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COMPOSERS OF COLOR OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY NEW ORLEANS: THE HISTORY BEHIND THE MUSIC

LESTER SULLIVAN

Perhaps the least known of the many kinds of music that New Orleans has produced is its nineteenth-century popular sheet music. Essentially genteel entertainment music on the European model, it is now sometimes called "concert" music, but a person was as likely to encounter this music in the theater as in the concert hall. Likewise, the term "salon" music does not always apply, because the dance music frequently was heard in the ballroom.

The genteel sheet music repertoire in New Orleans in the 1800s consisted almost entirely of dances for piano, piano scores of marches with occasional instrumental indications, and songs with piano accompaniment. The emphasis was on dance. To call the music "classical," as is now sometimes done, is misleading because it suggests a separation between popular and art music that was certainly less evident then than now. Nevertheless, in this repertoire, unlike in minstrelsy, Negro spirituals, or even Louisiana's own Creole slave songs, European models remain pre-eminent.

Least known of all this repertoire is the music composed by people of color, of which quite a bit survives. Between 1848 and the end of the century, people of African descent wrote at least fifty pieces of music of this sort which found their way into print through a then-thriving local sheet music industry. By the 1920s this industry was virtually dead. This paper attempts to survey all such black music imprints in New Orleans. A few of the city's composers of color became expatriates in their search for wider opportunity. The paper also attempts to treat that subject. Most New Orleans composers of color were French-speaking free people, and nearly all of the previous research has focused on them. However, this paper also discusses an American, that is to say, English-speaking, free

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black composer and puts forth new evidence that a second composer was a slave. The survey of sheet music also uncovered a piece by a woman, who also is discussed.

Today, nearly a century after most of these black composers penned their last notes, relatively little is known about them. This survey draws on three sources: the pioneering efforts of such authors as Trotter (1878), Desdunes (1911), Cuney-Hare (1936), and Christian (1982); new leads from recent research by scholars of New Orleans black history, most of whom are not working directly on music; and a fresh look at local and other archival holdings. What emerges is clearer biographical data about the handful of black composers who managed to get their music published.¹

Composers of color in ante-bellum New Orleans found themselves in a unique situation. Notwithstanding its crucial role in commerce in the slavocracy, the city had one of the largest free black populations in the country, North or South, and by far the wealthiest. This free black population, like the white population, was divided by language, religion, and custom into two groups, Creole and American. The depth of the division may be measured by the fact that between 1836 and 1852 the city was separated into three almost autonomous municipalities: the French Quarter, or the original city, where Creoles predominated; the American city upriver from Canal Street; and the Creole suburbs downriver from Esplanade Avenue, which then were receiving a big influx of European immigrants (Curry 1981, 244–245, 267–271).

The word “Creole” has its origins in the Portuguese slave trade. It has been used in Louisiana since the Spanish colonial period to identify native-born Louisianians descended from the original French-speaking, Roman Catholic population. Apparently the oldest Louisiana manuscript to use the word “Creole” is a document that dates from 1782 and applies the term to a slave. Not much later in the manuscript record the word is applied to free blacks, whites, and even to things, such as food. In other words, a Creole was a Louisiana-born descendant of colonial ancestors regardless of whether the ancestors were African, European, or both. Qualifying the word makes its use more precise. “Creole of color,” “white Creole,” and “Creole slave” are all terms with foundation in Louisiana history (Sullivan 1984, 19–25).

¹ Many archivists, civil servants, and historians have contributed information for this paper, but special thanks are due Lawrence Gushee, whose work on the transition from this music to jazz recently was presented before the Southern Historical Association convention in New Orleans, and Sonya McCarthy, great-granddaughter of one of the nineteenth-century New Orleans black composers treated in this paper.

Creoles of color still made up the majority of free people of color in mid-nineteenth-century New Orleans. This remained true despite migrations of many of them to Haiti, Mexico, and other places in response to competition from European immigrants, repressive legislation against free blacks, and other economic and social change. English-speaking, Protestant free blacks, themselves driven from the old southeastern states by legislation, did not begin to move to New Orleans in large numbers until the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. Free Creoles of color were more numerous, prosperous, and powerful than American free blacks. Most free Creoles of color were of the artisan class. Others were wholesale grocers, real estate speculators, and financiers. Many owned slaves themselves, sometimes for the purpose of preventing enslaved relatives and friends from falling into the hands of others, sometimes for profit. Many more Creoles of color owned slaves than did their American free black counterparts, and New Orleans free blacks owned more slaves than any other blacks in the nation (Curry 1981, 271; Woodson 1924, 9–15, 52).

The two oldest books to discuss New Orleans black composers are considered to be primary sources: *Music and Some Highly Musical People*, by Mississippi-born and Midwestern-educated James Monroe Trotter (1878), and *Nos hommes et notre histoire*, by the Creole of color Rodolphe Lucien Desdunes (1911). Trotter's work is not only a monument of black-music research but also the first American music history of any kind to transcend New England or to cover sacred and secular music together (Stevenson 1973, 384–385). More in the nature of a memoir than a history, *Nos hommes et notre histoire* is rather casual about where it gets its information. Neither book contains source documentation. The notes that have been added to the published English translation of the Desdunes are unreliable (Desdunes [1911] 1973, translated by McCants). There are two unpublished translations: an anonymous one held at the Amistad Research Center at Tulane University and another by Marcus Bruce Christian, held in his papers at the University of New Orleans.

Trotter and Desdunes have been quoted repeatedly, and oftentimes misquoted, by most subsequent writers, but two later scholars each have contributed some new detail about one or two of the New Orleans composers of color. The first, Marcus Christian, served as the final director of the Negro Division of the Federal Writers' Project under the Works Progress Administration in the 1930s and 1940s (Hessler 1987, 39–43). He was able, before his death in 1976, to write some entries about nineteenth-century New Orleans musicians for *The Dictionary of American Negro Biography*, including an especially useful one about Basile Barès (Christian 1982a). His other truly original contribution, the important information

he culled from the Negro Division's research about Thomas J. Martin, remains unpublished in his personal papers. The other scholar to contribute to knowledge about one of these composers was Maude Cuney-Hare. Her book, *Negro Musicians and Their Music* (1936), recalls her encounters with one of the expatriate New Orleanians who had become one of the most successful of all nineteenth-century black composers born in the United States, Edmond Dédé (Stevenson 1973, 386–387).

Edmond Dédé

Dédé was born in New Orleans on November 20, 1827. According to Cuney-Hare (1936, 237), the composer's parents were free Creoles of color who had immigrated to the Crescent City around 1809 from the French West Indies. His father became *chef de musique* of a local militia unit and was the boy's first professor (*L'Artiste*). Dédé's first instrument, as befitted the son of a bandmaster, was the clarinet, but he soon developed into a violin prodigy, studying violin under both a white and a black teacher. Ludovico Gabici, his white teacher, was an Italian-born composer and theater orchestra conductor who was also among the early local publishers of music (*New Orleans Tribune* April 2, 1865; Christian 1982b, 168). The free Creole of color Constantin Debergue was his other teacher and is identified by Trotter (1878, 350–352) as a conductor of the local Philharmonic Society founded by free Creoles of color sometime in the late ante-bellum period. This was the first non-theatrical orchestra in the city and even included some whites among its one hundred instrumentalists (Kmen 1966, 234; Reinders 1964, 188).

Dédé also studied counterpoint and harmony under teachers of both races. One was Eugène Prévost, winner of the 1831 *Prix de Rome* and the French-born conductor of the orchestras at the Théâtre d'Orléans and, later, the local French Opera (Bishop 1909; Trotter 1878, 347–352; Panzeri 1972, 60). The other, Charles Richard Lambert, was a New York-born free black musician, music teacher, and a conductor of the Philharmonic Society. He was somehow related through his first marriage to Joseph Bazanac, a free Creole of color who was a popular teacher not only of music but also of French and English (Succession of Charles Richard Lambert; *New Orleans City Directory* 1846, 353, and 1853, 153; *L'Artiste*).

In 1848 Dédé moved to Mexico, as did many other New Orleans free Creoles of color after the Mexican War, probably in reaction to changes in race relations in New Orleans. There he met virtuoso pianist Henri Herz, who was on an extended concert tour of the Americas. Illness eventually drove Dédé back to New Orleans in 1851 (*L'Artiste*). The next year, his *mélodie* "Mon pauvre coeur" appeared. It is the oldest piece of sheet mu-

sic by a New Orleans Creole of color. Like most ante-bellum imprints of music by local blacks, it probably was published by the composer himself. After the Civil War most such works were published by the white proprietors of the leading local music stores. None of the local archival repositories hold the original of this item, but a facsimile is held at the Amistad Research Center.

Dédé supplemented his income from music with what today would be characterized as his day job. Christian (1982b, 168) says that he was a cigarmaker, as were a number of local musicians. According to Trotter (1878, 340), by 1857 he had saved enough money to book passage to Europe. Desdunes (1911, 117) explains that, through the intervention of friends, he was admitted to the Paris Conservatoire, which is compatible with later evidence that identifies as his teachers Jacques-François Fromental Halévy and Jean-Delphin Alard, both of whom belonged to the Conservatoire (*L'Artiste*). About 1860 Dédé went to Bordeaux, where he first worked as conductor of the orchestra at the prestigious old Grand Théâtre. New Orleans and Bordeaux were once closely related, and trade and other connections were still strong between the two at the time Dédé went there. Quite a few Louisiana Creoles of color, including musicians and *littérateurs*, had settled there in the 1850s and 1860s in order to escape first the growing sentiment at home against free blacks and later the Civil War and its aftermath.

Photographs of Dédé clearly show that his African ancestry was more obvious than that of many Creoles of color of New Orleans, where racial mixing was a way of life (see Figure 1). When, in 1864, he married a Frenchwoman, Sylvie Leflat, and the marriage was announced in black-interest newspapers in both New Orleans (*Tribune* September 6 and 8, 1864) and New York (*National Anti-Slavery Standard* May 11, 1865), much was made of his appearance. He and Sylvie later had a son, Eugène Arcade, who also became a composer.

French sheet music by Dédé held by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris has been surveyed by the Center for Black Music Research in its *Updated Music List: Six Composers of Nineteenth-Century New Orleans* (1987), which is a revision of the list compiled by Lucius Wyatt in the spring 1987 *BMR Newsletter*. It shows that all of the music from 1865 to 1881 was published in Bordeaux.² All of the earliest pieces are songs, including "Le serment de l'Arabe," which Trotter reproduced, and "Quasimodo!," which was performed by black musicians in New Orleans on May 10,

² A comparison between facsimiles from the Bibliothèque Nationale catalog cards, generously provided by the Center, and the *Updated Music List* (1987) discloses some misreadings of "1855" for "1865."



Figure 1. Edmond Dédé. Photograph taken in New Orleans during his visit of 1893–1984. Original held at the Louisiana State Museum, Louisiana Historical Center. Photograph courtesy of the author.

1865 (*New Orleans Tribune* May 10–11, 1865), and which is available in microform in the Louisiana Collection at Tulane University.

After leaving the Grand Théâtre and except for brief stints in Algiers and Marseilles and his last years in Paris, Dédé spent most of his career in Bordeaux as a theater orchestra conductor at the Théâtre de l'Alcazar and the Folies Bordelaises, where the light music of the *café-concert* held sway. During his Bordeaux period, he wrote ballets, *ballets-divertissements*, operettas, *opéras-comiques*, overtures, and over 250 dances and songs. Among the overtures is *Le Palmier*, which was performed by black New Orleansians on August 22, 1865, making it one of the few of his orchestral pieces ever played in the United States (*New Orleans Tribune* August 15–23, 1865). In addition to writing all of this theatrical music, much of which may survive in Bordeaux and ought to be located, he produced at least six string quartets and an unpublished cantata, *Battez aux champs* (1865), which was deposited at the Bibliothèque and may have been submitted as a contest piece (Music Catalog Cards). This variety and volume of output contrasts sharply with the production of the New Orleans black composers who remained at home (*L'Artiste*).

By the mid-1880s Dédé had a Paris publisher and membership in the French Society of Authors, Composers, and Editors of Music. By 1894 he was a full member of the Society of Dramatic Authors and Composers in Paris (*L'Artiste*; LaBrew 1984, 75–78; Calling Card of Edmond Dédé [ca. 1893]). The only piece by him now available on a commercial recording dates from this period: *Mephisto masqué: Polka fantastique* for orchestra (1889) is included on *Turn of the Century Cornet Favorites*, with Gerard Schwarz on cornet and euphonium and the Columbia Chamber Ensemble conducted by Gunther Schuller (1977). The orchestration on the recording, by Schuller, substitutes the euphonium for an ophicleide and eliminates the parts for four mirlitons, or French kazoos.

Dédé returned to New Orleans only once, in 1893, when he was in his mid-sixties.³ His Paris publisher had just released his new comic vocal duet, the latest piece now held by the Paris Bibliothèque (*Updated Music List* 1987). He was on his way home to visit relatives when, during a rough crossing, the ship on which he was traveling was disabled. In the confusion, his Cremona violin was lost. The passengers were taken aboard a Texas steamer to Galveston, where Cuney-Hare's parents were among those who entertained Dédé during the two months' layover.

For several months after arriving in New Orleans, Dédé concertized widely, even garnering some attention from *L'Abeille*, the last major French-language organ of white Creole New Orleans. He was assisted at these concerts by local black musicians and, once, by the music critic of *L'Abeille* (Desdunes 1911, 117). The fare consisted mostly of pieces for violin with piano accompaniment, including a paraphrase on *Rigoletto* by his old teacher Delphin Alard. He introduced two new songs. His "Si j'étais lui" ("Should I Be He") was published locally by A. E. Blackmar and is reproduced in slightly incomplete form by Arthur LaBrew (1984, 84–85), who received a copy from the late Creole slave-song authority, Camille Nickerson. (Her father, William J. Nickerson (1851–1927), played with Dédé on one of his New Orleans programs.⁴) Dédé regarded the other

3 LaBrew (1984, 76) claims that Dédé returned to New Orleans in 1865. He bases this on a report in New York that "at one of Mrs. Louise de Mortie's musical soirees in New Orleans, in favor of the Orphan's Home, Mr. Edmond Dede took part" (*National Anti-Slavery Standard* August 12, 1865). However, the remainder of the article is identical to one in the English-language edition of the *New Orleans Tribune* of May 11, 1865, which reports on the same concert and makes no mention of Dédé's presence. In fact, none of the 1865 articles in the *Tribune* that make reference to Dédé or his music mentions his presence in the city, and it is highly unlikely that this local newspaper would have failed to do so. Something appears to have been garbled in the news as it was reported in New York many months later.

4 W. J. Nickerson wrote at least two published pieces before 1901. His teaching career provides historians with a link between the genteel nineteenth-century tradition and jazz, through his most famous pupil, Jelly Roll Morton (Glasgow, Rose, and Rose 1979, 434).

song, "Patriotisme," as his farewell to home. In it, as paraphrased by Cuney-Hare—she gives the words but not the music (1936, 237–238)—the composer laments his destiny to live far away because of "implacable prejudice" at home. Neither song has been located in any New Orleans repository.

Grateful for receiving honorary membership in the Société des Jeunes-Amis, a leading social group composed mostly of Creoles of color of antebellum free background, but weary of the inconveniences and indignities of Jim Crow, Dédé returned to France in 1894 (Roussève 1937, 151–152; Dédé [1894]). He died in Paris in 1903. It is unclear whether or not he completed his *magnum opus*, the opera *Le sultan d'Ispahan*, which may have been inspired by his stay in Algeria.⁵

The Lambert Family

In many ways surpassing Dédé among black Orleanians who had musical careers abroad were the half-brothers Lucien and Sidney Lambert. Their father, Dédé's early teacher Charles Richard Lambert, was their first teacher. Lucien was born about 1828 or 1829 (Trotter 1878, 338). His mother appears to have been a Louisiana free Creole of color who was somehow related to Joseph Bazanac. Sidney was born about 1838. His mother was Charles Richard's second wife Coralie Suzanne Ory, also a Louisiana free Creole of color. Charles Richard died in 1862, while he and Sidney were in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. The court appointed Joseph Bazanac as undertutor of the minor children. He died about the time that the succession was finally completed, in 1878 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850b; Succession of Charles Richard Lambert).

The careers of Lucien and Sidney extended far beyond their home town. Like the white Creole Louis Moreau Gottschalk, they could not remain long in New Orleans. Lucien and Sidney both grew up playing piano in the pit at the Théâtre d'Orléans. Lucien, some ten years older than Sidney, was a contemporary of Gottschalk. According to Desdunes (1911, 114), Moreau and Lucien enjoyed a friendly artistic rivalry as aspiring virtuoso pianists and composers. This could have been as early as the late 1830s and early 1840s, when the two were still preteens and before Moreau left for Europe in 1842. Later, in 1853, when Gottschalk returned

⁵ Some writers maintain that when Dédé died, *Le sultan d'Ispahan* was left incomplete. LaBrew (1984, 81), however, finds an announcement for an upcoming performance at the Bordeaux Grand Théâtre in 1886. If "Le serment de l'Arabe" is indeed an aria from this opera, as a recent author says without citing any evidence (Wyatt 1987, 8), then the opera must have been fairly long in preparation, because the song is included in Trotter (1878, Appendix [53–59]).

to New Orleans for a few months, Lucien already may have gone to Paris, where, in 1854, his presence is reported in *L'Illustration*. Also in 1854, his earliest piece held at the Bibliothèque, "L'Angélus au monastère: Prière" for piano, was published (Gottschalk 1964, xv; Kendall 1948, 867; *Updated Music List* 1987; *New Orleans Daily Crusader* March 22, 1890; Glasgow, Rose, and Rose 1979, 427).

From the start, Lucien was more successful than Dédé in securing publication in Paris. Then, in 1858, just outside the city, his son Lucien-Leon-Guillaume was born. Even in their own day, father and son were confused one for the other (Siqueira 1967). The recent Center for Black Music Research *Updated Music List* combines compositions by each among the entries under Lucien Lambert. The sheet music catalog cards of the Bibliothèque show at least forty pieces by the father, twenty-eight under the full name "Charles-Lucien," dating from 1857 to 1890, and twelve others under "Lucien" alone, dating from 1854 to 1862—all Paris publications and most of them dances. The father is also called Charles-Lucien in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Ferchault 1960, col. 124). All but three of the pieces recorded by the Bibliothèque as by Charles-Lucien are also included in a list of music by Lucien Lambert *père* compiled by Lawrence Gushee. This unpublished list is based on publisher's catalogs and other bibliographic works and includes references to at least a dozen other French imprints not found at the Bibliothèque as well as a few German and other imprints (Gushee n.d.).

Charles-Lucien moved his family to Brazil sometime in the 1860s (Trotter 1878, 338). He had become so identified with French musical life that at least one Brazilian music historian has misidentified him as a "*famoso pianista francês*" (Siqueira 1967). In Rio de Janeiro, he opened a piano and music store and taught music, eventually becoming a member of the Brazilian National Institute of Music. In 1869 Gottschalk arrived in Rio for a series of spectacular appearances, fated to be his last. Lucien *fills*, then not yet a teenager, and his father both performed in at least one of Gottschalk's monster concerts, in which thirty-one pianists played simultaneously (Lange 1951, 316–317).

Lucien *père* became a good friend of the family of the young Ernesto Nazareth (1863–1934) and that great Brazilian composer's first professional teacher. Now that Nazareth's piano music is enjoying a revival on recordings, it becomes increasingly evident that he may have gained from Lambert not only his love for Chopin but also an inclination toward the *style pianola*, which, coupled with Gottschalk's example in the area of local color, suggests a line of influence from Lambert *père* and Gottschalk to Nazareth and thence to Heitor Villa-Lobos and even Darius Milhaud

(Cooley 1983). Charles-Lucien's own compositional efforts in Rio await better documentation, but Gushee already has found references to at least three Brazilian imprints of pieces previously published in Paris in 1859 and 1861 and four other pieces published in Brazil and not duplicated among the French imprints at the Bibliothèque. Lucien *père* died in Rio in 1896 (Siqueira 1967).

Lucien *fils* was taught first by his father and then, in France, by Theodore Dubois and Jules Massenet. The young Lambert's *Prométhée enchainé* won the *Concours Rossini* in 1885. The Bibliothèque holds at least nine pieces listed as by Lucien-Léon-Guillaume Lambert that are included in the *Updated Music List*. These show a much wider range in forms, performing forces, and length than his father's music, including several stage works from 1892 to 1911 and two pieces written in Porto, Portugal, and still in manuscript: the 1912 *Cloches de Porto* for piano and orchestra and a 1924 "Prelude, Fugue, and Postlude" for piano. Two works by Lucien *fils* not explicitly labeled with his full name are both 1898 publications by A. Noël in Paris: a vocal arrangement of Gottschalk's piano *Berceuse*, Op. 47 (RO 27), and an orchestral *Esquisses Créoles* on Gottschalk themes in an arrangement for piano four-hands.⁶ *Die musik in geschichte und gegenwart* lists many more works by Lucien *fils*, including a ballet, symphonic poems, a piano concerto, a work for organ and orchestra, and a *Requiem* (Ferchault 1960, col. 124–125).

Sidney Lambert, as did Lucien *fils* in the latter part of his life, had a career in Portugal, serving as a pianist in the royal court. Sometime in the mid-1870s he was decorated by the King, Dom Pedro, for a new piano method (Trotter 1878, 339). He later taught in Paris, where the Bibliothèque now holds thirty-two of his pieces dating from 1866 to 1899. This sampling shows Sidney perhaps to have been somewhat less original than his brother, with about one-quarter of the pieces being arrangements. One of these again gives evidence of the Lambert family connection to Gottschalk: *Célèbre tarentelle* (1890) is a two-piano arrangement of Gottschalk's *Grande tarantelle [sic]* for piano and orchestra (1868, RO 259)—not the arrangement listed in the *Centennial Catalogue* (Offergeld 1970, 30), which is by Nicolas Ruiz Espadero (RO 260) (Music Catalog Cards). Of all the Lamberts, Sidney seems to have been the only one to have had a piece published in New Orleans. His arrangement of "Mon étoile," a waltz by F. A. Rente, which was first published in Paris, was copyrighted in 1879 as "Stella (Mon étoile)" by Philip Werlein in New Orleans. Sidney

⁶ The vocal arrangement has French lyrics and is different from that of the "Berceuse" for male voice (RO 28) listed in the Gottschalk *Centennial Catalogue* as an arrangement of RO 27, presumably composed by Gottschalk himself, with English and Italian lyrics, and first published in 1863 (Offergeld 1970, 16).



Figure 2. Detail from the cover of possibly the only New Orleans imprint by Sidney Lambert. Original held at Tulane University. Photograph courtesy of the author.

died in Paris sometime in the first decade of the present century (Christian, n.d.).

Victor-Eugène Macarty, Samuel Snaër, and Basile Barès

The remaining nineteenth-century New Orleans composers of color for the most part had local careers. Victor-Eugène Macarty (also variously McCarty, McCarthy, and Macarthy) produced among the fewest published pieces of the entire group—only two items—but he stands as a frequent performer and organizer among local musicians of color and as a significant figure in Reconstruction politics and civil rights. Among the earliest of these composers, he was born a free Creole of color in New Orleans sometime between 1817 and 1823. Most researchers claim a more definite date without producing any documentation. Macarty's parentage also remains unclear. Christian incorrectly identifies the mixed Creole Eugène Macarty who was the son of the wealthy free woman of color Eulalie Mandeville as the composer. That Eugène Macarty, however, died in 1866, at least fifteen years before Victor-Eugène (Succession of Eugène Macarty).

Victor-Eugène Macarty's first music teacher was a local white man, Jules Nores, with whom he studied piano. According to Trotter (1878, 343), Macarty was admitted to the Imperial Conservatoire in Paris about 1840, even though by then he was over the official maximum age for admission. The French-born Pierre Soulé, a prominent attorney in ante-bellum Louisiana who later served as United States ambassador to Spain, intervened with the French ambassador to the United States to effect an exception to the rule. At the Conservatoire, Macarty studied voice, harmony, and composition. Sometime before 1845, he began playing in New Orleans for various social functions (*New Orleans Tribune* June 18, 1865). The only surviving pieces by Macarty are two brief polkas, only one of which is an original composition. These appeared locally together in 1854, and, like almost all of the ante-bellum publications of sheet music by people of color in New Orleans, they were copyrighted by the composer and apparently self-published. The composer's description on the cover as "Pianist of the fashionable Soirées of New Orleans" clearly reads as an advertisement by someone trying to earn a living through his music, not as one among the amateur musicians Trotter (1878, 334) describes as "pursuing their studies, not with a pecuniary view (being in easy circumstances)."

Little else is known about Macarty's activities until after the Civil War, when he began to organize concerts aimed principally at audiences of Creoles of color (Desdunes 1911, 115). His leading cohorts in this work



Figure 3. Victor-Eugène Macarty. Photograph courtesy Amistad Research Center, Louisiana Music Collection.

were men of markedly different background, Samuel Snaër and Basile Barès. François-Michel-Samuel Snaër was born a free Creole of color in New Orleans between 1832 and 1834 (Trotter 1878, 341; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850a). His family was of mixed African, French, and German ancestry and emigrated from St. Domingue, first to Cuba and then to New Orleans, arriving there no later than 1818. Samuel's father, François Snaër, was a wholesale grocer with real property worth over \$20,000 in 1850. According to unpublished research by Wayne Everard, Snaër's mother, Anne Emerine Beluche Snaër, was a purported daughter of the Caribbean pirate René Beluche (U.S. House of Representatives 1867, 17; Death Certificate of François Snaër [grandfather] 1838, 244; Marriage Contract of Jean Baptiste Snaër 1827; Certificate of Apprenticeship 1818, 82; Schenkel 1980, 71). Almost all that is known about Samuel Snaër's ante-bellum musical activity is that his first song, "Sous sa fenêtre," was written when he was eighteen, in about 1851 (Trotter 1878, 341–342).

Basile Jean Barès's origins long have been hidden, perhaps even intentionally at one time, for Barès was unique among New Orleans compos-

ers of color. The first clue to just how unusual he was appeared in Christian's note about Barès in *DANB*. There the author suggests a connection between Barès, a piano virtuoso who grew up working in a Royal Street piano and music emporium, and the French-born proprietor of the store, Adolphe Périer (Desdunes 1911, 119). Christian (1982, 28) observes that the black-owned newspaper the *New Orleans Tribune* often refers to the young pianist in the mid-1860s as Basile "Perrier."

The 1860 succession of Adolphe Périer's estate has been virtually hidden for years in a non-archival setting not ordinarily open for research use. It was located in the course of this study but did not yield the expected evidence that Barès was Périer's free, mixed son. Instead, it revealed no Périer children, mixed or otherwise, and only one heir, his French-born wife. Périer's widow inherited an estate valued in excess of \$30,000, including dozens of pianos of every description, but mostly Pleyels; real estate; and six slaves. Surprisingly, the first and most valuable slave listed was a sixteen-year-old mulatto boy worth \$1,000 named Basile (Succession of Adolphe Périer).

How is it possible to know that the slave Basile is the musician called Basile Jean Barès? Actually, the facts in at least six manuscript sources dating from 1845 to 1902 all point in the same direction. The inventory of Périer's estate says that the slave Basile was born in Périer's possession in about late 1844 or early 1845 and that Basile's mother was Périer's slave, Augustine (Succession of Adolphe Périer). Basile Jean Barès's marriage certificate (1877, 428) lists his mother as Augustine Celestine. It lists his age as thirty-two, indicating birth in about late 1844 or early 1845, and lists his father as Jean Barès. The records seem to indicate but one possible father, that is, the only Jean Barès listed in ship arrivals (Passenger Lists 1820–1902) and city directories in New Orleans at the time (1846, 61; 1849, 15; 1850, 7; 1851, 9). He was a French carpenter who immigrated to the city in 1838 and eventually became a grocer. This is corroborated by Basile Barès's death certificate (1902, 227), which lists his father as having been "born in France." It gives the musician's age as fifty-seven years and eight months, indicating birth in January 1845. The 1880 United States manuscript census also indicates the same approximate birth date for the son and the same nationality for the father (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880). Additional evidence linking father and son comes in Basile's first pieces to reach print after the Civil War, which date from 1866 and all but one of which give the composer's name as "Basile J. Bares." The discovery of an ante-bellum record originating from St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church in the French Quarter brought the evidence full circle. There, in the chapel of the archbishops of New Orleans, the one-month-old slave

Jean was baptized on February 9, 1845, exactly one month to the day after January 9, 1845, which is the birth date "Bazile Jean Barès" himself provides and the widow Périer confirms on his 1871 passport application for travel to Europe (Passport Application 1871). The ante-bellum baptismal record identifies the slave Jean as the son of the slave Augustine and, like his mother, as the property of Adolphe Périer. No father and godmother are listed. The godfather is a white man named "Jean" (Baptism of the Slave Jean 1845).

The deduction that Basile Barès had been a slave also leads to the realization that the 1860 New Orleans sheet music imprint "Grande polka des Chasseurs à Pied de la Louisiane" for piano is indeed a rare thing in American musical history. The composer of this piece is given simply as "Basile," without a last name, but the piece traditionally has been attributed only to Basile Barès. It is perhaps not a remarkable work musically, save for a few chromatic bits and some interesting passage work at the extremes of the keyboard, but it certainly would have been an accomplishment for a sixteen-year-old. What makes this sheet music so unusual is that it appears to be the work of a slave published while he was still a slave. Furthermore, contrary to all law at the time, the copyright appears to have been assigned to the slave. This was no doubt inadvertent on the part of the registrar at the New Orleans federal district court, but the implication in the lack of a last name for the copyright holder, "Basile," seems evident.

In addition to the strong documentary evidence that Basile J. Barès was a slave, there are strong internal musical similarities between the 1860 "Grande polka des Chasseurs" by Basile and the first five pieces of sheet music by Basile J. Barès, which appeared in 1866. All six pieces are in flat keys, and a theoretical analysis based on unpublished research by Ruth Rendleman (1987) reveals that the left-hand patterns are strikingly similar, showing a tendency to go from the root to an inversion of the chord and to use octaves rather than single notes on the strong beat. Harmonically, although there is greater chromaticism in the later pieces, all six employ the chromatically diminished seventh chord as a favorite device. The highly sectional nature of the music, coupled with a uniform tempo within each piece, may be characteristic of other contemporary dance music, but the "feel" of the music for the performer is distinctive and uniform throughout the six pieces, with single-note melodies drawn comfortably from notes next to each other on the keyboard to form melodies consisting of five-finger patterns. All six also display a fondness for octave melodies. In short, musical evidence alone points compellingly to

the conclusion that the Basile of the "Grande polka des Chasseurs" and Basile J. Barès are one and the same.

References to a musician named Basile appear as late as April 6, 1865, three days before the end of the Civil War, when the *New Orleans Tribune* reports on a concert by several musicians, including Eugène Macarty and a "Mr. Bazile" ("M. Bazile" in the French-language edition of April 8). Throughout its remaining coverage of the 1865 concert season by Creoles of color, the newspaper refers to a pianist who seems to be the same musician as "Mr. Bazile" and is performing with Macarty and Snaër as "Basile Périer" (May 10–11; June 14; July 2, 8, 11, 18–19; August 12, 23; October 4, 27; spelling varies). What Basile appears to have done, of course, is briefly to have used for a stage name the last name Périer with which he had been associated publicly for his entire life up to that time. The paper's reference to "Basile Perrier" in the revue of May 11 as "the self-made artist in all the strength of that expression" may even be an oblique Victorian reference to the young musician's emergence from slavery and progress toward being one of the most popular pianists and composers of dance music of post-bellum New Orleans (Bishop 1909). More than a decade later, Trotter (1878, 341), himself a former slave, uses almost the same phrase, "self-made man," to describe Basile Barès.

Although some of Barès's earlier pieces contain a few parts that probably reflect a lack of familiarity with some aspects of orthodox notation, he definitely was not self-made in the sense of being entirely self-taught. He studied piano under Dédé's old hometown teacher Eugène Prévost and harmony and composition under C. A. Predigam. He also may have gained further training in Paris (Trotter 1878, 341; War between the States Sheet Music, case 5, M-R). The widow Périer kept the music store, and Basile kept his old job. He traveled several times to Paris on business for the Périer firm (Desdunes 1911, 119), a fact that is confirmed by photographs of the pianist taken in Paris and held by Xavier University in New Orleans (Barès Collection) (see Figure 4). Trotter writes about what seems to have been the first such trip, in 1867, during which Barès played for four months at the Paris International Exposition. His continued close association with his former owner, however, did not prompt him to keep the stage name Périer for long or to use it for any publications, and it disappears from the newspaper record after 1865, to be replaced by Barès.

The 1865 concert season by Creoles of color is the only such season documented sufficiently to allow for generalization. An examination of the programs reported in the *Tribune* reveals something about opportunity for blacks in the immediate postwar period and the musical tastes of the organizers. The newspaper is also the most reliable source for in-



Figure 4. Basile Jean Barès. The reverse of the original photograph, held at Xavier University of Louisiana, bears the imprint of a Paris photographer and Barès's signature. Courtesy, Amistad Research Center, New Orleans.

formation about unpublished pieces, particularly repertoire other than the usual dances and songs favored by local publishers.

The temporary changes in the relative status of whites and blacks in New Orleans wrought by federal occupation were dramatized in those concerts that were benefit performances for groups favoring black male suffrage and for such charitable institutions as the Third District Freedmen's Orphan Asylum, located in a prominent Confederate's Esplanade Avenue home, which had been seized by the Federals. The Orphanage—where, ironically, one of these affairs took place—had been the mansion of Victor-Eugène Macarty's old benefactor, Pierre Soulé. Most of the concerts, however, were held for profit in the Théâtre d'Orléans, the stage of which was opened for the first time to people of color. This access was limited nevertheless to the off-season from May to October, when the weather generally was hot, tropical disease was prevalent, and many of those who could afford to leave were absent from town. These evenings usually were billed as *spectacle-concerts* and included everything from recitations, sketches, and entire plays to operatic overtures by Auber and Meyerbeer, and French *vaudevilles* and *chansonnettes comiques*. The last named were specialties of Macarty, who had a good baritone voice (Desdunes 1911, 115). He functioned as organizer and performer in many capacities: vocal, instrumental, and theatrical, but not compositional. Basile's participation was almost entirely at the piano, although he was pressed into performing a small part in a play by Alexandre Dumas *père*. Basile performed not only such of his own works as "Fusées musicales" and "Magic Bells" (May 10), which may have been dance pieces that survive as publications under other names, but also *fantaisies* on themes from *Robert le diable* (July 18) and *L'Africaine* (October 30); the latter disappeared without a trace, probably because there was no local sheet music market for them (*New Orleans Tribune* May 10–11; July 1–2, 8–9, 11, 13, 15–16, 18; September 5; October 4; November 1).

Samuel Snaër's principal job was to conduct the orchestra. Among his compositional contributions to programs were an orchestral polka (May 10), an overture (June 19), and an entire evening consisting mostly of his own music and for his benefit, including three songs published by Grunewald in 1865 and 1866 (August 22). Among these was "Rapelle-toi: Romance pour voix de ténor [and piano]," with words by Alfred de Musset. It may be compared with Gottschalk's *romanza* of the same title and set to the same poem (RO 219), which may be found in an undated manuscript in the Americana Collection of the Lincoln Center Library and Museum of the Performing Arts in New York (Offergeld 1970, 27). The August 22 concert also featured unpublished works that have not been

located, an *Allegro for Grand Orchestra*, the solo song "Le vampire," and the vocal duet "Dormez donc, mes chères amours."

Among Snaër's unpublished pieces that were performed at that time, only one, the "Chant Bachique," a drinking song for male chorus, is currently available for research use, at the Amistad Research Center, in facsimile. A second unpublished work is also available in facsimile only, the "Magdalena Valse" for piano. The original manuscripts of these works are reported to be part of the private collection of the late E. Lorenz Borenstein; the Snaër music in the collection is mostly liturgical, including at least two masses, one bearing orchestral indications and one that may be the same *Mass for Three Voices* from which Trotter reproduces a "Gloria" and an "Agnus Dei" (1878, Appendix 127–152). This music stems from the composer's long-term job as organist at St. Mary's (*New Orleans Tribune* May 28, June 1, 14, 17–18, July 23, August 8, 12–13, 15–20, 22–23, 1865; Desdunes 1911, 116). Trotter (1878, 342–343, 350) mentions other, mostly later, unpublished works, including a song "Le Bohémien," a vocal trio titled "Le chant de canotiers," the *Graziella Overture*, and many dances. Not much more about Snaër was discovered in the course of this survey, except that he became involved in several court cases against his mother-in-law and that one member of his family was a state representative and another the first black attorney in the state (*New Orleans Daily Southern Star* February 24, 1866; Vincent 1976, 147, 227, 235; Everard n.d.). Snaër died in about 1896 (Glasgow, Rose, and Rose 1979, 440).

Much more information was found about the careers of Macarty and Barès for the years following the 1865 concert season by Creoles of color. The lives of Macarty and Barès developed in different directions. Macarty for the most part moved away from music, turning his talent for elocution toward politics. At a time when the majority of voters were illiterate—including the former slaves, who held the majority of votes following the disenfranchisement of Confederates—Macarty's effectiveness as a public speaker in French was most helpful to the Republican Party cause in southern Louisiana. As a result, he was able to win a term in the state House of Representatives (1870–1872) (Vincent 1976, 118, 230; *New Orleans Daily Picayune* November 3, 1872). Perhaps his single most important contribution, however, combined politics, civil rights, and music; in 1869 he brought the first suit against segregated seating in the New Orleans French Opera House. Even though the case, which was tried in federal district court, seems never to have been resolved, other such suits against the Opera followed several years later in local courts (Eugène Vic-

tor Macarty v. E. Calabresi 1869). He died in 1881 (Certificate of Death of Victor Eugène McCarthy 1881).

Barès also became involved in the issue of segregation at the French Opera when, in 1875, he served as accompanist at a concert in Economy Hall for the benefit of some foreign opera singers stranded in the city. Throughout its history the Opera had serious financial problems that left it open to the vagaries of shifting race relations. At once eager to keep the patronage of people of color and anxious about losing the larger support of color-conscious white Creoles, the Opera management bounced back and forth throughout Reconstruction between strict and lax enforcement of rules requiring separate seating on the basis of race. When, in the 1874–1875 season, the management tried to restore strict enforcement, Creoles of color staged a boycott that many of them believed precipitated the financial shortfall that caused the Opera to fail to pay its singers at the end of the season. The benefit for the foreign singers, at which Barès performed with other local musicians and the singers, played to great success before a large black audience, permitting the singers to return to France and dramatizing mixed Creole resistance to segregation (*New Orleans Weekly Louisianian* March 13, 20; May 15, 1875).

While Macarty was becoming involved in politics, the much younger Barès was in his early twenties and still at the beginning of his musical career. In the next two decades he developed an enviable public following, even by the testimony of such a staunch white supremacist as local turn-of-the-century *littérateur* Grace King (1896, 338). He became especially prominent in playing for white Carnival balls, for which purpose he led a string band. Between 1869 and the later 1880s he secured the publication of at least nineteen of his dances for piano, including several associated with Carnival. One of these, the “Mardi Gras Reminiscences Waltz” (1884), has not been located in any local archives or library. Most of Barès’s music copyrighted in the 1870s was published by Louis Grunewald, in whose music store Barès worked for a large part of that decade. In 1880 he went to work at the store of Junius Hart, who also published some of the pianist’s works, including “Elodia: Polka Mazurka,” the only other known piece that has not been located (*New Orleans Bee* July 25, 1880; Hart 1888, 29; Glasgow, Rose, and Rose 1979, 338). Between the end of the 1880s, when he was still in his early forties, and his death in 1902, no further works by Barès were published. Whether this lack was due to the absence of further composition, increasing Jim Crowism, or changing tastes leading toward ragtime and Tin Pan Alley, it may never be possible to determine (*New Orleans Daily Picayune* September 5, 1902).

Laurent Dubuclet

A Creole of color who was less well-known than Snaër, Macarty, or Barès wrote most of the latest nineteenth-century publications identified in local repositories. He was Laurent, or Lawrence, Dubuclet, born in New Orleans on October 4, 1866, a grandson of Reconstruction state treasurer Antoine Dubuclet. His uncles George and Eugène both were musicians (*New Orleans Republican* January 17, 1873). A pianist and saxophonist, Laurent Dubuclet was taught by Giovanni Luciani (Succession of Paul Luciani 1869). Dubuclet became an early member of the New Orleans affiliate of the American Federation of Musicians, ostensibly an all-white local, raising the possibility that, in this setting, he was passing for white. He died in Chicago on November 25, 1909 (Musicians' Mutual Protective Union 1903, 44–45).

Thomas J. Martin and Frances Gotay

Two black composers who were not Louisiana Creoles also were active in New Orleans in the nineteenth century. They were Thomas J. Martin and Frances Gotay, whose careers marked, respectively, the beginning and the end of the period under consideration. At least eight pieces of sheet music by one or more persons named Thomas J. Martin were published in New Orleans between 1854 and 1860. Two earlier pieces by a Thomas J. Martin, "Genl. Persifor F. Smith the Hero of Contreras' March" and "The Creole Waltz," were copyrighted by F. D. Benteen in Baltimore in 1848. After their initial publication in Baltimore, they were republished in New Orleans and several other places. There is a direct connection, however, between "Percifor Smith's March" and one of the original New Orleans publications, "Free Mason's Grand March," which was copyrighted in 1854. The composer of "Free Mason's Grand March" is identified on the first page of music as "Thomas J. Martin, the author of Percifor F. Smith's March [and] Had I Never Known Thee." The latter work, which was so popular that it went through at least ten editions, is identified in 1860 by the *New Orleans Daily Crescent* (June 26, 1860) as by the free black Thomas J. Martin, "the author of the once popular song, 'Had I never, never known thee.' He once composed a piece of music which he dedicated to the New Orleans Crescent; and has composed numerous other pieces of music." The reference to this dedication no doubt is a misunderstanding of the cover of "Free Mason's Grand March," which was part of a series called *The Crescent, a Collection of the Most Beautiful Pieces*. Therefore, despite the fact that the name Thomas J. Martin was a common one, at least three of the ten New Orleans imprints listed under that

name—"Percifer Smith's March," "Free Mason's Grand March," and "Had I Never Known Thee"—all seem clearly to be by the same black composer.

How the local press came to identify the black Thomas J. Martin is part of a story that broke on June 25, 1860, when Martin was arrested for alleged threats to burn down the house of Ann Severs, a retired white actress. According to these accounts, Martin had responded to threats by her that she would expose his three-year-old affair with her white daughter, Fanny Thayer, which relationship had produced a child. Within a few days, the press was awash with claims about nearly thirty well-to-do, Northern-born white women with whom he had been intimate in New Orleans. He was described as a guitarist and "a well-informed, Northern-educated" man of refined manners who had come to know these women as his piano students. Within three days of the first news, about two thousand whites, mostly curious spectators, gathered in Lafayette Square, the principal public place in the American part of town, to hear demands that Martin be lynched and all free blacks be driven out. However, when a group mostly of boys broke off and walked to Parish Prison, where the musician was being held, the police scared them off with a few warning shots. Eventually, Martin's bail was reduced, but he did not immediately come out of prison. The press speculated that he would wait until he could leave town quietly. Apparently this is what he did, because the First District Court records, which are complete for this period, contain no reference to a trial for over two years after the incident (*New Orleans Daily Crescent* June 25–27, July 13–14, 1860; *New Orleans Bee* June 25, 29, July 12–14, 1860; *New Orleans Courier* June 26, 29, July 13, 1860; *New Orleans Daily True Delta* June 26, 28–29, July 12, 1860; *New Orleans Daily Delta* June 28–29, 1860).

Little is known about what happened to Martin after he left New Orleans. "General Sigel's Grand March," which first appeared in 1862, is identified on the cover as by "T. J. Martin, author of 'Percifer Smith's March'." The catalog of Junius Hart published in New Orleans in 1888 lists three songs variously described as by Thomas J. Martin, T. J. Martin, or simply Martin; "Gate City March" by Martin (which became a rather famous piece); and, in an unnumbered addendum, guitar arrangements of "Freemason's Grand March" and "General Siegel's Grand March" (Hart 1888).

Frances Gotay, the only woman identified among black composers in New Orleans, was born in Puerto Rico on May 21, 1865, and arrived in the city in 1883. She was still a teenager when she joined the Sisters of the Holy Family, one of the few orders of Roman Catholic nuns of African

LA PUERTORRIQUEÑA.
REVERIE. SISTER M. SERAPHINE.

Allegretto.

INTRO.

TEMA.

p *espressivo.*

Figure 5. "La Puertorriqueña," Frances Gotay (Sister Marie Seraphine), mm. 1–9. This is the only piece of nineteenth-century sheet music by a black woman published in New Orleans. Original held at the University of New Orleans. Photograph courtesy of the author.

ancestry in North America. As Sister Marie Seraphine, she was admitted to a local Roman Catholic music school that was not ordinarily open to people of color; there she gained a mastery of many instruments, including strings, reeds, brass, percussion, and harp. She was in charge of musical instruction in schools of the order for nearly half a century and produced quite a lot of music in manuscript, which inadvertently was dispersed or discarded at the time that the sisters left their convent on the former site of the Orleans Ballroom in the French Quarter in the 1960s. All that remains is one published piece, "La Puertorriqueña: Reverie" for piano. She frequently performed with the St. Louis Cathedral Choir and, in later life, became friends with Camille Nickerson. Sister Seraphine died on September 11, 1932 (Hart 1976, 87; Adams 1987a; Adams 1987b).

Summary

What conclusions and further questions may be drawn from this research? It confirms the primacy of French-speaking persons among local black composers in the nineteenth century. It also reveals the range of music written by nineteenth-century Orleanians of color to be narrow,

embracing the entertainment qualities in demand by local sheet music publishers and the buying, especially the piano-playing, public. However, the range of such music by blacks is no narrower than that written by others in the same place at the same time. Without a doubt, expatriate musicians enjoyed wider scope for their creativity, but how much of this was due to different race relations abroad as opposed to different demands from publishers and the public in such metropolitan centers as Paris and Rio remains to be determined. How did growing tendencies toward racial segregation at home, which became more pronounced after the Civil War, affect the local environment in which music was made? How did white Creoles and American whites differ from the foreign-born French residents in the city in relating to musicians of color? Why did New Orleans black composers make so little use of local color as compared with Gottschalk? These and more questions about those who made the music and about the music itself need to be answered. Nevertheless, in spite of these unanswered questions, this survey has attempted to correct inaccuracies and vagueness in previous treatments of the lives of nineteenth-century black composers in New Orleans. By employing local archival holdings, this study also has uncovered new biographical information about some of the composers, but foreign repositories yet remain to be exploited fully for their resources about the expatriates. The local holdings of the relevant local sheet music imprints also invite further study.

APPENDIX

*Nineteenth-Century New Orleans Imprints and Music in Manuscript by
Composers of Color in Local Repositories*

Key

- ARC: The Amistad Research Center at Tulane University, Louisiana Music Collection
 HNOC: The Historic New Orleans Collection, Library, Sheet Music Collection
 LSM: The Louisiana State Museum, Old United States Mint, Louisiana Historical Center, Sheet Music Collection
 LU: Loyola University, Department of Archives and Special Collections, Bound Sheet Music

- NOPL: The New Orleans Public Library, Main Branch, Louisiana Division, Early Sheet Music Collection
- TU-J: Tulane University, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, William Ransom Hogan Jazz Archive
- TU-L: Tulane University, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Louisiana Collection, Sheet Music Collection
- TU-M: Tulane University, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Manuscripts, Blackmar Collection
- UNO-A: The University of New Orleans, Earl K. Long Library, Archives and Special Collections, Marcus Bruce Christian Papers
- UNO-L: The University of New Orleans, Earl K. Long Library, Louisiana Collection, Sheet Music Collection
- XU: Xavier University of Louisiana, Library, Archives and Special Collections for Black Studies, Basile Jean Barès Collection

Basile Jean Barès

- Grande polka des Chasseurs à Pied de la Louisiane [for piano]. © 1860 Basile. N.p. Dedication: Capitaine Tne. Hy. St. Paul de la 1re Compagnie. 3 pp. (Cover: "En vente chez les Marchands de Musique." Music: "La Casquette.") [The composer is listed only as "Basile," with no last name. The piece has always been attributed to Basile Barès.] LSM, TU-L.
- La belle Créole: Quadrille des Lanciers Américain pour le piano. © March 20, 1866 A. Élie. Pub. A. Élie. Dedication: Mon Ami Eugène Macarthy. 4 pp. [Cover: "Basile J. Barès."] HNOC, TU-L, TU-M, UNO-L.
- La coquette: Grande polka de salon pour le piano. © March 20, 1866 A. Elie. Pub. A. Elie. Dedication: Mme. Louise Hunt. 5 pp. TU-L.
- La séduisante: Grande valse brillante [for piano]. © 1866 A. E. Blackmar. Pub. A. E. Blackmar. 10 pp. [Cover: "Basile J. Barès."] LU, TU-L, XU.
- Les folies du Carnaval: Valse brillante [for piano]. © 1866 A. E. Blackmar. Pub. A. E. Blackmar. 8 pp. [Cover: "Basile J. Barès."] HNOC, TU-L, TU-M, UNO-A, XU.
- La course: Galop brillante [for piano]. © 1866 A. E. Blackmar. Pub. A. E. Blackmar. 4 pp. (p. 1: "Basile J. Barès.") HNOC, LSM, UNO-A.
- La capricieuse: Valse de salon pour le piano, Op. 7. © 1869 A. E. Blackmar. Pub. A. E. Blackmar. Dedication: Melle. Theresa Labranche. 7 pp. HNOC, TU-L, TU-M, UNO-A.
- Basile's galop pour piano, Op. 9. © 1869 A. E. Blackmar. Pub. A. E. Blackmar. 5 pp. TU-M, UNO-A.

- La Créole: Souvenir de la Louisiane, marche pour piano, Op. 10. © 1869 A. E. Blackmar. Pub. A. E. Blackmar. 7 pp. TU-L, TU-M.
- Delphine: Grande valse brillante [for piano], Op. 11. © 1870 Louis Grunewald. Pub. Louis Grunewald. Dedication: Melle. Delphine Dolhonde. 7 pp. TU-L, HNOC.
- . Reprinted as Exhibition waltz, dedicated to the Cotton Exposition, 1884. TU-L, UNO-A.
- . Reprinted as Exhibition waltz, dedicated to the Cotton Exposition, 1884–1885. (Cover: “10th Edition.”) HNOC.
- Temple of music: Polka mazurka [for piano]. © 1871 A. E. Blackmar. Pub. A. E. Blackmar. Dedication: Mme. M. J. Tassin. 5 pp. TU-L.
- Minuit: Valse de salon composée pour piano, Op. 19. © 1873 Henri Wehrmann, Dedication: Louis Barbey. 5 pp. Pub. A. E. Blackmar, HNOC; Pub. Louis Grunewald, LSM; N.p. TU-J (Uncataloged Maxwell Transfer, Accession No. 52), TU-L.
- Merry fifty lanciers [for piano], Op. 21. © 1873 Henri Wehrmann. Pub. Philip Werlein. Dedication: The Merry Fifty Club. 5 pp. LSM, UNO-A.
- Les cent gardes: Valse [for piano], Op. 22, © 1874 Henri Wehrmann. Pub. Louis Grunewald. Dedication: Les Cent Gardes of New Orleans. 6 pp. LSM, TU-L.
- Les variétés du Carnaval [for piano], Op. 23. © 1875 Louis Grunewald. Pub. Louis Grunewald. Dedication: His Royal Majesty Rex, King of Carnival. 5 pp. (Music: “L’Invitation Valse,” “L’Etoile Polka,” “Le Prisonnier Valse,” “L’Alternate Mazurka,” “La Rosace Valse,” “Coda.”) HNOC, TU-L, UNO-A.
- Galop du Carnaval [for piano], Op. 24. © 1875 Louis Grunewald. Pub. Louis Grunewald. Dedication: My Friend L. E. Koniuszeski of St. Louis, Mo. 3 pp. TU-L.
- Les violettes: Valse [for piano], Op. 25. © 1876 Louis Grunewald. Pub. Louis Grunewald. Dedication: Melle. Marie Heyob. 6 pp. TU-J (Uncataloged Al Rose Collection, Accession No. 152), UNO-A. [See also Baron (1980) for a reproduction.]
- The wedding: Heel and toe polka [arrangement for piano], Op. 26. © 1880 Junius Hart. Pub. Louis Grunewald. Dedication: Miss Céleste Stauffer. 3 pp. (Cover: “Op. 25.”) HNOC, NOPL, TU-L.
- Mamie: Waltz pour le piano, Op. 27. © 1880 Junius Hart. Pub. Junius Hart. Dedication: John Davis. 7 pp. HNOC, LSM, TU-L, TU-M, UNO-A, XU.
- Regina: Valse pour le piano, Op. 29. © 1881 Louis Grunewald. Pub. Louis Grunewald. Dedication: Melle. R. Gènois. 6 pp. TU-J (Uncataloged Blackmar Collecton, Accession No. 59), TU-L, UNO-A, XU.
- La Créole: Polka mazurka [for piano]. © 1884 A. E. Blackmar. N.p. 5 pp.

(Cover: Advertisement for "Mardi Gras Reminiscences Waltz, Basile Barès.") TU-M.

La Louisianaise: Valse brillante [for piano]. © 1884 A. E. Blackmar. N.p. 5 pp. (Cover: Advertisement for "Mardi Gras Reminiscences Waltz, Basile Barès.") LSM, TU-L, UNO-A.

Los campanillas [for piano]. n.d. Unpublished manuscript. 1 p. XU.

Edmond Dédé

Mon pauvre coeur: Melodie [for voice and piano]. No © N.p. (1852). Dedication: Mlle. Fne. B. 2 pp. (Cover: Words by "C. Sentmanat," printer "B. Simon," lithographer "L. Pessou.") ARC (facsimile from a now-dispersed private collection of Louis Panzeri).

Laurent [Lawrence] Dubuclet

Bettina Waltz [for piano]. © 1886 Lawrence Dubuclet. N.p. Dedication: My Professor Signor Giovanni Luciani. 5 pp. TU-L.

Les yeux deux (Sweet eyes) [for piano], Op. 2. © 1886 Lawrence Dubuclet. N.p. Dedication: Mon Ami C. Laizer. 7 pp. HNOG, TU-L.

World's Fair march [for piano], Op. 7. © 1893 Lawrence Dubuclet. N.p. 3 pp. TU-L.

The belle of the Carnival: March two step [for piano]. © 1897 Louis Grunewald. Pub. Louis Grunewald. 3 pp. HNOG, TU-L.

National defense march, dedicated to the American nation [for piano]. © 1899 Lawrence Dubuclet. Pub. Lawrence Dubuclet. 3 pp. HNOG.

Frances Gotay (Sister Marie Seraphine)

La puertorriqueña: Reverie [for piano]. © 1896 Sister Marie Seraphine. Pub. Junius Hart. Dedication: "In memory of the late Rev. Mother Magdalene of the Sisters of the Holy Family." 4 pp. UNO.

Victor-Eugène Macarty

L'alzea: Polka mazurka, souvenir de Charles VI [arrangement for piano]. © 1854 Eugene Macarty. N.p. Dedication: Mlle. A. Boudousquie. 2 pp. (Cover: "Pianist of the fashionable Soirées of New Orleans," "Sold at the principal Music Stores." Published with "La caprifolia" as *Fleurs de salon: 2 Favorite Polkas.*) TU-L, UNO-A.

La caprifolia: Polka de salon [for piano]. © 1854 Eugene Macarty. N.p. Dedication: Mlle. Delphine Forstall. 2 pp. (Additional information as above.)

Thomas J. Martin

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Free Mason's grand march, dedicated to that ancient brotherhood [for piano]. © 1854. T. J. Martin. Pub. P. P. Werlein. 3 pp. (Cover: "The Crescent, a Collection of the Most Beautiful Pieces"; p. 1: "Thomas J. Martin, author of Persifor F. Smith's March, Had I Never Known Thee.") HNOC, NOPL, TU-L, TU-M, UNO-A.

The wife's polka [for piano]. © 1855 T. J. Martin. Pub. Philip P. Werlein. Dedication: Mrs. Julia Whann. 2 pp. (p. 1: "Thomas J. Martin.") NOPL, TU-L.

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Oratorical grand march to the memory of Henry Clay [for piano]. © 1860 F. Hartel. Pub. F. Hartel. 4 pp. (Music: "Tromboni," "drum and fife," "corni.") HNOC, LSM.

François-Michel-Samuel Snaër

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Le chant du déporté: Melodie pour voix de baryton [and piano]. © 1865 Louis Grunewald. Pub. Louis Grunewald. 3 pp. (Cover: Words by "A. Garreau." Joint publication as above.) TU-L.

Sous sa fenêtre (Come to me, love) [for voice and piano]. © 1866 Louis Grunewald. Pub. Louis Grunewald. 3 pp. (Music: Words by "L. P[lacide]. Canonge.") TU-L.

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