



## Black Professional Musicians in New Orleans c1880

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FOR OVER A CENTURY, James Monroe Trotter's *Music and Some Highly Musical People*, published in Boston in 1878, has been acclaimed an invaluable source for the unique information it provides concerning nineteenth-century black musicians, "both as individual artists and as members of groups" (Southern 1983, 259). Eileen Southern further described Trotter's work as a "landmark in the field of writings about black American music [that] was not to be matched for more than fifty years."

Full details of Trotter's life, and a close analysis of the work itself were given by Robert Stevenson, in his article "America's First Black Music Historian," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxvi/3 (Fall, 1973), 383-404. But how "Black" was the music upheld by Trotter? Despite Trotter's admiration of slave songs, of the orchestras of "colored" musicians found at Southern watering-places, and of the Georgia Minstrels, he attempted neither a sociological study of the state of music-making by Afro-Americans nor a history, in the sense of a coherent narrative.<sup>1</sup>

For readers unfamiliar with Trotter's book, how can it best be summarized?<sup>2</sup> After a 65-page exordium, he offers fifteen sketches of individual concert artists, composers, and groups. The remainder of the text is devoted to glimpses of 170 musicians

scattered from Boston (11 pages) to New Orleans (21 pages). His views of the art and of artists are consistently high-minded. In keeping with the kind of evangelical fervor prevalent in Cincinnati during his youth, he mistrusts the temptations of the theatre. While he does admit that it "has its appropriate, and, under proper conditions, educational and refining uses," he fears "the alluring disguises which are so often thrown over vice" in the theatre (Trotter 1881, 55).

For him, the place to seek entertainment is "in the home," where the sublime art of music can be cultivated for its own sake. Given this attitude, all the more remarkable is it that he devotes twelve pages to the Georgia Minstrels, the only such group to receive notice. As for other blackface groups, he deplores the "disgusting caricaturing ostensibly of the speech and action of the more unfortunate members of the colored race, but which are really made to reflect against the whole" (p. 273). On the other hand, consistency bade him "trace the footsteps of the remarkable colored musician wherever they might lead," and he did therefore attend at least one minstrel show—intent upon observing the *musical* performance only. The purely musical aspect he found "in the highest degree gratifying,"—evinced not only fine natural talent, but "much of high musical culture."

The plantation "slave songs" brought north by such groups as the Fisk Jubilee Singers impressed him mightily by their "innate power . . . in a degree that is simply intense" (p. 326). Nor did Southern Black orchestras escape his attention. They have

furnished some of the best music that has been produced in nearly all of the Southern States. At the watering places, orchestras composed of colored musicians were

<sup>1</sup>To be sure, "Afro-American" is not a term used by Trotter, but rather "colored." "Negro" and "black" are likewise absent. "African American" is now the preferred appellation. [Ed.'s note.]

<sup>2</sup>All quotations and comments are based on the 1968 facsimile reprint of the 1881 edition. According to Stevenson 1973, 387, this reprint is "identical in all respects with the 1878 [edition] except that 'Fifth Thousand' is added above [the publisher's name]."

always to be found; in fact, at such places their services were considered indispensable (p. 327).

However, since it was his avowed purpose to place musicians of his own race on a plane equal to that of any other, he decided to

mention by name none but persons of scientific musical culture; none but those who read the printed music page and can give its contents life and expression—generally, too, with a fine degree of excellence, either with voice or instrument; and who evince by their studies and performances the true artistic spirit. The singer or player 'by ear' merely, however well favored by nature, will not be mentioned (p. 286).

It is against this background that one can begin to appreciate his eloquent chapter on New Orleans, subtitled "The Musical and General Culture of its Colored Citizens." As might be anticipated, Trotter stresses the distinctiveness of the French influence: before the war, New Orleans was often called the Paris of America. Just as the Frenchman was proverbially a devotee of the fine arts, especially music, and even more particularly opera, so were the citizens of New Orleans. Trotter then asks (1881 edition, pp. 334–335):

But does all I have been saying apply to the colored people of New Orleans as well, almost, as to the others? Strange to say, it does. . . . As regards the exhibition of this ambitious musical spirit, this yearning for a higher education and a higher life, these people often exceeded those of fairer complexions.

No Pollyanna, Trotter recognizes that this yearning existed in the context of a "heroic struggle against the foul spirit of caste prejudice."

In his New Orleans chapter he focuses on 44 individuals, with Lucien Lambert, Edmond Dédé, and Samuel Snaer each given a page or more.<sup>1</sup> Nine of those mentioned were composers, although specific works are cited for only five. Each of those five is

<sup>1</sup>Consistent spelling of New Orleans names remains a problem. Trotter, in addition to the obvious blunders probably resulting from incorrect reading of handwriting ("Convertie" for "Couvertié," "Liantaud" for "Liataud"), writes "Snaer" and "Barés" where Desdunes (1911) has "Snaer" and "Barres." I adopt "Barès," the usual spelling on his published compositions, and "Snaër," which appears to be attested in at least one census return. The other major problem with New Orleans names is not orthographic, but the frequency with which one of a person's given names (sometimes as many as four) are used as alternatives.

represented by a composition (or excerpts therefrom) in the 152-page musical appendix. Five of the 44 musicians had emigrated before 1880, and four were deceased. Only a few musical groups are mentioned. In addition to the pre-war Philharmonic Society, two of the several brass bands said to exist among the colored population are mentioned by name: Kelly's Band and the St. Bernard Brass Band.

Although years of birth (or ages from which the year can be inferred) are given for twelve musicians, Trotter cites month and day for only Basile Barès. However, even that date, January 2, 1846, fails to match the date for Barès's baptism found by Lester Sullivan in the records of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church—February 9, 1845 (Sullivan 1988, 16). Among New Orleans musical stalwarts Samuel Snaer receives more space than any other, and also reaps more detail concerning his compositions, both published and unpublished, than any of the other composers profiled by Trotter. (Can Snaer himself, or someone close to him, have been the informant from whom Trotter amassed all his New Orleans data?\*)

Wherever Trotter gained his New Orleans materials, at least he set the stage for successor researchers.<sup>2</sup> Fired with Trotter's zeal, Jesuit scholar Charles Edwards O'Neill in a widely read (not always well informed) 1949 article devoted a half-dozen pages to New Orleans Black musicians—nine of whom were composers mentioned by Trotter. (The tenth is Joseph Beaumont, the author of the song "Toucoucou," so ingeniously celebrated by Edward Laroque Tinker.)

But if we are to describe music-making as an economic activity, depending not only on talent but on demand, clearly some point of departure other than

\*Will the manuscript originals of Trotter's book ever surface? His son, the activist newspaper editor, William Monroe Trotter, who died a suicide in 1934, might seem, as the possessor of a B.A. and A.M. from Harvard, to have been the kind of person interested in keeping the papers of his father (who died in 1892; see Stevenson 1973, 399).

<sup>2</sup>Among investigators who have studied nineteenth-century New Orleans Black musicians, none deserves more gratitude than Arthur LaBrew, whose archival researches in all parts of the nation known to Trotter have yielded seminal discoveries. See Robert Stevenson, "Black Music Precursors: The Writings of Arthur Randolph LaBrew," *Inter-American Music Review*, 1/2 (Spring-Summer 1979), 229–234. His writings to 1976 are itemized at Stevenson's page 231. [Ed.'s note.]



Trotter's list and O'Neill's article would be desirable. Such an alternate point of departure could well be the U.S. census schedules. The world reflected in census schedules is a larger one than that depicted by Trotter, who idealized the cultural life of the elite. The contrast between Trotter's world and the "real" world (most of the evidence for which is grouped in our Appendixes A and B) will occupy us throughout the rest of this paper.

Appendix A, devoted to Trotter's musicians, includes dates of birth, death, marriage, and other information gleaned during occasional plunges into the notarial archives, municipal records, city directories, and census schedules. At present, I group New Orleans Blacks into four "generations," with surmises regarding their degree of professionalism taking the form of asterisks. All starred musicians seem to have earned their living, for a while at least, by music-making or teaching.\* The force of "circa" (or "c") is variable: in some cases the date may well be within a year or so of the true date, in others off by as much as five years.

## TROTTER'S MUSICIANS

*Over 60*

- |                        |                                  |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| *Joseph Bazanac        | 1799-1876                        |
| *Constantin Debergue   | c1800-                           |
| *Chas. Richard Lambert | c1800-1862; born in New York     |
| *Charles Martinez      | 1810-1874                        |
| Lanoix François Parent | -1873                            |
| *P. Fierville Repony   | 1812-c1877; emigrated after 1850 |

*Under 60*

- |                        |                                 |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| *Edmond Dédé           | 1827-1903; emigrated 1848, 1857 |
| *Maurice J. B. Doublet | 1829-1883                       |

\*The asterisked names are of those recorded as professional musicians or teachers of music, either by Trotter, the census schedules, or city directories. Sometimes the indication of their professional activity comes from well after the time Trotter was writing, as in the cases of Henry Staes and John A. Lambert. In the case of a figure like Samuel Snaer, whose chief post appears to have been that of organist at St. Mary's Catholic Church, and who came from a quite wealthy family, one wonders whether he was a full-time professional. It is possibly inadvisable to lump professors of music together with musicians, as the former may well have had a much higher status. The difficulty is that there is little consistency from one city directory to another, or from one census to the next.

- |                        |                                       |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| *Lucien Lambert        | c1827-1896; emigrated c1852           |
| *Adolphe Liautaud      | 1822-                                 |
| *Victor Eugène Macarty | c1820-1881; studied in Paris c1840    |
| *Thomas J. Martin      | c1825-c1870; left New Orleans in 1860 |
| McDonald Repony        | 1826-                                 |
| *Samuel Snaer          | 1832-c1896                            |

*Under 45*

- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| *Basile Jean Barès     | 1845-1902; possible study in Paris, late 60's |
| *Henry Berrot          | 1840-   |
| Henry Corbin           | 1845-1878; born Cincinnati, Ohio              |
| Félix Eugène Couvertié | 1846-1931                                     |
| Eugène Dubuclet        | c1840-1894                                    |
| George Dubuclet        | c1840-1875                                    |
| Lucien Dupré           | 1842-1900                                     |
| *Sidney Lambert        | 1838-c1900; emigrated c1860                   |
| Joseph Mansion         | 1839-   |
| A. P. Williams         | 1840-c1915; born Norwich, Conn.               |

*Les Jeunes: Under 30*

- |                  |            |
|------------------|------------|
| Dennis Auguste   | 1850-      |
| *J. M. Doublet   | 1859-      |
| Eusèbe Dupré     | 1850-      |
| J. M. Holland    | 1848-1917  |
| *Emile Lambert   | 1852-      |
| *John A. Lambert | 1861-1934  |
| *Corilla Macarty | 1860-      |
| Octave Piron     | 1851-p1900 |
| *Henry Staes     | 1855-p1910 |

*Unknown*

- |  |
|--|
| Raymond Auguste (cornetist, p. 348)                  |
| Mrs. P. Casnave ("a brilliant pianist," p. 346)      |
| Ciel Dupré (p. 347)                                  |
| Misses Dupré (2) (sisters of Ciel)                   |
| Mr. Kelly ("band director," p. 348)                  |
| Misses Lambert (2) ("accomplished pianists," p. 340) |
| *Joseph A. Moret ("violin-player," p. 348)           |
| *Émile Ricard ("good pianist," p. 348)               |
| *F. C. Viccus ("violin, cornet," p. 344)             |

To gain recognition as a composer, most in the foregoing table had to emigrate. The Lamberts and Dédé boast extensive lists of publications, including some lengthy works of considerable pretension. On the other hand, very few of the works of Macarty and Snaer reached print—and those that did were far

from ambitious. With Snaer particularly, the survival of a number of manuscripts (in addition to the two movements of a Mass ordinary for three male voices and keyboard) shows a composer capable of elaborate composition.

The two musicians with a substantial number of compositions published either in New Orleans or elsewhere in the nation hardly rate as typical. Thomas J. Martin may not even have been from New Orleans.<sup>7</sup> Basile Barès appears to have been born in servitude and to have copyrighted his first published composition in 1860 while still in that condition (Sullivan 1988, 64–65). In any event, with 22 published dance compositions stretching between 1860 and 1884, Barès vaunts the largest published repertory among New Orleans-born composers.

One further feature of Trotter's list should again be mentioned. Practically all of the names are French. While this might be expected in the antebellum years when the great majority of free blacks had French names, Trotter is, after all, writing in 1877. Was New Orleans still so "Frenchy" (Trotter's own word) a city so far as the musical activities of Afro-Americans were concerned? Probably so.

What the theatrical pages between 1890 and 1910 of the Indianapolis *Freeman* (an Afro-American weekly) do reveal concerning New Orleans native-born musicians active at the turn of the century is their still predominantly French names. Frank Clermont, the "Creole cornetist," and Harry Prampin, also a cornetist, (both from New Orleans) begin a list of more than twenty Afro-American musicians from New Orleans in the rosters of the most important Black minstrel companies, traveling coast to coast. Such names as Tio, Baquet, Victor, Nicolas, Guiguesse, Castry, Renaud, Jeanjacques, and Desdunes tell their own tale. But what of Blacks who stayed in their place of birth? Were their names also predominantly French? The comprehensive answer can again be found in Federal census schedules. Accordingly, the census schedules for Orleans Parish for 1850, 1880, and 1910 were read with a view to recording all Afro-American musicians and music teachers (including those enumerated as white).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Was he the free black Thomas Martin recorded by the 1830 Census as between 24 and 36 years of age, living in the West Southwork area of Philadelphia? See Woodson 1925, p. 143, col. 3.

<sup>8</sup> More exactly, for the 1850 census only the first and third municipalities were read completely, together with that part of the second closest to Canal Street. A survey of the remaining

So far as mere numbers of Afro-Americans reported as musicians go: in 1850 the census-takers reported only seven musicians or music teachers; by 1880 the number had risen to 56 (or, if one subtracts the four organ grinders or organ players and the one music tradesperson, to 51). The increase does not reflect an influx of female music teachers (of whom only three were enumerated in 1880; see Appendixes B and C for more specific information).

Afro-Americans comprised about one-fifth of the professional musicians and music teachers in the New Orleans of 1880, a proportion that continues steady in the censuses of 1890 and 1900—with a sharp increase only in 1910. Relevant to our count is the fact that Trotter cited five of the seven professionals in the 1850 returns. But of the 1880 group a bare half-dozen of that sizable list are present in Trotter. The reason: if those omitted were aged 25 or less, Trotter, writing in 1877, could hardly be expected to pay them any attention. What about the other musicians in the 1880 returns? All those itemized by Trotter resided "downtown." No musician living in uptown New Orleans was mentioned by Trotter. (On the other hand, living downtown was no sure ticket to inclusion, since barely a quarter of the downtown musicians were admitted to the Trotter's circle.)

Why did Trotter, or his informant(s) omit uptowners? Among 1880 uptown musicians not in Trotter was so well-known and respected a musician as James Humphrey (whose descendants still today continue to make music in New Orleans). Also left out were Theodule Martin, William Dorsey, George Williams, Samuel Decker, and J. E. Ogilvie. It may be, of course, that spending a good share of one's professional time playing in dance halls (quite apart from whether one possessed a degree of musical science or artistic spirit) counted against them. True, Barès, who played dance music for a living, gained kudos. But he played for only the "best" New Orleans society.

The musicians of "good family" mentioned in Trotter include the Dubuclot brothers, Mrs. Casnave, Eugène Couvertié, Bazanac, Martinez, Liautaud, and three not born in New Orleans: Holland,

part of the second municipality and the city of Lafayette might add several Afro-American musicians, but for the purposes of comparison with Trotter's list this is probably not a significant omission. The two later censuses have been read completely, with the proviso that on microfilm some enumeration districts are quite illegible.



Corbin, and Williams. On the other hand, such 1880 musicians not in Trotter as Antoine Pageau, Bartholomew Bruno, Frank Gaspard, and Paul Populus, lacked any cachet of family.

Might one also ask whether there were musicians of some consequence who appear neither in Trotter nor in the 1880 federal census? Surely by 1877 Théogène V. Baquet, the future leader of the Excelsior Band, would have begun to make his mark, since he was at least 23 years old, perhaps even 27. To proceed, therefore, from census returns to still another source opening a wider window than did Trotter:

The *Weekly Louisianian* between 1875 and 1882 records various musical events in the tradition of those documented from the years immediately after the war<sup>9</sup>—among them one at Economy Hall May 8, 1875, with singers Paul Dardignac and Mme. Liogier, accompanied by Barès; another, an elaborate concert January 2, 1882, at Masonic Hall under the auspices of Leopold Hewlett, involving several members of the Doublet family. Particularly in evidence by 1882 were now the many brass bands, among them the Excelsior, directed by three different musicians from 1879 on, but possibly established earlier.<sup>10</sup> As a gesture to the past, Excelsior serenaded P. B. S. Pinchback on one memorable occasion in March, 1882. A politician to the end, he

<sup>9</sup>Sullivan (1988) refers to a number of such concerts—with reference especially to works of Snaer and Basile Barès (*aka* Perier). These items are drawn from *La Tribune de la Nouvelle-Orléans* in 1865. A number of similar musical events are reported in the pages of *L'Équité* for 1871 and in another liberal paper of the same general period, *L'Avenir de la Nouvelle-Orléans*.

<sup>10</sup>March 8, 1879: appearance of the Excelsior Band in their Prussian-style military costumes at a fire company parade, under the leadership of Sylvester Decker and managed by Messrs. Haggatt [probably Hoggatt] and Penn.

September 29, 1879: Mr. Leon Cuillette is the leader of the Excelsior Brass Band. He is a young musician of great promise.

October 11, 1879: Mr. Sylvester Decker has again assumed the leadership of the Excelsior Brass Band. Messrs. Boisseau and Hoggatt send a complimentary ticket to the newspaper.

February 14, 1880: The ball given Mardi Gras night by the Excelsior B.B. such a success that the band can buy a new set of instruments from Louis Grunewald. They are forming a benevolent association to be known as "Musicians' Benevolent Society."

August 20, 1881: Initial entertainment of the Knights of Athena. The Excelsior B.B., directed by Prof. T. V. Baquet, during the intervals of the dance, discoursed operatic selections from Fahrbach, Meyerbeer, Balfe, Offenbach, and Beethoven.

invited the band in for a drink (March 25, 1882), speaking to them about his start in politics in the "old bloody Fourth Ward."

In 1880, the *Weekly Louisianian* had reported Excelsior's intention to form a Musicians' Benevolent Society, quite possibly one of the earliest attempts at a labor organization by Black musicians.<sup>11</sup> By 1881, Excelsior was directed by Théogène Baquet, one of a new generation of musicians growing up during or after the war. His best-known legacy to the future was his two sons, both clarinetists: George, who in 1914 to 1916 toured with the first New Orleans ragtime band operating in big-time vaudeville, and Achille, one of the important mentors of Papa Jack Laine's first ragtime bands.

The *Pelican*, another informative New Orleans Afro-American newspaper, announced in its issue of July 16, 1887, that William Nickerson, Louis Tio, and Louis Therence were leaving in a few days to join the Georgia Minstrels for the season. (Nickerson had apparently led the Georgias' orchestra during the preceding season; his positions at Straight and Southern Universities had been temporarily filled by J. B. Humphrey [*Pelican*, April 30, 1887]). Richards' and Pringle's Famous Georgia Minstrels (to give them their full name), with Billy Kersands as their leading comedian, did open August 5, 1887, in Decatur, Illinois—where the band also provided much appreciated music gratis at the baseball game between the Danville and Decatur clubs.

Louis Tio (who along with Nickerson was to be one of the most important teachers of the professional instrumentalists of color around the turn of the century and beyond) had been in Mexico since about 1872. But his New Orleans roots went back to no later than 1859. It was to Joseph Bazanac that

<sup>11</sup>The New Orleans *Item* of August 31, 1902, 1:7, reports the formation of a Negro musicians' union. T. V. Baquet was president. The other officers were James MacNeal, vice president; Wendell MacNeal, financial secretary; L. L. Peterson, treasurer; Nelson J. Jean, recording secretary; and William Cornish, sergeant-at-arms. This is confirmed in the *International Musician*, II, no. 5 (November, 1902), p. 6, which lists among the new locals admitted to the American Federation of Musicians since the preceding month "Local 242 (colored), New Orleans, La." The white local, no. 174, was admitted only a few months earlier (*ibid.*, 1:8 [February 1902]). A new slate of officers is reported in May, 1903: T. V. Baquet [sic], president; J. H. Jackson, vice-president; Charles B. Conway, recording secretary; W. P. MacNeal, financial secretary; L. L. Peterson, treasurer. In the issue of November 1905, Local 242 is shown as lapsed and erased from the list of locals. Its number was taken by the local in Havre, Montana.

Louis Tio's father, Louis Marcos Tio, had given power of attorney in 1859.<sup>12</sup> Louis Tio's mother, Antoinette, was a Hazeur. Louis Hazeur was a senior musician in the band of the first Battalion of free men of color of the Louisiana militia during the War of 1812.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup>Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. Acts of Abel Dreyfous, Jan.-Dec., 1859, no. 88, dated 4.13.59.

<sup>13</sup>National Archives, Record Group 94. Muster roll of the field, staff and non-commissioned staff officers and band of the 1st Battalion of free men of color of the militia of the State of Louisiana from December 16, 1814, to March 25, 1815.

To sum up: we can continue paying due respect to Trotter's pioneering contribution; but only with the caution that it is possible to know far more of early New Orleans Black music history than he recorded. Eventually, a richer tale of the Black contribution to pre-1878 New Orleans music must adorn our shelves—there to join the now very sizable literature on the musical achievements of New Orleans Blacks during our own century.

## APPENDIX A

### Biographical Information Concerning Trotter's Musicians

#### Abbreviations:

- Acts Orleans Parish Notarial Archives  
 CD New Orleans City Directory  
 FC U.S. Census schedules for New Orleans of the year indicated.
- Newspapers cited were published in New Orleans, unless otherwise indicated.
- OP Orleans Parish (from microfilm in the Louisiana Room, New Orleans Public Library, unless otherwise indicated).

#### AUGUSTE, DENNIS

Trotter 345: \*N.O. 1850, raised in family of Col. Félix Labatut, pupil of Richard Lambert, Rolling, Eugène Prévost.

CD1880: Dennis August, laborer, 98 Kerlerec. Is this the same person?

#### BARES (BARÈS), BASILE

See Sullivan 1988.

#### BAZANAC, JOSEPH

Trotter 348: died a few months ago.

OP Deaths, vol. 67, p. 458: Death certificate of Joseph Bazanac, a native of Cuba, age 76, 10.31.76 at 58 St. Anthony St.

Bee 11.1.1876, p. 1, c. 5: death of Joseph Bazanac 10.31.1876, age 77.

Acts Abel Dreyfous 4.13.59: Louis Marcos Tio gives Joseph Bazanac power of attorney, which he exercised in an auction sale in the following year; see Acts Abel Dreyfous, 4.24.60.

Acts Charles Martinez 8.31.69: Inventory of the succession of Paul Luciani, no. 33164. "A fiddle and its case valued Ten Dollars claimed by Mr. Joseph Bazanac."

#### BERROT, HENRY

FC1880: 71½ Columbus. Harry Berro, black musician, age 40.

#### CORBIN, HENRY

*Picayune*, 9.6.78, 4/4: death of Henry A. Corbin, 9.5.78, age 33.

#### COUVERTIÉ, EUGÈNE

FC1880, e.d. 44, p. 7 (244 Bourbon St.): Josephine Couvertie, mulatto, age 5(8?) \*La. and four sons, all dry goods merchants: Louis E. 37, Benjamin 35, Felix 33, Jacob 25.

*Times-Picayune*, 6.7.31, 2/6: death of Felix Eugene Couvertie, age 85.

Huber 1980: The dry goods store must have been very well known to the old Creole community to judge by references to it such as "a spool of thread and some hair pins or whalebone at Couvertier's for Mimi's corset" (p. 23) or "the materials [for a moustiquaire] were gathered from Couvertier's store on Ursulines & Royal" (p. 47).

#### DEBERGUE, CONSTANTIN

CD1843: Constantin Debergue Sr. and Jr. residing on Union St. near Craps.

#### DÉDÉ, EDMOND

See Sullivan 1988.

#### DOUBLET, MAURICE J. B.

Trotter 344: \*1831 in N.O.

FC1860: Maurice Doublet, 31-year-old mulatto musician \*N.O., with probable wife Anais, son Maurice, age 1.

FC1880: M. G. B. [confusion of French "J" with English "G"] Doublet, 51-year-old mulatto musician born in La.; wife Aniese and musician son, Joseph M., age 21.

Acts Felix Percy 3.14.1843: Inventory of community property of late Maurice Doublet, died 12.29.1842, f.m.c., and Marie Antoinette, alias Paméla Hazeur, f.w.c. Her minor son, Jean Baptiste Doublet, ca. 15 years.

DOUBLET, JOSEPH M.

Trotter 346: violinist, only 18 years old, studied under his father J. B. M. Doublet.

FC1880: see Maurice J. B. Doublet.

DUBUCLET, EUGÈNE

, GEORGE

University of New Orleans, René Granjean Collection, "Livre d'Or." Eugène died in 1894, George in 1875.

DUPRÉ, CIEL

, EUSÈBE

, LUCIEN

FC1880, e.d. 39, p. 17: Eusebe Dupré, 30-year-old mulatto carrier \*La., and wife Azélie.

Acts Joseph Cuvillier 8.14.76: Declaration of Mme. Azélie Labat and her spouse Eusébe Achille Dupré to remedy lack of a regular marriage contract.

FC1880, e.d. 38, p. 6: Lucien Dupré, 38-year-old mulatto plasterer \*La., and wife Julia

*Picayune* 3.1.1900 5/6, 3.4.1900, 4/6: death of Lucien Dupré, age 58.

HOLLAND, JUSTIN MINOR

*Picayune* 3.25.1887, 4/6: death of Justin Holland [the father] 3.24.87, age 68.

*Picayune* 10.27.1917, 2/5: death of Justin M. Holland 10.26, age 69.

LAMBERT, CHARLES RICHARD

FC1830, sheet 44 (Lower Suburbs): Richard Lambert. Household of 6 free colored persons; males: 2 < 10, 1 24-35; females: 1 10-23, 1 36-54; 1 female slave. Note also Jean Lambert, sheet 145 (City of N.O.), household of 6 free colored persons and 3 slaves.

FC1850, 3d municipality, first ward, sheet 67A: Charles Lambert, mulatto musician, age 45, \*New York, value of real estate \$2500.

FC1860, ward VII, p. 339: Richard Lambert, age 60, white [sic], \*New York, value of real estate \$2500. From the names of family members, clearly identical with Charles Lambert of 1850.

Acts Abel Dreyfous, 10.3.53: Lambert acquired lot 16 of square 3, 3d district, bounded by St. Bernard, La-harpe, Villere, Plauché, and Columbus, for \$1500 = 34 St. Bernard.

Succession no. 20,494, 5.14.64: Suzanne née Ory, wife of Charles Richard Lambert, about 62 years of age, a native of New York, attests that he died intestate at Port au

Prince 3.25.1862. She lists eight children of their union and a son by a former marriage, Lucien, now in Paris. Sidney, age 24, said to be in Port au Prince as well.

LAMBERT, ÉMILIE

FC1880, e.d. 57, p. 48 (71½ Poet): Emele Lambert, white musician, \*La., age 28, wife Aimée and son Sidney.

LAMBERT, JOHN A.

FC1860: age 2

FC1880, e.d. 51, p. 79 (360 St. Bernard): John A. Lambert, white grocery clerk, \*La., age 19, son of Coralie Lambert, brother of Emilie, Louisa, and Leda.

FC1910, 4th ward, prec. 6 (123 N. Clark): John A. Lambert, white professor of music, \*La., age 49.

LAMBERT, LUCIEN

It seems by now clear that there were two composers named Lucien Lambert, father and son. Trotter evidently knows only the father, although if his correspondent had truly been *au courant* he ought to have known of the talent of the son as well. Lucien père died in Rio de Janeiro on 4.30.1896, according to a note in the newspaper *O Paiz* of Rio, 5.6.1896. Existing reference works often combine the works of the two men in one list, although considerations of date and genre make it possible to resolve the confusion in most instances. The date of his birth is not known exactly, but the tenor of the discussion in Desdunes 1911 suggests that he was a close contemporary of Louis Moreau Gottschalk.

O'Neill 1979, following the investigations of French musicologist, Guy Ferchault, states that a Charles-Lucien Lambert, "artiste musicien," whose son Lucien-Léon-Guillaume was born in Batignolles (Seine) on 1.5.1858, is identical with Lucien père. Although the original record of birth was burned in the fire of the Hotel de ville of Paris in 1871, the record was reconstituted by the father-in-law of Charles-Lucien in 1875. Caution is indicated by the frequency of the family name Lambert in a number of European languages. There was, for example, a Charles Lambert, professor of piano and composer, born in Paris in 1793, died in Evreux 12.23.1865 (see F. J. Fétis, *Biographie universelle*, 2d ed. and supplement, Paris: 1875, 1880).

LAMBERT, SIDNEY

FC1850: age 12

N.O. Mayor's Office. Register of Free Colored Persons entitled to remain in the state. Vol. 3, 4.23.1860: Lambert, Jean M. Jules, quadroon, age 22, Music Master, \*La. per extract of St. Louis Cath. baptismal register.

National Archives. American Consulate, Port-au-Prince. Record books, inventory no. 54, Passports, 1.12.1863 to 10.19.1912: Passport issued to J.M.J.S. Lambert, 6.4.64, age 26, fair complexion, going to France.

*Le Moniteur Haitien* (Port-au-Prince), 1.11.1862, p. 3: S. Lambert, organiste, professeur a l'Ecole nationale de musique, also teacher of harmony and piano.

Dumervé 1968: it would appear that Lambert was in Port-au-Prince by August, 1860. Lambert (but as Lucien) mentioned p. 81 as organist at the cathedral.

Sullivan 1988 suggests that Sidney died in Paris sometime in the first decade of this century. The support for this date is not documentary, but a reference from a biographical note by Marcus Christian. The last musical composition by Sidney known to me is his valse-caprice, op. 23, of 1885 (British Library, *Catalogue of Printed Music to 1980*).

#### LIAUTAUD, ADOLPHE

*Tribune de la Nouvelle-Orléans* 5.30.1867: huge torch-light procession of all the ward political clubs with many brass bands, especially the Louisiana B.B. headed by A. Liautaud and T. A. Martin [probably Théodule A.]

CD1870: Adolph Liautaud, music teacher, 310 St. Ann.

CD1880: Adolph Liautaud, clerk, 319 St. Ann.

CD1892: Adolph Liautaud, musician, 310 St. Ann.

FC1880, e.d. 38, p. 41 (312 St. Ann): B. A. Liautaud, mulatto clerk, 58 years old, \*La. Note, however, son Adolphe, age 17, no occupation.

#### MACARTY, VICTOR EUGÈNE

FC1850, 1st mun., ward 1, sheet 12A: Eug. V. Macarty, mulatto musician, age 28, \*La.

FC1860 as reported in Rankin 1979: Victor Eugène Macarty, musician \*N.O., real estate valued at \$1500.

*Weekly Louisianian* 7.2.1881: death at his son's residence, St. Ann btw Claiborne and Robertson, of Mr. E. V. Macarty, age 64, educated at Paris.

Acts Joseph Cuvillier 3.22.1871: Legitimation of three children of Victor Eugène Macarthy and Mrs. Lucie Elizabeth Lee. They had lived together as husband and wife without marriage from 6.15.1847 to 5.2.1866, when they contracted a civil and religious marriage. The three children mentioned are Joseph Albert, 23; Antoine Gustave, 18; and Marie Corilla, 11. Signed V. E. Macarthy.

#### MACARTY, CORILLA

See Victor Eugène Macarty.

#### MANSION, JOSEPH

Trotter 348: Joseph Mansion, amateur violinist, former state representative, now state tax assessor.

Rankin 1979, 143: Joseph Francis Mansion, \*1839 in N.O., real estate of \$5300.

#### MARTIN, THOMAS J.

See Sullivan 1988. If he is in fact the author of the compositions published in Baltimore in 1848, it seems reasonable to assume a birthdate of 1830 or before.

#### MARTÍNEZ, CHARLES

Trotter 348: died in 1874.

FC1850: Mulatto musician, age 40, \*La.

Rankin 1979: \*N.O., 1802.

Toledano & Christovich 1980: A Charles Martinez, f.m.c., bought six lots on Kerlerec Street in 1841, and had a house erected on one of them in the next year. (The building contract is in the acts of L. T. Caire, 7.28.1842.) The house survives as the "Martinez-O'Brien cottage," 1717 Kerlerec St. It's not clear that this is the same person, as Toledano & Christovich further inform us that Martinez' wife, Adelaide Adèle Olivier, moved to Plaquemines Parish and died a widow by 1864. The house also figures as the residence of "Popo and Mémé d'Abbadie" in Huber 1980, 66.

#### MORET, JOSEPH A.

Trotter 348: "withal so young, has before him a brilliant future."

FC1880, e.d. 51, p. 45 (479 St. Anthony): Adol Morette, mulatto musician, \*La., age 40.

*Weekly Pelican* 3.19.1887: Advertisement for Prof. Adolph J. Moret, musician, violin and music lessons at 525 Bourbon or at domicile. Other mentions in this paper 1887-1889.

#### PARENT, LANOIX FRANÇOIS

Acts Joseph Cuvillier, 9.4.74: Mortgage to A. M. Lamotte in favor of Mrs. Solidelle Dubuclet, widow of the late Lanoix François Parent.

#### PIRON, OCTAVE

N.O. Mayor's Office: Register of Free Colored Persons entitled to remain in the state, vol. 3, 5.18.61: Adele Piron, quadroon, seamstress, age 40 and her two children Octave, 10, and Adelia, 6.

FC1880, e.d. 51, p. 99 (398 Laharpe): O. L. Piron, age 29, mulatto shoemaker, \*La.

FC1900, ward 7, prec. 4 (1523 Columbus): Octave Piron, black shoemaker, \*March, 1851 in La.

#### REPONTY, FIERVILLE

FC1850, 1st mun., ward 4, sheet 125A: P. Furville DePontis, age 38, mulatto music teacher, \*La., real estate of \$5000.

The spelling of the name has been taken from city directory entries, e.g. 1843, F. Reponty enr Rempart and Main, and FC1830, sheet 200, Auguste Reponty, f.c., a household of 4 persons, with one male child under 10, and one between 10 and 24.

#### REPONTY, McDONALD

FC1850, 1st mun., ward 5, sheet 198A: McDonald (Riponey), mulatto music teacher, age 24, \*La.

#### RICARD, ÉMILE

CD1870: Emile Ricard, music teacher, 131 Orleans.



CD1871: Amile Ricard, professor of music, 275 Orleans.

CD1876: Mrs. Emile Ricard, 275 Orleans.

SNAËR, SAMUEL

Sullivan 1988: \*1832-34 in N.O., d. c1896 (date of death from unpublished MS of Vaughn Glasgow and Al and Diana Rose).

FC1850, 1st mun., ward 5: Samuel Snaër, mulatto clerk, age 18, living with grocer F. Snaër, age 46, real estate valued \$20,000.

FC1870, ward 6, p. 62: Samuel Snaër, mulatto professor of music, age 37, real estate \$2000.

FC1880, e.d. 46, p. 32 (415 Ursulines): Samuel Snaër, mulatto musician, age 48.

Acts Justin Castanié 11.16.1867: inventory after death of his wife. Real property of \$5500 and personal property of \$480, the most important item of which is the Pleyel piano in the front room, valued \$300.

STAES, HENRY

FC1870, ward 6, dw. 73: Henry Staes, mulatto, age 15, son of Eugene Staes, *white*, age 40, \*La., recorder, 2nd district.

FC1910, ward 7, prec. 6, e.d. 113 (1923 N. Prieur): Henry Staes, mulatto music teacher, age 54.

CD1913: Henry R. Staes, 1925 N. Prieur (with Analet, tuner, and Sydney M., "piano expert").

VICUS, F. C.

Trotter 344: "Mr. F. C. Viccus is a gentleman of fine musical abilities, a performer on the violin, cornet, and even other instruments."

*Freeman* [Indianapolis] 3.28.1903: with A. G. Allen's minstrel show band, F. T. Viccas, clarinet.

WILLIAMS, PROF. A. P.

Trotter 343: born 1840 in Norwich, Conn. Probably still alive in 1916, see *The Crisis* 11:4 (Feb. 1916), p. 170.

## APPENDIX B

### Afro-American Musicians from the 1850 Census

Mun.	Ward	Folio	Name	Age	Occupation	Birthplace	Real Property
1	1	12a	Macarty, Eug. V.	28	musician	La.	
1	4	125a	(DePontis), P. Furville	38	music teacher	La.	5000
1	5	198a	(Riponey), McDonald	24	music teacher	La.	
1	5	242b	Paisson, Charles	39	musician	France	
1	7	374b	Rivarde, P. A.	23	music teacher	La.	
3	1	67a	Lambert, Charles	45	musician	New York	2500
3	4	231b	Martinez, Charles	40	musician	La.	

### Afro-American Musicians from the 1880 Census

Ward	E.D.	Name	Address	Occupation	Age	Birthplace	Illiterate?
1	5	Decker, Samuel	437 Franklin	musician	40	Texas	
1	5	Giradeau, Elenore	303 Terpsichore	music teacher	25		
1	5	Gray, James A.	417 White	musician	29	Maryland	
1	6	Boisseau, Joseph	428 Franklin	musician	24		
2	10	Glod(a)n, Odallie	364 Baronne	music teacher	36		
2	12	Washington, John	354 Erato	musician	30	Virginia	
2	13	Reed, Will	217 Willow	organ player	17		yes
3	19	Smith, C. H.	204 Dryades	musician	23		
3	20	Peran, Frank	268½ Gravier	music teacher	45		yes
3	21	Abadie, Boyd	114 Liberty	work in music store	22		
3	21	Murray, Zach	65 Gasquet	musician	33		
3	22	Castray, Frank	4 Willow	musician	20	Miss.	

Ward	E.D.	Name	Address	Occupation	Age	Birthplace	Illiterate?
3	22	Clark, Aaron	82 Locust	musician &c.	22		
3	22	Kau, Lucien	365 Gravier	musician &c.	25		yes
3	22	Wallace, Walter	350 Poydras	musician	24		
3	23	Jetti, George E.	197 Gasquet	music teacher	24		
3	23	Ogilvie, J. E.	39 Johnson	music teacher	32		
3	24	Williams, George	476 Common	musician	35	Kentucky	
4	30	(Jaillot?), L.	236 Bienville	musician	27		
4	30	Gayanna, F.	235 Bienville	musician	23	Cuba	
4	30	Populus, M.	74½ Marais	music teacher	16		
5	35	Pageau, Antoine	121 St. Ann	musician	27		
5	36	Bruno, Bartholomew	193 St. Claude	musician	30		
5	36	Populus, Paul	192½ Dumaine	musician	35		
5	37	Gaspard, Frank	260 St. Ann	musician	45		
5	39	Cabrère, Mioltide	365 St. Ann	music teacher	28		
5	39	Jean Marie, Raymond	150 Prieur	musician	23		
5	40	Armant, Joseph	386 St. Philip	organ grinder	20		yes
5	40	<b>Doublet, M. G. B.</b>	<b>420 St. Ann</b>	<b>musician</b>	<b>51</b>		
5	40	<b>Doublet, Jos. M.</b>	<b>420 St. Ann</b>	<b>musician</b>	<b>21</b>		
5	40	Eurfurth, Adolp	393 Dumaine	musician	37		
6	45	<b>Barres, Bazile</b>	<b>238 Rampart</b>	<b>musician</b>	<b>35</b>		
6	45	Smith, Robert	136 Barracks	musician	32		
6	45	Smith, Jules	136 Barracks	musician	30		
6	45	Smith, Lincoln	136 Barracks	musician	28		
6	46	Curiel, (Sovinet)	220 Claiborne	musician	25		
6	46	Antonini, Louis	232 Esplanade	organ grinder	15		yes
6	46	Mathé, Brou	Miro	musician	22		
6	46	Porée, Charles	268 Bayou Rd.	musician	38	Mexico	
6	46	<b>Snaer, Samuel</b>	<b>415 Ursulines</b>	<b>musician</b>	<b>48</b>		
7	49	Hawlett, Charles	28½ Kerlerec	musician	21		
7	51	<b>Berro, Harry</b>	<b>71½ Columbus</b>	<b>musician</b>	<b>40</b>		?
7	51	Hécaud, Paoul (wh)	348 Villere	musician	28		
7	51	Morette, Adolf	479 Bagatelle	musician	40		
8	56	<b>Lambert, Emele (wh)</b>	<b>71½ Poet</b>	<b>musician</b>	<b>28</b>		
8	59	Poisson, Charles	115 Elysian Fields	musician	52	France	
10	73	(Narcisse), Louis	Laurent	organ grinder	16		
11	80	Jordan, Noble B.	9 Harmony	musician	79	Georgia	
11	81	Rowley, James	Fourth	musician	45		
11	81	Spotts, Cyrus	Eighth	musician	20		
13	84	Oliver, J. C.	Jena	musician	28		
13	85	Humphrey, James	Green	musician	35		
13	85	Martin, Theodule	1223 Magazine	musician	50		
13	85	Robinson, James	1213 Magazine	musician	27		
15	88	Dorsey, William	29 Deleronde	prof. of music	36		
15	88	Manetta, Joseph (wh)	134 Peter	musician	19		

Note: Parentheses indicate questionable readings, except that (wh) means the person was white to the enumerator. Persons mentioned by Trotter are in bold type.

## APPENDIX C

## Population &amp; Occupational Statistics

	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
<b>TOTAL POPULATION</b>							
United States (M)	23	31	40	50	63	76	92
Louisiana (K)	518	708	727	940	1119	1382	1656
New Orleans (K) <sup>1</sup>	116	145	191	216	242	287	339
<b>MUSICIANS &amp; MUSIC TEACHERS</b>							
United States (K)	3.6 <sup>2</sup>	10	16	30	62	92	130
Louisiana	208	232	254	352		860	1301
New Orleans	> 136 <sup>3</sup>			289	455	569	830
<b>MALE MUSICIANS &amp; MUSIC TEACHERS</b>							
New Orleans				228	278	280	372
<b>NEGRO MALE MUSICIANS &amp; MUSIC</b>							
New Orleans	7 <sup>4</sup>			49 <sup>4</sup>	55	55	112

Source: Official U.S. Government publications, except in cases of actual count.

<sup>1</sup> Does not include city of Lafayette, Jefferson Parish.

<sup>2</sup> Free males only.

<sup>3</sup> Actual count; excludes most of 2nd municipality.

<sup>4</sup> Actual count.

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