of Vienna.

All of the sonata movements have an overall scheme which looks like Diagram 2. Movement I-2, however, has no repeat marks except one at the very end. I believe the omission of repeat signs to be an oversight, as otherwise the performer would be required to repeat the entire movement as written. Such a repetition would be extremely unusual and unexplained. With the insertion of a double repeat sign following the exposition, the sonata movement would read in the same way as all other examples

of the same form.

At closer examination, I-1 and III-1 are in C meter, II-1 and IV-1 are in 3/4 meter, and I-2, alone is in 6/8 meter. All movements have tempo markings of "Allegro" or "Allegro con Brio," and have the following number of measures: I-1, 149; I-2, 271; II-1, 220; III-1, 177; and IV-1, 215. Taking into consideration the meter and relative tempi, all movements except I-2 take approximately the same length of time to perform, plus or minus thirty or forty seconds. I-2 is somewhat shorter than the other movements.

All five allegro movements begin in major and modulate to the dominant for the second theme, remain in the dominant at the beginning of the development section, and return to the tonic at the recapitulation. None of the movements has an introduction or a coda. All of them begin the development section with a direct transposition of the opening measures of theme 1; I-1 repeating twelve measures, while all the others repeat eight measures intact. All of the development sections go on to develop theme one material, and none so much as hints at theme two material, although I-1 introduces new material in the development section. All development sections are harmonically varied, employing a progressive or "advancing," rather than a circular or "rondoesque" harmonic movement. III-1 explores key centers as far removed as the region

of the flat sub-mediant. Three of the five movements (I-1, I-2, and III-1) have only partial recapitulations, restating only theme two to the end.

A chart of the characteristics just discussed is included below:

CHART 1

	I-1	I-2	II-1	III-1	IV-1
mode	Major	Major	Major	Major	Major
meter	C	6/8	3/4	C	3/4
superstructure	as Diag. 2	as Diag. 2	as Diag. 2	as Diag. 2	as Diag. 2
tempo	Alg. con Brio	Allegro	Allegro	Allegro	Alg. con Brio
no. of measures	149	271	220	177	215
no. of ♩	596	406½	660	708	645
theme one	tonic	tonic	tonic	tonic	tonic
theme two	dominant	dominant	dominant	dominant	dominant
devel. begins	dominant	dominant	dominant	dominant	dominant
recapitulation	tonic	tonic	tonic	tonic	tonic
intro. or coda	no	no	no	no	no
dev. begins	Th. 1, 1-12	Th. 1, 1-8	Th. 1, 1-8	Th. 1, 1-8	Th. 1, 1-8
devel. develops	Th. 1 only	Th. 1 only	Th. 1 only	Th. 1 only	Th. 1 only
recap. of themes	Th. 2 only	Th. 2 only	Th. 1 & 2	Th. 1 only	Th. 1 & 2
harmony in dev.	advancing	advancing	advancing	advancing	advancing

What follows is a schematic chart of the tonal regions in the order in which they are explored in the development sections of the five sonata-allegro movements.

CHART 2

I-1	I-2	II-1	III-1	IV-1
V	V	V	V	V
I	vi	I	VII	vi
iii	II	vi	vi	ii
V	I	III	bVI	VI
I	ii	VI	I	ii
	III	III		bVII
	vi	vi		i
	I	V		I
		I		

What follows in Chart 3 is a breakdown of different tonal centers and an indication of what movements explore those regions.

CHART 3

(An X indicates that material employed in the development section occurs in that harmonic region.)

	I-1	I-2	II-1	III-1	IV-1
I	X	X	X	X	X
i					X
II		X			
ii		X			X
III		X	X		
iii	X				
V	X	X	X	X	X
bVI				X	
VI			X		
vi		X	X	X	X
bVII					X
VII				X	

THE RONDO-TYPE

The third movements of Sonatas II, III, and IV all fall into the same category, that of Rondo movements. Consequently I shall begin discussion of the Rondo by examining the common characteristics of the three Reinagle movements together, and attempting to place them into historical perspective.

The rondo, as a movement form, developed from the rondeau of the French clavecinists, and gradually became the accepted form for many final movements of the pre-classical and classical sonatas, and works employing the sonata group. The basic ingredient in the rondo is that of a reoccurring theme separated by passages made up of different material. The common outline of the rondo form usually adheres to one of the following or similar patterns, ("A" representing the rondo theme):

CHART 4

1.	A,B,A,C,A,D,A,
2.	A,B,A,C,A,B,A,
3.	A,B,A,C,A,
4.	A,B,A,B,A,
5.	A,B,A,C,B,A,
6.	A,B,A,C,A,D,A,B,A

As can be seen clearly, the repetition and recurrence of "A" is the dominant factor; the "A" section occurring at least three times throughout the movement.

By the middle of the eighteenth century the rondo was already a developed and independent form. The reader will recall that one of the initial interests Reinagle openly expressed for the music of C.P.E. Bach was for the set of Rondos included in Bach's six volumes of Sonaten, Freien Fantasien und Rondos für... Kenner und Liebhaber, and that Reinagle at one time entertained hopes for eventually publishing a collection of Bach's Rondos in England. Even J.C. Bach composed some rondos, although J.C. Bach always included them as minuets in a sonata. Rondos can also be found in some of the keyboard sonatas of Haydn. It is no wonder, therefore, that Reinagle chose to compose in the rondo form.

At the outset of the present discussion, another characteristic of the rondo must be mentioned -- one that is perhaps not so important from the point of structure as it is in temperament and principle. What I am referring to here is the spirit, the élan, the overall subjective feeling evoked by the music in rondo form during this period, expressing the essence of the dance form from which it ultimately developed. This spirit is ever present and accounts for the labeling of movements as "rondo" even when structural modifications no longer adhere to the

schematic form.

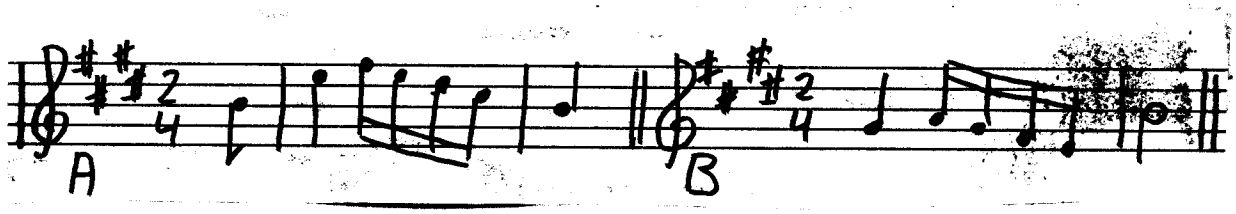
Of the three Reinagle rondos, II-3 and IV-3 are in strict rondo form. II-3 is of the first type, as outlined in Chart 4, while IV-3 is in the rounded form, or type 6, on the same chart. III-3 may also be considered a rondo, and is even labeled as such by Reinagle in the manuscript itself. Structurally speaking, however, III-3 must be considered a modified song form, but in its movement and spirit it is certainly a rondo in every sense of the word. More will be said about III-3 in the ensuing analysis.

Even a superficial glance at the Reinagle rondos, as compared with the C.P.E. Bach rondos, will immediately impress upon one the vast differences in the two composers' concepts of the rondo. Bach's rondos are all, for the most part, exercises for the technical proficiency of the performer, while Reinagle's rondos are more reserved, compact, "elegant," even refined. Bach's works are much freer in structure and often emphasize the pedagogic by means of intricate arpeggiation, or tremolo effects interspersed with rapid scales or sequential patterns. Reinagle, on the other hand, maintains a simpler more melodious style, never really breaking away from a reserved and pedagogic design.

Upon closer comparison of the rondos of Bach and Reinagle one will find an even more basic distinction in the composers' interpretation of the function of the rondo

form. Reinagle's rondos present the thematic material included in the A or refrain section in a sixteen measure (or if repeated, a thirty-two measure) section, then progress to a B section, which, although different, is based largely on the motivic material of A. See example 1, below.

Ex. 1, (II-3, measure 1 and measure 33).



Following the B section a direct repetition of A, without any repeats, concludes the first larger section. The conclusion of the first section is emphatically expressed by Reinagle by the inclusion of a double bar.

Following the double bar a new section begins, C, employing material not yet used. In both Reinagle rondos the C section extends for a far greater number of measures than any other single section of the movement. The C section concludes with a transition back to the A, with once again a direct repetition of the original A material.

Following the A is another extended section, one which can be called D. In both of the Reinagle examples of the strutural rondo form, although the D section is motivically similar to what has previously occurred, it is essentially new material. Once again, however, this sec-

tion concludes by a transition and the return of the rondo theme, again in its original form and in the original key. It is only at this point that the two Reinagle rondos show any substantial schematic differences. Following the A at the end of the D section, II-3 progresses to a coda, ending the movement. IV-3, on the other hand, returns to material previously presented in B, and again repeats the rondo theme intact before a coda completes the movement.

In contrast to Reinagle, C.P.E. Bach rarely if ever presents a rondo theme twice in the same exact way. Bach's style can best be described as a rondo-variation technique, for each entrance of a theme displays new figuration. Even the passages are variations of the main rondo theme. Whereas Bach relates his rondos more to variation forms and fantasia-like structures, Reinagle's rondos can be seen as relating more to the sonata-allegro structure of exposition, motivic decelopment, and recapitulation. IV-3 best demonstrates this fact, for its internal pattern may be outlined as follows:

/A, B, A,/ /C, A', D,/ /A, B, A, coda/

Rondos II-3 and IV-3 are both in 2/4 meter, and are in major. They are both labeled "Allegro," but curiously enough do not have the descriptive term "rondo" included with them in the manuscript.

The finale to Sonata III, as mentioned earlier, although labeled as such, is a rondo in spirit only. It is in 6/8 meter, and is also given the tempo marking of alle-

gretto. It is much shorter than the other finale movements, and demonstrates the influence of Haydn on Reinagle to a far greater extent than have any of the other movements discussed so far.

The opening melody is sixteen measures in length and is followed by a "B" section contrasting in format, but actually developing out of the same motivic material as is "A". The "B" section is concluded without a recurrence of "A", and after a double bar is immediately followed by a "C" section in minor, which is considerably longer than the other sections. In the midst of "C" comes a hint of the "A" material, measures 69-72. But the recurrence of "A" material serves only to tease the listener, and to perhaps remind him of the initial material, for it not even fully stated much less developed. The "A" section returns, however, following "C", and is heard in its original form. The movement ends with a brief coda.

What can be said then about the movement as a whole? Very definitely the strength of the movement lies in the melodic material. In fact, the melody is so strong and so reminiscent of a folk tune that upon hearing just the opening of the movement the listener would most probably anticipate a theme and variations rather than a modified-rondo. That is perhaps another reason why the absence of the primary theme following the "B" section, although missed, really does not detract from the listener's con-

cept of a "rondo-type" movement.

MIDDLE MOVEMENTS

The middle movements of Sonatas II, III, and IV are all relatively slow contrasting movements. As mentioned earlier they are also all written in the parallel minor of the key of the sonata. But at this point the similarities between the three movements come to an end. Only II-2 and IV-2 continue to demonstrate common characteristics. III-2 will be discussed individually somewhat later.

Movements II-2 and IV-2 are both Adagio movements and are in fairly straightforward ternary form. The A' section is a restatement of the second half of the initial A, only it is written in the tonic rather than the relative major. II-2 has an eight measure introduction which IV-2 does not have, but not counting those measures, both movements have exactly fifty-seven measures. Neither movement has any repeats indicated.

The adagio ternary form, although not the most common form employed in the period of the writing of the sonatas, is nevertheless far from uncommon. Examples can be found in a number of Haydn sonatas, particularly from his earlier periods. Curiously enough, however, no examples can be found in the slow movements of C.P.E. Bach.

Only one can be found in the works of J. C. Bach,[12] written in the key of A Major, but it is not very likely to have been a model for Reinagle's movements since aside from the key and form very little else is in common. But once again it must be emphasized that aside from the C.P.E. Bach sonatas ...für Kenner und Liebhaber, no specific knowledge of what works were available to Reinagle exists, and consequently, what those works were that served as models remains a mystery.

The second movement of Haydn's Sonata number 30, in D Major, is written in ABA' form, utilizes the harmonic regions of the tonic minor and relative major, with only a restatement of the second half of A, and is played in the tonic, very much in the same style as the Reinagle sonata movements. It is coincidences like these, if in fact they are so, that present the examiner with the temptation of attributing such similarities to something more than mere chance.

An additional fact pertaining specifically to IV-2 has so far remained unstated. Here Reinagle has provided two complete versions of the same entire movement. Both are exactly equal in length and present practically the same material in the same way. The only real difference is that in version A Reinagle has apparently incorporated

[12] J.C.Bach, Sonata opus V, no. 5.

an additional part for a violin accompaniment. The violin part appears above the treble or right hand piano notation on the same staff, only notated with the stems up.

Precedence for the addition of a violin accompaniment to a keyboard sonata exists in a large number of sonatas written between 1750 and 1780. The practice, in fact, was so widespread that many publishers provided keyboard sonatas with a violin part even where composers had not done so.[13]

Although the inclusion of the violin part in IV-2 is the only example in the present set of sonatas it is not the first time Reinagle utilized the violin for an accompaniment. It will be remembered that the first set of sonatas Reinagle composed in England in ca. 1782 all included a violin accompaniment.

The reason for the inclusion of a violin accompaniment, historically speaking, would more properly have to be considered as the function of the violin in the keyboard sonatas developing out of the Baroque. The Baroque sonata for violin and figured bass gradually began to disappear in the middle of the eighteenth century, along with the trio sonata. They were replaced by the keyboard sonata, with the entire keyboard part completely written out,

[13] See Reinhard G. Pauly, Music in the Classic Period, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 129.

but with the added and sometimes optional, but at any rate less important, violin part. Having complete control now over the accompaniment, i.e., the keyboard part, the composer now felt free to give important melodic material to the right hand, amounting to an exchange between the violin part and the upper line of the accompaniment. Essentially the violin accompanied while the keyboard led.

Reinagle has left no explanation for his having composed two versions, nor has he indicated which he preferred. One can pose the hypothesis that Reinagle wrote version A, the version with the violin part, with a particular person or mode of performance in mind, but included the B version as an alternative. Or perhaps he was dissatisfied with the A version and later rewrote it. More will be said about his revisions a bit later. In any event, it is a curious throw-back reflecting a performance practice no longer current, but drawn out of his immediate past.

Precisely what the practice of performance was at the time is difficult to say. The special violin part, with stems in a different direction, only comprises twenty-one of the total fifty-seven measures. Did the violin not play except where a part was specifically notated, therefore? Or did the violin double the melodic line of the piano?

Movement III-2 is an Andante in contrast with the Allegro movement before it and the Allegretto following

it. Its key, F minor, once again is the parallel minor to the first and last movements, and again provides a change in mood and temperament, this time to one that is somber and relaxed.

From both an aesthetic and structural point of view this movement is one of the most striking that Reinagle has left us. The central aspect of the movement is its form and how the form unifies and enhances the material treated. The opening section in F minor is followed by a contrasting section in Ab Major. The A and B material is then repeated. Reinagle now, in this simple short movement demonstrates his musical talent by his unconventional procedure of restating the identical material but this time doing so with reversed keys. The F minor section is now heard in Ab Major, and is followed by the original Ab Major material played in F minor. The entire second half is also repeated, rounding off the movement and ending in the original key. Essentially Reinagle has juxtaposed the key centers of the two sections and in doing so has heightened the exploitation of his melodic material. A diagram of the form of III-2, showing the relationship of melodic material to key center would appear as follows:

/Diagram 37

Movement III-2

material	A	B	A	B
key	F minor	Ab Major	Ab Major	F minor

This adaptation of the binary form is unique in the known works of Reinagle. Neither has it been found in the six volumes of sonatas by C.P.E. Bach ...für Kenner und Liebhaber, or of the sonatas opus 5 and 17 by J.C. Bach, (sonatas with which we are sure Reinagle was acquainted), nor is the form in this fashion found in any of Haydn's or Mozart's keyboard sonatas.

The movement is a highly successful one and its form gives it an element of individuality not found in all of the works by this composer. Further comments pertaining to melodic and other aspects of this movement and the rest of Reinagle's sonatas will follow presently.

THEMES AND VARIATIONS

General comments made in the discussion of the overall contents of the Reinagle manuscript referred briefly to two theme and variations movements included in the first section of the total manuscript. At that time it was stated that the two movements were in some way associated with Sonata I, and which consequently have been labeled I-3 and I-4. These two movements are the only examples of theme and variations included in the manuscript, and can be examined together from the point of view of form.

Variations on a theme is perhaps the oldest and most continuously used of all forms for any instrument or combination of struments. It was a form particularly common to compositions for the keyboard. It was a form that a musician could hardly avoid coming in direct contact with

as the nature of musical instruction in the day almost necessitated that the student improvise freely upon given melodies, i.e., improvise variations on a given theme. Because it has been widely discussed in other places, a discussion of the elements of variation and of the history of the form will be avoided here.[14] It will suffice to say that Reinagle's variations follow very closely the style of variation technique of the latter half of the eighteenth century, i.e., most frequently ornamenting the melodic line; changing major tonality to minor and vice versa; altering the rhythm; and varying the harmony and/or texture.

Both of Reinagle's variation movements have sixteen measure themes which are repeated and are then followed by a number of variations. Each variation emphasizes some aspect of the melodic or rhythmic structure, and each variation is in strict, or at most a slight modification to what Apel calls "symmetrical binary form."[15]

Movement I-3 alternates between variations in major and minor and extends four of the total number of five variations to thirty-two measures. I-4 uses minor in only two of the total eight variations, and limits all variations to sixteen measures of written music. The chart be-

[14] The reader is referred to Apel, op. cit., and to Grove, op. cit., and to the recommended bibliography given by these sources for any further discussion.

[15] Apel, op. cit., p. 87.

low shows a comparison of the two movements.

CHART 5

	I-3	I-4
form	Theme and variations	Theme and variations
key	A Major	D Major
meter	2/2	4/4
tempo	Andante	(none given, but apparently Andante)
no. written meas.	144	143
total no. or meas.	176	191
no. of variations	5	8
no. var. in Maj.	2	6
no. var. in min.	3	2
var. techniques Var. 1	Tonality and mel. ornamentation	Melodic ornam.
2	Mel. orn. and rhy. variation	Mel. ornam. and rhy. variation
3	Tonality and texture	Mel. ornam. and rhy. variation
4	(1st 8 meas. same as var. 3) also mel. ornamentation	Mel. ornam. and rhy. variation
5	Rhy. var. and mel. ornamentation	Tonality and mel.
6		Tonality and mel.
7		Rhy. and text. variation
8		Rhy. and mel. ornamentation

For the most part the variations are over-obvious and fail to demonstrate any real ingenuity on the part of Reinagle. What comes across strongest is his handling of melodic material. He has a knack for melodious and graceful melodic ornamentation and variation. Herein lies the saving factor of the two variations movements; that being Reinagle's ability to evoke from the pleasant themes a charm indicative of the resplendent era in which the pieces are written.

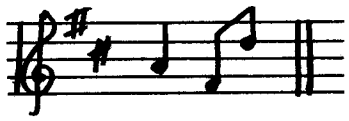
MELODY

Reinagle's handling of melodic material, as demonstrated throughout all his sonata movements, is perhaps the strongest of all his compositional attributes. He has shown himself capable of learning and drawing from his direct contact with the Bach sons as well as from composers with whom he was not so fortunate as to establish personal relations, such as Haydn and Mozart, and other lesser known but significant masters of pre-classical and classical instrumental music. But despite the tremendous influence from such admirable musicians Reinagle was still able to express an immensely inspired and refreshing style of his own.

One characteristic of all Reinagle's melodies is their simplicity of structure. With only two exceptions, (II-2 and IV-2), all melodies in all movements are rela-

tively short and are motivic in structure. They are distinctively instrumental in nature -- even idiomatic. All melodies span at least an octave in range, some extending as much as two octaves plus a fifth, (II-1). Most melodies have some form of internal repetition, such as the three-note pattern in I-1, theme 1:

Ex. 2, (I-1, measure 1).



or a two measure repetition, as in I-1, theme 2, or even four-measure repetition, as in III-3.

Melodic writing of this nature is very reminiscent of the style of Haydn. The unity and concentration of motives in just a few notes, or at most one phrase, are especially characteristic. The theme of the first variation of Sonata I, in fact, is so much in the style of Haydn that for a very long period of time I could not help doubting the unusual similarity of Reinagle's work with the melodic style of Haydn. A thorough investigation of all of Haydn's known keyboard works caused me to reject the possibility that the work in the Reinagle Manuscript was merely a copy of a Haydn set of variations. A footnote in William Newman's Sonata in the Classic Era[16] helped to

[16] Newman, "Sonata," op. cit., p. 807, states that the theme of Reinagle's "Andante in A Major with variations" was taken from Haydn's "Imperial" Symphony in D Major, No. 53/ii, and that the entire movement was actually a separate arrangement and consequently did not belong to the rest of the Sonata in D Major. Newman, to a great extent,

resolve the doubts and suspicions about the theme and variations. The theme in fact was composed by Haydn, being the second movement subject of his Symphony No. 53 in D Major. Reinagle, apparently, wrote a set of variations to the same theme.

There are other places, however, where although the similarity to Haydn is not quite so striking, characteristics are very much in common. The rondo-like third movement of Sonata III is extremely Haydn-like, as is the opening of Sonata IV. The simplicity of the melody over the broken-chord left hand accompaniment in IV-1, the development of the melodic material out of just the germ of a few basic motives, the clear separation of themes, are all characteristics of the Haydn melodic texture.

The slow movement strains, especially of movements II-2 and IV-2, are much more a product of the J.C. and C.P.E. Bach influence. Yet one cannot be too sure that

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bases his judgement on M.D. Herter Norton's article on "Haydn in America before 1820," Musical Quarterly, Vol. 18 (1932), pp. 309-37. It is true that the theme is in fact the same as that used by Haydn, and since Haydn's Symphony No. 53 was composed between 1774 and 1779, there is no question that Reinagle took the theme from Haydn, rather than the reverse. But nowhere is there conclusive evidence or even plausible grounds for maintaining that the set of variations is totally independent of Sonata I. In my discussion of the contents of the Reinagle MS. I have attempted to offer the different ways in which the facts, i.e., what is known for sure, can be interpreted.

the influence of Mozart is not evident here as well.[17] The themes are sustained, the mood evoked one of seriousness and dynamic expressiveness. Reinagle certainly demonstrates his creative mastery in these slow movements.

What are some of the general characteristics of Reinagle's melodies? Appendix II has a thematic index of all themes found in Reinagle's American Sonatas. As will be seen readily, there are twenty-eight different themes in all, seven associated with each sonata.

Particular aspects pertaining to the kinds of melodic movement and melodic contour become evident on close examination of the melodies. Of the twenty-eight themes, fifteen: I-1(theme 3); I-2(2); II-1(1 & 2); II-2(2); II-3(1, 2, & 3); III-3(1 & 2); IV-2(1 & 2); IV-3(1, 2, & 3), would be considered to be more or less scalic, while five: I-1(1); I-3; I-4; III-1(1); III-2(2), could be thought of as triadic or broken chordal, and four: I-1(2); I-2(1); III-2(1); IV-1(1), can be characterized as outlining root movement. Two others: II-2(1); III-3(3), clearly combine the chordal and scalic movement, while the remaining two: III-1(2); IV-1(2), in a category all

[17] Mozart, it will be remembered, studied with J.C. Bach when the former reached London in 1764, and the two always remained very fond of each other. The influence of J.C. Bach on Mozart's early writing, particularly for the keyboard, is extremely evident. The influence of C.P.E. Bach on practically every composer in the Classic period, including Mozart, is a matter of record.

their own, demonstrate pattern repetition unlike the other three classifications.

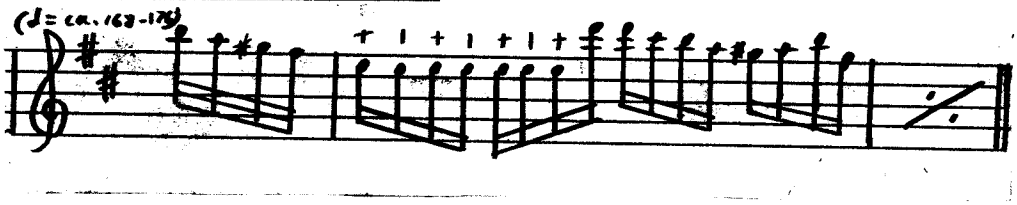
The melodic contours of the themes vary from straightforward descending and ascending patterns, (such as I-1 (3) and IV-3(1)), to modified arch forms, (IV-3(3)), jagged zig-zag movement, (I-1(1)), and in another case, a step rise and scalic descent pattern which is then repeated, (III-3(3)). Because essentially there are as many melodic contours as there are themes it is difficult to draw any conclusions from them. Suffice to say that Reinagle permitted no stereotyping of his choice of melodic material, that each theme is in some way unique and free from any particular type classification.

With regard to Reinagle's development of melodic material, much of the passage-work throughout the sonatas can, to a great extent, be traced to the influence of J.C. Bach as well as to C.P.E. Bach. Examples such as found in III-1 come directly out of J.C. Bach.[18] Particular notice should be paid to the division of passage-work between two hands, a characteristic technique in the writings of J.C. and C.P.E. Bach. And the finale of Sonata IV is certainly a direct and conscious return to the J.C. Bach style. It is consistently simple, using two-part harmonic style almost invariably throughout the

[18] See J.C. Bach Sonata op. 17/2, meas. 38 ff., or Sonata op. 17/6, meas. 28 ff.

movement, with the exception of a few octave doublings in the left hand. The melodies are graceful but lack a profundity of expression. Because of the transparency of texture the melodic figurations become quite exposed and are technically demanding on the performer.

Actually, to a great extent, even though the overall texture is broader, many of the qualities referred to in the preceding paragraph are true of the rest of Reinagle's sonatas, save the slow movements. In Sonata I-1, Reinagle demands that the performer be able to play the following: Ex. 3, (I-1, meas. 45-46).



The "+" and "1" markings indicate that the successive tones are to be played by the thumb and index finger, respectively.[19]

I do not mean to imply that Reinagle's sonatas demand a continuous technical virtuosity. On the contrary, for the most part, and with few exceptions, from a strictly technical perspective, the sonatas are all relatively simple, and altogether characteristic of the time in which they were written. In fact they have much in common with the great masters on whom Reinagle drew most largely.

[19] See p. 118 f. below, for further discussion of fingering.

TEXTURE

The texture of the sonatas is one of extreme transparency. The lucid and diaphanous melodic line over the simple and often hollow harmonic accompaniment results in a musical fabric that permits and even requires the exposure of every single aspect. No parameter is hidden or covered by the dominance of another. Consequently, the musicianship of the performer is put to a severe test. He cannot protect himself behind a mass of sound and volume. Every line he plays must be played flawlessly or the total effect of the work is destroyed.

Reinagle's keyboard texture is not new with his compositions, nor is it easily defined or understood by the comments in the preceding paragraph. The texture generally is derived from the keyboard style of the late harpsichord era, when sonatas were first written for the pianoforte. This also includes the characteristic use of two-part writing, as previously mentioned, the noticeable absence of lush chordal passages, the clear separation of different melodic material and the stereotyped, almost clichéd use of Alberti bass figures, along with a paucity of contrapuntal interest.

Reinagle's use of Alberti bass is particularly reminiscent of the Haydn-Mozart style. It is not merely employed as a device for lack of another form of accompany-

ing pattern, but rather is used as a means of varying and often contrasting the texture of a movement. In Sonata I-1, for example, Reinagle employs an Alberti bass figure in the accompaniment of the repetition of the opening theme, starting in measure 13. No such figure was used, however, in the original statement of the theme. Haydn also makes use of this technique in his piano Sonata No. 61, in D Major.

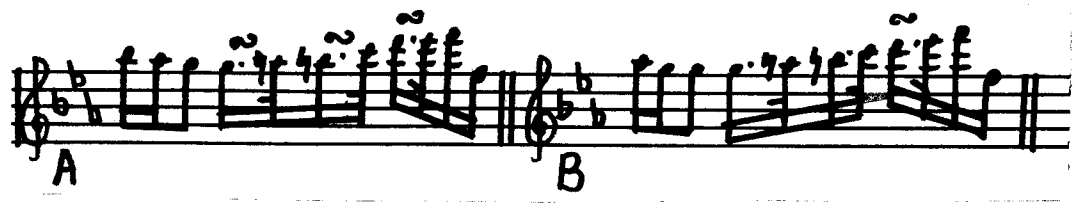
The Reinagle passage just referred to above also illustrates another aspect of Reinagle's general style. The repetition of the original theme occurs at the octave above that of the first statement. Presenting material in a different register is characteristic of the works of Haydn as well.

ALTERATIONS AND REVISIONS

As previously discussed, the manuscript was not prepared for publication. Since it was most probably used by Reinagle himself, and may very well have been his only copy of the sonatas, there exists in the manuscript a number of alternative parts for passages of a number of different movements. Because in all cases both alternatives were left untouched, i.e., were not crossed out or destroyed or even suggested that Reinagle preferred one to another, it is interesting to see how and where Reinagle attempted to make improvements or revisions.

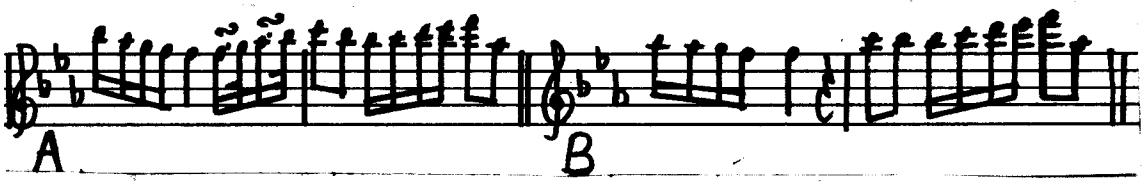
One place already mentioned is the entire second movement to Sonata IV, where the first version includes a violin accompaniment, while the second version is for piano alone. It is interesting to notice that in the B version several minor variants or changes are provided in places even prior to the notated entrance of the violin part of version A. Compare the right hand parts in measure 3 of the two versions:

Ex. 4 (IV-2, meas. 3 and 3a).



Or in measures 6 and 7 of the same movement:

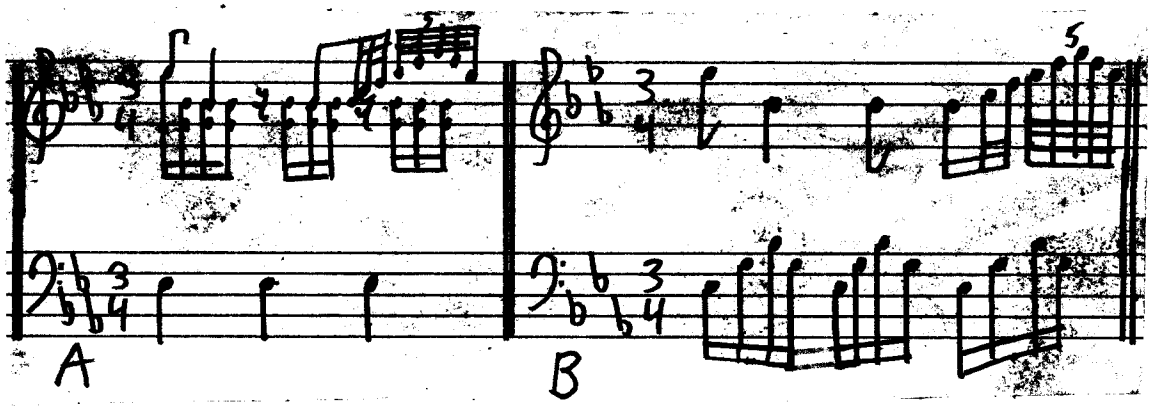
Ex. 5 (IV-2, meas. 6-7 and 6a-7a).



The additions or alterations seem extremely minor, but nevertheless they are there. One can only speculate as to the reasons for them.

Other changes in the manuscript are more obvious, especially when comparing the versions after the entrance of the violin. Example 6 shows a textural difference.

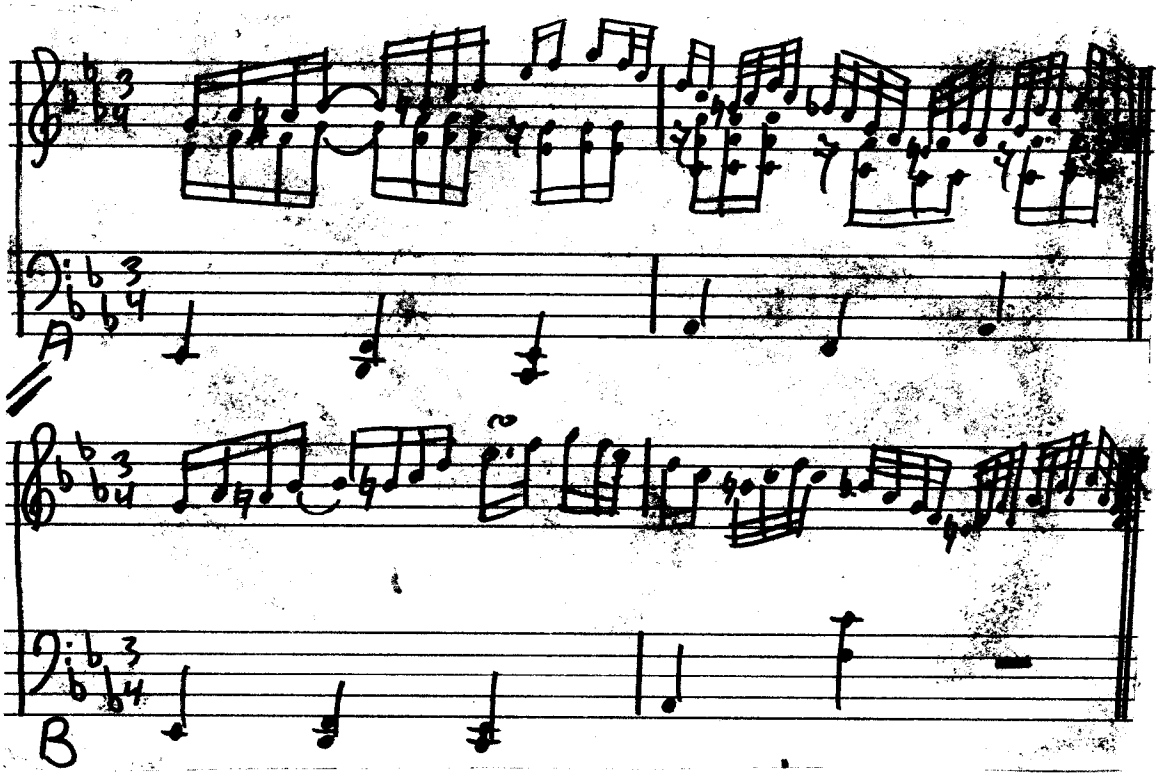
Ex. 6(IV-2, measures 13 and 13a).



The melodic line is the same in both versions, even though the violin plays in A while the right hand of the piano plays in B. But the Alberti bass figure in B is quite different from the pattern in A.

A final comparison in this movement contrasts the "fullness" of the total sound. In measures 22 and 23, notice how much more simple version B becomes.

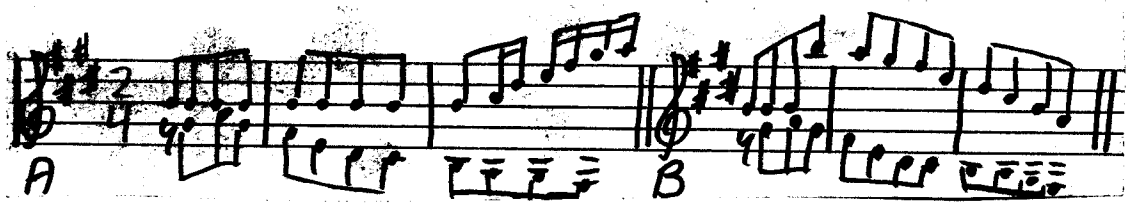
Ex. 7 (IV-2, measures 22-23 and 22a-23a).



Once again, the melodic line remains unaltered. Why did Reinagle reduce the accompaniment of the B version? Surely the pianist could have played a fuller harmony, had Reinagle desired to maintain the texture of the A version. Perhaps this is a reflexion of Reinagle's continuous desire for clarity of texture and for not obscuring an important element. For whatever reasons Reinagle chose to keep the lines in two parts for the B version,

Another place where alternative versions occur is the opening to II-3. Here Reinagle originally wrote a sixteen measure theme, proceeding without a repetition. At some later time he rewrote the opening of the sonata on another sheet of manuscript paper which could then be clipped over the original version. The new version is thirty-two measures long, the first half of which is practically a direct copy of the original. Beginning in measure 9 of the new version, however, Reinagle offers a sort of repetition of the theme material, but varies the harmonic movement ever so lightly. The expansion of the theme offers renewed interest in the same material. For example, in the repetition of measure 2ff., Reinagle changes the held tone in the right hand to descending tenths. See ex. 8 below.

Ex. 8, (II-3, meas. 2-4 and meas. 18-20).



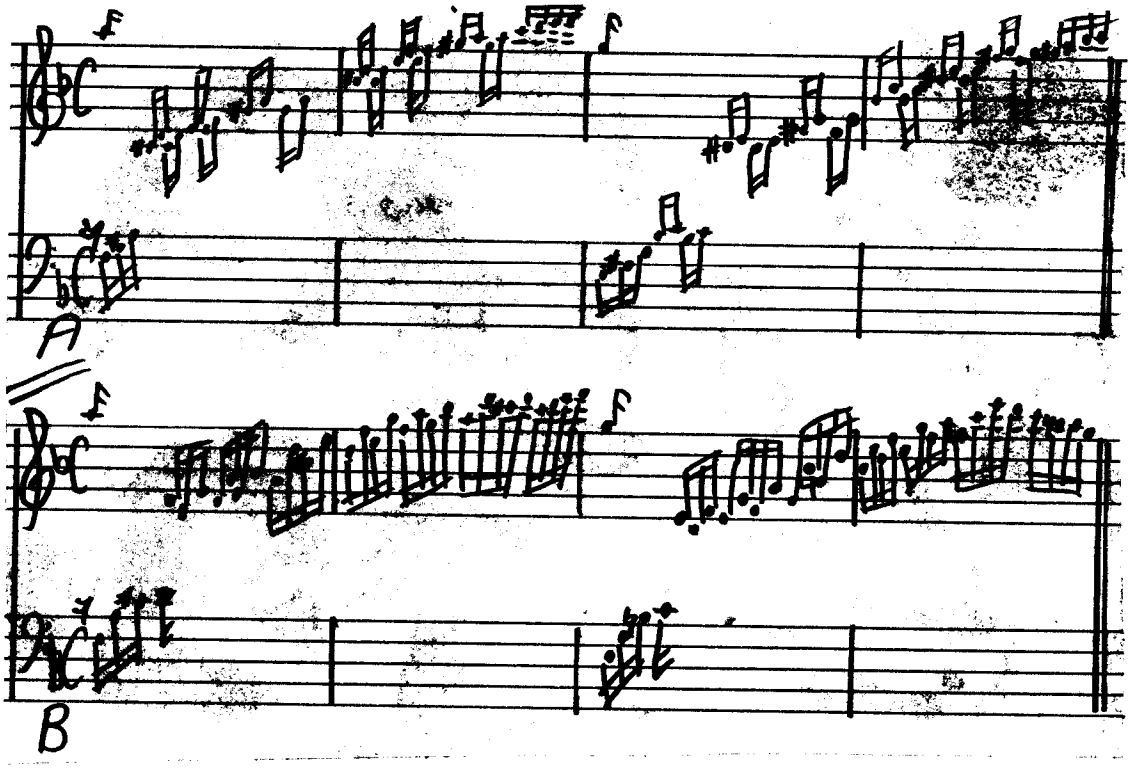
Following measure 100 in the same movement Reinagle apparently included a measure he did not want or intend, as it is unquestionably crossed out by multiple diagonal lines, clearly indicating Reinagle's desires for it not to be played. Because he demonstrated how he would exclude material that he did not want, it is curious and at the same time unanswerable why he left both versions of the opening intact, without giving his preference to one. Perhaps he never made up his mind as to which version he felt was better.

The opening movement to Sonata III offers a number of alternative passages. As mentioned earlier, this Allegro movement is reminiscent of the keyboard style of J.C. and C.P.E. Bach, particularly in the way Reinagle incorporates rapid and intricate melodic passagework. Three different extended passages have alternative versions, each alternative having been written on a different page, with nothing else on that page. All three passages also have something else in common, that being that the contour of each passage and its alternative is practically the same. The contour of each line is a gradual ascend-

ing line reaching a peak and followed by an immediate drop after which begins another ascending line.

The first revision was made for measures 21 - 24; the second, for measures 80 - 85; and the last one, for measures 134 - 143. Nothing revolutionary happens in any revision. Essentially the movement of the melodic line is the same, only some of the notes have been changed. Look at example 9, a comparison of measures 21ff, and 21a,ff.

Ex. 9, (III-1, meas. 21-24 and meas. 21a-24a).



As the other revisions or alterations are similar, they need not be reproduced here. What is important to understand, however, is that Reinagle did work out his passages and that in some cases he included revisions or

alternatives. In other words it is not so much "what" he revised as it is "that" he revised parts where he felt improvement could be made.

ORNAMENTATION

As a product of the pre-classical era, whose elders for the most part grew out of the late Baroque, Reinagle makes considerable use of keyboard ornaments. Every movement of all four sonatas has some use of ornamentation.

Reinagle's ornamentation derives primarily from the influence of C.P.E. Bach. Bach, it will be remembered, was the author of an important treatise on the subject of eighteenth century ornamentation, Versuch über die wahre Art das Klavier zu Spielen.

Five kinds of ornaments are employed by Reinagle, as listed in Chart 6, below.

Chart 6, Ornaments Used by Reinagle:

1.	tr	trill
2.	𝆕	appoggiatura
3.	∾	turn or "Doppelschlag"
4.	∿	inverted mordent or "Schneller" or "Praltriller"
5.	··	seemingly, another form of writing the inverted mordent

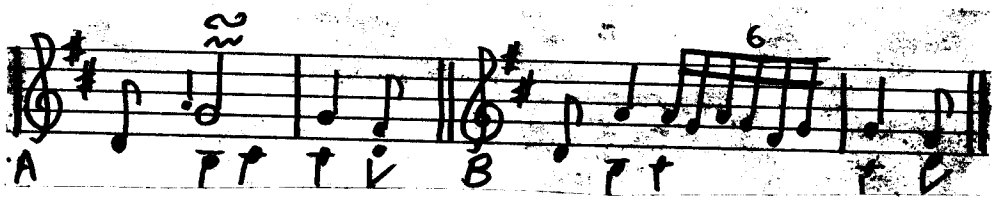
Of the five kinds, the trill is used most frequently, while the inverted mordent (written either as 4, or 5,

above), is employed least often. The inverted mordent written as in 4, is used only in one movement, II-1, and then only three times throughout the movement, (in measures 41, 42, and 43). It is curious to note that in the recapitulation of the same material, in measures 189-191, a trill is used rather than the inverted mordent.

The double dot ornament, (no. 5, above), is employed extensively throughout all movements, but only in conjunction with the turn, (no. 3, above). It is because of its combination with the turn, which results in an ornament resembling very closely the prallender Doppleschlag, that the present interpretation of the double dot alone, that of replacing or duplicating the inverted mordent, is derived. The double dot occurring alone, and not in conjunction with any other ornament, is used only twice throughout all the movements; in II-3, meas. 128, and in IV-1, meas. 148. Each time it is used, the note with the ornament is followed by a tone a step below it.

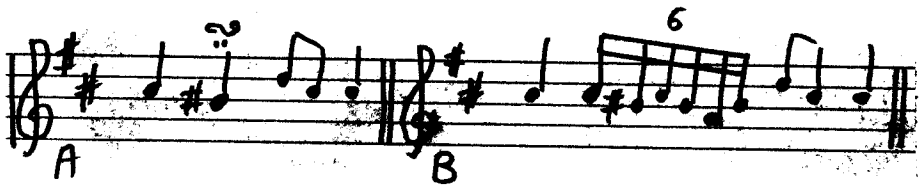
The prallender Doppleschlag, as referred to above, is essentially a combination of a turn with an appoggiatura and a short mordent trill. In the music of C.P.E. Bach, who used it extensively, it looks like, and can be interpreted to mean, the following:

Ex. 10, (Prallender Doppleschlag)[20]

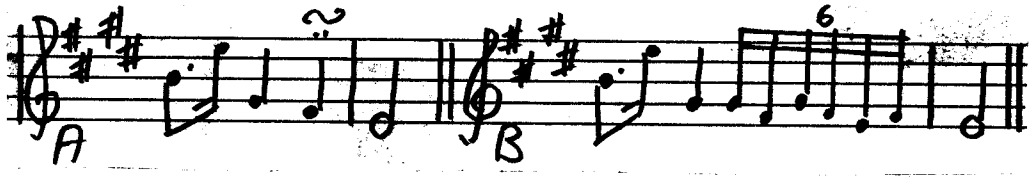


Although Reinagle occasionally incorporates an appoggiatura with the turn and inverted mordent, as in II-2, meas. 53, the vast majority of the time the turn and inverted mordent appear together without an appoggiatura. Two such applications with their possible interpretations appear below as examples 11 and 12.

Ex. 11, (I-1, meas. 95).



Ex. 12, (II-1, meas. 7).



The problem of ornamentation in the keyboard sonatas of the late eighteenth century is a very complex topic, one which would demand much more time and space than can

[20] Example 10 is taken from C.P.E. Bach, as reprinted in Apel, op. cit., p. 775.

be afforded in the present investigation. But what is important and what I have attempted to express is the fact that ornamentation was employed, that the kinds of ornamentation used grew out of the keyboard traditions of preceding generations, and that Reinagle adapted what was available to him for his own purposes.

DYNAMICS AND PHRASING

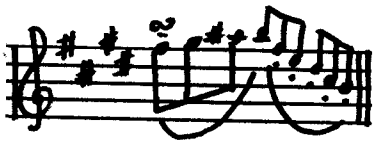
Reinagle's use of dynamics is fairly extensive throughout the sonatas but at the same time, his use of them would have to be considered extremely conservative. He employs "piano," (often abbreviated "p" or "pia"), and "forte," (abbreviated "f" or "for"), and a considerable number of crescendos, ("cres."). But for the most part, and with only a few exceptions, that is the extent of his choice of dynamic markings. In II-2, meas. 50 and 54, he has notated a rinforzando, ("rinf."); in I-1, meas. 12, he designated a fortepiano, ("fortep."); and in measure 32 of the same movement he notated a pianoforte, ("p.f."). But except for a very infrequent diminuendo there are no other dynamic markings employed.

I call Reinagle's use of dynamics conservative because it appears that if no dynamic markings are required, either by the nature of the material or because he previously indicated how he wanted a passage to be played, (as in the exposition of a sonata-allegro movement), he

omits any markings. I-4, for example, has none whatsoever, and I-3 has only one, a forte in measure 129.

Reinagle's use of phrasing and articulation may also be said to be conservative. He makes frequent use of slurs and staccato marks, but that is about all. And his slurs really only indicate internal phrasing, as they never extend beyond the duration of half a measure. Reinagle occasionally combines the staccato and slur, seemingly to indicate a kind of portamento, as in measure 36 of II-1.

Ex. 13, (II-1, meas. 36).



Together with articulation markings, Reinagle indicates fingerings in many of his sonata movements. Once again his use of such markings can be considered conservative, as their appearance is only occasionally seen, and only where specific problems exist or where a particular fingering would indicate how he would phrase a passage.

Reinagle's fingerings followed the English system, quite understandably. The English system of fingering employs the sumbol "x," or in this case a "+" to indicate the thumb, while the numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4 indicate the index finger, the middle finger, the ring finger, and the little finger, respectively, as is commonly done in string instrument fingerings. One place where Reinagle

fingers an entire section is the second variation of I-3. Fifteen of the total thirty-two measures of the variation have fingerings indicated.

HARMONY AND RHYTHM

General comments with regard to harmony and rhythm have previously been included in discussions of Reinagle's use of form and motivic development. What remains to be examined at this point is the manner in which Reinagle employed particular harmonic and rhythmic devices in his sonatas, and the way in which he utilized harmony and rhythm as a means of expanding thematic material.

As has been shown with practically all other aspects of his style, Reinagle draws from the knowledge and achievements of other composers for his own use of harmony and rhythm. C.P.E. Bach and Haydn are two composers in particular upon whom Reinagle draws heavily; Bach for his expressiveness and seriousness in slow movements, and his syncopations and methods of development overall; and Haydn for his freedom of modulation, his elaborate rhythmic sub-divisions and his harmonic treatment generally.

There are a few particular examples of Reinagle's employment of harmony and rhythm that ought to be emphasized primarily because of their uniqueness, but also because of their success in obtaining a unified work of music. In the development section of I-1, Reinagle be-

gins in the customary manner of the time by repeating theme 1 in the dominant. He then proceeds to enlarge and extend the theme 1 material, first by maintaining the right hand pattern with a left hand arpeggiated bass line, and then by means of a sequential harmonic pattern through a series of dominant seventh embellishments, ending, in measure 84, in the tonic. He then takes the opening motif, the ascending triadic figure, doubles the tempo (putting them into sixteenth notes), and plays with it as he modulates through a variety of keys, (G Major, B Major, g minor, G Major again), and then cadences in f# minor. At this point, where customarily the theme 2 material might be developed, Reinagle abandons his original material and introduces a completely new theme, beginning in measure 94, (I-1, theme 3), in the key of f# minor. He then modulates back to the tonic without any further development, cadences in the dominant, and proceeds to recapitulate theme 2, to the end.

Reinagle's methods of development in I-1 are far from extraordinary, but his abandonment of the original material in place of a new theme is unusual. This is not to mention the fact that he presents his theme 3 in the region of the mediant minor.

In Sonata II-1, a brief point worth noting is the extent to which Reinagle goes away from the tonic. At one point he even cadences in G# Major. (See Charts 3

and 4).

Motivically and rhythmically II-2 is one of the most complex of all Reinagle's sonata movements. It is an Adagio in 6/8, but nevertheless the movement requires an amazingly rapid facility on the part of the performer. It employs an enormous amount of rhythmic diversity and subtlety as well. Reinagle has included hemiola passages, (measures 23 and 54); passages requiring five notes to be played against two sixteenths, (measure 10); metrically notated sixty-fourth notes, (measures 9, 42, and 51); and even groups of notes represented as one-hundred twenty-eighth notes, although these are not notated metrically, (measure 45). In this movement the harmonic treatment is kept to a minimum, scarcely moving away from the tonic center at all. Reinagle has concentrated his motivic development on syncopation and other rhythmic elaborations.

In III-2, previously discussed from the viewpoint of form, it seems appropriate to add a word about Reinagle's use of the diminished seventh chord at the very climax to the whole movement, just before the final cadence. This is a very dramatic moment, in some ways the high point of the entire sonata. It is fitting that Reinagle employ a harmonic device so very much associated with his mentor, C.P.E. Bach, whose own use of the diminished seventh chord was almost always an expression of powerful pathos.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

What then can be said of the music of Reinagle? Reinagle's sonatas are excellent examples of the keyboard music of his generation. In fact, they can be compared quite favorably with those of his more widely known and respected contemporaries, Haydn and Mozart included.

Reinagle employed a form and a medium that had already undergone considerable development and refinement; a form that provided a rigid superstructure or framework, while still allowing for the intricate, and often brilliant original handling by a composer.

He demonstrated his ability to use accepted internal or single-movement forms and to build upon them, often expanding or "developing" them to fit his own particular needs.

He showed his strength in his handling of melodic material, oftentimes evoking from the simplest of themes a creative achievement not unlike the very best that was produced in his generation.

He utilized a musical texture that was taken over from the harpsichord era, and applied it to compositions for the pianoforte, an instrument still in its infancy.

He displayed his heritage by the manner in which he used ornamentation, the kinds of ornaments he employed and his ability to adapt what was available to him for his own

purposes.

Similarly, he demonstrated his conservatism in his use of dynamics, articulation markings, and fingerings, by his cautious and prudent inclusion of them in his manuscript.

He displayed his originality, yet at the same time, his dependency with regard to the harmonic and rhythmic techniques of others; his ability to expand upon accepted techniques, and to abandon them where he felt they did not satisfy his needs.

And finally, Reinagle demonstrated his extraordinary facility in assimilating another man's style without losing his own individuality.

Underlying but central to this entire investigation has been the study of the development of certain aspects of the European musical tradition in America following the Revolutionary War.

The study has included a discussion of the nature of the American populace; the rise and development of concert music - first in Europe and followed immediately in the United States; the history and background of musical activities in the Colonies; the unusual position of the professional musician and the amateur in American society; the ambivalent state of musical affairs immediately following the American Revolution; and the need for musical

leadership and direction.

Alexander Reinagle was introduced as a musician who, among many others chose to immigrate to America at this time; a person who was able to rapidly achieve a position of prestige and importance, which made possible for him the unique opportunity of being able to set a standard of musical excellence for America.

I have then included a biographical study of Reinagle and of his achievements, showing how he contributed immeasurably to the development of musical pedagogy, musical performance and taste, and to musical literature.

Finally there is a style-critical analysis of the four surviving keyboard sonatas by Reinagle, which has attempted to show that Reinagle's works rank among the most important to be written in the United States during his lifetime; that his compositions show his achievement of a personal style drawn from the musical traditions of his age; and that they in fact set a standard of excellence not to be equalled in this country for many years.

* *

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APPENDIX I

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF REINAGLE'S KNOWN COMPOSITIONS

The following list includes all of the compositions known to have been composed by Alexander Reinagle, and has been compiled from all known sources. These include manuscripts and published works in the Library of Congress and the New York Public Library, as well as partial or incomplete lists previously gathered, such as: Oscar Sonneck's Bibliography of Early American Secular Music and Robert R. Drummond's article "Alexander Reinagle and his Connection with the Musical Life in Philadelphia," published in volume V of the German-American Annals, pp. 294-306. Additional compositions were also found in concert programs and newspaper advertisements of the day, some of which have been previously referred to and even collected and reprinted in a variety of articles and books, which are included in the bibliography section. (Quotation signs are used wherever titles have been taken directly from a printed source.)

Compositions before 1786

1. A Collection of "Short and Easy Pieces" for the Pianoforte, Op. 1., (before 1780).
2. A Second Collection of "Short and Easy Pieces" for the Pianoforte, Op. 2., (before 1780).
3. A Collection of Most Favorite Scots Tunes with Variations for harpsichord, (pub. in London in 1782).
4. A Collection of "Six Sonatas for the Pianoforte or Harpsichord, With an Accompaniment for a Violin," (c. 1782).

1787

1. Overture (in which is introduced a Scotch Strathspey).
2. "A Select Collection of the most favorite Scots Tunes with variations for the pianoforte or harpsichord," (repub. of the 1782 collection).
3. A Song, (newly composed). (Title unknown.)

1788

1. "Federal March, as performed in the grand procession in Philadelphia, the 4th of July, 1788. Composed and adapted for the pianoforte, violin, or German flute."

1789

1. Song, "Adieu thou dreary pile," arranged for pianoforte or harpsichord.
2. Chorus, sung before Gen. Washington, as he passed under the triumphal arch on Trenton Bridge, April 21, 1789. "Set to music and dedicated by permission to Mrs. Washington."
3. Song, "In vain fond youth you would conceal."
4. Song, "My soul is thine, sweet Nora."
5. Song, "The Soldier tried, etc."
6. Song, "Tantive back forward." (Or "Tantivy Hark Forward.")
7. Song, "Tis not the bloom on Damon's cheek."
8. Overture, "La Schiava," (Piccini).
9. Overture to opera "Maria," (Shield).
(These overtures were arranged for pianoforte by Reinagle.)

1791

1. A Miscellaneous Quartett.
2. The New Miscellaneous Quartett. (Possibly 1793.)
3. Song, "Winter," set by Reinagle with pianoforte accomp.

1794

1. Song, "America, Commerce and Freedom."
2. "La Chasse," (Rosetti), arr. for pianoforte or harpsichord by Reinagle.
3. "Concerto on the Improved Pianoforte with Additional Keys."
4. "La Forêt Noire, (serious pantomime). Overture, etc., entirely new, composed by Reinagle.
5. Occasional Overture.
6. "Preludes in three classes, for the improvement of practitioners on the pianoforte."

7. "Robin Hood," (comic opera), original overture by Baumgarten, additional airs by Reinagle.
8. "Slaves in Algiers," (play interspersed with songs), music by Reinagle.
9. "Spanish Barber," (opera translated from Beaumarchais by G. Colemann), additional airs by Reinagle and Carr.

1795

1. "Harlequin Shipwreak'd," (pantomime), new music by Reinagle.
2. "Harlequins Invasion," (pantomime), new medley overture by Reinagle.
3. "Volunteers," (comic opera), music and overture entirely new.
4. "The Purse," (musical drama by J.J. Cross), accompaniments and new airs by Reinagle.
5. "Auld Robin Gray," (opera), new music and a Scottish medley overture by Reinagle.

1796

1. "Mountaineers," (comic opera), accompaniments by Reinagle.
2. "Pierre de Province and La Belle Magulone," new music by Reinagle.
3. "The Shamrock," (Irish dance), Irish medley overture by Reinagle.
4. "Witches of the rocks or Harlequin everywhere," (pantomime), with an entire new overture, songs, choruses, and recitations composed by Reinagle.

1797

1. "Columbus," (historical play), incidental music by Reinagle.
2. "Savoyard," (musical farce), music by Reinagle.

1798

1. "Italian monk," (opera), music and accompaniment by Reinagle.

1799

1. "Blue beard," (opera), accompaniments by Reinagle. (Date only probable.)
2. "Collection of favorite songs, divided into two books. The basses rendered easy and natural for the pianoforte or harpsichord, by Reinagle."
3. Monody on the Death of the much lamented, the late Lt. General of the Armies of the United States, (George Washington). Composed in December, 1799, together with R. Taylor.

1800

1. Masonic Overture.
2. "Naval pillar," (musical entertainment), accompaniments by Reinagle.
3. "Pizarro," by Kotzebue; adapted by R.B. Sheridan; music by Reinagle and Raynor Taylor.

After 1800

1. "Paradise Lost," (a secular oratorio based on selections from John Milton), incomplete.

Compositions with Unknown Dates

1. Pianoforte Sonata No. 1 in D Major.
2. Pianoforte Sonata No. 2 in E Major.
3. Pianoforte Sonata No. 3 in F Major.
4. Pianoforte Sonata No. 4 in C Major.
   (The four piano sonatas were all composed between the years 1786 and 1791.)
5. "Minuet and Gavotte," published in Washington, D.C., by the U.S. George Washington Bicentennial Commission, in 1931.
6. "Little Book of Lessons for Young Beginners," (possibly the same as the "Preludes" of 1794).
7. "Arabs of the desert."
8. A Collection of favorite songs, (arranged by Reinagle).
9. "Come hope thou queen of endless smiles."
10. Cousin John.
11. Dear Anna.
12. Edwy and Elgiva.
13. "Finale."
14. Mr. Francis's ballroom assistant.
15. Here beneath our lowly cott.
16. I have a silent sorrow here.
17. I'll talk of all my lover's charms.
18. Indian March.
19. Twas on a pleasant summer's eve.
20. The lucky escape.
21. Medley Overture.
22. Mrs. Madison's minuet.
23. My tender heart you stole away.
24. My Thomas is the kindest lad.
25. Rosa.
26. Rough as the waves on which we sail.
27. The Sicilian romance.
28. Some tell us that women are delicate things.

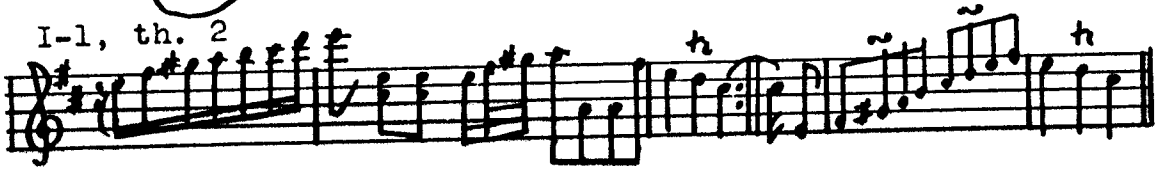
29. Twelve favorite pieces.
30. We'll chearful our endeavours blend.
31. When I've got the ready rhino wounds.
32. When I was a little lad.
33. When o'er the mountain's tops we go.

APPENDIX II

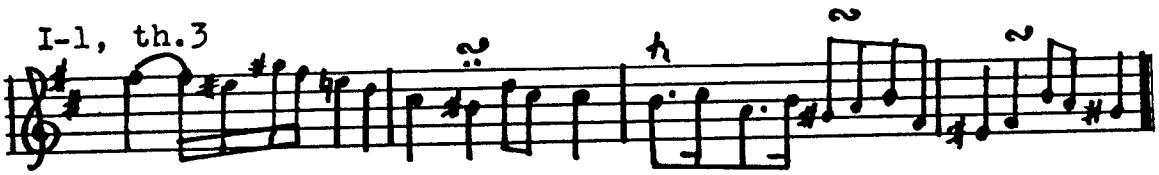
A Thematic Index of All Themes in Reinagle's American Sonatas.

Allegro Con Brio
I-1, th. 1

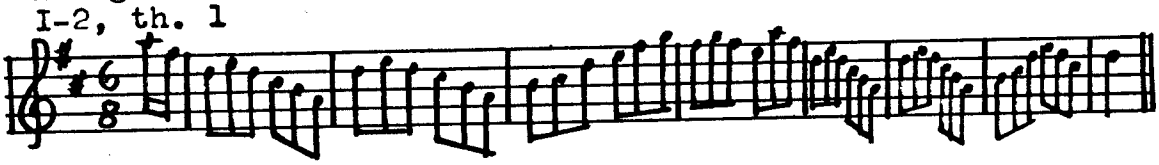
I-1, th. 2



I-1, th.3



Allegro
I-2, th. 1



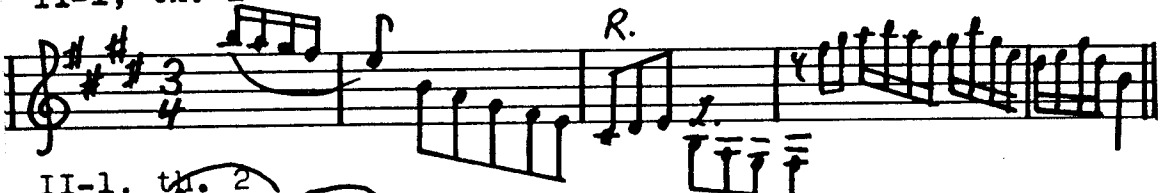
I-2, th. 2

Andante
I-3, th. 1

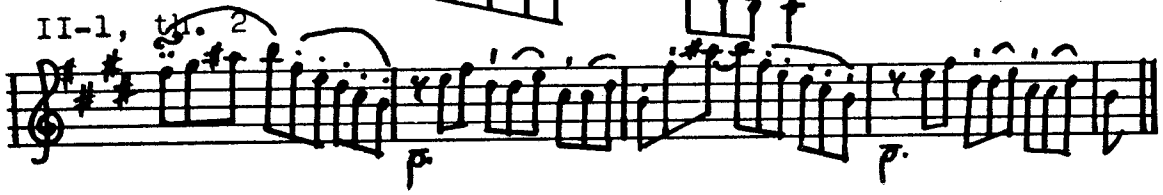
I-4, th. 1

Appendix II, continued. SONATA No. 2 in E Major

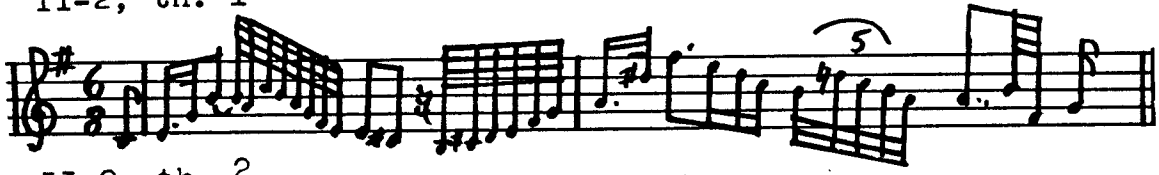
Allegro
II-1, th. 1



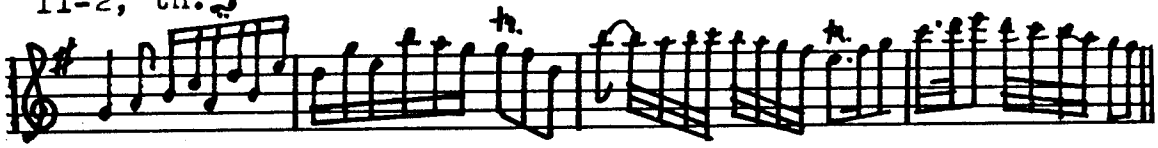
II-1, th. 2



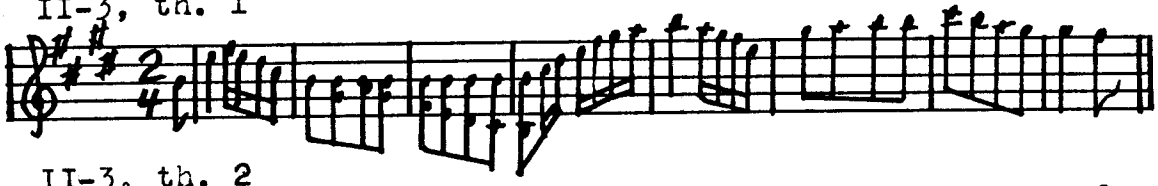
Adagio
II-2, th. 1



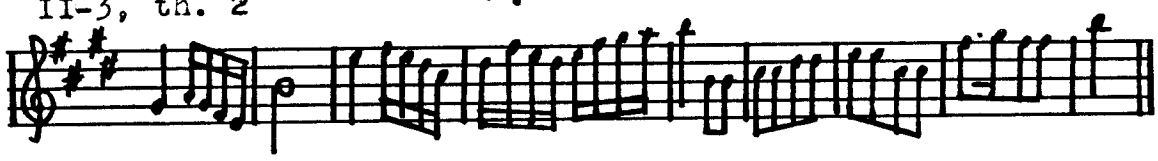
II-2, th. 2



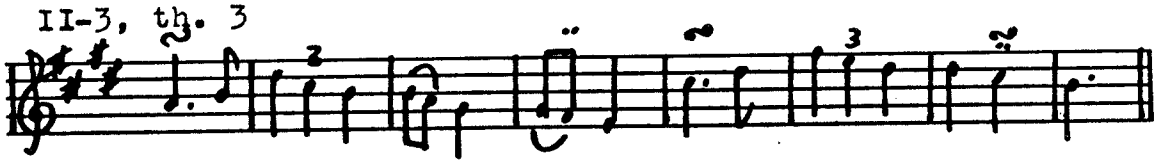
Allegro
II-3, th. 1



II-3, th. 2



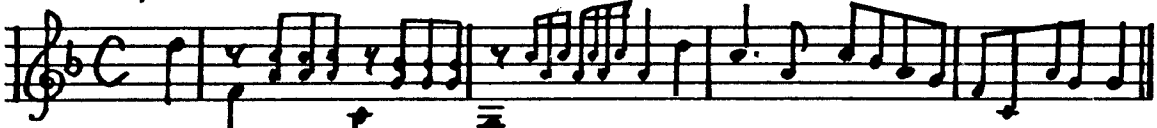
II-3, th. 3



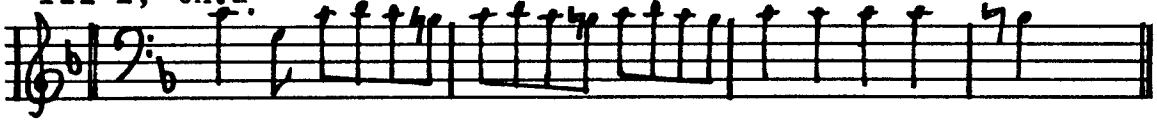
Appendix II, continued. SONATA No. 3 in F Major

Allegro

III-1, th. 1

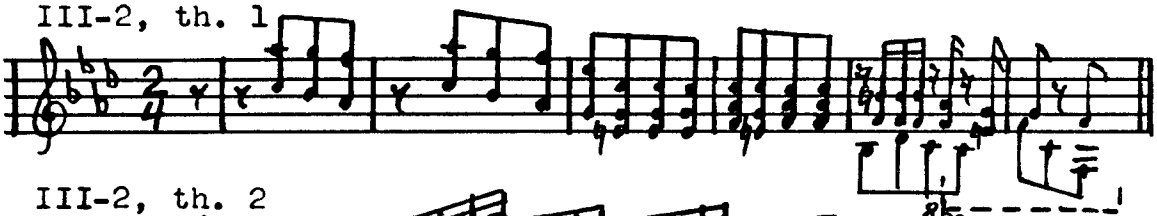


III-1, th. 2

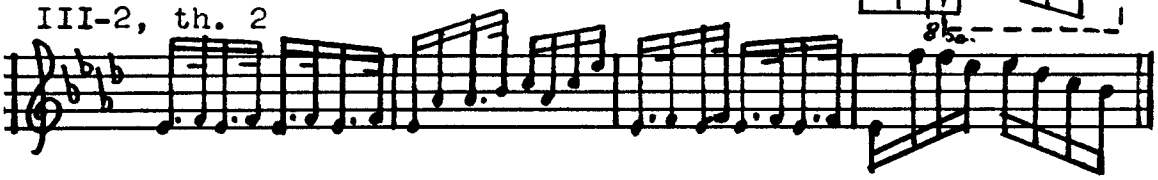


Andante

III-2, th. 1

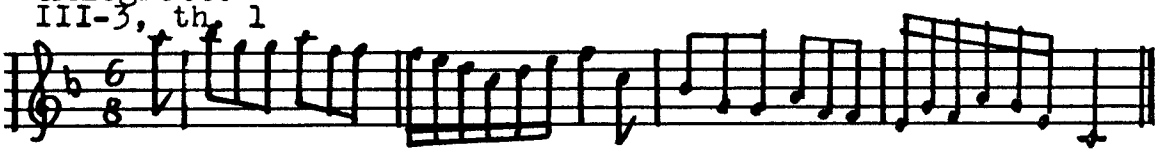


III-2, th. 2

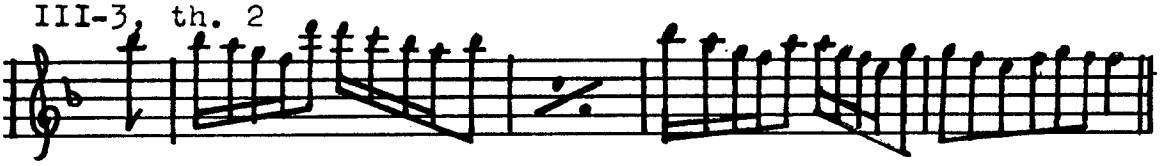


Allegretto

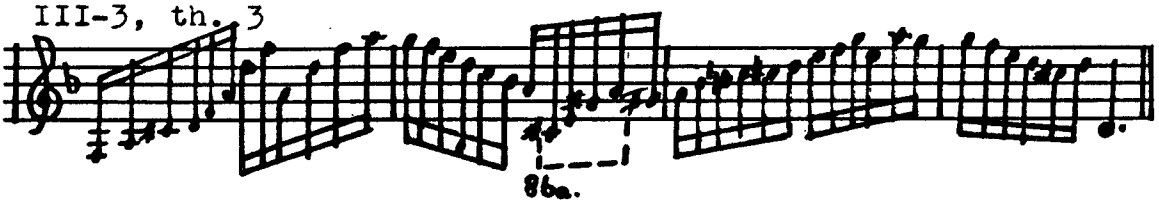
III-3, th. 1



III-3, th. 2

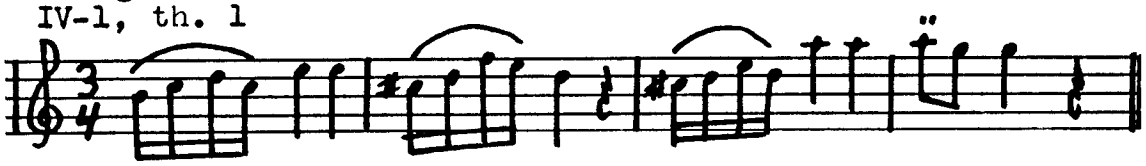


III-3, th. 3

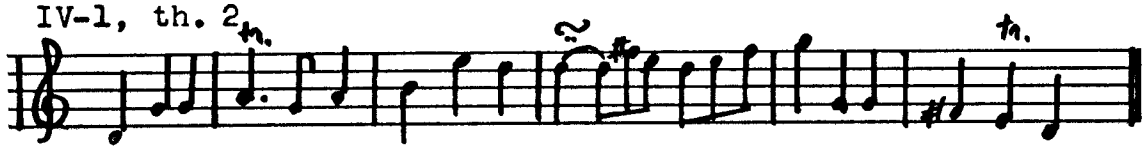


Appendix II, continued. SONATA No. 4 in C Major

Allegro Con Brio
IV-1, th. 1



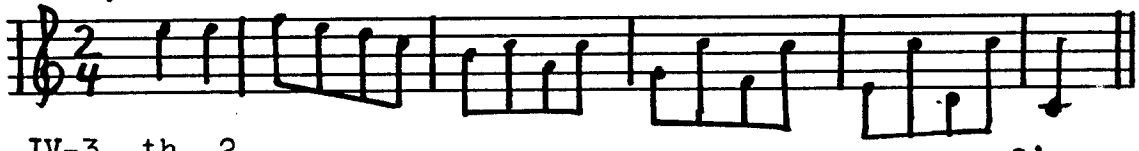
IV-1, th. 2



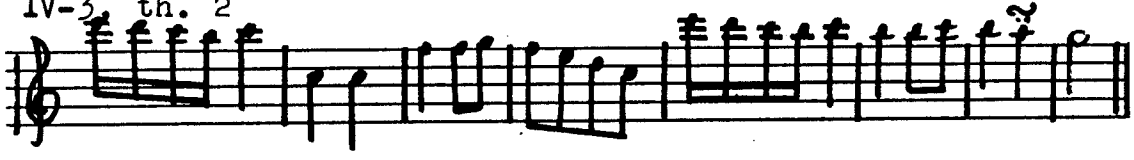
Adagio
IV-2, th. 1

IV-2, th. 2

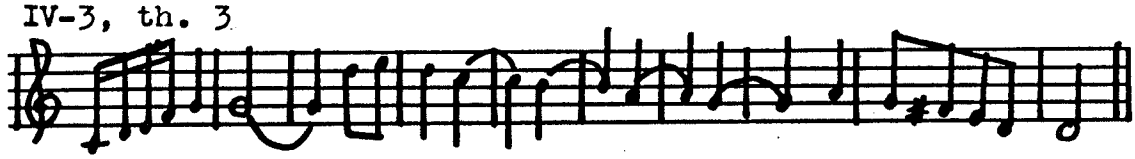
Allegro
IV-3, th. 1



IV-3, th. 2



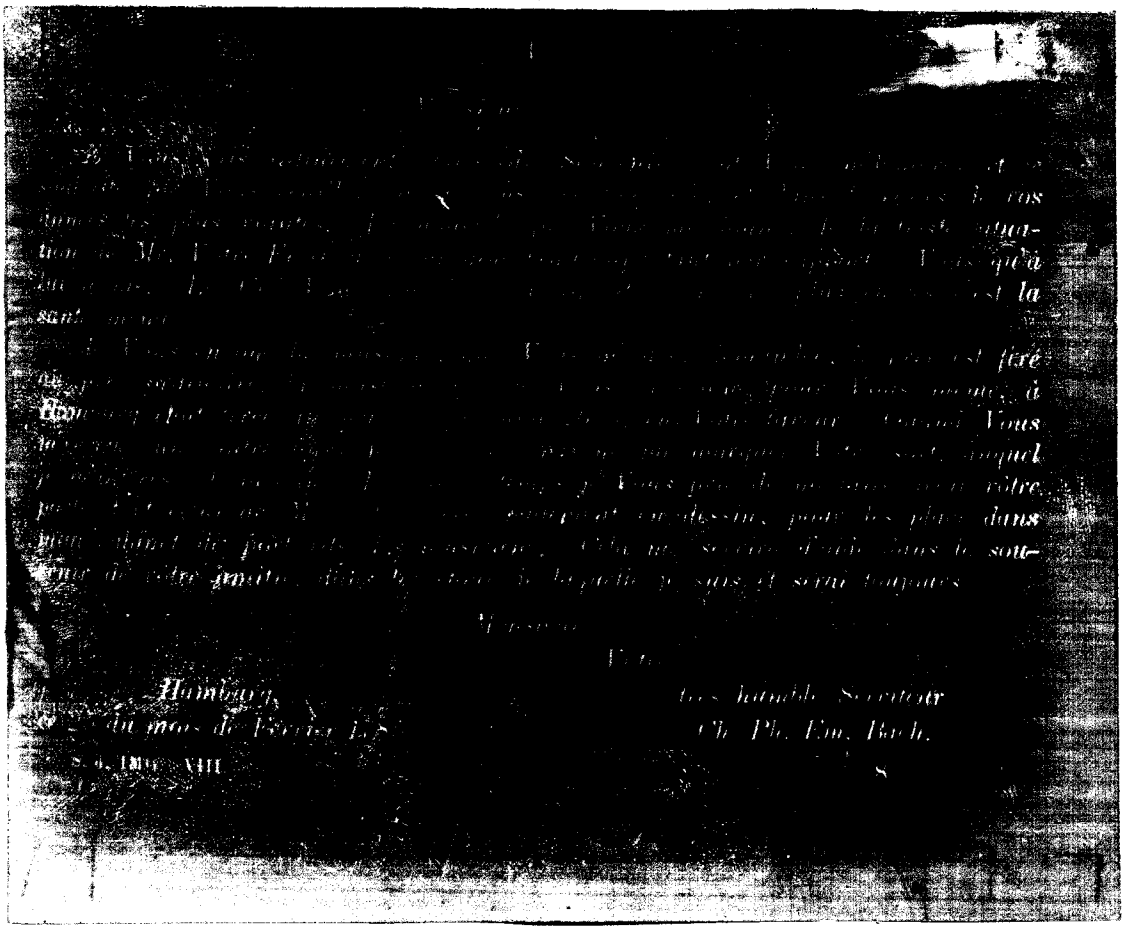
IV-3, th. 3



APPENDIX III

Included below are reprints of the two letters of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach written to Alexander Reinagle. Both letters are owned by the Library of Congress. The first letter, (in French), was written on February 25, 1785; the second letter, (in German), has no date, but is believed to have been written either during the last few months of 1785 or the first months of 1786.

The letters, as they appear below, are reproductions of the way in which they appeared in the article by Oscar G. Sonneck, "Zwei Briefe C. Ph. Em. Bach's an Alexander Reinagle," in the Internationale Musik-Gesellschaft Sämmelbande, VIII (1906-07), pp. 112-114.



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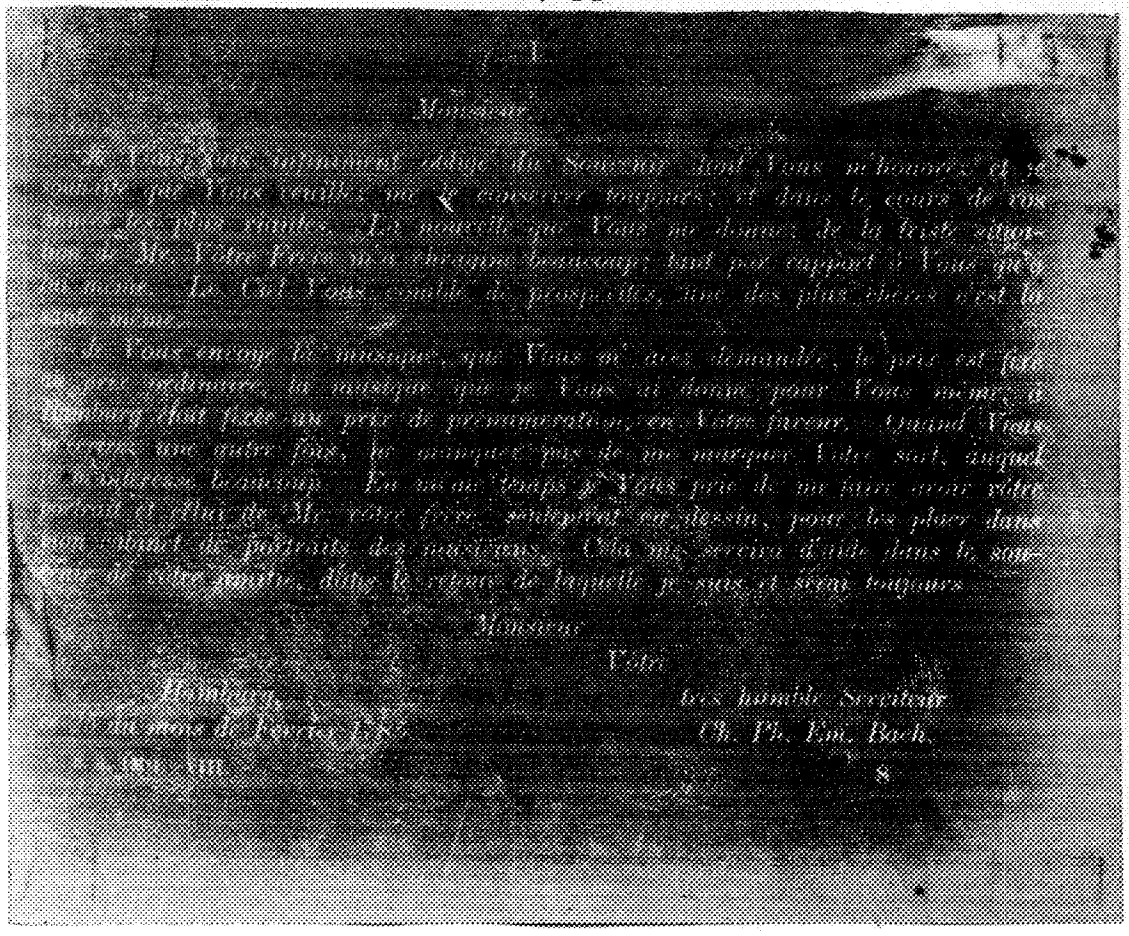
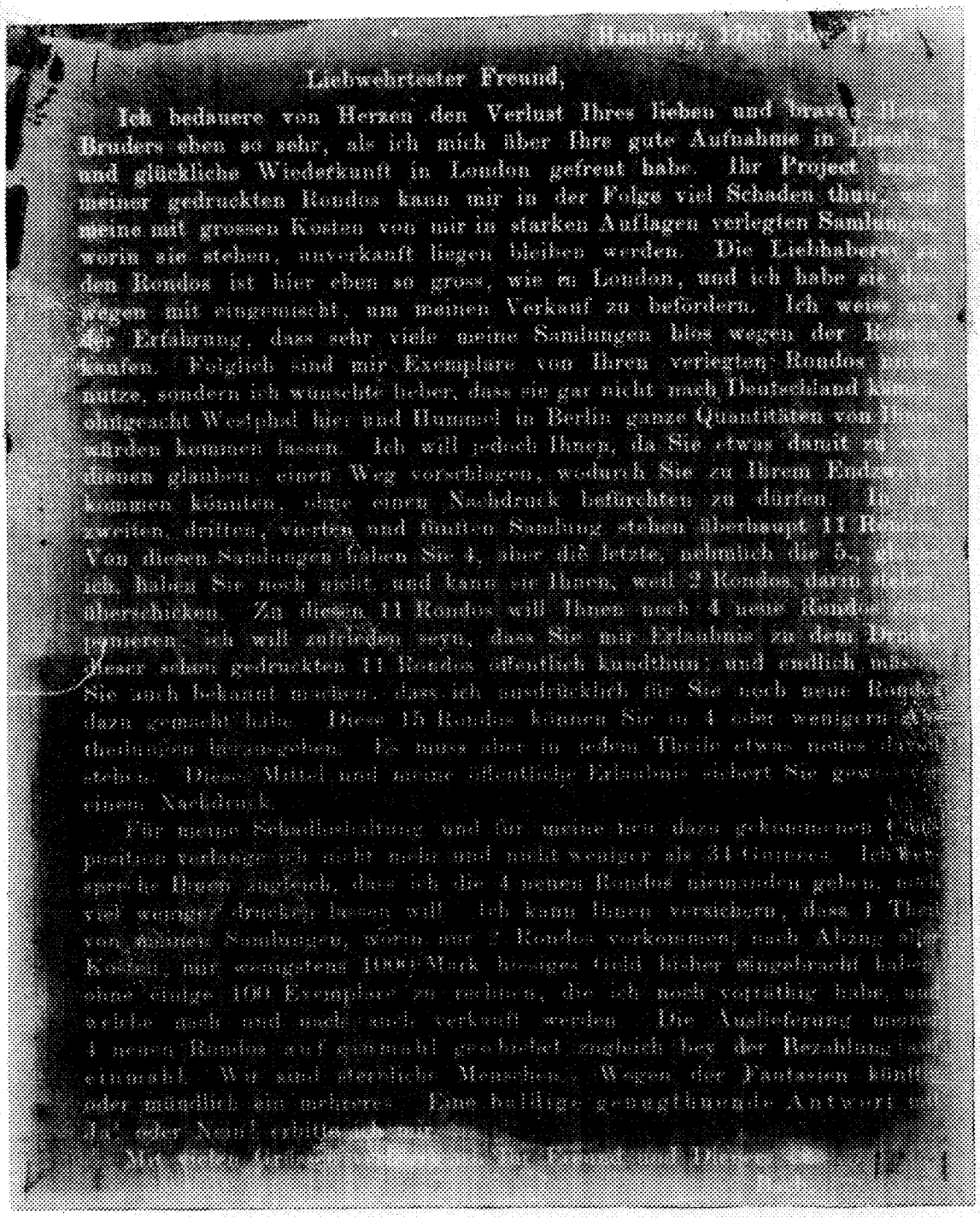


Appendix III, continued.



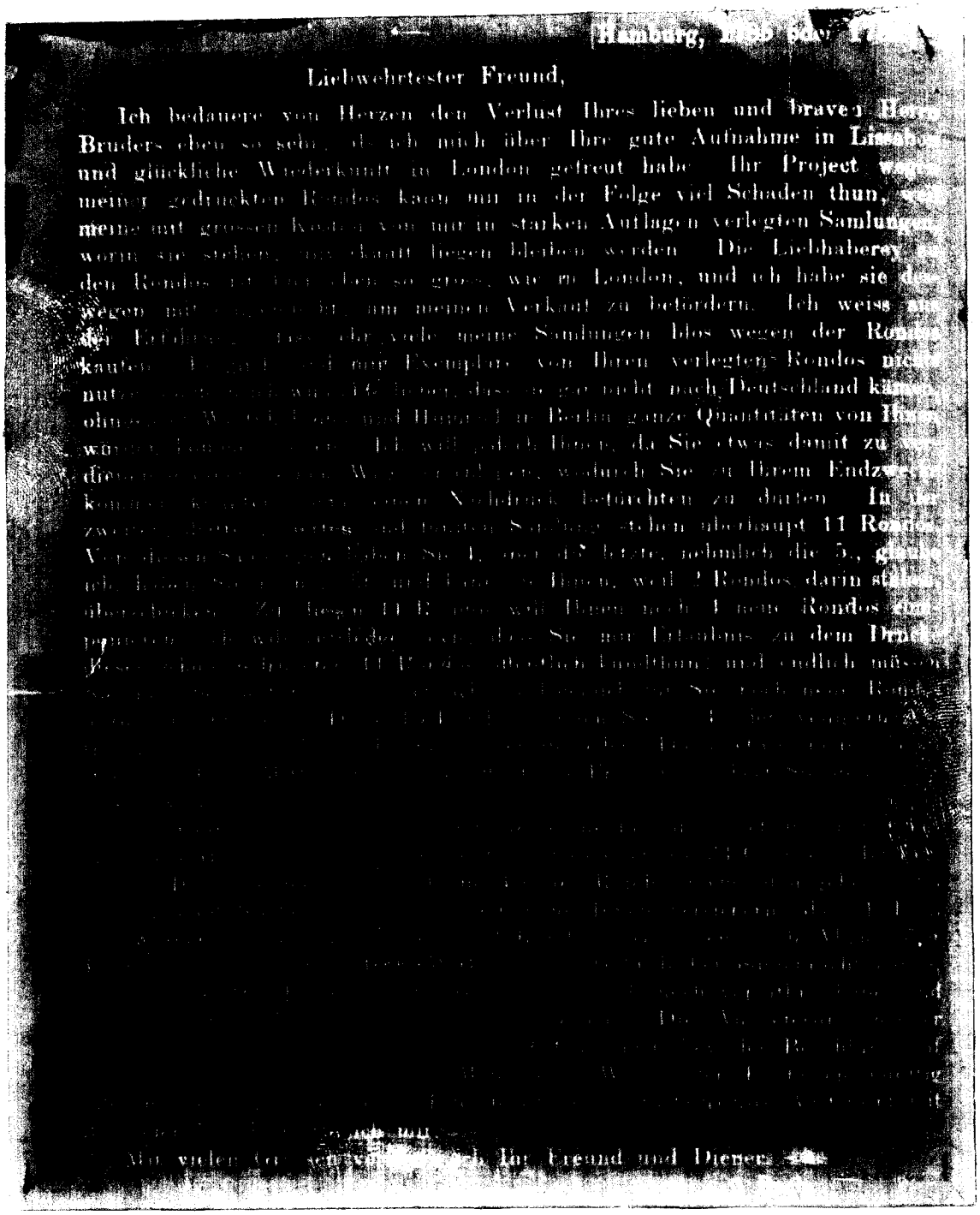
Liebwehrtester Freund,

Ich bedauere von Herzen den Verlust Ihres lieben und braven [illegible] Bruders eben so sehr, als ich mich über Ihre gute Aufnahme in [illegible] und glückliche Wiederkunft in London gefreut habe. Ihr Project [illegible] meiner gedruckten Rondos kann mir in der Folge viel Schaden thun, [illegible] meine mit grossen Kosten von mir in starken Auflagen verlegten Samlu[illegible] worin sie stehen, unverkauft liegen bleiben werden. Die Liebhaberey [illegible] den Rondos ist hier eben so gross, wie in London, und ich habe zu [illegible] gegen mit eingemischt, um meinen Verkauf zu befördern. Ich weiß [illegible] der Erfahrung, dass sehr viele meine Samlungen blos wegen der Ro[illegible] kaufen. Folglich sind mir Exemplare von Ihren verlegten Rondos [illegible] nütze, sondern ich wünschte lieber, dass sie gar nicht nach Deutschland k[illegible] ohngeacht Westphal hier und Hummel in Berlin ganze Quantitäten von [illegible] würden kommen lassen. Ich will jedoch Ihnen, da Sie etwas damit [illegible] Ihnen glauben, einen Weg vorschlagen, wodurch Sie zu Ihrem Endz[illegible] kommen könnten, ohne einen Nachdruck befürchten zu dürfen. [illegible] zweiten, dritten, vierten und fünften Sandung stehen überhaupt 11 Ro[illegible] Von diesen Samlungen haben Sie 4, aber die letzte, nehmlich die 5. [illegible] ich habe Sie noch nicht, und kann sie Ihnen, weil 2 Rondos davon [illegible] überschicken. Zu diesen 11 Rondos will Ihnen noch 4 neue Rondos [illegible] geneten, ich will zufrieden seyn, dass Sie mir Erlaubniß zu dem [illegible] dieser schon gedruckten 11 Rondos öffentlich kundthun; und endlich will [illegible] Sie auch bekannt machen, dass ich ausdrücklich für Sie noch neue Rondos [illegible] dazu gemacht habe. Diese 15 Rondos können Sie in 4 oder weniger [illegible] theilungen liegen geben. Es muss aber in jedem Theile etwas neues [illegible] stehen. Dieses Mittel und meine öffentliche Erlaubniß sichert Sie gewiß [illegible] einen Nachdruck.

Für meine Schadloshaltung und für meine neu dazu gekommenen 4 [illegible] positiven verlange ich nicht mehr und nicht weniger als 31 Ducaten. Ich versp[illegible] spreche Ihnen zugleich, dass ich die 4 neuen Rondos niemanden geben, [illegible] viel weniger drucken lassen will. Ich kann Ihnen versichern, dass 1 Theil [illegible] von meinen Samlungen, worin nur 2 Rondos vorkommen, nach Abzug [illegible] Kosten, nur wenigstens 1000 Mark baares Geld locker eingebracht hab[illegible] ohne einige 100 Exemplare zu rechnen, die ich noch vorräthig habe, [illegible] selbe nach und nach auch verkauft werden. Die Auslieferung meiner [illegible] 4 neuen Rondos auf einmahl geschieht zugleich bey der Bezahlung [illegible] einmahl. Wir sind ehrliche Menschen. Wegen der Pantaxen künftig [illegible] oder mündlich ein mehreres. Eine billige genugthuende Antwort [illegible] Ihr ergebener Freund

[illegible]

Appendix III, continued.



Hamburg, [illegible]

Liebwehrtester Freund,

Ich bedauere von Herzen den Verlust Ihres lieben und braven [illegible] Bruders eben so sehr, als ich mich über Ihre gute Aufnahme in Lissabon und glückliche Wiederkunft in London gefreut habe. Ihr Project wegen meiner gedruckten Rondos kann mir in der Folge viel Schaden thun, weil meine mit grossen Kosten von mir in starken Auflagen verlegten Samlungen, worin sie stehen, nun dadurch liegen bleiben werden. Die Liebhaberey für den Rondos ist [illegible] so gross, wie in London, und ich habe sie deswegen mit [illegible] um meinen Verkauf zu befördern. Ich weiss aus der Erfahrung, dass [illegible] viele meine Samlungen blos wegen der Rondos kauften, [illegible] nur Exemplare von Ihren verlegten Rondos nicht nutz[illegible] würden, dass sie gar nicht nach Deutschland kämen, ohne [illegible] und Hummel in Berlin ganze Quantitäten von Ihnen wü[illegible] Ich will gleich hören, da Sie etwas damit zu [illegible] die [illegible] Wege [illegible] durch Sie zu Ihrem Endzweck [illegible] kommen [illegible] neuen Nachdruck betrachten zu dürfen. In [illegible] zwey [illegible] und [illegible] Sachen stehen überhaupt 11 Rondos. Von diesen [illegible] haben Sie 1, nemlich 6 heute, nehmlich die 5., [illegible] ich [illegible] und [illegible] Ihnen, weil 2 Rondos darin [illegible] abgebrochen. Zu liegen 11 B[illegible] weil Ihnen noch 1 neue Rondos [illegible] [illegible] Sie nur Exemplare zu dem Druck [illegible] [illegible] Rondos [illegible] und endlich müssen [illegible]

Mit vielen [illegible] Ihr Freund und Diener [illegible]

APPROVED Gwynn S. McPeek

Professor, Department of Music

June 28, 1968