

A DISSONANT HISTORY: THE FRENCH HORN AS A MARKER OF
OPPRESSION AND FREEDOM IN THE LIVES OF
AFRICAN AMERICAN MUSICIANS

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ABSTRACT

For hundreds of years the French horn was a symbol of aristocracy in Europe, not for its affiliation with concert music, but for its use by huntsmen. When American sons of European immigrants sponsored hunting parties on their estates, enslaved persons performed the duties of huntsmen. George Washington, the quintessential Founding Father, enslaved a huntsman named William Lee who served at his side during the Revolutionary War. A horn made by George Henry Rodenbostel currently resides at Mount Vernon, purportedly having belonged to Washington. The horn is an interesting artifact in the history of horn playing in America.

French horn player, bandleader, and bugler Francis Johnson established the beginning of the African American brass band tradition in the early 19th century. The United States Colored Troops were formed during the Civil War, and bands played an important role in the USCT, but the horn's importance had declined. Postbellum minstrel bands brought the French horn back into widespread use, by African American and white people. The years between Reconstruction and the Civil Rights Movement saw a great deal of musical expression and experimentation from African American musicians; French horn players like Julius Watkins and Willie Ruff created opportunities in the jazz idiom. In the late 20th century, Robert Watt and Jerome Ashby opened the door to full-time orchestral jobs for African American horn players.

African American musicians were fettered for over a century with Jim Crow, segregation, and institutional structures that did not allow them to succeed or to pursue success. This document fills in gaps in historical knowledge, and provides a narrative for the history of African American horn playing.

For Barbara Ambrose and Edith McMullin.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The price one pays for pursuing any profession, or calling, is an intimate knowledge of its ugly side.
James Baldwin

The French Horn holds an uneasy place in African American music history from being tied up in the history of slavery and its resulting hypocrisies. Several Black Founders, like William Lee and John Marrant, played the horn but not of their own volition. This research grew out of my desire to learn about the history of institutionalized racism, in the best way that I can as a white woman. The initial purpose of this research was to unearth identities of enslaved huntsmen on the estates of the Founding Fathers, but it evolved to encompass a much broader scope of history and people. The end result is a history and critique of how the French horn was used as a tool for the oppression of African American people—specifically in the examination of William Lee and his relationship with George Washington, John Marrant and the laws that restricted his ability to perform for black people, and the duality of twentieth-century horn players who had to innovate their own paths because segregation kept them from being permitted to join professional orchestras. It also explores how African Americans like Francis Johnson, Olaudah Equiano, musicians of the United States Colored Troops of the Civil War, and jazz horn players retaliated against that oppression to create a rich and rewarding musical identity for themselves.

Virtually every account of the history of the French horn begins with the visit of Count Franz Anton von Sporck of Bohemia, to the Court of Louis XIV at Versailles. Because of the lack of surviving information, documentation of horn history prior to this

1680 meeting is usually related to ancient battle horns like the *buccina* and the *cornu*, as depicted on Trajan's Column.¹



Figure 1. Three cornu players on Trajan's Column, Rome, AD 113.²

It is also common to begin the history of horn players with the trifecta of: 1) Natural horn development, 2) Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and 3) natural horn virtuoso Joseph Leutgeb. As important as this trifecta is, the history of horn-playing is much more rich, complex, and uniquely indicative of the social and musical contradictions of its time. In many ways, the horn has always been a musical signifier of the past—it has never been an instrument used in a way which looks forward to the future of music, to

¹ Horace Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing and the Austro-Bohemian Tradition from 1680 to 1830* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 1.

² *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, volume 6 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 490.

push the boundaries of composition.³ In this way, it is a logical symbolic choice as an instrument for use by people afraid of losing control over their present situation. The Founding Fathers would have faced economic hardship if they had eradicated slavery, just as did former slaveowners and sympathizers in the postbellum years. Nevertheless, the story of musicians who played the horn provides a compelling historical narrative.

The stories of known early horn soloists are almost all placed in the context of composers who wrote pieces for them. For example, Johann Sebastian Bach wrote for the duo of Hans Leopold (dates unknown) and Franz Seydler (dates unknown), Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart composed concertos for Joseph Leutgeb (1732–1811), and Ludwig van Beethoven wrote his horn sonata for Giovanni Punto (1746–1803). The relatively substantial amount of information we have on these European horn players primarily exists because of their affiliations with composers and/or orchestras. To assume these were the only horn players performing during their careers is naïve, and the stories of many talented horn players have been lost to history. The history of horn playing in America, for example, can be traced to some of the first orchestras and music clubs in the colonies, but there are very few existing names of horn players from those groups. While white horn players in Colonial American were either skilled laborers who played for dances, gentlemen who played as a leisure activity, or visiting European musicians,⁴ to scratch below the surface shows an unfortunate underbelly of horn history in America:

³ Raymond Monelle, *The Musical Topic: Hunt, Military and Pastoral* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 35–41.

⁴ Jeffrey Snedeker, "The Horn in Early America," *Bucina: The Historic Brass Society series*, no. 2 (1997): 151–167.

the exploitation and abuse of horn players of color, in enslavement, the Jim Crow era, and the twentieth-century era of segregation.

The story of the abuses to people of color in America is not mine to tell. I will never understand what it is to be a descendent of slavery and how its villainy affected my ancestors. I can provide evidence of racial hypocrisy in music performance through study of the history of horn players of African descent and redress their anonymity in the horn world.

Certain chapters of this document were painful to write, particularly the chapters on minstrelsy and “coon”⁵ bands, and the Civil War. This topic is an important one and grows more relevant as hate groups become more visible and gain strength in our social media culture. Although I am not African American, I was affected by white supremacists in 2017, when a large hate group came to Charlottesville. The people marched on the University of Virginia campus, a half mile away from my home where my six month–old twins were sleeping. I was out of town performing and as the news came in, I was absolutely terrified for their safety. I was forced to look at the persona of racist American in my own town and I was completely sick with rage. I did not know what to do so I started reading more about the history of race and slavery in Virginia. I was astonished and disappointed to learn how deliberately the Founding Fathers held on to slavery with the founding of the country. Virginia was the seat of slavery and racism in the United States and the people who built the United States operated with dubious moral

⁵ “Coon” songs were derived from the widespread use of the derogatory word “coon” to mean “black” in the 1880s. They were comic songs that portrayed African Americans in negative ways and pervaded American culture.

compasses with respect to slavery. When I attempted to find out whether Thomas Jefferson ever enslaved hunters at Monticello, it led me down the path to this topic. The purpose of this document is to discuss, analyze, and bring to light how the horn has been used by white people as a tool for oppression of African Americans, through slavery and minstrelsy and segregation, and also how African Americans have retaliated against oppression by using the horn as a voice for the expression of their experience.

CHAPTER 2

THE HORN IN HISTORY PRIOR TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The paradox of education is precisely this—that as one begins to become conscious one begins to examine the society in which he is being educated.

James Baldwin

Depictions in Early Brass History

The horn has been associated with people of African and Creole descent since the advent of the transatlantic slave trade. A glance through runaway advertisements of Colonial-era newspapers⁶ shows a large number of escaped enslaved people had skill at playing the horn.⁷ In their book, *World of a Slave: Encyclopedia of the Material Life of Slaves in the United States*, Martha Katz-Hyman and Kym S. Rice claim “the number of advertisements found in English and American newspapers listing runaway slaves who could play the French horn suggests they were by no means happy with their lot, however much better off they were than less accomplished slaves.”⁸ They go on to describe the French horn’s existence in Africa as a purely vestigial remnant of the slave trade.

Africans became familiar with the French horn, a brass wind instrument, through European contact...The French horn was a popular instrument in 17th– and 18th–century Europe, and horn-playing African slaves could be found scattered through the British colonies...It was, however, an unusual accomplishment even among musically trained slaves.⁹

The earliest depiction of a brass playing person of color I found dates from 1511.¹⁰ The subject was John Blanke, a famous trumpeter in the Court of Henry VIII. He

⁶ See Appendix B for a compilation of Colonial newspaper slave advertisements.

⁷ Martha B. Katz-Hyman and Kym S. Rice, *World of a Slave: Encyclopedia of the Material Life of Slaves in the United States* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2011), 238.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ See Appendix H for a compilation of relevant historical iconography.

is depicted on the 1511 Westminster Tournament Roll.¹¹ According to the notable Tudor scholar Miranda Kauffman, “Blanke was part of a wider trend for European rulers to employ African musicians, dating from at least 1194, when turbaned black trumpeters heralded the entry of the Holy Roman emperor Henry VI into Palermo in Sicily.”¹²

Depictions of the trumpet in settings of nobility exist from as early as the fourteenth century,¹³ and depictions of the trombone in the church date to the fifteenth century.¹⁴ Early depictions of the French horn come not with the court or the church, but in iconography of the hunt. Therefore, its oral history was extensive, but its literary history exists in later sources than its brass counterparts, the trumpet and trombone. The first extant iconography of horns in the hunt dates from the 17th century. People of color are depicted in paintings as horn players in the hunt starting in the 18th century.

The first depiction of a person of color playing the French horn I found dates from 1770.¹⁵ It is a seated portrait of an anonymous person of color holding a French horn which dates from between 1770–1799, which hangs in Erddig Hall, a National Trust Museum in Wrexham, Wales. Titled *John Meller’s Coachboy* the portrait shows a liveried young man holding a horn. According to the County Borough Council of

¹¹ The National Archives, Surrey, United Kingdom, https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/early_times/blanke.htm

¹² Miranda Kaufmann, “John Blanke” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed April 17, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/107145>.

¹³ Case Western Reserve University Early Instrument Database, <https://caslabs.case.edu/medren/medieval-instruments/trumpet-medieval/>.

¹⁴ Trombone Iconography Database, <http://kimballtrombone.com/trombone-history-timeline/trombone-history-15th-century/>.

¹⁵ See Appendix H for a compilation of relevant historical iconography.

Wrexham, John Meller was the owner of Erddig in the early 18th century.¹⁶ This painting was the first in a series of commissions by Philip Yorke, the owner of Erddig in the late 18th century. Yorke had commissioned portraits of his servants and wrote a poem about the coachboy which is inscribed on the scroll in the upper right-hand corner of the painting. The poem reads:

Of the Condition of this Negre
Our information is but megre;
However here, he was a dweller,
And blew the horn for Master Meller.
Here, too he dy'd, but when or how,
Can scarcely be remember'd now,
But that to Marchwiell he was sent,
And had good Christian interment.
Pray Heav'n may stand his present friend,
Where black, or white; distinctions, end.
For sure on this side of the grave,
They are too strong, tw'ixt Lord & Slave.
Here also liv'd a dingy brother,
Who play'd together with the other,
But, of him, yet longer rotten,
Every particular's forgotten,
Save that like Tweedle-Tum & dee,
These but in notes, could [n]e'er agree,
In all things else, as they do tell ye,
We're just like Handel and Corelli.
O had it been in their life's course
T'have met with Massa Wilberforce,
They wou'd in this alone, have join'd,
And been together of a mind,
Have raisd their Horns to one high tune,
And blown his Merits, to the Moon.

The Horn in the Hunt

The earliest information on the history of the horn comes from non-musical sources. Documents like hunting call manuscripts, hunting guides and “gentleman’s

¹⁶ Wrexham County Borough website,
https://www.wrexham.gov.uk/english/heritage/everywhere_in_chains/first_african.htm.

manuals,” highlight the evolution of the horn from a piece of animal bone used to signal hunters looking for food, into an emblem of privilege and aristocracy. Eva Marie Heater, Catalog Assistant at the Music Library of Yale University, traced the evolution of hunting horn calls and suggests the hunting horn “may have had musical capabilities earlier than it has been generally accepted.”¹⁷

Although systems of notation were developed to “encode” hunting calls, there is no existing key to decipher the code, and unfortunately it will never be known how they truly sounded. Regardless, we can see hunting tablature functioned similarly to modern notation as can be seen in Figure 2.¹⁸

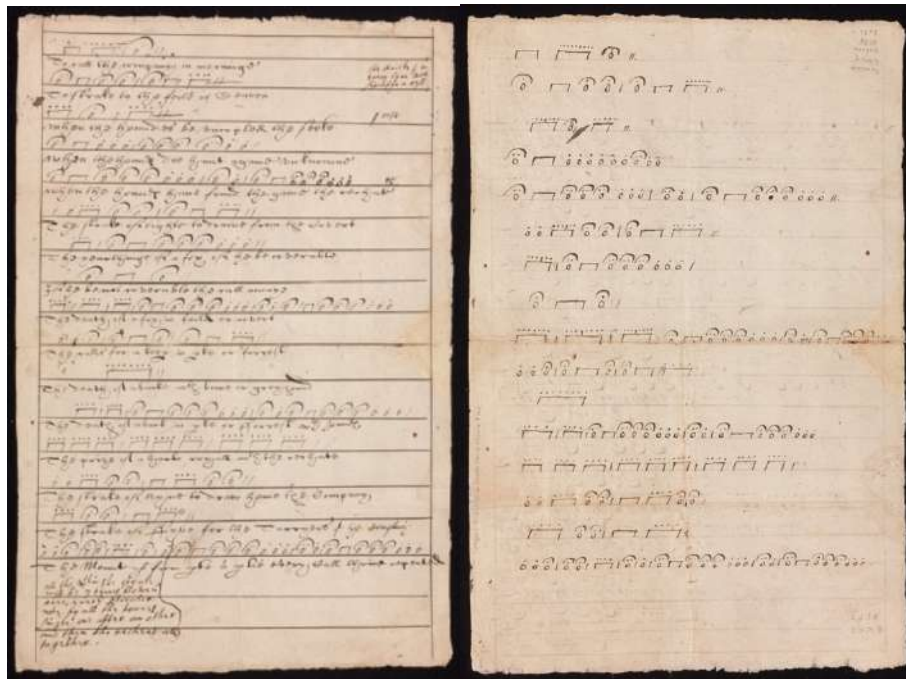


Figure 2. Hunting Horn Calls circa 1600.¹⁹

¹⁷ Eva Marie Heater, "Early Hunting Horn Calls and their Transmission: Some New Discoveries," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 7 (1995): 123.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Hunting Horn Calls circa 1600, from the James Marshall and Marie–Louise Osborn Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Heater draws on three well-known musical sources of early horn history as well as several obscure sources of hunting documentation. Sebastian Virdung's *Musica Getuscht* (1510) regards the hunting horn as a noisemaker; Michael Praetorius's *Syntagma Musicum* (1614) quotes Virdung and adds nothing new, as Germany did not adopt the French tradition of hunting ceremonies, including hunting music, until the 17th century. Finally, Marin Mersenne's *Harmonie universelle* of 1636 gives some insight into horn playing of the 16th century. Horn players owe a great deal to Mersenne. He was the first person to treat the hunting horn as a musical instrument and wrote about the pedagogy and technique, including "embouchure placement, articulation, and movement of the embouchure to produce at least some of the notes of the overtone series."²⁰

The Journey of the Horn to the Concert Hall

The first mention of the hunting horn in a concert music setting is thought to be Tylman Susato's *Battles, Hunts & Birdsongs*, dated 1545. This is clearly an early establishment of the horn as signifier of a hunting trope, and not a declaration of the horn's use as a concert instrument. In 1633, around the same time Marin Mersenne wrote *Harmonie universelle*, Michaelangelo Rossi's opera *Erminio sul Giordano* featured the earliest use of the horn indoors, followed by Francesco Cavalli's *Le nozze de Teti e di Peleo* in 1639, and Jean-Baptiste Lully's divertissement-ballet *La Princesse d'Elide*

²⁰ Heater, "Early Hunting Horn Call," 124.

written for Louis XIV's new Palace of Versailles in 1664.²¹ These three examples are interesting but not terribly important, because the horn was used as an effect and a symbol of pastoral life and the hunt. The horn players played hunting calls, not orchestral horn parts. The true beginning of the horn as a concert instrument was in 1680 with the visit of Count Anton von Sporck of Bohemia to Versailles. Louis XIV's love for hunting was perhaps an important impetus for the invention of the *Cor de chasse* in France.²² It was at Versailles where von Sporck left his huntsmen, Peter Röllig and Wenzel Sweda, to be trained on the *chasse*. Upon their return to Bohemia in 1681, Röllig and Sweda began training others and started the Austro-Bohemian school of horn playing which is the foundation for contemporary horn technique, pedagogy, and repertoire. The earliest existing horns date from 1682 and were made by Haas of Nürnberg.

Around this same time in London (April 1699), the satirist Ned Ward wrote in his periodical *London Spy* of "My Dame Butterfield's Invitation to her *Essex Calf and Bacon*, with her six *Brass Horns* to accommodate Sportsmen with the delightful *Harmony of Hunting*." Dame Butterfield's soiree notwithstanding, the horn's use in hunting activities was not a novelty by this point. W. F. H. Blandford, the noted horn historian, posits "a possible introducer [of the horn to the British hunt] as James de Gastigny, Master of the Harthounds and Buckhounds to William III from 1689 to 1698."²³

²¹ Thomas Hiebert, "The Horn in the Baroque and Classical Periods," *The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments*, ed. Trevor Herbert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1.

²² John Humphries, *The Early Horn: A Practical Guide*, Cambridge Handbooks to the Historical Performance of Music (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 7.

²³ W. F. H. Blandford, "Studies on the Horn. No. 1: The French Horn in England," *The Musical Times* 63, no. 954 (August 1, 1922): 544.

At the turn of the 18th century there were many different kinds of hunting horns all existing at the same time: large-hooped *trompes de chasse* that had narrow tubing and small sharp-curved bells; medium-hooped *Waldhorns* of two or three coils which had crooks, no cylindrical sections and a gradual taper outward to the bell; and small-hooped hunting horns similar to one made by William Bull in approximately 1699, which typified features of early horns.²⁴

The horn made by Bull is pitched in F, has a large bore which would require a cup mouthpiece (similar to the modern trumpet), and a small bell, measured at 6 ¾ inches in diameter, which would certainly not have been conducive to hand technique. It is wrapped in three coils, too small for use in the hunt. W.F.H. Blandford claimed it “may have been intended for producing the delightful harmony of hunting rather than for the chase itself. A similar horn, drawn too small, is seen in use in Plate II of Hogarth's *Rake's Progress* (1735).”²⁵ The Hogarth plate is included in Appendix H.

In the Metropolitan Museum in New York City there is a hunting horn from circa 1710–20, possibly the earliest horn in the United States.



Figure 3. Jagdhorn in G, made by Jacob Schmidt c. 1710–20, Nürnberg.²⁶

²⁴ Blandford, “Studies on the Horn,” 544.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gallery 684, The Met Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The Viennese Leichnambschneider brothers had produced double-coiled horns around 1700, and developed a crook and coupler system by 1703, which changes the length and thus the key, of the instrument.²⁷ Since the hunt required no specific key, this innovation dates the instrument to where it can reasonably be assumed the horn was being used as a concert instrument in some form.

According to Blandford, early English *trompes* were not common, even though the instrument was popular in the field during the first half of the 18th century.²⁸ John Harris was another famous trumpet maker and possibly Bull's successor. The account books for the Royal Buckhounds from 1717 list payments "To a person to teach several huntsmen to sound the French horn, 7 pounds, 6 shillings. John Harris for ten brass French horns and mending two others for H.M. huntsmen, 26 pounds 10 shillings."²⁹

Reinhard Kaiser's 1705 opera *Octavia* was the first German piece to use horn, performed in Hamburg and written for two *cor de chasse*, not "trompes" or "horns." In 1706, Johann Theodor Zeddelmayer became the first permanent horn member in an orchestra, at Weissenfels. In 1711, George Frederic Händel (who was associated with Kaiser) wrote two horn parts in the aria "Cambatti da Forte" of his opera *Rinaldo*. In 1715, *Water Music* featured the two horn players in a prominent role, and Händel began to use the horn in the orchestra in 1720 with *Radamisto*. The obligato horn part to "va tacito e nascosto" from *Giulio Cesare* was the culmination of these earlier efforts and is

²⁷ Fitzpatrick, 32–33.

²⁸ Blandford, "Studies on the Horn," 544.

²⁹ Ibid.

highly emblematic of Baroque solo style. Händel's early parts are for horn in F, the key of Bull's instrument; it is probable no others were then available in England.³⁰

The hunting horn's "elaborate code of fanfares and signals" was not well suited to the English countryside and fell out of fashion in Britain in the late 18th century. The calls were preserved through the Royal Buckhounds, and the "theatrical hunting establishment formed by the seventh Earl of Barrymore at Wargrave, about 1787, which included four mounted negroes dressed in scarlet and silver, and equipped with trompès."³¹ Information on performance practice, especially of the early calls, is nonexistent, because they were not handwritten but taught by rote. As Eva Marie Heater wrote:

Since we have no composed music in the conventional sense to provide information on instrumental practices, evidence must be extracted from...non-musical sources. However, while the code for the tablature may never be broken, and the calls themselves may never be heard again as they were when taught as part of a nobleman's basic skills, the evidence is clear that playing the horn was a significant activity and that the hunting calls bear some of the same developmental features of other types of early music. The hunting horn was a unique instrument, considered not only worthy for noblemen to play, but also a necessary skill for them to master. Whatever their exact form...these calls typified "music," and the highly evocative character of this music is what originally led composers to use them for programmatic reasons in early opera and ballet, and ultimately earned for the horn a permanent spot in the orchestra.³²

The Hunting Horn in America

Domestic servants, indentured servants, and slaves who could play the horn were in demand in early America. Private horn lessons were offered for servants as early as

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Heater, "Early Hunting Horn Calls," 135–136.

1736.”³³ A letter written by New Hampshire governor Sir John Wentworth in 1769 indicates that he was seeking two indentured servants to play the French horn:

As you have connections abroad will you give me leave to ask your assistance to send me two that can play well on a French horn also if they can, or one of them play on a violin; and will also serve me five years faithfully in my family. I will besides the wages you recommend, at the expiration of their time, give them each one hundred acres of good land in a settled country, and give them some little Government place of profit as they may be capable of. If you should meet with one or two of such men, Mr. Inman, my tailor, will clothe them in my livery; and the mast ship or any other ship to this port will bring them out to me. It is not of any consideration to me what country or religion. If they are good, well-tempered, honest capable men. I will do more for them than they can ever expect in Europe. Neither is it essential that their musical execution should be of first rate, as we are not great Connoisseurs in that way.³⁴

Likewise, Founding Father Thomas Jefferson stated a desire to acquire horn-playing servants in a 1778 letter to Giovanni Fabbroni in Paris:

The bounds of an American fortune will not admit the indulgence of a domestic band of musicians, yet I have thought that a passion for music might be reconciled with that economy which we are obliged to observe...In a country where like yours, music is cultivated and practiced by every class of men, I suppose there might be found persons of these trades who could perform on the French horn, clarinet, or hautboy, and bassoon, without enlarging his domestic expenses. A certainty of employment for a half dozen years, and at the end of that time, to find them, if they chose, a conveyance to their own country, might induce them to come here on reasonable wages. Without meaning to give you trouble, perhaps it might be practicable for you—to find out such men disposed to come to America. Sobriety and good nature would be desirable parts of their characters.³⁵

³³ Kathryn Eileen Bridwell–Briner, “The Horn in America from Colonial Society to 1842: Performers, Instruments, and Repertoire” (DMA diss., University of North Carolina, Greensboro, 2014), 25.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Thomas Jefferson to Giovanni Fabbroni, June 8, 1778, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-02-02-0066>.

Emilie Johnson, Associate Curator at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, provided information regarding Jefferson's communication with Fabbroni:

Fabbroni responds to Jefferson over a year later, in November 1779, but refers to two earlier letters, both missing. Interestingly, most of the instruments we know about in the Jefferson family and enslaved community are stringed (pianos, guitars, and violins) rather than wind.³⁶

While there is no evidence that Jefferson ever employed a horn player at Monticello, or ever purchased a horn, there is ample evidence of the hunting life at the estates of the Founding Fathers, especially those in Virginia. If Jefferson was seeking to emulate European practice, this is an auspicious year for his letter, as 1778 was the year Giovanni Punto visited France for the first time.³⁷ Horn players had been regularly employed in Paris since the early 1760s, but Punto's arrival in Paris was notable for its coincidental timing with a visit to the city from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, who upon their meeting declared, "Punto plays splendidly."³⁸

There has been research aimed at documenting the genesis of concert horn playing in the United States, as demonstrated by the writings of Kathryn Bridwell-Briner and Jeffrey Snedeker, but what of the huntsmen? Were there American versions of Röllig and Sweda? When describing the transition from hunting to concert horn in Europe, Horace Fitzpatrick characterizes the early horn players in Europe as:

³⁶ Emilie Johnson, email to author, April 26, 2019.

³⁷ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Players*, 169.

³⁸ Letter from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart to Leopold Mozart April 5, 1778, translation by the author, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/5307/5307-h/5307-h.htm>.

sons of huntsmen and foresters on the estates of the great nobles, and from a childhood in the out-of-doors gained a hardiness which was more than a match for the physical demands of the horn. (Some, like Matiegka and Ziwin, retained their full powers for more than half a century.) Underlying this natural vigor was a thoroughly mixed ancestry, a result of the Austro-German migrations into Bohemia during the seventeenth century.³⁹

While the United States was founded on anti-monarchical ideals, the Founding Fathers were their own brand of nobility, each possessing a large amount of power, estate and fortune. This description of the European huntsman from Fitzpatrick is startlingly reminiscent of William Lee, George Washington's enslaved manservant and huntsman.

³⁹ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 50.

CHAPTER 3

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: WILLIAM LEE

*For years, whenever Americans saw George Washington, they saw Lee.
With his proximity to the nation's foremost American,
Lee became the most recognizable African American slave of his time.*
Jesse Holland

Early Life

William Lee was born in approximately 1750–52, in Northern Virginia, likely on or near the estate of Mount Vernon; his exact birth year is unknown, but he appears on George Washington's list of "tithables" (the enslaved people he paid taxes on) in 1768.⁴⁰ Enslaved people were only taxed if they were age 16 or older, so Lee's birth year would have to have been 1752 or earlier. It is known George Washington purchased Lee from Mary Smith Ball Lee, and he was mixed race, from the purchase record of that sale.⁴¹ There has been a recent surge in scholarship regarding William Lee's parentage and provenance, much of it speculative. Lee likely had a white father, and given where he lived and his last name, it was almost certainly someone from the prominent and influential Lee family which includes both Richard Henry Lee (1732–1794), signatory to the Articles of Confederation and the Declaration of Independence, and Robert E. Lee (1807–1870), General in Chief of the Armies of the Confederate States during the Civil War.⁴² It was so common for enslaved women to endure rape and power-based sexual

⁴⁰ George Washington's Memorandum List of Tithables and Taxable Property, 20 June 1768, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/02-08-02-0076>.

⁴¹ George Washington's Cash Accounts, May 1768, note 2, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/02-08-02-0059>.

⁴² Jessie MacLeod, Associate Curator at George Washington's Mount Vernon, email to author, September 3, 2019.

assault—perhaps most infamous is the case of Sally Hemings and Thomas Jefferson—William’s parents could have been any of a huge number of white men and enslaved African American women.⁴³

Children with mixed-race parentage were visibly present at the Virginia estates of the Founding Fathers: Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello, George Washington’s Mount Vernon, George Mason’s Gunston Hall, Patrick Henry’s Scotchtown, Richard Henry Lee’s Stratford Hall, and in fact all across Virginia, and throughout the United States. According to the legal doctrine of *partus sequitur ventrem*, a child born to an enslaved woman is born into slavery, regardless of paternity.⁴⁴ A French visitor to George Washington’s Mount Vernon in 1797 noted: “the general’s house servants are mulattoes, some of whom have kinky hair but skins as light as ours. One small boy whose hair and skin were so much like our own that if I had not been told, I should never have suspected his ancestry. He is nevertheless a slave for the rest of his life.”⁴⁵ William was born a “citizen of a nether world in which he was neither a piece of African property nor a right-holding European person. He was part of a rapidly expanding population of half-people who did not fit well anywhere in Virginia’s fraying manorial system.”⁴⁶

His original master may have been Lawrence Washington, half-brother to George Washington, and husband to Anne Fairfax. In his book, *Who Was Billy Lee?*, James C.

⁴³ Monticello’s website, <https://www.monticello.org/sallyhemings/>

⁴⁴ Taunya Lovell Banks, “Dangerous Woman: Elizabeth Key’s Freedom Suit—Subjecthood and Racialized Identity in Seventeenth Century Colonial Virginia,” *Akron Law Review* 41 (2008), 814.

⁴⁵ Mary V. Thompson, *The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret: George Washington, Slavery, and the Enslaved Community at Mount Vernon* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2019), 113.

⁴⁶ Mary V. Thompson, *The Only Unavoidable Subject*, 21.

Thompson makes the claim that Anne's housekeeper, Moll, was caretaker for William and his younger brother, Frank.⁴⁷ When Lawrence died on July 26, 1752, he left executorship of the estate to his father-in-law, William Fairfax, his brothers-in-law, George William Fairfax and John Carlyle and his brother George. Lawrence left Anne "the use, benefit and profits...with all their houses and edifices during her natural life...the use of the labor and profits arising from one half of all my Negroes as my said wife and executors may agree in dividing them, negro Moll and her issue to be included in my wife's part." Upon Anne's death, these properties and persons would pass to his then two-year old daughter Sarah.⁴⁸

Anne Washington (née Fairfax) remarried soon thereafter. On December 16, 1752, she married Colonel George Lee and moved to his estate in Westmoreland County, Mount Pleasant. Regardless of whether they were born at Mount Pleasant or moved there from Mount Vernon, it was here the boys were named William and Frank Lee.⁴⁹ Anne died March 14, 1761, and, per Lawrence Washington's will, the remaining half of Lawrence's enslaved people were left to his brothers. Confusingly, it was not one of his brothers but Washington's cousin, Mary Smith Ball Lee, and her husband Colonel John Lee, who took the boys after Anne's death, to their home at Cabin Point, sometime before 1763. John died in February 1767, and Mary sold the Lee brothers to George Washington in 1767, or 1768. James C. Thompson's theory holds some weight up to a point, but I am not convinced of his attempts to explain George Washington's purchase of the Lee

⁴⁷ James C. Thompson, *George Washington's Mulatto Man: Who was Billy Lee?* (Alexandria, VA: Commonwealth Books of Virginia, 2015), 12.

⁴⁸ James C. Thompson, *George Washington's Mulatto Man*, 15.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

brothers, who would have been bequeathed to him from the will of his brother, Lawrence. Furthermore, the date of Washington's purchase of William and Frank Lee is similarly muddy. In the historical document "Summary of Interesting Financial Document Signed by George Washington," Vice Admiral John Davis Batchelder asserts that William Lee was one of two slaves purchased from Mary Lee on October 15, 1767:

Document signed, also by his brother John Augustine Washington, (Virginia), Oct. 15, 1767. A promissory note for one hundred forty-nine pounds, fourteen shillings current money. Made out to Mary Lee, "acting Executor of John Lee deceased." The payment being made "for value recd. of her." Payment was to be made by the following 15th of April...While this document is not in the "Writings of Washington," it is known [sic] that the future President bought two slaves from Mary Lee in 1767, the year he signed this document, one being his personal manservant who stayed with him all through the Revolutionary War, the Presidency and was still with him at his death. An unusual financial document.⁴¹

Transcriptions of Washington's Cash Accounts for May 1768 list purchase of slaves "Mulatto Will" and "Ditto Frank" for £61.15.0 and £50—, respectively, in addition to two others. £61.15.0 was a high price for a slave for the time, and it is possible Lee's reputation as an excellent horseman had made its way to Washington, piquing an interest.⁵⁰ William's brother, Frank, was several years younger and would end up serving long after William as Washington's most trusted servant at the end of his life; he was present at Washington's death.

If William and Frank were indeed born at Mount Vernon, then they would have found themselves back at their birthplace under quite a different guise from when they had left it as "Moll's issue." George Washington quickly took a liking to William; both

⁵⁰ Jesse Holland, *The Invisibles: The Untold Story of African American Slaves in the White House* (Guilford: Lyons Press, 2017), 14.

were noted horsemen and excelled in the sport of foxhunting. Washington needed a "body servant," someone to act as his valet and huntsman. Washington had owned slaves since his adolescence and was used to enslaved persons in roles of prominence in his household. He promoted the elder Lee to the position of his valet, or body servant, within a few short years and William was at Washington's side during his travels to the meetings of the First and Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia, in 1774⁵¹ and 1775⁵².

William Lee's duties as body servant were to lay out "the costume in which Washington would attend to his farms. Washington shaved himself. Then Will brushed his master's long hair, pulled it back tightly in what was considered a 'military manner' (as it left no curls at the side) and tied the queue firmly with a ribbon."⁵³

The name "Billy Lee" has been popularized in recent history. Washington only used the diminutive nickname until approximately 1771 after which time he referred to him as "William" or "Will." Comparing Washington's List of Tithables from 1771⁵⁴ and 1772⁵⁵, one can see the former lists "Billy" as house servant, while the latter lists "Will." It is the opinion of Assistant Curator at Mount Vernon Jessie MacLeod, that Lee preferred the name "William," as evidenced through Washington's Last Will and

⁵¹ Ibid., 15.

⁵² Ibid., 18.

⁵³ Ibid., 16–17.

⁵⁴ George Washington's Memorandum List of Tithables and Taxable Property, 14 June 1771, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/02-08-02-0325>.

⁵⁵ George Washington's Memorandum List of Tithables and Taxable Property, 10 June 1772, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/02-09-02-0042>

Testament.⁵⁶ Washington's loyalty to William, or "Billy" or "Will" as he was also called, was evident to many visitors and members of his circle.

Perhaps the best example of an affectionate relationship between master and slave at Mount Vernon was George Washington's association with William, or Bill, Lee, his valet, who was described by a contemporary as being always at his [Washington's] side.⁵⁷

William Lee in the American Revolution

Lee was alongside Washington at all times during the war, to help with any and all tasks. He was with Washington during the infamously terrible winter at Valley Forge, and at the famed crossing of the Delaware River, seen in Leutze's famous painting.⁵⁸ An anonymous description printed in Washington's grandson, George Washington Parke Custis's, memoir reads:

I have seen some highly accomplished riders, but not one of them approached Washington; he was perfect in this respect. Behind him, at the distance of perhaps forty yards, came Billy Lee, his body-servant, who had perilled [sic] his life in many a field, beginning on the heights of Boston, in 1775, and ending in 1781, when Cornwallis surrendered, and the captive army, with unexpressible [sic] chagrin, laid down their arms at Yorktown. Billy rode a cream-colored horse, of the finest form, and his old Revolutionary cocked hat indicated that its owner had often heard the roar of cannon and small arms, and had encountered many trying scenes.⁵⁹

The fact that enslaved people were not permitted to fight in the Continental Army did not hinder Lee from taking part. As a body servant, Lee fell into a "special category

⁵⁶ Jessie MacLeod and Mary V. Thompson, *Lives Bound Together: Slavery at George Washington's Mount Vernon*, (Mount Vernon: Mount Vernon Ladies Association, 2016), 123, 25n.

⁵⁷ Mary V. Thompson, *The Only Unavoidable Subject*, 53–54.

⁵⁸ See Appendix H.

⁵⁹ George Washington Parke Custis, Mary Randolph Custis Lee and Benson John Lossing, *Recollections and private memoirs of Washington* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1860), 488.

of slaves often used as armed bodyguards in times and places of danger."⁶⁰ Washington's grandson, George Washington Parke Custis, recalled during the Revolutionary War, "Close to his master (wrapped in a blanket, but 'all accoutered' for instant service) snored the stout yet active form of Billy, the celebrated body servant during the whole of the Revolutionary War."⁶¹

Their close proximity during the war may have made an impression on Washington's views of slavery, or possibly Washington understood he would lose the war if enslaved people continued to defect to the British army. Whatever the case, after the Dunmore Proclamation, in which England promised freedom to slaves who joined His Majesty's troops, Washington reversed his 1775 order which prohibited further recruitment of slaves into the American army. The Virginia Act of 1776 allowed black men to be employed as drummers, fifers, or pioneers, in the American army, and, in 1778, the first enactment of laws offering freedom to slaves who served in the American army.

William Lee accompanied Washington to war, serving faithfully for all eight years of the Revolution, and Washington never forgot Lee's loyalty. While in Philadelphia during the war, Lee met and married a free black woman who was a washerwoman at Washington's military headquarters named Margaret Thomas. Thomas traveled with the colonial army and was at least at Valley Forge, if not other encampments during the war. Several years after the war, although he was not fond of Thomas, Washington tried to book a passage for her to Mount Vernon, because of his

⁶⁰ Holland, *The Invisibles*, 19.

⁶¹ Custis, *Recollections and private memoirs*, 345.

feeling of affection and appreciation for William. In his request of July 28, 1784,

Washington wrote:

The mulatto fellow William, who has been with me all the War is attached (married he says) to one of his own colour a free woman, who, during the War was also of my family. She has been in an infirm state of health for sometime, and I had conceived that the connection between them had ceased, but I am mistaken; they are both applying to me to get her here, and tho' I never wished to see her more yet I cannot refuse his request (if it can be complied with on reasonable terms) as he has lived with me so long and followed my fortunes through the War with fidelity. After premising this much, I have to beg the favor to procure her passage to Alexandria, either by Sea, in the Stage, or in the passage of boat from the head of the Elk, as you shall think cheapest and best, and her situation will admit; the cost of either I will pay. Her name is Margaret Thomas alias Lee (the name by which he calls himself). She lives in Philada. with Isaac and Hannah Sile—black people, who are oftern employ'd by families in the city as cooks.⁶²

Thomas never arrived at Mount Vernon; it is not known whether she died before or after attempting the journey.

Hunting at Mount Vernon

As mentioned, the close relationship between Washington and Lee was cemented almost immediately upon William's move to Mount Vernon through their mutual liking for horses and riding. Washington's horsemanship was well-known, Custis recounted in his *Recollections*: "Those who have seen Washington on horseback will admit that he was one of the most accomplished of cavaliers in the true sense and perfection of the character. He rode, as he did everything else, with ease, elegance, and with power."⁶³

Washington's fondness of Lee was no doubt initially informed by Lee's command of his

⁶² Mary V. Thompson, *The Only Unavoidable Subject*, 54.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 386.

horses and his skill as a huntsman and increased upon Lee's loyalty and service during the war.

The general usually rode in the chase a horse called Blueskin, of a dark iron-gray color, approaching to blue. This was a fine but fiery animal, and of great endurance in a long run. Will, the huntsman, better known in Revolutionary lore as Billy, rode a horse called Chinkling, a surprising leaper, and made very much like its rider, low, but sturdy, and of great bone and muscle. Will had but one order, which was to keep with the hounds; and, mounted on Chinkling, a French horn at his back, throwing himself almost at length on the animal, with his spur in flank, this fearless horseman would rush, at full speed, through brake or tangled wood, in a style which modern huntsmen would stand aghast.⁶⁴

In the sport of foxhunting, the role of the Huntsman is second in command only to the Hunt Master. The Huntsman directs the hounds and the hunting assistants, called Whippers-in, by blowing horn calls/signals on a hunting horn, while the Hunt Master directs and commands the riders using his voice. The Huntsman follows the fox, the Whippers-in follow the sound of the horn and steer (literally "whip") the pack of hounds toward the fox while the Hunt Master leads the hunting party. "The Huntsman must think and make decisions quickly. No one must attempt to assist or follow the Huntsman or Master of the Hunt unless asked to do so."⁶⁵

Washington and Lee must have made an excellent hunting pair, with Washington's natural leadership and Lee's fearless riding style. This teamwork surely played a huge part in Washington's trusting in Lee, both in day-to-day life at Mount Vernon, as well as in the Revolutionary War. Lee was trusted to run business errands on Washington's behalf, so it can be assumed he was literate and well-appointed to represent

⁶⁴ Custis, *Recollections and private memoirs*, 387.

⁶⁵ Thompson, *The Only Unavoidable Subject*, 52. See also <http://horsehints.org/FoxHuntingHumanRoles.htm>.

the elegant Washington. During the war, Lee was responsible for “organizing the general’s personal affairs, including his voluminous papers, and holding his spyglass.”⁶⁶ When William was later incapacitated by injuries, Washington said in a letter to Tobias Lear dated November 8, 1793, “I do not yet know whether I shall get a substitute for William; nothing short of excellent qualities and a man of good appearance, would induce me to do it.”⁶⁷ Lee was truly in a unique role in his position at Mount Vernon, and had an elevated status of enslaved person.

From Custis’s memoir it is plain Washington loved the sport of foxhunting, and it is easy to connect his enthusiasm to his loyalty for William Lee. Before leaving for the Revolutionary War, Washington placed the hunt as a high priority in his life:

Any and all time, which Colonel Washington could spare between the years 1759 and 1774, was “devoted to the pleasures of the chase.” Fox hunting being of a bold and animating character, suited well with the temperament of the "lusty prime" of his age, and peculiarly well accorded with his fondness and predisposition for equestrian exercises.⁶⁸

Washington was fastidious about the upkeep of his horses and hounds, and, as Huntsman, many of the duties regarding their care would have fallen to William Lee.⁶⁹ During hunting season, guests would visit Mount Vernon specifically for the thrill of Washington’s foxhunts.

Their visits were not of days, but weeks; and they were entertained in the good old style of Virginia's ancient hospitality. Washington, always superbly mounted, in true sporting costume, of blue coat, scarlet waistcoat, buckskin breeches, top boots, velvet cap, and whip with long thong, took the field at daybreak, with his huntsman, Will Lee, his friends and

⁶⁶ MacLeod, *Lives Bound Together*, 15.

⁶⁷ George Washington to Tobias Lear, 8 November 1793, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-14-02-0235>.

⁶⁸ Custis, *Recollection and private memoirs*, 384.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 385.

neighbors; and none rode more gallantly in the chase, nor with voice more cheerily awakened echo in the woodland, than he who was afterwards destined, by voice and example, to cheer his countrymen in their glorious struggle for independence and empire. Such was the hunting establishment at Mount Vernon prior to the Revolution.⁷⁰

After the American Revolutionary War ended, the hunting parties at Mount Vernon resumed. The excitement for the hunt was renewed by the gift of a pack of French hounds from the Marquis de Lafayette. These *chiens de chasse* were massive and fierce creatures, who could only be controlled by the huntsman. “The huntsman always presided at their meals, and it was only by the liberal application of the whip-thong that anything like order could be preserved among these savages of the chase.”⁷¹

William Lee and the Horn

What exactly was William Lee’s relationship to the horn? As the Huntsman for Mount Vernon, one of his duties would be to blow the horn for the hunt, and it is evident through Custis’ diary this was indeed the case. Washington had placed purchase orders for hunting horns through his agent in London no less than four times.⁷² One horn currently resides at Mount Vernon. This horn, made by an 18th century British horn maker named George Henry Rodenbostel (d. 1789, active 1764–89) was given to the estate in 1906 and formally bequeathed in 1921.⁷³ The owner, Judge James Alfred Pearce, inherited the horn from his grandfather Dr. Elisha Cullen Dick, who was one of George Washington’s doctors at the time of his death. Dick claimed the horn had been a

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid., 386.

⁷² See Appendix C for copies of those invoices and purchase orders.

⁷³ See Appendix C for details about the Rodenbostel horn.

gift from the Marquis de Lafayette to George Washington, and he had given it as a gift to the doctor.

There is no evidence to support or disprove this claim, and no reason to think Washington himself would have played the horn(s). With the severity of Washington's dental concerns, it is hard to imagine he would have had the bone structure in place to be able to do so. In fact, in October of 1771 Washington had one of William Lee's teeth extracted, likely for his own use.⁷⁴ This was a common occurrence for slave owners who needed dentures.

On page 25 of the "Inventory of his Appraisalment of the estate of Gen. George Washington Deceased," it lists "1 Elegant French horn" with an estimated value of \$15.00.⁷⁵ In 1802, Edmund J. Lee bought "1 French horn" for \$7 at the public sales of George Washington's estate, and there is no surviving documentation of what happened to Lee's French horn. A possible lineage is suggested in the Mount Vernon artifact catalog for the Rodenbostel horn:

It is possible that Edmund J. Lee gave the horn he purchased to Dr. Elisha Cullen Dick. Dr. Dick was a prominent member of Alexandria society. He attended Washington at his deathbed, was a founder and longtime Master of the Alexandria Masonic lodge and served as major of Alexandria in 1804. Both Dr. Dick and Edmund J. Lee were members of the Washington Society of Alexandria, founded in 1800, and devoted to perpetuating the memory of Washington.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Thompson, *George Washington's Mulatto Man*, 57.

⁷⁵ *Virginia Fairfax County Will Book J, 1801–1806*, fol. 326. George Washington Inventory, Mt. Vernon, Fairfax County, Virginia. See copy in "Loose Papers File" Fairfax County Court Archives. Death date: 14 December 1799, Entered: 20 August 1810.

⁷⁶ Artifact catalog record W-81, The Mount Vernon Ladies Association.

Surviving financial papers make one mention of Washington selling a horn when, in January 1769, Washington lost at cards to a Bryan Fairfax and sold him a hunting horn for 6 shillings.⁷⁷

Analysis of Washington's financial records reveals, in chronological order, Washington ordered hunting horns in 1767, 1769, 1773, and 1786.⁷⁸ In the document "Invoice of Goods to be sent by Robert Cary Esqr. & Co. for the uses of George Washington—Potomack River—Virginia," dated July 20, 1767, he ordered a hunting horn from Robert Cary & Co. and received one on October 29, procured from Mary Scott & Son Cutlery, for which he paid 3 shillings. In all of Washington's financial correspondence the word "invoice" means both purchase request, and, as per the contemporary usage of the word, to mean "bill of sale."

On July 25, 1769 he ordered "1 large huntg Horn bound tight round w. small brass Wire from one end to the other & secd in such a manr as to revt the wires from slippg." This was possibly to replace the one sold to Bryan Fairfax in January. He received an invoice indicating that Robert Cary had procured a horn for Washington, again from Mary Scott & Son Cutlery, in June 1770, this time notated as "1 la: Huntg Horn secd wt. bra. wire." It would seem the shipment containing the horn only reached Washington after being discovered in storage sixty miles away. His letter to Robert Cary & Company from August 20th, 1770 says:

This Letter accompanies my Invoices for Potomack [sic] and York Rivers as also Mr & Miss Custis's—Agreeable to the several Order therin containd [sic] you will please to dispatch the Goods & by the first Ships bounc [sic] to the respective Rivers—Those for Potomack [sic] will come

⁷⁷ See Appendix C.

⁷⁸ See Appendix C.

I hope by a more careful hand than the last did as I neither receivd [sic] the Goods nor Letters by Capt Saunderson till the middle of June nor could ever discover in what Ship—by what Captain—or to what part of the Country they came (the duplicate by Peterson giving no insight into any of these mttes [sic] but left me in full belief that the Ship was lost as such a length of time had elapsd [sic] between the date of your Letter and the receipt of it.) In short I do not know to this hour how the Goods came to this River as it was by Accident I heard they were Stored at Boyds hole about 60 Miles from this place and was oblig'd [sic] to send for them at my own expence [sic] which will often happen if they are sent into any other River than the one they are destined to; by why this shoud [sic] have been the case in the Instance before us I am at a loss to guess as there were two Ships Sailed [sic] from London to Potomack [sic] after Johnstun did; etc.⁷⁹

In an invoice to Robert Cary & Co, dated July 10, 1773, Washington lists among his requests “1 dble Reind Bridle, 6 Horse Collars, 6 Leather Halters, and 1 large & loud Hunting Horn—lapd & securd in the strongest manner.” On June 1, Washington writes a letter to Cary which makes reference to Cary’s reply letter on the 5th of March 1774. Unfortunately, that letter has not survived, and it does not appear Washington ever received a horn from the July 10, 1773 order.

The last request exists in a letter written by Washington at Mount Vernon to Clement Biddle dated February 10, 1786. In the letter, Washington requests Biddle to send him “A Common Hunting horn of the largest and best sort.”⁸⁰ On May 18, 1786, Washington writes to Biddle once more, requesting he pass along his thanks to Captain Samuel Morris “for his kind present of a hunting horn, as I was unable to get One in Virginia, or at Baltimore.”⁸¹ Morris had previously obtained eight hunting dogs for

⁷⁹ George Washington to Robert Cary & Company, August 20, 1770, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/02-08-02-0248-0001>.

⁸⁰ George Washington to Clement Biddle, 10 February 1786, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/04-03-02-0467>.

⁸¹ George Washington to Clement Biddle, 18 May 1786,

Washington when he was attending the Federal Convention and was known as a sporting man.⁸² Details of the make, size or provenance of the instrument are not contained in the letter, and no formal invoice or receipt exists other than this letter.

This last request for a horn is peculiar, as Washington's grandson, George Washington Parke Custis, wrote in his *Recollections* that Washington stopped hunting with his hounds in 1785:

His private affairs and public business required too much of his time to allow him to indulge in field sports. His fondness for agricultural improvements, and the number of visitors that crowded Mount Vernon, induced him to break up his kennels, to give away his hounds, and to bid a final adieu to the pleasures of the chase. He then formed a deer-park below the mansion-house, extending to the river, and enclosing by a high paling about a hundred acres of land.⁸³

Perhaps Washington adopted the English practice of using horns and huntsmen for deer hunting, after giving up the hounds and thusly, foxhunting. Either way, in 1786, Washington owned at least one, if not two horns, presuming the one received in 1770 survived William's riding style and the war.

It is easy to imagine it was commonplace for hunting horns to be trampled by horses and otherwise damaged or destroyed in the field. George Henry Rodenbostel was active between 1764–89 and apprenticed with John Christopher Hoffmaster before 1764.⁸⁴ In my visits to Mount Vernon to study the instrument it is evident the Rodenbostel horn shows its age and is not in a state to be played. Minor restoration

<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/04-04-02-0062>.

⁸² George Washington to Samuel Morris, 21 September 1787,

<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/04-05-02-0313>.

⁸³ Custis, *Recollections and private memoirs*, 389.

⁸⁴ William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index: A Dictionary of Wind-Instrument Makers and Inventors* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 331–332.

efforts have been made in the past so it is difficult to assess whether the damage it suffered happened during contemporary riding damage or in storage.⁸⁵ One can see in the photos from the original acquisition report that when the horn entered into the collection, the mouthpiece was in near-perfect condition and the dents in the corpus, though severe, had not resulted in cracks in the metal. In 1990 the mouthpiece was discovered to be bent to 90 degrees. It was furthermore permanently damaged by being bent without first taking precautions like filling the mouthpiece with pitch or composite to prevent the metal from cracking. The coil has retained its circle shape, though in some place the dented tubing is severely malformed which made it difficult for me to take precise measurements in those areas.

The Rodenbostel horn is not made for crooks, since it has a terminal leadpipe and no tuning slide. Although crooks, and couplers were widely used in Europe at this time, and slides were being used in the new “cor solo,” Washington’s stated purpose of a “hunting horn” would preclude an informed buyer from purchasing a horn with crooks.

According to Bridwell–Briner:

Colonial and Revolutionary-era hornists in military groups used fixed-pitch horns for field (marching) presentations as this eliminated the burden of carrying a set of crooks during a performance. In formal concert settings, military music groups often performed pieces in multiple keys and through the use of crooks, it was possible for the hornists to change keys at will. All evidence points to the exclusive use of natural or valveless horns in America until 1835 when a reviewer noted that Augustus Aupick, first horn, played on a valve horn and that William Nidds, second horn, played on a natural horn.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ See Appendix C.

⁸⁶ Bridwell–Briner, 74.

The Rodenbostel horn is perhaps a prime example of what W. F. H. Blandford meant when he said recreational horn playing “led to the manufacture of models intermediate between the *trompe* and the proper concert horn.”⁸⁷ Blandford’s value judgement on the merits of concert versus hunting horns aside, the quality of the Rodenbostel horn would have made it a desirable instrument.

Enslaved Huntsmen

It can be assumed Lee never rode again after 1785, both because of Custis’s assertion of the year of Washington’s last hunt, and also because Lee incurred injuries to his kneecaps which would have made it nearly impossible to ride horses. Washington wrote in his diary on April 22, 1785, "after having run one course & part of another, My Servant William (one of the Chain Carriers) fell, and broke the pan of his knee, wch. put a stop to my Surveying; & with much difficulty I was able to get him to Abingdon, being obliged to get a sled to carry him on, as he could neither Walk, stand or ride."⁸⁸ This alone would be enough to slow him down, but then only three years later, Lee fell again and broke his other knee, according to Washington's diary: "Having sent my Waiter Will to Alexandria to the Post Office he fell at Mr. Porters door and broke the pan of his other Knee & and was not able to return." He was eventually “permanently disabled because of these falls.”⁸⁹

⁸⁷ W.F.H. Blandford, "Studies on the Horn. No. 1: The French Horn in England," *The Musical Times* 63, no. 954 (August 1, 1922), 544.

⁸⁸ George Washington, Diary entry April 22, 1785, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/01-04-02-0002-0004-0022>

⁸⁹ Thompson, *The Only Unavoidable Subject*, 118.

While Washington's presidential party was en route to New York, for Washington to assume the presidency, Lee was waylaid by pain in his knee. He was examined by several physicians in Philadelphia and Clement Biddle wrote to Tobias Lear, on May 25: "I shall have a Steel brace made this day by directions of Dr. Hutchinson to strengthen Billy's Knee which will not only render his traveling more safe but enable him in some measure to walk & I shall send him on some day this week by way of Bordertown & Amboy of which I shall advise."⁹⁰

The end of William Lee's riding career was likely the end of his horn-playing as well. If the Rodenbostel horn was indeed procured by Biddle, its quality begs the question of whether Washington had intended for someone, possibly Lee, to perform concert music. Bridwell-Briner's research showed simple hunting horns were being made in the American colonies as early as 1765, but the majority of concert or natural horns were imported from England, France, and Germany until the twentieth-century.⁹¹

In 1793 Washington had purchased a grand harpsichord for his granddaughter Eleanor "Nelly" Parke Custis. Dr. Joyce Lindorff studied this instrument from 2017–19, during which time a reproduction was built by John Watson, Conservator of Early Keyboard Instruments at Colonial Williamsburg. The instrument was unveiled by Lindorff, Watson, and the Mount Vernon Ladies Association in August 2019 at a symposium titled "The Keyboard in Washington's America." This instrument is germane to study of the Rodenbostel horn for two reasons: 1) harpsichord had fallen out of fashion

⁹⁰ Clement Biddle to Tobias Lear, Clement Biddle Letter Book, 1789–92, end note, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-02-02-0115>.

⁹¹ Bridwell-Briner, "The Horn in America," 75.

by the late 18th century, fortepiano taking its place; 2) the instrument maker was British and represented a status symbol.⁹²

The Tariff Act of 1789 negatively impacted the ability for people to import goods from overseas.⁹³ Washington was keenly aware that he was setting an example to support its economy and laborers: by the time he became the first President of the United States he only used American wool for his clothing, even though British wool was of superior quality.⁹⁴ By purchasing as much as possible from local sources, Washington had leeway to buy internationally for goods befitting the office of the President otherwise not found in America.⁹⁵

Nelly's harpsichord was made in London by Longman & Broderip. Laurence Libin, emeritus curator of musical instruments at The Metropolitan Museum of Art and editor-in-chief of the Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments, describes Longman & Broderip as an "aspirational brand" because they carried the Royal Patent.⁹⁶ Rodenbostel entered his mark at Goldsmiths Hall on December 5, 1778.⁹⁷ The Goldsmiths' Company has had the Royal Charter since 1327, and Rodenbostel's skill and quality of work must

⁹² Joyce Lindorff, "Nelly's Musical World through the Lens of her Piano, her Harpsichord, and her Music," (lecture presented at The Keyboard in Washington's America, Mount Vernon, VA, August 3, 2019).

⁹³ John M. Dobson, *Two Centuries of Tariffs: The Background and Emergence of the U.S. International Trade Commission* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976), 6–18, <https://www.usitc.gov/publications/other/pub0000.pdf>.

⁹⁴ Susan P. Shoelwer, "Striking the Right Note: George Washington Performs the Presidency," (lecture presented at The Keyboard in Washington's America, Mount Vernon, VA, August 3, 2019).

⁹⁵ Shoelwer, "Striking the Right Note."

⁹⁶ Laurence Libin, "Keyboard Instruments as Aspirational Goods in American Homes," (lecture presented at The Keyboard in Washington's America, Mount Vernon, VA, August 3, 2019).

⁹⁷ Maurice Byrne, "The Goldsmith–Trumpet–Makers of the British Isles," *The Galpin Society Journal* 19 (April, 1966): 82, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/841916>.

have been very high to be a member.⁹⁸ George Henry Rodenbostel thus represents another “aspirational brand” of instrument maker.

Without commentary from William Lee himself, it is impossible to know whether playing the horn symbolized servitude and bondage or represented something positive to him. Based on George Washington Parke Custis’s description of his riding style, one can imagine that Lee may have felt a sense of release while riding in the hunt. I did not uncover evidence to indicate William Lee performed concert music on a horn at Mount Vernon, and Lee would have likely kept the horn on his person. He may have expressed an interest to learn to play music other than hunting calls, and the relationship between the two men may have been close enough for Washington to attempt to accommodate that request.

Cato

Washington may have been inspired by English nobility to employ a horn-player/huntsman of African descent. In 1738 the Prince and Princess of Wales were gifted a man called Cato, by the Earl of Chesterfield. “Cato (his Black), who is recon’d to blow the best French Horn and Trumpet in England.⁹⁹” Prior to his service for His Royal Highness, Cato had belonged to Sir Robert Walpole. Cato’s horn playing was so highly regarded in hunting circles, John Wooton included him in a portrait of hunting

⁹⁸ Website for The Goldsmiths’ Company, <https://www.thegoldsmiths.co.uk/company/today/about/>.

⁹⁹ John Philip Hore, compiler, *History of the Royal Buckhounds* (Newmarket: Issued by the compiler, 1895), 321.

celebrities.¹⁰⁰ This was part of a series painted sometime between 1733–36, called *Viscount Weymouth's Hunt: Thomas, 2nd Viscount Weymouth, with a Black Page and other Huntsmen at the Kill*.¹⁰¹ The Prince of Wales so admired Cato he was appointed head gamekeeper at Cliefden, and afterwards at Richmond Park.¹⁰²

Cato's horn playing was highly developed, and not restricted to the hunt.

According to Blandford, he was one of the horn players for the first Norwich Festival¹⁰³ and performed music written by Händel.

At the first Norwich Festival, the same players undertook both horn and trumpets. For men so trained Handel's part must have present few terrors; but nothing is known of these ancient heroes with the exception of a shadowy 'Mr. Charles,' and 'Cato, a Black,' in the service of Sir Robert Walpole...Cato, who was 'recon'd to blow the best French Horn and Trumpet in England,' found a good home, for he became head gamekeeper of Richmond Park...¹⁰⁴

While trumpeters were typically the property of royalty, and trombonists were employees of the church, the horn existed in a strange netherworld. There was no membership to a guild necessary in order to play, and trumpeters found they could escape the legal constraints of their position by doubling on the horn. For this same reason, the famous Haussmann portrait of Bach's Leipzig trumpeter and horn player, Gottfried Reicha, is painted with a horn and not a trumpet.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Hore, *History of the Royal Buckhounds*, 322n.

¹⁰¹ See Appendix H for this painting as well a magnified cutout of Cato's portrait found in *The History of the Royal Buckhounds*.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 322n.

¹⁰³ Blandford, "Studies on the Horn," 545.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ See Appendix H.

According to Reginald Morley–Pegge, in England the French horn during this time was used primarily for the *Harmonie of Hunting* and “not generally adopted in the hunting field where the straight or slightly curved horn about 20 inches was preferred.”¹⁰⁶ Was Washington knowingly trying to emulate the French practice of using a *cor de chasse* while on horseback, over the English practice? It is certainly possible, given the Founding Fathers ties and kinship to their French brethren, and Washington’s close friendship with the Marquis de Lafayette. Morley–Pegge goes on to say the French horn was:

...much employed for open-air entertainment. The rich and powerful often numbered French horn players among their retainers to lend panache to their equipages and give pleasure to their guests at home as, for instance, when the duke of Newcastle was host to Queen Caroline at Claremont in 1729 and they ‘walked till candle-light, being entertained with very fine French horn.’ Many of these French horn players were negroes, and the notorious Lord Barrymore had four such in his retinue.¹⁰⁷

Cato performed in open-air concerts and could have been one of the parties to perform Händel’s *Water Music* twenty years prior to his employment with the Prince of Wales, though he would have been very young. He clearly performed both at the field and in early ensemble settings, “and thus represents a transitional phase between huntsman-hornists and orchestral hornists.”¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Reginald Morley–Pegge, *The French Horn; Some Notes on the Evolution of the Instrument and of Its Technique*. 2nd ed. Instruments of the Orchestra (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), 75.

¹⁰⁷ Morley–Pegge, *The French Horn*, 75.

¹⁰⁸ David Greer, “Musicology and Sister Disciplines: Past, Present, Future,” *Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of the International Musicological Society, London 1997*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 567.

William Lee and George Washington

Perhaps George Washington had intended to use the horn ordered in 1786 for stag hunting. Perhaps he had wanted it for William Lee to play during his “retirement” as a means of cultivating a musical hobby. When Washington assumed the presidency on April 30, 1789, Lee requested to join the party which would move to New York. Washington’s secretary wrote: “the president would prefer for Lee to remain at Mount Vernon, because he would probably due to his infirmity be of little use in the busy executive mansion and might even need someone to look after him.”¹⁰⁹ Lee did eventually arrive in New York two months later,¹¹⁰ and per Tobias Lear’s letter to Clement Biddle in May, Lee was indeed ill-equipped to take on the task of valet for the President. “If he [Lee] is still anxious to come on...the President would gratify him Altho’ [sic] he will be troublesome. He has been an old and faithful Servant this is enough for the President to gratify him in every reasonable wish.”¹¹¹ Unfortunately for Lee, this turned out to be true, and William was sent back to Mount Vernon shortly after his arrival.¹¹² He was retrained to be the shoemaker for the estate, and lived out the rest of his days at Mount Vernon, recounting stories of the war to visitors. He suffered severe medical complications in the last stage of his life, due to overly self-medicating the pain in his knees with alcohol.¹¹³ There is no recorded interaction between the President and Lee after Washington’s return to Mount Vernon in 1797, as the nation’s first ex-

¹⁰⁹ Thompson, *The Only Unavoidable Subject*, 54.

¹¹⁰ MacLeod, *Lives Bound Together*, 16.

¹¹¹ Tobias Lear to Clement Biddle, 3 May 1789, referenced in letter from Washington to Biddle, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-02-02-0115>.

¹¹² MacLeod, *Lives Bound Together*, 16.

¹¹³ Thompson, *The Only Unavoidable Subject*, 235.

President. Instead of William, it was his brother Frank who attended George Washington at his deathbed in 1799.

Regardless of the apparently distant nature of their relationship at the end of Washington's life, William Lee was the only enslaved person to be granted freedom upon Washington's death:

And to my Mulatto man William (calling himself William Lee) I give immediate freedom; or if he should prefer it (on account of the accidents which have befallen him, and which have rendered him incapable of walking or of any active employment) to remain in the situation he now is, it shall be optional in him to do so: In either case however, I allow him an annuity of thirty dollars during his natural life, which shall be independent of the victuals and clothes he has been accustomed to receive, if he chooses the last alternative; but in full, with his freedom, if he prefers the first; & this I give him as a testimony of my sense of his attachment to me, and for his faithful services during the Revolutionary War.¹¹⁴

Lee died in 1810 and was laid to rest in the unmarked slave grave at Mount Vernon. He is the only enslaved person who historians can definitively say is buried in that plot.¹¹⁵



Figure 5. Plaque at the Slave Cemetery at Mount Vernon. Photo taken by author



Figure 4. Memorial Grave at the Slave Cemetery at Mount Vernon. Photo taken by author.

¹¹⁴ George Washington's Last Will and Testament, 9 July 1799, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/06-04-02-0404-0001>.

¹¹⁵ Holland, *The Invisibles*, 37.

CHAPTER 4

SLAVE NARRATIVES

You write in order to change the world...if you alter, even by a millimeter, the way people look at reality, then you can change it.

James Baldwin

Enslaved Horn Players

The program from a 1738 London house concert lists “two little Negro boys” playing the French horn.¹¹⁶ Jennifer Beakes asserts in her dissertation, *The Horn Parts in Handel’s Operas and Oratorios and the Horn Players Who Performed in These Works*, the presenter of this concert exploited these young boys, likely servants or enslaved people, as a marketing ploy. His goal was likely to increase the audience attendance at his concert and manipulate his own reputation by marketing his ability to teach unique performers. In showing he could teach young black servants to play horn he was showing potential patrons his skill as a potential teacher for “anyone.”¹¹⁷ These two little boys, however, were unlikely to have had any say in the matter.

By the standards of an 18th century nobleman, it would have been seen as an honor and distinction for these young people to be singled out in this way. As mentioned in the Introduction, the horn was a status symbol and preferred instrument for American aristocrats and British nobles to entrust to their servants and enslaved people in the 18th and 19th centuries. In “Ignatius Sancho (1729–1780), African Composer in England,” distinguished historian of Africana Josephine Wright wrote:

¹¹⁶ Jennifer Beakes, “The Horn parts in Handel’s Operas and Oratorios and the horn players who performed in these works” (DMA diss., City University of New York, 2007), 414–415.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

Black musicians were recruited—indeed, often forcefully conscripted—for British regimental bands. A few men succeeded in breaking down racial and social barriers to prosper in aristocratic English society as professional musicians, performing with major symphony orchestras and chamber groups in London. And all this was prior to the 1800s, during a period in history when many individuals of African ancestry were still being bought and sold as slaves in the streets of England.¹¹⁸

While it will never be really known how these enslaved people and domestic servants felt about their forced status as musicians, as opposed to other kinds of labor, insight can be gleaned through narratives given by enslaved horn players. In *World of a Slave: Encyclopedia of Material Life of Slaves in the United States*, Kym Rice and Martha B. Katz-Hyman write:

In their autobiographical slave narratives, musically trained slaves spoke of their music as providing profound consolation during times of hardship; Olaudah Equiano, who learned to play the French horn while living in London, was perhaps the most famous. Extremely wealthy, aristocratic slaveholders enhanced their prestige by displaying exotic-looking musically trained black slaves as part of their retinue.¹¹⁹

In his narrative, Equiano (1745–97) tells the story of his life, including his capture, travel through the Middle Passage, time spent in the New World, his love for playing the horn, and his travels across the globe.

Olaudah Equiano

It makes sense to begin the chapter on slave narratives with Olaudah Equiano. His book is still considered to be the seminal slave narrative, and in many ways carved a path for contemporary African American literature. Virtually all of the biographical

¹¹⁸ Josephine Wright, "Ignatius Sancho (1729–1780), African Composer in England," *The Black Perspective in Music* 7, no. 2 (1979): 133–134. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1214319>.

¹¹⁹ Martha B. Katz-Hyman and Kym S. Rice, *World of a Slave: Encyclopedia of the Material Life of Slaves in the United States* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2011), 238.

information which exists about him comes from this narrative, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*.¹²⁰ Though he learned to play horn as a Freeman in London, one of the men who had enslaved him desired Equiano to learn the French horn while in his service in Virginia. For Equiano, playing the French horn was nonetheless an expression of freedom.

The story of his life is enthralling, even by modern notions. Olaudah Equiano was born in 1745, “in a charming, fruitful vale, named Essaka,”¹²¹ in an Igbo village in present-day Nigeria. He characterizes his childhood as happy and describes his memory of music in Africa fondly: “We are almost a nation of dancers, musicians, and poets.”¹²² He and his sister were abducted from their home, when Equiano was around eleven years old. They traveled West, alternately being sold to slave dealers, running away, and being found, until they reached the coast. Equiano was separated from his sister and transported from Africa to Barbados; his narrative provides a gruesome account of the infamous “Middle Passage” to the West Indies. He was not sold in Barbados and remained on the slave ship as it traveled to North America. He was purchased by a Virginia planter, and spent a short time in Virginia before being sold to the British naval officer Michael Henry Pascal. He served Pascal during the Seven Years War (French and Indian War), then Pascal sent him back to the West Indies. A Quaker merchant, Robert King, bought Equiano and encouraged him to sell goods to save money toward the purchase of his freedom. He did so, and purchased his freedom from King in 1766, at the approximate

¹²⁰ Olaudah Equiano, *The Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1999), Kindle.

¹²¹ Equiano, *The Life of Olaudah Equiano*, 10.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 11.

age of twenty. He moved to London around 1768 and continued his travels and adventures before permanently settling down in London around 1780. He found comfort in religion and relationships. He became a Methodist, married an English woman in 1792, and had two daughters with his wife, Susanna. He was dedicated to the abolitionist movement and an “avid campaigner against slavery and the slave trade.”¹²³

In St. Margaret’s church Westminster, in London, there is a memorial plaque which reads “Olaudah Equiano. Baptized Gustavus Vassa in this church 9 February 1759.”¹²⁴ Pascal renamed Equiano on board his trading ship, the Preston. It was on the Preston that Equiano first mentions the French horn in his narrative:

From this ship my master was appointed a lieutenant on board the Royal George. When he was going he wishes me to stay on board the Preston, to learn the French horn; but the ship being ordered for Turkey I could not think of leaving my master, to whom I was very warmly attached; and I told him if he left me behind it would break my heart.¹²⁵

Pascal had wanted Equiano to learn to play the horn, but Equiano did not want to remain in Virginia. He appealed to Pascal to accompany him on the Royal George instead of staying in Virginia to learn the horn.

Equiano’s relationship with the horn was quite different from William Lee’s. Equiano came to discover the horn as a Freeman and appears to have found great joy in his music-making. His narrative indicates his time in Virginia was the majority of his enslavement on land; the bulk of his time in bondage was at sea. Equiano would have

¹²³ Gloria Chuku, "Olaudah Equiano and the Foundation of Igbo Intellectual Tradition" in *The Igbo Intellectual Tradition: Creative Conflict in African and African Diasporic Thought* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 34.

¹²⁴ Westminster Abbey website, <https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/olaudah-equiano-gustavus-vassa>.

¹²⁵ Equiano, *The Life of Olaudah Equiano*, 45.

been a teenager when in Pascal's service and it is possible that he sought the adventures of the high sea, but more likely he had seen the life of enslaved people in Virginia and wanted to escape the same fate.

In a later excerpt from his narrative, Equiano describes how he came to play the horn after arriving back in England and seeking employment from Captain Pascal:

They answered me very politely, that they were sorry it did not suit them to take me as their servant, and asked me what business I should like to learn? I said, hair-dressing. They then promised to assist me in this; and soon after they recommended me to a gentleman whom I had known before, one Capt. O'Hara, who treated me with much kindness, and procured me a master, a hair-dresser, in Coventry-court, Haymarket, with whom he placed me. I was with this man from September till the February following. In that time we had a neighbor in the same court who taught the French horn. He used to blow it so well that I was charmed with it, and agreed with him to teach me to blow it. Accordingly he took me in hand, and began to instruct me, and I soon learned all the three parts. I took great delight in blowing on this instrument, the evenings being long; and besides that I was fond of it, I did not like to be idle, and it filled up my vacant hours innocently. At this time also I agreed with the Rev. Mr. Gregory, who lived in the same court, where he kept an academy and an evening-school, to improve me in arithmetic. This he did as far as barter and allegation; so that all the time I was there I was entirely employed.¹²⁶

He was not coerced or forced into performance, and from his narrative it seems he was genuinely skilled as a horn player. He took lessons from his neighbor and judging from the dates and the location of their neighborhood his teacher may have been one of the horn players at Covent Garden or Westminster Abbey, either William Rogers or James Salkeld.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Ibid., 123–124.

¹²⁷ Philip H. Highfill, Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, 13 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), 73 & 179, Google e-book.

Another of his adventures took him to the North Pole to assist with experiments conducted by a Dr. Irving. He did not explicitly indicate whether or not he took his horn, but it seems unlikely. He wrote about being cold, and generally not enjoying the North Pole. He left Irving's service "so that between hopes and fears I went on, and the chief comforts I enjoyed were in the musical French horn, which I then practiced, and also dressing of hair."¹²⁸

Equiano would have learned to play hunting horn calls, minuets, waltzes and popular tunes from available books and his teacher. He performed publicly so had probably learned to read music at some point, perhaps from his horn teacher. The first tutorials on horn playing are thought to be Christopher Winch's *The Hunting Notes of the French Horn*,¹²⁹ published in 1745, and John Simpson's *The Compleat Tutor*,¹³⁰ published in 1746, both in London. The second edition of *The Compleat Tutor* was published in 1756 by Peter Thompson. It is possible Equiano may have used one of these publications in his horn-playing education to supplement his lessons. Winch's book consists of a one-page dictionary of musical terms, a three-page catalog of other pieces from the publisher, then twenty-four pages of notated hunting calls. Winch notated hunting horn calls in modern notation and, in this way, provided an irreplaceable link to hunting-horn history.

¹²⁸ Equiano, *The Life of Olaudah Equiano*, 135.

¹²⁹ Christopher Winch, *The Hunting Notes of the French Horn after a perfect new Method*. (London: John Simpson), 1745.

¹³⁰ John Simpson, *The Compleat Tutor for the French Horn:Containing the Best and Easiest Instructions for Learner to Obtain a Proficiency, To which are Added All the Hunting Notes and several Choice Lessons for One and Two French Horns,*" (London: Printed by John Simpson), 1746.

The subtitle for the first edition of *The Compleat Tutor* reads “The Best and Easiest Instructions for Learners to Obtain a Proficiency” and indeed gives such advice as to “place the mouthpiece center of the lips and contract them so that you may have a command over your tongue.”¹³¹ As elementary as it is, the book does give important insight into contemporary horn playing. It also gives basic music theory education and performance practice tips for hunting calls: “When you meet with the following notes which are slurd [sic] they must be expressd [sic] after a jerking [sic] Manner. Observe to sound the four Minums in one breath and jirk [sic] the two.”¹³²

Equiano would have learned to perform popular music, and perhaps even music by another musician of African descent—Ignatius Sancho (1729–1780), who wrote “volumes of songs, dances and music(al arrangements) for the harpsichord”, 1 violin, French horn and flute, copies of which survive today.”¹³³ In fact, Sancho’s first and second books of minuets (published 1767–1770)¹³⁴ were composed for violin, mandolin, German flute, harpsichord, and a pair of obligato French horns.¹³⁵

Although he was young when he was stolen from his village, Equiano may have remembered tunes from his home, or he may have learned African songs from other African slaves. Though they could not bring anything material with them, enslaved

¹³¹ John Simpson, *The Compleat Tutor for the French Horn: Containing the Best and Easiest Instructions for Learner to Obtain a Proficiency, To which are Added All the Hunting Notes and several Choice Lessons for One and Two French Horns,*” (London: Printed by John Simpson), 1746, 1.

¹³² Simpson, *The Compleat Tutor*, 4.

¹³³ Raimi Gbadamosi, "Ignatius Sancho: An African Man of Letters" in *National Portrait Gallery Publications*, (June 19, 2008), 103, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09528829708576691>.

¹³⁴ See Appendix D.

¹³⁵ Josephine Wright, "Ignatius Sancho (1729–1780), African Composer in England" in *The Black Perspective in Music* 7, no. 2 (1979), 138, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1214319>.

people had their memories of cultural traditions and passed those down to their children.¹³⁶ The function of music as a community activity led to the development of the slave-song genre and repertoire, which spread overseas through the slave trade. In 1782, the Scottish publication of *Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs* was the first known printing of “Yankee Doodle,” as well a Negro Jig called “Pompey ran away” (see Figures 4 and 5).¹³⁷ Equiano could have played some of these tunes on his horn, especially if had employed the use of hand technique in the bell or played them up an octave.



Figure 6. "Pompey ran away, Negroe Jig," from *A Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs*.

¹³⁶ Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 3rd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997), 21.

¹³⁷ James Aird, *A Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs Adapted to the Fife, Violin, or German-Flute*, volume 1 (Glasgow: James Aird, 1782), 36, 57.



Figure 7. "Yanky Doodle," from *A Selection of Scotch, English, Irish, and Foreign Airs*

In the runaway slave advertisements shown in Appendix B there is a listing for an eighteen-year-old boy called "Pompey" who plays on the French horn. He is listed as a native of Africa and having escaped "on board a country craft up James River." The likelihood of this being the same Pompey as the composer refers to is slim, but an interesting coincidence, nonetheless.

To have been baptized in St. Margaret's church indicates Equiano was well regarded. Recent research indicates his place of burial as Tottenham Court Road Chapel.¹³⁸ He is such an important historic figure his portrait even hangs in the National Portrait Gallery of the British Museum. In the preface to the seminal book on the

¹³⁸ London Metropolitan Archives; Clerkenwell, London, England; Whitefield's Memorial Church [Formerly Tottenham Court Road Chapel], Tottenham Court Road, Saint Pancras, Register of burials; Reference Code: LMA/4472/A/01/004.

importance and validity of slave narratives as literature, *The Classic Slave Narratives*, Dr. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. writes the following:

The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, a bestseller when first published in 1789, is the prototype for the nineteenth-century slave narrative. The movement of Equiano's plot from African freedom through European enslavement to Anglican freedom, combined with his truly astonishing adventures, created the first large audience for any black writer in America.¹³⁹

Equiano's narrative was inspiration for seminal works of African American literature, such as those by Frederick Douglass and Ralph Ellison. To paraphrase Gates, "the undeniable link between literacy and freedom comes from the slave narrative; the person who learned to read and write was often the first to run away."¹⁴⁰

It was estimated¹⁴¹ that over 50,000 enslaved persons escaped North across the Ohio River/Mason-Dixon line and over 100 wrote narratives before the Civil War began. Gates claims by the mid-twentieth-century there were at least 6,000 published ex-slave stories. These stories resembled one another in a few important ways which can be traced back to Equiano's narrative. They create a "collective tale" rather than an autobiography. Every narrative was written on behalf of those silenced by slavery, and each author knew those enslaved persons would be judged based not on their own identity but on the collective identity created around the narrative. The author had to fit his or her life into the existing mold while also representing every other African American person's potential and desire for freedom.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Henry Louis Gates, *The Classic Slave Narratives* (New York: Signet Classics, 2002), i.

¹⁴⁰ Gates, *The Classic Slave Narratives*, xii.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid., Introduction.

According to Gates, one of the important literary elements developed by Equiano was the use of two distinct voices: young Equiano, symbolic of innocence, and sophisticated Equiano, the author of the narrative.¹⁴³ This concept of contrast and juxtaposition is deeply musical, and Equiano's symbolic writing is beautifully illustrated in his attitude toward the French horn. In his case, the horn belongs to the "sophisticated" Equiano's life, and represents his integration into the Western culture of his oppressors. The interplay of the two "Equianos" gives the reader the feeling he is manipulating his story to endear himself and prove the potential for Africans as human beings. He represents himself as "evolved" by detailing his "evolution" toward Christianity, out of the barbarism of slavery.

Equiano's is a tale of innocence betrayed, of wisdom earned, as he passes from one phase of enslavement to the next on the high seas. His is an adventure story, one that charts a human being's passage from an Igbo prince to slavery in the New World.¹⁴⁴

Equiano's 1789 narrative is widely considered to be the first, but Henry Louis Gates points out in an interview¹⁴⁵ that James Gronniosaw wrote one in 1772, John Marrant a second in 1785, and a man called Cugoano who was living in London a third in 1787. Interestingly enough, John Marrant was another highly accomplished French horn player.

¹⁴³ Ibid., xxii.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., xix.

¹⁴⁵ Jamelle Bouie, Henry Louis Gates, Jr, and Rebecca Onion. "Who Should Tell the Story of Slavery?" *History of American Slavery*, SlatePodcasts, July 24, 2015, <https://slate.com/human-interest/2015/07/history-of-american-slavery-transcript-henry-louis-gates-on-slave-narratives-and-historical-study.html>.

John Marrant

Written contemporaneously to Equiano's *Narrative*, John Marrant's memoir was entitled *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, a Black (now going to preach the gospel in Nova Scotia)*. The book was adapted from Marrant's ordination sermon by London Methodist William Aldridge.¹⁴⁶

John Marrant (1755–91) was one of the first African American preachers and ministers, and, as a young person, he was a professional horn player, performing primarily at dances and social functions. He was born on June 15, 1755 as a free person in New York City. He moved with his mother to Charles Town, (now Charleston) South Carolina, sometime before he turned eleven years old. While in Charles Town, he heard the sound of music as he was walking past a school and was affected by it. He went home and told his mother about his experience: "I felt a strong inclination to learn the music."¹⁴⁷ His mother paid the schoolmaster twenty pounds for 18 months of lessons, and he excelled at his studies. By the age of thirteen, he was employed as a musician, performing for dances and other social occasions.

¹⁴⁶ Joanna Brooks, "John Marrant's Journal: Providence and Prophecy in the Eighteenth-Century Black Atlantic," *The North Star: A Journal of African American Religious History* 3, no. 1 (Fall 1999), PDF, 1.

¹⁴⁷ John Marrant and W. Aldridge, *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, a Black: (now Going to Preach the Gospel in Nova-Scotia), Born in New-York, in North America*, 4th ed. (London: Gilbert and Plummer, 1785), 9.

In the evenings after the scholars were dismissed, I used to report to the bottom of our garden, where it was customary for some musicians to assemble to blow the French-horn. Here my improvement was so rapid, that in a twelve-month's time I became master both of the violin and of the French-horn, and was much respected by the Gentlemen and Ladies whose children attended the school, as also by my master: This opened to me a large door of vanity and vice, for I was invited to all the balls and assemblies that were held in the town, and met with the general applause of the inhabitants.¹⁴⁸

Musically inclined enslaved persons belonging to the great plantation estates or wealthy families in the South certainly benefitted from the music tutoring of their masters, and students took their slaves with them to the college of William and Mary, in Williamsburg, Virginia. The slaves lived alongside their masters and “undoubtedly attended classes with them on various occasions.”¹⁴⁹ Eileen Southern thinks this is probably where some of the slaves advertised in contemporary slave advertisements must have learned their skill on the horn and violin.¹⁵⁰ She also suggests some slaves in Charles Town “must have been taught to play by professional musicians, just as slaves were trained in bricklaying, carpentry, soldering, etc. Despite the laws against the teaching of black slaves, intrepid southerners taught them any number of skills and trades.” This included opening schoolhouses for African Americans, using slaves as teachers, and educating young slaves in music to then make a profit on their skills.¹⁵¹

When the term of his contract ended, Marrant left and went back to his mother, despite his indenturer's desire for him to remain. His brother-in-law found him further

¹⁴⁸ Marrant, *A Narrative*, 9.

¹⁴⁹ Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 51.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

employment as a musician, and he was hired for 18 months. It was during this employment he experienced a life-changing event.

One evening I was sent for in a very particular manner to go and play for some Gentlemen, which I agreed to do, and was on my way to fulfill my promise; and passing by a large meeting-house I saw many lights in it, and crowds of people going in. I enquired what it meant, and was answered by my companion, that a crazy man was hallooing there; this raised my curiosity to go in, that I might hear what he was hallooing about. He persuaded me not to go in, but in vain. He then said, "If you will do one thing I will go in with you." I asked him what that was? He replied, "Blow the French-horn among them." I liked the proposal well enough, but expressed my fears of being beaten for disturbing them; but upon his promising to stand by and defend me, I agreed. So we went and with much difficulty got within the doors. I was pushing the people to make room, to get the horn off my shoulder to blow it, just as Mr. Whitefield was naming his text, and looking round, and, as I thought, directly upon me, and pointing with his finger, he uttered these words, "Prepare to meet thy God, O Israel." The Lord accompanied the word with such power, that I was struck to the ground and lay both speechless and senseless near half an hour.¹⁵²

After this experience, Marrant decided to dedicate himself to the service of God and the church, and he put the violin and horn down for a time.

He left home and was briefly imprisoned by, then lived amongst, the Cherokee people in South Carolina. While living with them, he preached and converted many Cherokees to Christianity, including the local chief. Upon returning to Charles Town two years later, he began missionary work with enslaved persons until the start of the American Revolution. During the war, he served as a musician in the British army and wrote the following in his *Narrative* of this experience in His Majesty's service:

In those troublesome times, I was pressed on board the scorpion sloop of war, as their musician, as they were told I could play on music—I continued in his majesty's service six year and eleven months; and with shame confess that a lamentable stupor crept over all my spiritual vivacity, life and vigour; I got cold and dead...I was at the siege of Charles-Town

¹⁵² Marrant, *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings*, 10.

and passed through many dangers...When the town was taken, my old royal benefactor and convert, the kind of the Cherokee Indians, riding into town with general Clinton, saw me, and knew me: He slighted off his horse, and came to me; said he was glad to see me...¹⁵³

After the war he was trained as a Methodist minister through the patronage of the Countess of Huntingdon.¹⁵⁴ He was ordained in her chapel at Bath on May 15, 1785 and received orders to minister to the thousands of African Americans who had fled to Nova Scotia during the American Revolution. He founded a church and organized a school for one hundred local children in Birchtown, Nova Scotia, most of whom were children of “Black Loyalists” and freed slaves.¹⁵⁵

[At the] close of the Revolutionary War, over 23,000 Loyalists migrated to Nova Scotia. Three thousand African Americans made the journey; many had liberated themselves from slavery by enlisting in the Loyalist army and expected to find the British war-time promise of ‘Freedom and a Farm’ realized in Nova Scotia.¹⁵⁶

Unfortunately, the Nova Scotian government was not immune to racist practices and took away portions of the land promised to the African American migrants.¹⁵⁷

Marrant’s time in Nova Scotia was filled with poverty and hunger, and his book was subjected to harsh criticism: "John's narrative is embellished with a good deal of adventure, enlivened by the marvellous, and a little touch of the MIRACULOUS; all which, no doubt, will go down, glibly enough, with those readers for whom this publication is chiefly calculated."¹⁵⁸ Although Marrant’s narrative was extremely popular

¹⁵³ Ibid., 36.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 33.

¹⁵⁵ Brooks, "John Marrant's Journal," 1.

¹⁵⁶ Brooks, "John Marrant's Journal," 4.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

and published in at least fifteen editions, Marrant himself saw little or no profit from its publication.¹⁵⁹ We know from his later writings he moved to Boston, and in 1788, worked with the African Masonic Lodge, whose mission it was to abolish slavery. He moved back to London shortly thereafter and died in 1791.

John Marrant's relationship with the horn, and music, is complicated. Had he not been born a free man, it is unlikely Marrant would have been afforded the opportunity to play the horn at the level he achieved. He was moved by the call to music and was free to pursue it as a profession just as he was later called to ministry. In both cases it was necessary to him to be employed in service to white men. His love for the horn, in particular, was exploited by white people who conscripted him to perform in the only legal way available to him, and in some illegal ways as well.

The South Carolina Negro Act of 1740 made it illegal for groups of enslaved Africans to gather, learn to write, own property, or grow food. This law was passed in response to a 1739 slave rebellion outside of Charles Town, called the "Stono Rebellion." The Stono Rebellion was the largest slave uprising of the 250 documented uprisings in the Colonies and resulted in the deaths of approximately 20 white and 40 African American people.¹⁶⁰ Contrast this to the situation of race in England:

Although historians of music are almost universally silent about the black presence in England, primary sources of the period show that black men were quite visible in the performing arts in Georgian England. There are reports, for example, of gatherings where amateurs performed African-derived folk and popular music: Among the sundry fashionable routs or clubs, that are held in town, that of the Blacks or the Negro servants is not the least. On Wednesday last, no less than fifty-seven of them, men and

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Library of Congress, "The Stono Rebellion," <https://www.loc.gov/item/today-in-history/september-09/>.

women, supped, drank, and entertained themselves with dancing and music, consisting of violins, French horns, and other instruments at a public-house in Fleet Street till four [o'clock] in the morning. No whites were allowed to be present, for all the performers were black.¹⁶¹

In Thomas Paine's (1737–1809) *Six Years a Slave* he says, "In the deep South there were laws that expressly prohibited the slaves 'using and keeping drums, horn or other loud instruments which may call together or give sign or notice to one another.'"¹⁶² The African talking instrument tradition was known amongst the slave owners, and they were attempting to get rid of any and all forms of secret communication among their slaves.¹⁶³ However, different regions used instruments in other ways, as was seen in the upper South, where "horns were often used for practical purposes"¹⁶⁴ like hunting, dancing, and calling in slaves from the field.

At this time, Charles Town was the largest city in the South and had a vibrant musical and dancing scene. Social dancing was the favorite entertainment of colonists, and Charles Town was considered to be one of the musical epicenters of the colonies. It was in Charles Town one of the first public concert series took place,¹⁶⁵ and it was the port of entry for professional musicians and teachers coming from England. Eileen Southern asserts the importance of the horn to the culture of music and dance. "In addition to Charles Town, villages [sic] of Annapolis, Richmond and Williamsburg provided social and cultural activities for southern colonists. Where ever [sic] there were

¹⁶¹ Josephine Wright, "Ignatius Sancho (1729–1780), African Composer in England," *The Black Perspective in Music* 7, no. 2 (1979): 133, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1214319>.

¹⁶² Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 172.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Snedeker, "The Horn in Early America," 156.

dancing and music, there was apt to be a slave musician playing the fiddle or a French horn for the dancers, whether in the town or on the plantation.”¹⁶⁶

In Jeffrey Snedeker’s article, “The Horn in Early America,” he outlines four horn players who were active in America in the late 18th century: Jonas Green, “Mr. Stotherd”, “Mr. Widtl”, and Victor Pellesier.¹⁶⁷ Two of these men, Jonas Green and “Mr. Stotherd” were active in the South, in Annapolis and Charles Town, respectively (Widtl was based in Boston and Pellesier in New York and Philadelphia). Jonas Green was active in Annapolis in the 1750s as a member of the Tuesday Music Club, and as editor of the *Maryland Gazette*. Snedeker asserts Green was the horn player in a 1752 concert performance of *The Beggar’s Opera*, which also featured a “solo on the French horn.” During the 18th century, playing the violin or flute was quite fashionable among gentlemen of the higher classes, and Snedeker claims¹⁶⁸ Green's ability on the horn was unique to his class. He and his music club peers performed concerts for their own enjoyment or for entertaining friends. Their repertoire was popular music arranged for the available musicians.

Snedeker quotes a March 17 journal entry from Josiah Quincy’s 1772 *Voyage to South Carolina* in which Quincy says he “dined with the sons of St. Patrick...after dinner, six French horns in concert—most surpassing music. Two solos on the French horn, by one who is said to blow the finest horn in the world.”¹⁶⁹ According to Snedeker, Quincy

¹⁶⁶ Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 44.

¹⁶⁷ Snedeker, “The Horn in Early America.”

¹⁶⁸ Snedeker, “The Horn in Early America,” 153.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 156.

was possibly talking about Mr. Stotherd, “who appeared in several concerts in Charleston about this time.”¹⁷⁰

We can see had Marrant been white, there would have been opportunities for him to perform in more varied, and more rewarding, venues and climates. As it was, Marrant was only permitted to play the horn in a manner and place assigned to him by his indenture holder. He could not assemble in a group to play with other servants or slaves, according to the 1740 law, however this law was commonly broken by white people, who assembled slaves and servants to perform music at dances and social events. John Marrant’s love for the sound of the horn was exploited and manipulated by white men with power over his life and livelihood, and his skill on the instrument turned into a tool for oppression of his musical voice, and control over his freedom and body.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

CHAPTER 5

18th CENTURY MILITARY MUSIC

John Marrant was one of many African Americans who served the British forces during the Revolutionary War. After George Washington was persuaded to accept African Americans into the American military, many were enlisted as musicians. In order to understand the importance of African American horn players in the early to mid 19th century, one must first examine the role of the horn in military music and how it came to be an important military instrument at the beginning of the 19th century.

Military Music in Europe

Military music has been used for dual purposes since at least the time of the Crusades.¹⁷¹ Blasts from horns and trumpets would alert troops to incoming enemies, and also incite the soldiers. These pragmatic functions of signaling and morale boosting continued over the centuries. The intensity of sound after the invention of gunpowder made it more difficult for soldiers to hear oral commands. As warfare changed, signals were formalized to be associated with specific melodies and rhythms.¹⁷² During the 18th century, warfare evolved to rely on team maneuvers instead of hand-to-hand combat (Camus 6). Music became integral to the communication between officers and soldiers,

¹⁷¹ *A History of U.S. Army Bands*, Edition D. (Norfolk: US Army Element, School of Music, 2005), 6.

¹⁷² Raoul F. Camus, *Military Music of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976), 4.

and to their daily routine (3). Calls like reveille and taps have remained symbols of the military, even off the battlefield.

The dual purposes of military music came to be represented by field music and “bands of music”. Field music was typically played on fifes and drums for troops on foot, and on trumpets for mounted troops (19). Regional instrumental taste deviations were common: bagpipes were used in place of fifes in Scotland, and Hessian regiments during the American Revolution included two companies of *jäger*, which used three French horns instead of fifes and drums.(69) Field music was simple; if a private wanted to advance in rank, he could learn to play an instrument and be promoted.(69) The musicians of the field were soldiers whose function was to signal the troops by using musical instruments.

Bands of music were groups of trained musicians, as opposed to soldiers, who performed for the morale of the troops. The practice originated with the musical public servants of the Middle Ages: *Stadtpeifers*.(69) European military officers were accustomed to musical entertainment and, when away from their estates, they would hire professional musicians with their own money, put them in uniforms and call them “regimental musick.”(21) These musicians were not enlisted, and the bands co-existed with the fifers and drummers. By the 1770s music was an integral part of military ceremony, and in 1824 the British War Office required all bandsmen to enlist.(21)

The 1762 “Articles of Agreement” contracted a Royal Artillery Band of eight musicians: 2 trumpets, 2 French horns, 2 bassoons, and 4 oboes or clarinets.(22) Each band had a leader who was the best musician of the group. “He was to direct competent musicians, not to instruct boys or soldiers in becoming musicians. The master was a

performing musician, frequently on the oboe, clarinet, or horn, and he led the band with his instrument.”(24)

Hautboys

There were three eras of military music in the 18th century. Members of early 18th century military bands, as well as the bands themselves, were called *hautboys*. By mid century they had shifted to *Harmoniemusik*, and in the late 18th century military bands were associated with Janissary music. The word “hautboy” referred to a military musician distinct from fifers and drummers, not necessarily an oboe player.(25) The use of double reed instruments in outdoor music came from music the of the middle ages and Renaissance, when shawms were used as a primary instrument, along with sackbuts, cornettos and recorders. The French army introduced the oboe to its regimental music by 1643, and in 1665 added three oboes and five drums to each company.(26) In 1677, they added a fourth oboe and a sixth drummer.(26) Jean–Baptiste Lully developed a style of composition for the French army which used four double-reed parts: descant, alto, tenor, and bass. Both the musicians and the four-part combination of instruments were called *hautboys*.(26)

Just as Count Franz Anton von Sporck had been influenced by Louis XIV in hiring his hunting horn players, many monarchs copied the French use of *hautboys*. In 1678, the British military introduced *hautboys*, which were so well liked that in 1684–85 Charles II issued a warrant for twelve oboes to be added to his regiment.(26) At the beginning of the 18th century, French horns were added to the *hautboys* to “reinforce inner voices” and add new tonal colors.(27) Noted historian, conductor, and pedagogue,

David Whitwell cites the most important example of early military band music as *Lustige Feld Music* (1704) by Johann Philipp Krieger.¹⁷³

The composer specified the work for ‘four wind instruments,’ which in the parts are labeled *Premier Dessus* (three players), *Second Dessus* (two players), *Taille* (one player), and *Basson* (three players). The composer says these (six Overture-suites) may be played by *Hautboisten* in either the court or in the field and, in the latter case, he hope that if they are played during a lull in battle, they will be “like a ray of sun on a stormy day.”¹⁷⁴



Figure 8. *Harmoniemusik at St. James's Park*, Anonymous engraving, London: H. Parker, 1753.

¹⁷³ David Whitwell, *A Concise History of the Wind Band* (Austin; Whitwell Publishing, 2010), 181.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

Harmoniemusik

Originally, the *hautboys* had marched along with the troops. As the size of the bands and their musical repertoire grew, they moved away from drummers and field music.¹⁷⁵ Raoul Camus lists the example of a 1725 band as: 4 *hautboys*: 3 oboes, 1 bassoon; 2 hunting horns; 1 trumpet (inferred kettledrums).¹⁷⁶ Händel's *Music for the Royal Fireworks* was commissioned for "warlike instruments," and he chose to use twenty-four oboes, twelve bassoons plus one contrabassoon, nine horns, nine trumpets and three pairs of kettledrums.¹⁷⁷

The transition from *hautboys* to *Harmoniemusik* occurred between 1743 and 1762. The term "*Harmoniemusik*" refers to a specific instrumentation derived from *hautboys*. It can refer to several combinations: pairs of oboes, horns, and bassoons; pairs of clarinets, horns, and bassoons; or oboes, clarinets, horns and bassoons.¹⁷⁸ If more than two players were available, they would double parts, creating a larger ensemble. The British light cavalry required *Harmoniemusik* musicians to double on trumpet when mounted (30).

Bands grew larger in England and France, and by 1789 consisted of 32 men. These musicians would play eight parts with four people on a part. (Camus 30) Noblemen had their own bands made of servants on their estate, and these bands wore regimentals if the nobleman was an officer. There was no real distinction between military bands of music, and bands playing civilian music outdoors, except for the size of the ensemble

¹⁷⁵ Camus, *Military Music*, 27.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

(military bands were larger). Both played the same music, mostly marches and transcriptions of opera and orchestral works.(30)

The general style of *Harmoniemusik* is best represented by the divertimenti of Mozart and Haydn. Form was simple, minuets with added dances, pastorals mixed with horn fanfares in 3rds and 6ths, and the overall mood was sensitive and “innocent.”(31) Haydn’s music for Esterhazy did not change key between movements because he used hunting horns without crooks, since there was no time to change crooks on the field and nowhere to hang crook bags.(32)

Turkish Janissary bands were first introduced to Western Europe in 1720 when the Sultan gifted a complete band to August II of Poland.(35) The term “Janissary” morphed into meaning the addition of a bass drum, cymbals, tambourine, and triangle to *Harmoniemusik* (36). The only British regiments which had Janissary instruments in America during the Revolution were the 22nd and 24th Regiments of Foot.(36) So, it follows *Harmoniemusik* was the music of the American Revolution, since the exposure of troops to Janissary music would have been extremely minimal.

Bands of the American Revolution

There are several indications that French horns were prevalent during the revolutionary years. Prior to the war beginning, in 1770 there was a parade band which consisted of “3 flags flying, drums beating, and a French horn.”(48) The 64th Regiment Band (Boston) gave regular concerts before the war began and during wartime. The band had French horns and *hautboys* and provides evidence that American bands were playing *Harmoniemusik*.(48)

Advertisements for teachers of French horn can be traced to the 1750s. In 1753 Charles Love advertised in New York that he taught gentlemen how to play French horn.(51) William Atwood did the same in Williamsburg in 1771.(54) In addition, one could procure a hunting horn from John Greenhow's store in Williamsburg.(54) In 1773 Gilbert Deblois advertised French horns for sale to officers seeking to form regimental bands.(49) Also, in 1773, Rivington's in New York advertised French horns as an important military musical item. The provenance of these instruments is not stated, but horns were made in New York by John Dash as early as 1765.(51)

In a letter written by music publisher and store owner James Bremner, dated June 22, 1779, he advised Richard Peters, Secretary to the Board of War, regarding the instrumentation of a British military band: cymbals, 2 *hautboys*, 2 clarinets, 2 *tailles* (tenor hautboys), 2 bassoons, 2 trumpets, pair of kettledrums, 2 French horns made in G or F with crooks for E-flat, D, and C, and a serpent. He continues to recommend adjustments may need to be made for American military bands:

But I fear your performers in this Country are either young hands, or, too old to improve much, I therefore think that 2 *Hautboys*, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 French horns would be sufficient. I would recommend to purchase 2 German flutes with pieces, as the *Hautboys* generally play on that Instrument, which will be an addition in a private Concert...If the instruments are made in London where you may depend on the goodness and neatness of the work the whole may coast between 50 & 60 pounds Sterling—The Horns will be the dearest articles (135).

Mr. Bremner recommended the American military bands to purchase their horns from London. Horns were available in America, and it would seem the American military preferred to use American-made horns. In a letter from the Commissary General, Samuel Hogdon, dated May 14, 1779, he indicated he would be able to obtain two concert French horns from the Quarter Master General store in Philadelphia (134). A 1783 invoice for

musical instruments for the New York Brigade Band listed drums, fife, 2 French horns, 2 bassoons, and 4 clarinets (175). Unfortunately, the instrument's provenance is not indicated.

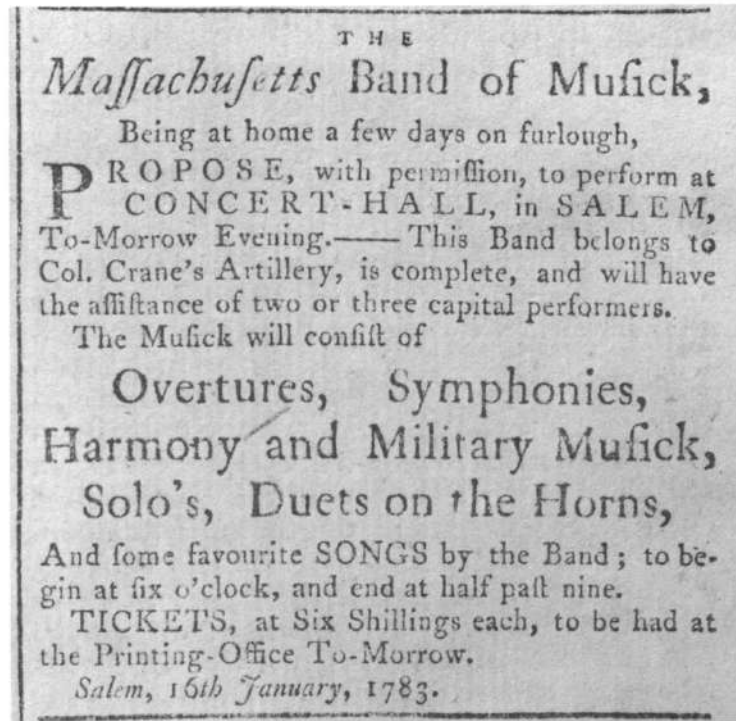


Figure 9. Advertisement for a Band Concert featuring "Solos, Duets on the Horns."¹⁷⁹

I was unable to locate any records to indicate full listings of Revolutionary War band personnel. There are a handful of names associated with fifers and drummers, but no surviving names of horn players. African American soldiers frequently served as fifers and drummers in the Revolutionary troops.

¹⁷⁹ *Salem Gazette*, January 16th, 1783.

African American Troops of the Continental Army

Records show each of the original thirteen states had African American soldiers who served during the Revolutionary War.¹⁸⁰ Because they served in different ways (freemen, vs. enslaved persons serving as proxies for their masters), and records did not indicate race, it is difficult to make an accurate count but it is estimated 5,000 African American soldiers served in the continental army.¹⁸¹

When George Washington assumed command of the Continental Army in 1775, he issued orders which prohibited the enlistment of any African American person, and any person not native to the colonies.¹⁸² He issued further orders in November 1775 which stated “neither Negroes, boys unable to bear arms, nor old men unfit to endure fatigues of the campaign should be enlisted.”¹⁸³ The following month, Washington allowed African Americans who had previously served in the ranks in New England to re-enlist.¹⁸⁴ Washington’s view on slavery was never explicit, and in a letter to Henry Laurens, dated March 20, 1779, George Washington wrote:

The policy of our arming slaves is in my opinion a moot point, unless the enemy set the example. For, should we begin to form Battalions of them, I have not the smallest doubt, if the war is to be prosecuted, of their following us in it, and justifying the measure upon our own ground. The contest then must be who can arm fastest, and where are our arms? Besides I am not clear that a discrimination will not render slavery more irksome to those who remain in it. Most of the good and evil things in this life are judged by comparison; and I fear a comparison in this case will be productive of much discontent in those, who are held in servitude. But, as this is a subject that

¹⁸⁰ W.B. Hartgrove, "The Negro Soldier in the American Revolution." *The Journal of Negro History* 1, no. 2 (April 1916): 126, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3035634>.

¹⁸¹ Michael Lee Lanning, *African Americans in the Revolutionary War* (New York: Citadel Press, 2005), 177.

¹⁸² Hartgrove, "The Negro Soldier," 113–114.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 115.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 117.

has never employed much of my thoughts, these are no more than the first crude ideas that have struck me upon ye occasion.¹⁸⁵

In Virginia, there were so many slaves who deserted their bondage to enlist, in 1777 the state enacted a law stating no African American could be mustered in without a certificate of freedom.¹⁸⁶ Many slaves were conscripted into the army as proxies for their masters, who assumed they would return to their enslavement if they survived. This brought about the Act of Emancipation, which granted freedom to all African American people who enlisted as proxies.¹⁸⁷

By 1778 the Continental Army was unable to turn away soldiers. General Varnum received permission from George Washington to enlist a regiment of African American slaves from Rhode Island to replenish its ranks. The state of Rhode Island paid the slaveowners, and the men were freed and received all wages and bounties given to any other soldier.¹⁸⁸ The Rhode Island Regiment was adept at keeping British troops at bay. Two accounts exist, one from Lafayette and the other from a Revolutionary soldier, about the ability of the Rhode Island regiment to repel the British attack.¹⁸⁹ There are no existing records of names of musicians in the Rhode Island Regiment.

¹⁸⁵ George Washington to Henry Laurens, March 20, 1779, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-19-02-0533>.

¹⁸⁶ Hartgrove, "The Negro Soldier," 119.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 120.

CHAPTER 6

EARLY 19th CENTURY MILITARY MUSIC

It is only in his music, which Americans are able to admire because a protective sentimentality limits their understanding of it, that the Negro in America has been able to tell his story.

James Baldwin

The War of 1812

According to Eileen Southern, the number of African Americans who served in the War of 1812 was small compared to the Revolutionary War.¹⁹⁰ She points out since the service records do not refer to race it is impossible to be certain. At the beginning of the war African Americans were not permitted to enlist in the army, so many joined the Navy instead. There is a known name of one African American Naval bugler during the War of 1812: George Brown, on board the *Chesapeake*.¹⁹¹

The United States Army School of Music Manual titled *A History of U.S. Army Bands* states during the War of 1812, the only significant change was the shift from fifes and drums to bugles sounding the signals.¹⁹² Militia bands were common during the War of 1812, and proved to be the natural successor to *Harmoniemusik* and other privately contracted bands. According to the Army manual, “the first military band of New York City was organized in 1810 and offered its services to the 11th Regiment of the New York Militia. It was stationed at Bledsoe's Island in the New York Harbor, the site of the Statue of Liberty. The band served throughout the War of 1812.”¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 66.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² *A History of U.S. Army Bands*, 19.

¹⁹³ Ibid

Records containing information about military band personnel during the War of 1812 is scarce, and information regarding race does not survive. The traditions, however, are traceable. According to Southern:

We know, however, that more black musicians must have been active during the war because of the number of all-black brass bands that began to appear soon after the war—especially in New Orleans, Philadelphia, New York, and sections of New England. For example, the Third Company of Washington Guards (Philadelphia) employed a Negro band under the leadership of Frank Johnson that was destined to become internationally famous. The black musicians who composed the military bands of the early nineteenth century undoubtedly acquired their training—as well as access to instruments—during the War of 1812.¹⁹⁴

Any discussion of music in the early 19th century would be incomplete without an introduction to Francis “Frank” Johnson.

Francis “Frank” Johnson

Francis Johnson was born in Philadelphia on June 16, 1792.¹⁹⁵ The names of his parents and their occupations are not known, and very little is known about his life prior to the 1820s.¹⁹⁶ It is thought he served in a military band during the War of 1812¹⁹⁷ and he had received training in 1816 from Richard Willis, an Irish soloist on the keyed-bugle and later the bandleader at West Point Military Academy.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴ Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 66–67.

¹⁹⁵ Charles K. Jones, *Chronicle of a Black Musician in Early Nineteenth Century Philadelphia* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2006), 34.

¹⁹⁶ University of Pennsylvania, University Archives and Records Center, <https://archives.upenn.edu/exhibits/penn-people/biography/francis-johnson>.

¹⁹⁷ Charles L. Blockson, *Philadelphia's Guide: African–American State Historical Markers*. (Philadelphia: William Penn Foundation, 1992), 34.

¹⁹⁸ The Chestnut Brass Company and Friends, liner notes for *The Music of Francis Johnson and His Contemporaries: Early 19th–Century Black Composers* (Music Masters 7029-2-C, 1990) compact disc.

Johnson built a reputation as a composer, bandleader, fiddler, bugler, French horn player, and orchestra director.¹⁹⁹ A man named Mathew Black led the first documented African American dance band in the city in 1818, and Johnson's dance band was established as early as 1819.²⁰⁰ He published *A Collection of New Cotillions* in 1818, possibly the first music published by an African American²⁰¹ and composed over three hundred pieces of music during his short life, most of them published.²⁰²

Johnson's career was established in Philadelphia's white upper class in the 1820s. His dance band provided evening entertainment, and his military band (organized as early as 1821, if not earlier²⁰³) played marches and quicksteps as the affiliated band of the Philadelphia State Fencibles (militia units still contracted with their own bands).²⁰⁴ His dance band was also in residence at a resort in Saratoga Springs, predating the current summer residency of the Philadelphia Orchestra.²⁰⁵ Dr. Deirdre Cooper Owens, Program Director of African American History for the Library Company of Philadelphia, said of Johnson:

¹⁹⁹ Blockson, *Philadelphia's Guide*, 34.

²⁰⁰ Eileen Southern, "Francis Johnson (1792–1822)" in *The Black Perspective in Music* 4, no. 2 (July 1976): 209 and 212 n1.

²⁰¹ Chestnut Brass, liner notes for *The Music of Francis Johnson*, online, <https://chevalierdesaintgeorges.homestead.com/JohnsonF.html>.

²⁰² Chestnut Brass, liner notes for *The Music of Francis Johnson*.

²⁰³ Southern, "Francis Johnson," 212 n1.

²⁰⁴ University of Pennsylvania, University Archives and Records Center. See also Chestnut Brass, liner notes for *The Music of Francis Johnson*.

²⁰⁵ Chestnut Brass, liner notes for *The Music of Francis Johnson*.

There was a niche field of African American male performers who could in some ways wiggle around the color line. It wasn't that they could escape antiblack racism, but because of their exceptionalism in performing they were able to do things as musicians that had been closed to most black people.²⁰⁶

In 1824 Johnson's band gained international acclaim when they provided music for the celebration of Revolutionary War hero Marquis de Lafayette, upon his visit to Philadelphia.²⁰⁷ General Lafayette was impressed during a performance at the Walnut Street Theatre, and he sponsored a European tour for a small group of Johnson's musicians.²⁰⁸ In 1837 Francis Johnson departed for a tour of Europe to "improve his musical capacity and knowledge, so as to be able in a much greater degree than formerly to contribute to the gratification of the public."²⁰⁹ It was during the European tour Johnson was invited to play for Queen Victoria, who presented him with a silver bugle after his performance. When he died, the bugle was buried with him.²¹⁰

Among the musicians who accompanied him on the tour was Johnson's brother-in-law and French horn player William Appo.²¹¹ Appo was born in Philadelphia circa 1808. He is one of the earliest documented African American composers, along with Johnson. He played horn with the Walnut Street Theater Orchestra and was likely one of the musicians heard by Marquis de Lafayette upon his visit. He performed with Johnson

²⁰⁶ Shaun Brady, "Meet Philly's unsung forefather of jazz" in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (September 11, 2019, Arts), accessed October 25, 2019, <https://www.inquirer.com/arts/library-company-philadelphia-francis-johnson-forefather-of-jazz-20190911.html>.

²⁰⁷ Chestnut Brass, liner notes for *The Music of Francis Johnson*.

²⁰⁸ Blockson, *Philadelphia's Guide*, 34.

²⁰⁹ Chestnut Brass, liner notes for *The Music of Francis Johnson*.

²¹⁰ Blockson, *Philadelphia's Guide*, 34.

²¹¹ Doris Evans McGinty, "Appo, William," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), accessed March 2, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.46753>.

in Europe and continued to perform with Johnson until his death in 1844. Appo then settled in New York where he focused on teaching and orchestral conducting. His contemporary, the Bishop Payne, touted him as “the most learned musician of the race”. He died in New York State at some time after 1880.²¹²

Johnson soaked up the music in Europe, learning new styles and hearing the latest music of prominent composers and performers, like Johann Strauss.²¹³ Upon his return to Philadelphia in late 1838²¹⁴ he introduced his take on the Parisian “promenade concert,” which he called *Concerts à la Musard*. These extremely popular concerts were said to have amassed crowds in the thousands²¹⁵ and were forerunners to contemporary “pops” concerts.²¹⁶ Prominent white singers were later included in these programs, and Johnson’s “promenades” became the first integrated performances in America.²¹⁷

The band toured extensively in the North and Midwest from 1839–1844. Regardless of their fame and exceptional musicianship, they were not immune to racism. They were fined for performing in white-only regions, threatened with words, and were victims of physical attacks. The liner notes for *The Music of Francis Johnson* relay a violent incident which took place after a concert outside of Pittsburgh:

²¹² Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 114. See also Doris Evans McGinty, “Appo, William.”

²¹³ Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 109.

²¹⁴ Chestnut Brass, liner notes for *The Music of Francis Johnson*.

²¹⁵ Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 109.

²¹⁶ Chestnut Brass, liner notes for *The Music of Francis Johnson*.

²¹⁷ Ibid. See also Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 109.

At the close of the concert the mob followed Mr. Johnson and his company shouting "n____" and other opprobrious epithets, and hurling brick-bats, stones and rotten eggs in great profusion upon the unfortunate performers. One poor fellow was severely, it is feared dangerously, wounded in the head, and others were more or less hurt. No thanks to the mobocrats that life was not taken, for they hurled their missiles with murderous recklessness if not with murderous intention." *The Tribune* [NY], May 23, 1843.²¹⁸

Johnson was active in the African American community of Philadelphia. Chestnut Brass notes two pieces as being particularly indebted to his African American roots: the Recognition March on the Independence Hayti, and his setting of the abolitionist song "The Grave of the Slave."²¹⁹ He spearheaded a Philadelphia performance of Franz Joseph Haydn's *The Creation* which featured an African American chorus and his band, on March 14, 1841.²²⁰

Johnson died on April 6, 1844 after a sustained illness. His funeral was attended by hundreds, and Johnson's band played his *Dirge* at his grave.²²¹ Following his death, Johnson's band continued to perform under the direction of bandmember Joseph Anderson (1816–1873). During the Civil War Anderson trained musicians for the African American regiments at Camp William Penn, the eastern headquarters of the United States Colored Troops.²²² The band eventually dissolved during the years of the Civil War.²²³ Johnson's sons, Frank Johnson and Joseph Anderson, and other relatives, Edward

²¹⁸ Chestnut Brass, liner notes for *The Music of Francis Johnson*.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁰ Southern, "Francis Johnson," 211.

²²¹ Chestnut Brass, liner notes for *The Music of Francis Johnson*.

²²² Southern, "Francis Johnson," 210.

²²³ University of Pennsylvania, University Archives and Records Center.

Johnson and Frank Johnson Roland Jones, were members of The Excelsior Band, which was a successor to Johnson's band.²²⁴

The African American band tradition was established by Francis Johnson. After his death the tradition continued through bands led by Joseph Anderson, Pedro Tinsley (1856–1921; leader of the Boston-based “Tinsley’s Colored Cornet Band in the 1880s), Theodore Finney (1837–1899; leader of a Detroit-based brass band dating to the 1850s) and many bands in New Orleans including Excelsior, Kelly’s, Onward, and St. Bernard brass bands.²²⁵

In 1992, to mark the bicentennial of Francis Johnson’s birth, the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission placed a historical marker at 536 Pine Street which reads: “America's first native-born master of music lived here.”



Figure 10. Historical Marker at the Birthplace of Francis Johnson

²²⁴ Southern, “Francis Johnson,” 212.

²²⁵ Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 257.

CHAPTER 7

19TH CENTURY: THE AMERICAN BRASS BAND MOVEMENT

Valves

The rise in popularity of brass bands in the 19th century is directly related to the invention of the valve in 1818. Before the use of valved brass instruments, bands used woodwinds in addition to keyed bugles, ophicleides, French horns, trumpets, post horns, and trombones. This heterogenous mix of different kinds of instruments caused problems with intonation, balance and blend. The first mention of a brass instrument valve was in the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* on May 3, 1815. It was invented by Heinrich Stölzel and Friedrich Bluhmel²²⁶ and the mechanism received its patent in 1818. That device was known as the “Stölzel valve,” after its inventor.

Experiments with valves abounded during the first decades of the 19th century and reached a peak in the 1830s. Several of the most widely-used valve types of the 19th and 20th centuries were patented during this decade: the twin piston Vienna valve, by Leopold Uhlmann in 1830²²⁷, the rotary “Rad-Maschine” by Joseph Riedl in 1832²²⁸, the Berliner “pumpen” valve by J.G. Moritz in 1835²²⁹, and the Perinet piston valve, by François Périnet in 1839.²³⁰ One example of an experiment which still exists is the creation of the

²²⁶ Christian Ahrens, *Valved Brass: The History of an Invention* (Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 2008), 1.

²²⁷ Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 38–39.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 39–41.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 44.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 48.

cornet, which was invented around 1825 when piston valves were added to post horns.²³¹ The alto horn was invented around the same time. The exact timing is unknown, but in 1828 Gottfried Rode, the Director of the *Musikcorps* of the *Garde-Jägerbatäillon* in Potsdam, Germany, introduced valved horns, valved trumpets, and alto horns to his military musical ensemble.²³²

Instruments

French Horn's Declining Role in Military Bands

Valves were added to natural horns in many different ways. Initially hand technique continued to be the method by which a horn player could change chromatic pitches and the valves were simply a means to change the crook without having to carry around a separate piece of equipment. Eventually, this practice fell out of use and by the 20th century hornists were mostly operating the valved horn in the way modern players do today—by using the valves, not the hand, to play chromatic pitches. French horns were not popular for mid- to late 19th century military bands. As brass instruments grew in popularity, the woodwind *Harmoniemusik* fell out of use for band purposes and with it, the French horn. There were a number of instruments which resembled the French horn. The alto horn is considered to be a close relative to the French horn, but it actually sounds quite different.²³³ The tenor horn is commonly mistaken for the alto horn, and British and American brass bands use the two nomenclatures differently. Visually, the circular cornet

²³¹ Robert Joseph Garofalo and Mark Elrod, *A Pictorial History of Civil War Era Musical Instruments and Military Bands* (Charleston: Pictorial Histories Pub., 1985), 3.

²³² Ahrens, *Valved Brass*, 47.

²³³ Garofalo, *A Pictorial History*, 10.

could be mistaken for a French horn in photographs, as is the case with some mislabeled photos in the Library of Congress.²³⁴ However, circular cornets are pitched in B-flat, use a larger mouthpiece, and have a much smaller bell than a French horn.

Bufkin analyzed a Civil War brass instrument which had been owned and played in the war by William D. Hodge, bandmaster for the 10th Massachusetts Infantry Regimental Band.²³⁵ The instrument resides in the Berkshire Museum, in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and the museum's description of the instrument reads "French Horn type."²³⁶

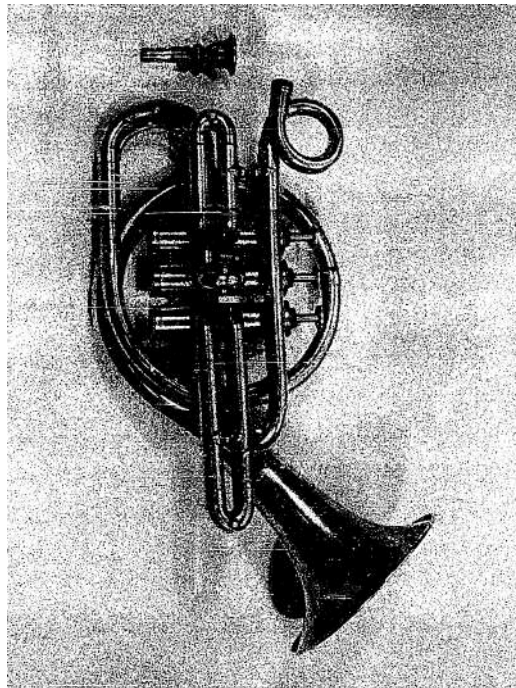


Figure 11. Circular Cornet, Berkshire Museum, Pittsfield, Massachusetts.

²³⁴ See Appendix H for one of these photographs.

²³⁵ William Alfred Bufkin, "Union Bands of the Civil War (1862–1865): Instrumentation and Score Analysis. (Volumes I and II)" *LSU Historical Dissertations and Theses* (1973), 197, https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_disstheses/2523.

²³⁶ Bufkin, "Union Bands," 198.

Bufkin's analysis confirmed my impression from the photograph that the instrument could be regarded as a circular cornet. He wrote:

Physical characteristics of the instrument refute the above notion that there was any relationship whatsoever to a "French Horn type" other than the circular design. The instrument is basically cylindrically bored but begins a conical flare forty-eight centimeters from the bell-opening whose terminal diameter measures twelve centimeters. Both the cylindrical bore and the abrupt bell flare are a minor departure for traditional Civil War instruments, though certainly not a serious deviation.²³⁷

Saxhorns

In the 1840s, Belgian inventor Adolphe Sax developed a complete "family" of homogeneous valved brass instruments which were named "saxhorns" after their creator. Saxhorns range from soprano to bass, have three piston valves instead of two, have large bores with upright bells, and almost entirely conical tubing. The resulting sound is very mellow and blends well. Saxhorns were extremely popular because their intonation was better than earlier horns, the instruments carried well outdoors and they were comparatively easy to play.²³⁸ Intonation problems in early brass instruments were caused by several factors, construction chief among them: the metal used was thin and soft, which meant changes in humidity, temperature, and exposure to the elements affected the intonation.

Another cause of poor intonation in early brass instruments was different instrument makers who used different tuning standards and different types of valves. For this reason, it was helpful for a band to have a matched set of instruments made by the

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Garofalo, *A Pictorial History*, 3.

same craftsman or company.²³⁹ The public interest in bands was high enough to create a demand for American instrument makers by the mid-19th century. Boston became the center of brass instrument making, but there were also reputable makers in New York and Philadelphia.²⁴⁰

Classification

By the 1860s, there were so many types of valved brass instruments they had to be categorized in many ways. Typically, they were classified by the position of the bell and subclassified by valve mechanism. The bell of an instrument could face forward with a traditional oval shaped body (called “bell-front”), have a round body with a forward-facing bell (“circular”), or the bell could face parallel to the player’s body (“upright bell”). Instruments with an over-the-shoulder (“OTS”) body had bells which faced backward, toward the troops marching behind the band. The most common valve types in the United States were the American string linkage rotary valve (either top- or side-action), and the Berliner piston valve. The evidence suggests the piston valve was preferable for two reasons: it was inexpensive to manufacture, and the simple action meant it was less likely to cause mechanical problems.²⁴¹

²³⁹ Ibid., 8.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 3–4.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 8.

Mouthpieces

Period mouthpieces had deep cups and funnel shapes similar to modern French horn mouthpieces. Modern “tulip-shaped” trumpet and trombone mouthpieces, as Bufkin calls them,²⁴² were not used for Civil War military bands. It also appears, according to Bufkin,²⁴³ higher instruments did not use mouthpieces with shallow cups the way players do now. “Since the instruments were conical bored to produce a warm, mellow sound, the mouthpiece had a deep funnel shape to help retain this dark sound.”²⁴⁴

Instrumentation

Allen Dodworth’s *Brass Band School: Instructions in the first principles of Music* was published in 1853. The Dodworth family immigrated to New York from England in the 1820s.²⁴⁵ Thomas Dodworth, and his sons Allen and Charles, and his grandson Allen all performed in the famous Dodworth Brass Band, in New York. Son Harvey Dodworth conducted the 13th Regiment Band during the Civil War.²⁴⁶ The Dodworths were composers, conductors, performers, publishers, and importers of musical instruments. It is also widely surmised the Dodworths may have invented the over-the-shoulder brass instruments.²⁴⁷ In his *Brass Band School*, Allen Dodworth determined a band of four should not double any voices, and each cover one of four parts: E–flat soprano, B–flat

²⁴² Bufkin, “Union Bands,” 181.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Ellen Koskoff, *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music: The United States and Canada*. Vol. 3 (London: Routledge, 2017), 564.

²⁴⁶ *A History of U.S. Army Bands*, 20.

²⁴⁷ *A History of U.S. Army Bands*, 20–21.

alto, one tenor, and one bass.²⁴⁸ As a band grew larger, Dodworth instructed for instruments to be added as follows in Table 1.

| Table 1. <i>Allen Dodworth's Instrumentation</i> | |
|---|----------------------|
| Additional instrument | Part type |
| 5 th | Soprano |
| 6 th | Tenor |
| 7 th | Contra Bass |
| 8 th | Baritone |
| 9 th | E-flat soprano |
| 10 th | Contra Bass |
| 11 th | Alto |
| 12 th | Bass |
| 13 th | Tenor |
| 14 th | Tenor |
| 15 th | Trumpet |
| 16 th | Trumpet |
| 17 th | Alto slide trombone |
| 18 th | Tenor slide trombone |
| 19 th | Bass slide trombone |
| 20 th | Post Horn |
| 21 st | Post Horn |

²⁴⁸ Allen Dodworth, *Brass Band School: Instructions in the first principles of Music* (New York H, B, Dodworth, 1853), 12.

Dodworth further placed instruments into six classes under the heading of Soprano, Alto, Tenore, Baritone, Bass, and Contra Bass, likely because not all bands would be able to obtain homogenous families of brass instruments.²⁴⁹

| Table 2. <i>Allen Dodworth's Classification</i> | | | |
|--|---------------|--|---|
| 1 st Class | Sopranos | E-flat Bugle, Saxhorn, Cornet, other small instruments in A-flat, F, or E-flat. | |
| 2 nd Class | Altos | B-flat Bugle, Saxhorn, Cornet, Post Horn, Trumpet | 4th below sopranos |
| 3 rd Class | Tenors | Ebor Cornos, Saxhorns, Alt Horns, Neo Cornos, Tenor Ophecleide, Tenor Tubas, Alto Trombones, French Horns | 8va below sopranos |
| 4 th Class | Baritones | Baritone Saxhorns, B-flat Trombones, Valve Trombones | 8va below altos |
| 5 th Class | Basses | C and B-flat ophicleides, saxhorns, B-flat tubas—all in C, B-flat, or A-flat | Same pitch as baritones, but with larger tubing |
| 6 th Class | Contra Basses | Bass Tubas, Saxhorns, Bombardones, Trombcellos, Bass Trombones, mostly for F or E-flat—Some are in D-flat. | 8va below tenors |

By 1861 the American brass-band movement had been firmly established, and most towns had year-round militia or town bands to perform at events. These bands were highly valued for their service to the towns and their helpfulness in recruitment for militias.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁹ Bufkin, "Union Bands," 170.

²⁵⁰ Garofalo, *A Pictorial History*, 53.

CHAPTER 8

THE CIVIL WAR

*People who shut their eyes to reality simply invite their own destruction,
and anyone who insists on remaining in a state of innocence
long after that innocence is dead turns himself into a monster.*
James Baldwin

Enlistment of Bands

When the Civil War broke out in April 1861, many militia bands and community bands enlisted to serve as a group. In their book, *A Pictorial History of Civil War Era Musical Instruments & Military Bands*, Robert Garofalo and Mark Elrod write about the phenomenon of group enlistment in the context of the musical age:

Large numbers of amateurs were experienced at playing instruments and professional band musicians were at an all-time high. Music publishing and merchandising businesses were prospering. American instrument manufacturers were turning out products that were equal to or better than those of their European competitors.²⁵¹

Photographic evidence reveals there were rarely Northern bands with more than sixteen musicians. Southern bands varied from eight to sixteen people. Garofalo's examination of Civil War era part-books and published brass band journals concluded large bands which included woodwinds were very rare. Occasionally sheet music of the time adds solo alto horn, B-flat bass, D-flat piccolo, C flute, E-flat clarinet, and B-flat clarinet, but the basic instrumentation²⁵² of Civil War bands consisted of: 1st & 2nd E-flat Cornet/Saxhorn, 1st & 2nd B-flat Cornet/Saxhorn, 1st & 2nd E-flat Alto Horn, 1st & 2nd B-flat Tenor Horn, B-flat Baritone, E-flat Bass, Side drum, Bass drum, and Cymbals.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 7.

²⁵² Ibid., 56.

The military bandsman performed several non-combat duties. He performed for military functions like dress parades, guard mount, morning colors, reviews, and funerals. Bandsmen also served as stretcher bearers, assisted surgeons with amputations and medical operations in field hospitals, transported the wounded, and buried the dead. Furthermore, military bands entertained the troops in an important morale boosting capacity.²⁵³

Union Bands

The period of April 1861–August 1862 is considered to be the Union Army’s “regimental band period.”²⁵⁴ Bands were assembled alongside volunteer regiments and tasked with furnishing military music as noncombatants. By the fall of 1861, there were roughly 2800 regimental bandsmen serving the Federal Army.²⁵⁵ This was found to be too expensive for a wartime army, and in July 1862 General Order No. 91 directed all regimental bandsmen were to be mustered out of service within 30 days. Instead, there would be smaller brigade bands—16 musicians plus a bandleader.²⁵⁶

²⁵³ Ibid., 56–57.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 53.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 54.



Figure 12. Band of the 10th Veteran Reserve Corps, Washington, D. C., April 1865.²⁵⁷



Figure 13. The band of the 26th North Carolina, Confederate States Army, Salem, NC, undated.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Divison, LC-B8184-7865.

²⁵⁸ Greg Mast, "Tha Kill So meny of us," *Military Images* 10, no. 1 (July–August 1988), 10.

Confederate Bands

Information about Confederate bands is sparse, but according to Garofalo there are sufficient references to support the idea that bands were prevalent in the Southern army. A September 1863 review of Ambrose Powell Hill's entire Third Corps reported 18 bands in just one corps of the Southern army.²⁵⁹ A British officer who visited the Confederate Army headquarters wrote "almost every regiment had a small band with brass instruments."²⁶⁰ Photographs suggest Southern bands were smaller than Northern ones, and their instrumentation more varied. It is worth noting the presence of a large number of Moravian settlements in North Carolina meant it provided many of the musicians for the Confederate bands. Moravian communities have a long tradition of brass instrumental music performance, especially trombone playing. Slaves were conscripted into the Confederate army as fifers and drummers, and possibly buglers as well.²⁶¹ Musicians were treated "fairly" by the Confederate States of America, which passed an Act on April 15, 1862 promising "whenever colored persons are employed as musicians in any regiment or company, they shall be entitled to the same pay as allowed by law to musicians regularly enlisted."²⁶² General John B. Gordon brought his slave Josephus Blake to war with him, and Blake played fife for Gordon's regiment.²⁶³

As previously mentioned, a common practice across both the North and South was for existing town bands to enlist together as brigade bands. In Virginia, the Mountain

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 54–55.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 55.

²⁶¹ Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 212.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid., 206.

Saxhorn Band of Staunton became the Stonewall Brigade Band. The Americus Brass Band of Georgia became the Regimental Band of the 4th Georgia Volunteers. The Armory Band of Richmond became the 1st Virginia Regiment Band. The Valley Brass Band of Virginia became the 48th Infantry Regiment. This band was with General Robert E. Lee when he surrendered at Appomattox, and General Ulysses S. Grant allowed them all to keep their instruments instead of surrendering them to the Union Army.²⁶⁴

United States Colored Troops

The Second Confiscation and Militia Act of July 17, 1862 allowed President Abraham Lincoln to receive African Americans into the military. Among the first troops to assemble unofficially were the 1st South Carolina Volunteer Regiment, 54th Massachusetts Regiment, *Corps d'Afrique* based in New Orleans, and the 1st Regiment of Kansas Colored Volunteers.²⁶⁵ However, President Lincoln did not give combat authority to African American soldiers until he delivered the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863.

There were four official African American Union regiments by the fall of 1862: 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Louisiana Native Guard, and the 1st Louisiana Heavy Artillery (African Descent). Several additional companies performed duties in 1862 but were not officially

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

organized until 1863. These included: 1st South Carolina Infantry, African Descent (January 1863) and 1st Kansas Colored Infantry (January 1863).²⁶⁶

General Lorenzo Thomas was sent on an expedition to recruit free and contraband African Americans, and under General Order No. 143, the Bureau of Colored Troops was established on May 22, 1863. All African American regiments were now to be designated United States Colored Troops (USCT). In order to recruit African American soldiers in the Northern slave-holding states, the War Department issued General Order No. 329, which gave the Union military the power to offer financial compensation to slaveholders in exchange for manumission of their slaves into Union military service. Effectively, slaveholders could sell their enslaved people to the United States military in order to fight for the right to freedom.

Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton set a policy in March 1863 which intended African American regiments to be commanded by white officers. By the end of the war the policy had slackened and there were 87 African American officers, in addition to multiple surgeons and chaplains. The USCT included 166 regiments—more than 186,000 African American men—by the end of the Civil War.²⁶⁷ They fought in 39 major engagements and over 400 minor ones, and sixteen African American soldiers received Medals of Honor. The last regiment of the USCT was mustered out of Federal service in December 1867.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁶ Budge Weidman and Michael F. Knight, National Archives and Records Administration descriptive pamphlets, <https://www.fold3.com/title/862/civil-war-soldiers-union-colored-troops-brigade-band/description>.

²⁶⁷ Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 206.

²⁶⁸ Weidman, National Archives and Records Administration descriptive pamphlets.

United States Colored Troops Bands

The National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) has identified some brigade bands of the USCT but there is not a complete listing of names of bandmen for each band, only for Brigade Bands Nos. 1 & 2 of the *Corps d'Afrique*, which list a total of 100 names of bandmen. I have compiled all of the existing names of bandmen from the NARA in Appendix E. The bands included in their records are: 1st Brigade Corps d'Afrique, 2nd Brigade *Corps d'Afrique*, 1st Brigade, 2nd Division-Port Hudson HQ Band. Keith Wilson further identified bands which existed in several other regiments: the 5th United States Colored Infantry (USCI), 68th USCI, 96th USCI, 4th US Colored Heavy Artillery (USHA), 14th Rhode Island USHA, 29th Connecticut Volunteers, and 55th Massachusetts Volunteers. There is reason to believe bands existed in many regiments of the USCT.²⁶⁹

The bands played the same typical regimental marches as their white counterparts, but also accompanied the camp singing of marching songs, “negro-Methodist chants,”²⁷⁰ folksongs, ballads, etc. which comingled to form the genre of African American “war songs.”²⁷¹

The procurement of instruments and instruction for USCT bands was at the discretion of the commanding officers. Some regimental officers made it a higher priority than others to ensure bandmen access to adequate equipment and training. Bandmen

²⁶⁹ Keith Wilson, "Black Bands and Black Culture: A Study of Black Military Bands in the Union Army during the Civil War," *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 9, no. 1 (July 1990): 36n9, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41054165>.

²⁷⁰ Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 209.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 210–211.

would often purchase the instruments themselves, while living on a smaller wage than their white counterparts. According to the National Archives, “Black soldiers were initially paid \$10 per month from which \$3 was automatically deducted for clothing, resulting in a net pay of \$7. In contrast, white soldiers received \$13 per month from which no clothing allowance was drawn. In June 1864 Congress granted equal pay to the U.S. Colored Troops and made the action retroactive.”²⁷² Captain J.J. Scroggs (5th USC Infantry) noted his bandsmen “expended some of their surplus funds in purchasing brass instruments for a band.”²⁷³ And Major Daniel Densmore (68th USC Infantry) observed the same, noting when his men were paid the “magicians” bought “violins, or rather fiddles.”²⁷⁴

An editorial in the *Detroit Advertiser & Tribune*, from December 3, 1863, told a story about the First Michigan Colored Regiment band receiving a brand-new set of brass instruments made expressly for the band by Stratton & Foote, NY, which cost \$528.00. The instruments were listed as: 4 B-flat cornets, 2 B-flat altos, 2 B-flat tenors, 2 B-flat alto, 1 B-flat bass, 1 E-flat bass, 1 pair of Turkish Cymbals, 1 Bass drum, 1 Snare drum.²⁷⁵

Bandsmen in the 5th USC Infantry were victims of racially motivated theft when white officers stole their instruments. The bandsmen had purchased the instruments out

²⁷² Elsie Freeman, Wynell Burroughs Schamel, and Jean West, "The Fight for Equal Rights: A Recruiting Poster for Black Soldiers in the Civil War," *Social Education* 56, 2 (February 1992): 118–120, accessed on March 2, 2020, <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/blacks-civil-war>.

²⁷³ Wilson, “Black Bands and Black Culture,” 34.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 33.

²⁷⁵ Bufkin, “Union Bands,” 176.

of their own pockets at the significant cost of \$900. One bandsman wrote a letter to the Secretary of War to inform him of the theft and said the cruelty was “more i [sic] masters would have done.”²⁷⁶

Private philanthropic organizations also helped bands obtain instruments. Colonel Robert G. Shaw (54th Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry USCT) reported “a special ladies committee supporting black recruitment agreed to pay for a band instructor for the 54th Massachusetts Volunteers.”²⁷⁷ Colonel Shaw also arranged a special fund of \$500 during the band’s infancy for the purchase of instruments.²⁷⁸ A “Black Committee” of citizens in Massachusetts organized recruitment for soldiers in USCT regiments and also raised money for the purchase of their band instruments. Edward Kinsley of the “Black Committee” received letters from Sgt. William Logan and Sgt. Maj. James M. Trotter to thank him for instruments he had donated. Trotter’s letter is interesting because it references “Prof. Moore” and “first Asst. Smith” who “proficiently performed 'Cottage by the Lea' on two [donated] horns.”²⁷⁹ Likely, this is just a generic term for a brass instrument. The men in the 68th, for example, formed dance bands and played their instruments for pleasure,²⁸⁰ so it is possible the smaller bands were a hodge-podge of instruments, like the Southern bands, and not necessarily an organized brass band.

None of the surviving muster rolls, enlistment papers or discharge papers in the United States National Archives and Records Administration list instruments associated

²⁷⁶ Wilson, “Black Bands and Black Culture,” 35.

²⁷⁷ Wilson, “Black Bands and Black Culture,” 34.

²⁷⁸ Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 208.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Wilson, “Black Bands and Black Culture,” 33.

with people in the Brigade Bands. I have only been able to locate one photograph of a USCT band, at the Library of Congress. I have included this photograph in Appendix H. The band has over-the-shoulder saxhorns and the bandleader has a cornet.²⁸¹

Bands of the USCT were held in high regard in both the African American and white Northern populations. They were excellent tools for recruitment,²⁸² for the acculturation of former slaves to military life,²⁸³ and they symbolized the prospect of freedom and equality by providing African American troops the same access to morale-boosting music as white troops. Keith Wilson wrote about a young man who visited his brother stationed in Memphis, Tennessee. During his visit, the young man watched a performance by the 7th United States Colored Heavy Artillery Band and wrote: “All negroes played in Court Square...and some of the fine ladies looked quite vexed at what they considered the insult. But the band played well and showed the difference between the negroes as soldiers and as slaves a year ago.”²⁸⁴

Colonel Nelson Viali (possibly 2nd Division-Port Hudson HQ Band) reported his band had “acquired so much proficiency that in a few months it was sought for to play for private parties, and on public occasions in the city of New Orleans.”²⁸⁵ Keith Wilson perhaps best described the importance of bands in the USCT:

²⁸¹ Garofalo, *A Pictorial History*, 83.

²⁸² Wilson, " Black Bands and Black Culture," 33.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 32.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 35.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 33.

[B]lack bands provided an audible demonstration of the allegedly edifying impact of military service on blacks. Black military bandmen therefore heralded Union victory in the South in a way that helped to allay Southern fears of social dislocation and anarchy. Black troops could be presented to the Southern population not as conquering avengers but as entertainers.²⁸⁶



*Figure 14. Band of the 107th Colored Infantry.*²⁸⁷

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 35.

²⁸⁷ Smith, William M. [photographer.] "Band of the 107th Colored Infantry." Photograph. Arlington, VA, possibly Fort Corcoran [1865]. Library of Congress, Civil War Photograph Collection

CHAPTER 9

POSTBELLUM MUSIC

*Because my mouth is wide with laughter and my throat is deep with song,
you do not think I suffer after I have held my pain so long?
Because my mouth is wide with laughter, you do not hear my inner cry?
Because my feet are gay with dancing, you do not know I die?*

Langston Hughes

Minstrelsy

The years between the Civil War and World War I were immensely important to African American history, and music traditions. It was a time of hope and fear: Emancipation symbolized the freedom for African Americans to travel, to sing, and to play music; but those hopes in the eyes of African Americans translated into fear in the eyes of former slaveowners and many Southern Americans. The expectation of Reconstruction to mend the divide between North and South failed to assuage white fears and instead led to the development of the Ku Klux Klan and the tragedy of lynching.

Minstrelsy emerged during the 1820s and reached its peak of popularity around the time of the Civil War. Minstrel songs were a way for people to destabilize the efforts of Reconstruction while concealing their subversion. Performers (white and African American) would blacken their faces and perform parodies of African American slaves and Freemen. They sang “Negro songs” and “Ethiopian songs” and performed dances derived from the slaves. They oftentimes blatantly stole material from enslaved people, and furthermore they told jokes about slave life.²⁸⁸ From minstrelsy came the “coon”

²⁸⁸ Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 89.

song phenomenon. The cultural fascination with “coon” songs reached its peak between 1890 and 1910 and solidified stereotypes of African Americans in the broad social system.²⁸⁹

Minstrelsy was the path to employment for hundreds of postbellum entertainers, both white and black. The Federal census of 1890 reported “1,490 Negro full time actors and showmen.”²⁹⁰ Late 19th century Americans were not particularly interested in their own classical musicians, white or black, and preferred the prestige of importing European artists.²⁹¹ Black musicians were further put at a disadvantage by racial prejudice especially when they attempted to perform anything other than “black” music: spirituals or minstrel songs.²⁹²

Many African American entertainers started as pickaninny or plantation singers in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* Company, a traveling theatre group who performed the play based on the famous book written by Harriet Beecher Stowe, which used “real black people” in plantation scenes.²⁹³ Another road show which used black people in plantation scenes was *In Old Kentucky* in Minneapolis, which started in 1892. It had a 24 piece “boys’ band” called the Whangdoodles and was known as a “Pickaninny Band”.²⁹⁴ James Powell was the bandleader and was known to maintain very high standards.²⁹⁵

²⁸⁹ James H. Dormon, “Shaping the Popular Image of Post-Reconstruction American Blacks: The ‘Coon Song’ Phenomenon of the Gilded Age,” *American Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (December, 1988), 450, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2712997>.

²⁹⁰ Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 237.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 253.

²⁹² *Ibid.*

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 254.

²⁹⁴ See Appendix H.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 255.

In addition to military and military-style brass bands, “boys brass bands” were very popular during the 1890s. One of the best known was the Jenkins Orphanage band, from Charleston.²⁹⁶ Several band members were key figures in early 20th century jazz.²⁹⁷

In the 1820s, the character “Jim Crow” was introduced by Thomas D. Rice, or “Daddy Rice.”²⁹⁸ Rice would darken his face and sing the traditional slave song “Jump Jim Crow” while dancing with a distinct hop meant to mock the disabled Crow, who had a physical deformity.²⁹⁹ The performance was a ridiculous caricature of the “suffering slave” and became one of the two dominant characters in minstrelsy.

The second was “Zip Coon,” whose origins are hazier. The character is said to have been created by George Washington Dixon and Bob Farrel. Zip Coon was a “black dandy” who put on airs and mimicked the sophisticated manners of white people.³⁰⁰ He aspired to be white, and was represented as an ignorant, maladroit, happy-go-lucky buffoon who was abjectly safe. The African American of minstrel and “coon” songs was above all things, a safe, unthreatening character.³⁰¹

“Coon” Bands

“Coon” songs were derived from the widespread use of the word “coon” to mean “black” in the 1880s. They were songs about, and often written by, black people.³⁰² The

²⁹⁶ See Appendix H for photos of the Jenkins Orphanage band.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Dormon, “Shaping the Popular Image,” 451.

²⁹⁹ Ibid. See also Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 91.

³⁰⁰ Dormon, “Shaping the Popular Image,” 451.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Ibid., 452.

first was in 1880, “The Dandy Coon’s Parade” by J.P. Skelly, followed shortly thereafter by “The Coons are on Parade.”³⁰³ The songs were caricatures of black life, meant to be comic. Over 600 “coon” songs were published during the 1890s with many selling millions of copies. Their popularity was in part due to the catchy quality of the songs, which had syncopated rhythms similar to two-steps, cakewalks and even marches.³⁰⁴ They were easily adaptable to vaudeville, which replaced minstrelsy as the popular theatre genre by the early 20th century.³⁰⁵

Underlying traits of the “coon” song character were ignorance, laziness, dishonesty, drunkenness, excessive sexuality, and violence.³⁰⁶ “Coons” were portrayed as razor-wielding, sexual savages who must be separated from civilized white society to protect it from their violence and inability to restrain themselves.³⁰⁷ They were furthermore presented as shifty: only able to make money through gambling and stealing.³⁰⁸

Post-Reconstruction America used music to repeat these tropes over and over until the signified “coon” could justify Jim Crow segregation.³⁰⁹ African Americans were portrayed as dangerous and a threat to society, therefore needed to be controlled and segregated by law, violence and intimidation.³¹⁰ “Coon” songs were perceived as silly by listeners, and this made them extremely dangerous. They spoke through symbols, without

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 453.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 454.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 458.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 456.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 466.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 464.

the listener discerning the significance of their latent racism.³¹¹ They justified racism to white Americans.

“Coon” songs and minstrel bands married to form “Coon bands,” which traveled with minstrel shows. The Primrose & West company sought to bring refinement to minstrelsy, their motto was “Modern Minstrelsy in Kingly Splendor.”³¹² First-rate bands would frequently tour with minstrel troupes and vaudeville companies, such as W.C. Handy’s bands for Mahara Minstrel troupes.³¹³



Figure 15. Advertisement for Mahara's Big Minstrel Carnival.³¹⁴

³¹¹ Ibid., 467.

³¹² See Appendix H for Primrose & West posters.

³¹³ Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 258.

³¹⁴ <https://historic-memphis.com/wchandy>.

In their book *Ragged But Right: Black Traveling Shows, Coon Songs, and the Dark Pathway to Blues and Jazz*, Lynn Abbott and Doug Seroff list rosters of Circus and Wild West Side Show Annex Band and Minstrel shows from 1911 to 1920. The rosters list the following horn players, without indication of race:

In 1900 an ex-minstrel named Pat Chappelle organized A Rabbit's Foot, which was a touring musical theatre company. The show toured widely in the South and employed some of the most important blues artist of the 20th century, such as Ma Rainey and Bessie Smith.³¹⁵

| <i>Table 3.</i> | | | |
|---|-----------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>Names of Horn Players in Minstrel Bands</i> | | | |
| Band Name | Date of Record | Instrument | Name |
| L.K. Baker's Band and Minstrels (with 101 Ranch) ³¹⁶ | May 1915 | First horn Second horn | Charles Brown Samuel Ford |
| Rabbit's Foot Company ³¹⁷ | March 14, 1903 | French horn Melowphone [sic] | Jackson Caswell |
| The Florida Blossoms Company ³¹⁸ | March 2, 1907 | Horn | W.G. Kennedy |
| Silas Green from New Orleans ³¹⁹ | April 3, 1915 | Horns | Austin Gosser Will Goss Kennedy |

³¹⁵ Lynn Abbott and Doug Seroff, *Ragged but Right: Black Traveling Shows, Coon Songs, and the Dark Pathway to Blues and Jazz* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007), 299.

³¹⁶ Abbott, *Ragged but Right*, 365.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 374.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 376.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 380.

CHAPTER 10

EARLY 20TH CENTURY

African American Conservatory Tradition

The African American band tradition established by Francis Johnson, Joseph Anderson, Pedro Tinsley, and Theodore Finney was one well-established path for black musicians. Another was to be an entertainer with touring minstrel bands and circuses. During the postbellum era and the early 20th century, another path emerged: music schools. African American musicians were excluded from participation in symphony orchestras and opera companies, but they were admitted to some music schools and conservatories, for example the National Conservatory of Music in New York, Boston Conservatory, Oberlin Conservatory, and, New England Conservatory.³²⁰

Harriett Gibbs Marshall founded the highly successful Washington Conservatory of Music in 1903.³²¹ In 1889, Gibbs Marshall was the first African American woman to receive a music degree from Oberlin Conservatory and she dedicated herself to educating other African American musicians with high quality conservatory training. Her conservatory also sponsored regular concerts, which boosted the community because African Americans were prohibited from attending white concerts in the District of Columbia.³²²

³²⁰ Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 266.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, 288.

³²² *Ibid.*

Similar schools were established in New York—the Music School Settlement for Colored, established by David Mannes, and New Orleans—Nickerson school, which also had an orchestra for African American women.³²³ There were also African American orchestras: a “black orchestra” was established in Philadelphia in 1904 (and incorporated as a legitimate business in 1906); the Lyre Club Symphony Orchestra was founded in New Orleans in 1897; and from 1902–05 there was a “black orchestra” in Chicago under the direction of N. Clark Smith.³²⁴

James Reese Europe

Clef Club Orchestra

Arguably, the most famous African American orchestra was the Clef Club orchestra in New York City, directed by James Reese Europe. They started performing in 1910,³²⁵ and notably used traditional African American instruments alongside European orchestral instruments. They only performed music written by black composers.³²⁶ He modified the orchestral instrumentation at first “because he was simply unable to find capable black performers.”³²⁷ Mandolins and banjos were played instead of second violins, two clarinets instead of an oboe, baritone horns and trombones instead of French horns and bassoons.³²⁸ But as the orchestra progressed he became more convinced of the

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Ibid. 291.

³²⁵ R. Reid Badger, “James Reese Europe and the Prehistory of Jazz,” *American Music* 7, no. 1 (Spring 1989), 50.

³²⁶ Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 292.

³²⁷ Badger, “James Reese Europe,” 51.

³²⁸ Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 293.

relevance of the sound he had created.³²⁹ In response to critics of the orchestra, Europe said:

You see, we colored people have our own music that is a part of us. It's the product of our souls; it's been created by the sufferings and miseries of our race. Some of the melodies we played Wednesday were made up by slaves of the old days, and others were handed down from the days before we left Africa.... [Some] would doubtless laugh heartily at the way our Negro Symphony is organized, the distribution of our pieces, and our methods of organization.³³⁰

James Reese Europe was born in Mobile, Alabama in 1881 and grew up in Washington, D.C. He received his musical education in public school and additional private studies on piano and violin.³³¹ In 1904 he moved to New York City to work as a pianist in theatre, vaudeville and minstrel shows.³³² The Library of Congress lists Europe as the founder and president of the Clef Club:

In 1910 Europe formed the Clef Club and became its president. This organization not only put together its own orchestra and chorus but served as a union and contracting agency for black musicians. Soon it had as many as 200 men on its roster. On May 2, 1912, the Clef Club Symphony Orchestra put on "A Concert of Negro Music" in Carnegie Hall. The concert was a tremendous success. The 125-man orchestra included a large contingent of banjos and mandolins and presented music by exclusively black composers. By this time, Europe believed that although black musicians respected white music of quality, they did not need to play or imitate it. Instead they had their own music to play which people of all races would want to hear.³³³

³²⁹ Badger, "James Reese Europe," 51.

³³⁰ Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 293.

³³¹ Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 345.

³³² Library of Congress: "James Reese Europe", <https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200038842/>.

³³³ *Ibid.*

*World War I & the 369th "Hellfighters"*³³⁴

When the United States entered World War I in 1917, the military was still segregated. More than 200,000 African American men served in the armed forces, and African American units maintained their own bands with African American, not white, bandmasters.³³⁵ These military bands would prove to be breeding grounds for the developing proto-jazz style and included players such as Willie "the Lion" and Noble Sissle. Bandleaders were well documented:³³⁶

- 349th Directed by Dorsey Rhodes.
- 350th "Seventy Black Devils," directed by Tim Brymn.
Willie "the Lion" was a drum major in the band.
- 367th "Buffaloes," directed by Egbert Thompson.
- 368th Directed by Jack Thomas.
- 369th "Hellfighters," directed by Jim Europe.
Noble Sissle was a drum major in the band.
- 370th Directed by George Dulf.
- 807th Directed by Will Vodery.

Of all these bands, the 369th was the most honored. Europe recruited musicians from all over the country, and it was famous for the quality of their performances. They played concerts all over France and in August of 1918, the 369th was sent to Paris to perform a concert in the Théâtre Champs-Élysées. The audience had over 50,000 people, and the audience went wild for their music.³³⁷ Although they were establishing some traditions which would come to be associated with early jazz—most notably ragging of the rhythms, using mutes and innovative articulations—the band did very little in terms

³³⁴ Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 352.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*

³³⁶ *Ibid.*

³³⁷ Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 353.

of improvising melodies and played strictly with regard to pitch and note values.³³⁸ The style established by the “Hellfighters” would come to be thought of as the precursor to jazz.

Of six photos I found of African American World War I bands, including the 803rd and James Reese Europe’s 369th Infantry Band, there are French horns in three.³³⁹ One photo has noticeable alto horns instead and the other photo is difficult to distinguish but certainly could include French horns. Figure 6 shows two horn players in the “Hellfighters” band.



*Figure 16. James Reese Europe and the band of the 369th "Hellfighters"*³⁴⁰

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ See Appendix H.

³⁴⁰ National Archives, Washington, D.C. Record No. 533522

As mentioned before, orphanage bands and brass bands made up of young African American boys were extremely popular at the turn of the century. This was a different form of music education, albeit in a school setting. The town brass band had become an American institution by way of competitions³⁴¹ and performing at social events like political rallies and dances.³⁴² Bandsmen could read music and performed marches, hymns, overtures, medleys of popular songs, light classics, etc.³⁴³ At the age of thirteen, Louis Armstrong (born in 1900) was sent to a Colored Waif's Home outside of New Orleans.³⁴⁴ Armstrong was not an orphan; the waif's house was in fact a reform school similar to modern juvenile detention facilities. Armstrong had shot blanks from his stepfather's gun on New Year's Eve and had been arrested and stayed there for a year and a half.³⁴⁵ Louis Armstrong was ultimately the bridge between the minstrel tradition and jazz, between the 19th century and 20th century, and between Jim Crow and Civil Rights. He paved the road for musicians like Duke Ellington, Miles Davis, and Julius Watkins to pursue jazz and art music in the broad American culture.

³⁴¹ Ibid., 341.

³⁴² Ibid., 340.

³⁴³ Ibid., 341.

³⁴⁴ See Appendix H for a photo of Armstrong in the band.

³⁴⁵ Matt Micucci, "Louis Armstrong and the Colored Waif's Home for Boys," *Jazziz*, July 4, 2016, <https://www.jazziz.com/louis-armstrong-colored-waifs-home-boys/>.

CHAPTER 11

MID-20TH CENTURY: JULIUS WATKINS

The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line.
W.E.B. DuBois

The Role of Music in 1950s American Culture

The mid-20th century brought profound transitions in American politics, art and culture. The jazz idiom was symbolic of broader civil unrest—growing from bebop to “cool” bop, to “hard” bop, and post-bop. Dance bands and jazz orchestras had been large ensembles of up to twenty musicians and were largely illustrative of racial segregation. The most commercially successful orchestras would play in the whites-only dance clubs, like the Cotton Club in New York City. Bebop groups, however, were small combos of three to five musicians, and their sound integrated more aspects of African American music, like rhythm & blues and gospel. Jazz musicians were constantly looking for ways to innovate, and one of the ways they found was to use interesting and surprising instruments.

Music had been emphasized in President Woodrow Wilson’s administration during World War I, as a way to promote patriotism.³⁴⁶ Community choirs and bands were charged with the “maintenance of civilian morale.”³⁴⁷ This emphasis of music in the broader culture was maintained through World War II, and led directly to improved

³⁴⁶ Barbara Tischler, “One Hundred Percent Americanism and Music in Boston during World War I,” *American Music* 4 (1986), 164–76.

³⁴⁷ L. Bruce Jones, “How Can the School Band Serve in Defense?,” *Music Educators Journal* 28,4 (1942), 22.

instrumental music education in schools.³⁴⁸ Some schools offered private music lessons in piano, and orchestral instruments like harp, French horn, trumpet, clarinet, and violin.

African American Musicians and Orchestral Auditions

Unfortunately, African American students who excelled in their lessons, and wanted to pursue classical music as a profession, were mostly out of luck. The first few African Americans to break the color barrier in orchestras were conductors and string players. In 1941, Dean Dixon made his conducting debut in a guest appearance with the New York Philharmonic, marking him as the first African American to lead a symphony orchestra.³⁴⁹ In 1948, sixteen-year-old bass player, Henry Lewis, joined the Los Angeles Philharmonic as their first African American member.³⁵⁰ He went on to have an impressive conducting career and married renowned mezzo-soprano Marilyn Horne.³⁵¹ In 1957, cellist Donald White became the first African American member of the Cleveland Orchestra.³⁵² In 1962, violinist Sanford Allen became the first African American full-

³⁴⁸ Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), chapter 1.

³⁴⁹ Roswitha Dixon-Blume, "Dean Dixon, a world renowned conductor," *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*. Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates Jr., eds (New York: Basic Civitas Books / Perseus Books Group, 1999), <https://aaregistry.org/story/dean-dixon-a-world-renowned-conductor/>.

³⁵⁰ Robert D. McFadden, "Henry Lewis, Conductor Who Broke Racial Barriers of U.S. Orchestras, Is Dead at 63," *The New York Times*, Section B (Jan. 29, 1996), 6.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*

³⁵² Emily Quinn, "Donald White, Cellist and Cleveland Orchestra's First Black Member, Dies," *Playbill* (August 4, 2005).

time member of the New York Philharmonic, and resigned in 1977 after he was “simply tired of being a symbol.”³⁵³

Things were different in the world of brass instruments. It was more than twenty years after the first African American string player was hired by a professional symphony orchestra, before an African American brass player was hired in a major orchestra. In 1970, Robert Lee Watt was hired by the Los Angeles Philharmonic to play Assistant Principal Horn.³⁵⁴ It took over thirty more years for the Chicago Symphony Orchestra to hire their first African American member on any instrument; trumpeter Tage Larsen won the race- and gender-blind audition for utility trumpet of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra in 2002.³⁵⁵

Auditions in the 20th century had been based on word-of-mouth and the judgment of the conductor. Between 1970 and 1990, most orchestras transitioned to blind auditions, meaning the auditioning musician’s identity was concealed behind a curtain.³⁵⁶ Since African American people were rarely, if ever, invited to audition for symphony orchestras under the old, word-of-mouth model, these classically trained musicians began to find opportunities in jazz ensembles. One such musician was Julius Watkins (October 10, 1921–April 4, 1977³⁵⁷), a classically trained horn player from Detroit. He was an exceptional instrumentalist and musician who, in a different time, could have been a

³⁵³ Donal Henahan, “Only Black in Philharmonic Is Resigning After 15 Years,” *New York Times* (August 29, 1977), 35.

³⁵⁴ Erin Aubrey Kaplan, “It’s his horn of plenty,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 20, 2008.

³⁵⁵ John von Rhein, “CSO hire spotlights diversity question,” *Chicago Tribune* (July 28, 2002).

³⁵⁶ Claudia Goldin and Cecilia Rouse, “Orchestrating Impartiality: The Impact of “Blind” Auditions on Female Musicians,” *American Economic Review* 90/4 (2000): 715–741.

³⁵⁷ Patrick Smith, “Julius Watkins and the Evolution of the Jazz French Horn Genre” (DMA dissertation, University of Florida. 2005), 30, 58.

principal horn player in an orchestra or a world-renowned virtuoso soloist.³⁵⁸ Watkins is a prime example of an African American musician who was forced to innovate in order to create a career, and he pioneered jazz horn playing because it was the only avenue available to him.

Julius Watkins's Early Life

Watkins was fortunate to be able to attend Cass Technical High School, in Detroit, from 1936–38.³⁵⁹ In the early twentieth-century, the city of Detroit had a 35-percent public high school graduation rate. It was decided more students would stay enrolled if they were given vocational training which they could take to Detroit's burgeoning factories, so Cass Tech was built.³⁶⁰ Students at Cass could be prepared for jobs in the thriving auto industry upon graduation, or to attend college. Cass Tech also boasted a thriving music program and continues to be a regular stomping ground for jazz, Motown, classical, and R&B musicians into the 21st century.³⁶¹

³⁵⁸ Mallika Rao, "Black Classical Musicians: A Case Study in Beating the Odds," *The Huffington Post* (April 30, 2013) https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/04/30/african-americans-in-classical-music_n_3188436.html.

³⁵⁹ Smith, "Julius Watkins," 32.

³⁶⁰ Detroit Historical Society online Encyclopedia, entry on Cass Technical High School, <https://detroithistorical.org/learn/encyclopedia-of-detroit/cass-technical-high-school>.

³⁶¹ Mark Stryker, *Jazz from Detroit* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2019) 12.

Cass Tech's reputation was such that big-name bandleaders would drop by in the 1930s and early '40s to scout talent. On one of those prospecting trips, Jimmie Lunceford first heard Gerald Wilson, who joined Lunceford's trumpet section in 1939. Beyond Byrd and Wilson, the list of jazz musicians who attended Cass Tech at midcentury is astounding—Wardell Gray, Howard McGhee, Lucky Thompson, Bobby Byrne, Al McKibbin, Major Holley, Billy Mitchell, Julius Watkins, Roland Hanna, Paul Chambers, Doug Watkins, Ron Carter, Hugh Lawson, Alice (McLeod) Coltrane, Kirk Lightsey, and Dorothy Ashby. In later decades, Kevin Toney, Ralphie Armstrong, Geri Allen, Regina Carter, Gerald Cleaver, Carla Cook, and Ali Jackson attended the school.³⁶²

During his two years at Cass Tech, Julius Watkins studied with Francis Hellstein, of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra,³⁶³ and received excellent classical orchestral horn training. He worked hard and “fell in love with the sound of the horn” during these years and decided he wanted to be a horn player.³⁶⁴ By all accounts, Watkins was a gifted horn player. As a young African American man, however, the training Watkins received was preparing him for a career path simply not available to him. In a 2013 interview, pianist Roy Eaton declared “Julius Watkins was one of the greatest French Horn players I have ever met in my entire life. But he was black, so he couldn’t get a hearing at the New York Philharmonic.”³⁶⁵

Eaton’s declaration that Watkins could not get the opportunity to audition helps to explain his decision to drop out of Cass Tech after two years. It was an unfortunate paradox, and he was unhappy with his career prospects as an orchestral hornist, so decided to accept a job offer in a dance band. He left Cass Tech in 1938 to play

³⁶² Stryker, *Jazz from Detroit*, 14.

³⁶³ “Julius Watkins, 55, Played Jazz on the French Horn and was Music Teacher,” *New York Times* (April 8, 1977), <https://www.nytimes.com/1977/04/08/archives/long-island-opinion-julius-watkins-55played-jazz-on-the-french-horn.html>.

³⁶⁴ Smith, “Julius Watkins,” 32.

³⁶⁵ Rao, “Black Classical Musicians.”

background trumpet and horn on tour with Ernie Fields' band, the Royal Entertainers. This was a touring dance band which provided little to no artistic outlet for Watkins but gave him the opportunity to practice during the day and make money at night.³⁶⁶ He had had enough of the tour lifestyle³⁶⁷ after four years and moved back to Detroit in 1942. He played in Detroit-based dance bands before joining the Naval Reserves in 1944, then joined the Milt Buckner Big Band in either 1946³⁶⁸ or 1948. The discrepancy is, by Watkins' own account, he joined in 1946; however Milt Buckner's big band in Detroit was short-lived³⁶⁹ and the only years Buckner was not a member of Lionel Hampton's band were the years 1948–50.

The advent of the jazz orchestral genre around 1940 secured the horn a place in jazz music. The horn was already a staple in movie soundtracks by this time: *Gone with the Wind* was released in 1939 and the sweeping horn melodies of the opening theme “use big wide intervals which make all those classic wide overhead scenic shots feel extra grand.”³⁷⁰ Composer Max Steiner used French horns to evoke “pastoral settings and nobility/heroism.”³⁷¹ It was logical for West Coast jazz orchestras to be influenced by the popular music happening in Hollywood, if for no other reason than commercial musicians were freelancing in both worlds. Experiments with timbre were a staple of the

³⁶⁶ Smith, “Julius Watkins,” 35–36.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 36.

³⁶⁸ Ibid., 37.

³⁶⁹ Leonard Feather, *The Encyclopedia of Jazz* (New York, NY; Horizon Press, 1960), 92.

³⁷⁰ *Awesome Orchestra*; “Tara’s Theme from Gone with the Wind,” a blog post by Molly Phelan, <http://www.awesomeorchestra.org/blog/2017/9/29/taras-theme-from-gone-with-the-wind>.

³⁷¹ Ibid.

jazz orchestra style, as evidenced by Glenn Miller's use of the clarinet. In this same vein, leaders began to include French horns in their orchestras.

The Claude Thornhill Orchestra is thought to be the first to integrate horn into its ranks on a regular basis.³⁷² Thornhill's band was already thinking outside the box by using horns and tubas, but his concept was marked by impressionistic, non-vibrato tone quality,³⁷³ and a distinct shift away from call-and-response to unison harmonies.³⁷⁴ Gil Evans was a staff arranger for the Thornhill band from 1941–48. Evans is an essential part of the horn's history in mainstream jazz, because of his involvement with Thornhill, and occasionally Stan Kenton, and Miles Davis. Evans moved to New York and began collaborating with Miles Davis in 1948, and their aesthetic was overtly influenced by the character and sound of California jazz.

When Evans and Davis created the Miles Davis nonet and began work on their influential album *Birth of the Cool*, they were looking to create the sound of the Thornhill band but using smaller orchestration.³⁷⁵ They used three members of the Thornhill band (Lee Konitz, Gerry Mulligan, and Gil Evans himself) in the nonet, and the timbre of the ensemble was sweet and mellow, characterized by the low tessitura of the instruments. Davis was the only high voice; everyone else was filling a supporting tenor or bass role. The horn fits this background role perfectly, with its characteristically round, smooth tone often described as embracing an ensemble as opposed to cutting through it.

³⁷² Stephanie Stein Crease, *Gil Evans: Out of the Cool* (Chicago: A Capella Books, 2002), 79.

³⁷³ Stein Crease, *Gil Evans*, 141.

³⁷⁴ Jerome Klinkowitz, *Listen: Gerry Mulligan, An Aural Narrative In Jazz* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1991), 27.

³⁷⁵ Stein Crease, *Gil Evans*, 144.

Aside from Julius Watkins, the other so-called “pioneer” of the horn in jazz³⁷⁶ was a white man from the West Coast by the name of John Graas. Graas (March 14, 1917– April 13, 1962³⁷⁷) was the first horn player for Claude Thornhill³⁷⁸ and then played in Stan Kenton’s bands. He was also the first horn player to lead a jazz recording session, in June 1953, for an album called *French Horn Jazz* on the Trend label. Graas, unlike Watkins, was invited to play with numerous classical orchestras during his career, acting as Principal Horn in the Indianapolis Symphony, Rochester Symphony, Army Air Corps Band, and the Cleveland Orchestra during his career, while he was also playing with these jazz orchestras. Julius Watkins, had he been white, would likely have been extended similar opportunities during his career.

Watkins in New York

Watkins made his way to New York, via the Manhattan School of Music, where he was accepted as a student based on the following criteria: 1) he was an excellent hornist; 2) he would not earn a degree and was considered a “special student”; and 3) he was sponsored by the GI Bill after having joined the Naval Reserve after his time with the Fields Band.³⁷⁹ The “special student” status meant Watkins could take all the same courses as a degree-track student, but he was ineligible for a bachelor’s degree, most likely because of his lack of a high school diploma. The Manhattan School’s grade and

³⁷⁶ Feather, *The Encyclopedia of Jazz*, 232.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Stein Crease, *Gil Evans*, 71–75.

³⁷⁹ Smith, “Julius Watkins,” 38–39.

admissions records indicate Watkins started out as a strong student but declined after a few years and left the school in 1953.³⁸⁰

During this time, he met and began playing with pianist Thelonious Monk. The professional connection to Monk opened up a new world for Watkins, and led to his meeting Oscar Pettiford, who would later become a member of his ensemble, the Julius Watkins Sextet. Watkins recorded for Monk's 1954 self-titled album, *Monk*,³⁸¹ and his collaborative album with Sonny Rollins, *Thelonious Monk and Sonny Rollins*, both released in 1954. The track from this album titled "Friday the 13th" features a prominent solo by Watkins.³⁸²

"Friday the 13th" was recorded in November 1953 by the quintet of Thelonious Monk, Sonny Rollins, Julius Watkins, Percy Heath, and Willie Jones. According to Monk's biographer, Robin Kelley, the tune was written in the studio during the recording session, and released as a ten-minute jam to fill out the album's running time.³⁸³ While this would have been an afterthought to Monk, it was an opportunity for Watkins to show what he could do. He demonstrated his skill in improvisation and his command over every aspect of the instrument. His solo clearly outlines the technical aspects which made him such a formidable musician: his control over the extremes of range, his stamina, and his clear, strident tone quality.

³⁸⁰ Ibid., 38–40.

³⁸¹ Thelonious Monk, *Monk* (Prestige Records, 1954).

³⁸² Thelonious Monk and Sonny Rollins, "Friday the 13th," *Thelonious Monk & Sonny Rollins* (Prestige Records, 1954).

³⁸³ Robin Kelley, *Thelonious Monk: The Life and Times of an American Original* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009), 164.

Watkins as Innovator

At this time, the horn was not considered to be a solo jazz instrument (John Graas' *French Horn Jazz* was also recorded in 1953). A number of characteristics associated with the orchestral beauty of the horn are limiting factors in bebop. The sound is soft and mellow and easily sits underneath the texture to complement instruments with more direct sounds. For example, in the second movement of his Symphony No. 1, Brahms pairs the solo horn line with high solo violin to create a focused but deep sound. The horn provides the depth in this circumstance, while the violin provides the directional sound. This aesthetic works nicely for jazz orchestras as well as symphony orchestras, and, as was mentioned earlier, was adopted by Miles Davis and Gil Evans in *Birth of the Cool*.

In addition to these sound qualities, there are technical and physical liabilities which can make playing horn in jazz settings difficult. The bell of the instrument faces backwards, so the player is constantly fighting both to be heard, and not to sound behind the beat. Bebop is quick music, so a tendency to sound behind the beat is a killer. The valves of the horn can also be a limiting factor:

[The rotary valve] by design, is very different than that of a piston valve instrument. The acoustical design of the instrument favors a more tapered attack and decay of each tone and encourages a more fluid, legato, or vocal tonal production, which is ideal for romantic music of a lyrical nature. The rounded edges of the beginning and end of each tone allow better blending with the other brass sections of the orchestra.³⁸⁴

³⁸⁴ David H. Green, "A Player's Guide to Rotary Valve Trumpets," *Chrestologia*, newsmagazine of *Antique Sound Workshop*, (2002), <https://aswlt.com/rotary.htm>.

Rotary valves require less vertical movement of the air column than piston valves, so rotary brass instruments typically play more smoothly and communicate a vocal quality. Fast finger technique akin to a saxophone or piano is much more difficult to master with a rotary valve. Additional problems include physical endurance issues because of the small mouthpiece and the setup of the embouchure, the close partials within the overtone series unique to the horn, and the overall lack of jazz training for most horn players.

Watkins' solutions to overcoming the difficulties of playing the horn in a jazz setting were numerous. He tried innovative and new techniques and also used methods and solutions similar to those of any classical horn soloist working to be heard over the ensemble. He adopted an embouchure similar to a trumpet player's which helped him to play in the extreme high range of the horn.³⁸⁵ A typical horn embouchure is set with 2/3 of the mouthpiece on the upper lip and 1/3 on the lower lip.³⁸⁶ Watkins atypically set his mouthpiece closer to 50:50 upper and lower lips in the mouthpiece, as evidenced in Figures 9 and 10.

This decreases the amount of vibrating lip in the mouthpiece but increases the amount of cushion available to be pushed against on the bottom lip. The majority of vibration in the mouthpiece occurs on the upper lip because the bottom lip stabilizes the mouthpiece's position on the face. In addition to improving the high range, restricting vibrations in the top lip also produces a more strident tone quality and allows the musician to play for a longer time before tiring out.

³⁸⁵ Smith, "Julius Watkins," 71–72.

³⁸⁶ Philip Farkas, *The Art of Horn Playing* (Van Nuys: Alfred Publishing Co., 1956), 23.



Figure 17. Orchestral French horn embouchure as demonstrated by Randy Gardner.



Figure 18. Jazz French horn embouchure as demonstrated by Julius Watkins.

In listening to “Friday the 13th” one can hear all three of these characteristics in Watkins’ solo: the high range, strident tone, and stamina. These can all be attributed to the more trumpet-like embouchure he used.

Two important changes Watkins made to help his presence and clarity of sound were to adjust his right-hand position inside the bell, and to change his articulations. The articulations were modified to project better, and to match the jazz style.³⁸⁷ In listening to recordings, it sounds like his articulations included tongue stops, and tonguing between the teeth, both techniques highly frowned on in the classical pedagogy but used widely in jazz brass playing. Contemporary jazz hornist Tom Varner was a student of Watkins and spoke about Watkins’ hand technique in an interview with Patrick Smith:

[He] would sometimes do this right-hand technique that wasn’t stopped, but he would split the inside of the bell into two compartments. His hand would be very flat as if you were making the sound come out in two opposite ways. This made it have more of a piercing sound—approximating the sound of a Harmon mute except you’re doing it with your hand...The sound would change from an “ahhhhhh” to an “awwwww” in color.³⁸⁸

Watkins as Virtuoso

So, how does Watkins compare as a horn player to his classical horn soloist contemporaries? One of the most influential and important horn soloists of the 20th century was a British man named Dennis Brain. Brain was born only five months before Watkins, in May 1921 in London, to a family of horn players and musicians. Brain went on to become a public figure and personality in the British music scene before dying in a

³⁸⁷ Smith, “Julius Watkins,” 72–73.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 189.

car crash in 1957. He made the first recordings of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's Horn Concerti with Herbert von Karajan and the Berlin Philharmonic and was the recipient and subject of many commissions from composers like Benjamin Britten, Paul Hindemith, York Bowen, Gordon Jacob, and Malcolm Arnold which have now become staples of the repertoire. His importance to the classical horn world cannot be overstated, and he is thus a perfect parallel to Julius Watkins, whose importance to jazz horn playing is unmatched.

A comparison of Dennis Brain's cadenza from W.A. Mozart's Concerto for Horn K. 495 to Julius Watkins's improvised solo from Thelonius Monk's "Friday the 13th" provides several indicators of Watkins skill as a horn player on par with the world's most famous horn player of their generation.³⁸⁹

Brain's cadenza is thirteen measures long and takes approximately 20 seconds to play. It stays mostly within the range of a 9th, only ascending up the entire scale at the end of the solo. In contrast, Watkins's improvised solo utilizes two and a half octaves, from G above the staff to low C, over half the range of the instrument. (The normal usable range of the horn extends from pedal "A" found in the fourth movement of Dmitri Shostakovich's Symphony No. 5; to high "F" in the "Long Call" from Richard Wagner's *Siegfried*.) Brain's harmonic palette is completely diatonic, not moving away from E-flat and sticking mostly to a melody of arpeggiated and scalar figures typical to horn writing of the Classical era. Watkins, on the other hand, explores chromaticism against the chord changes and makes heavy use of rhythmic techniques like hemiola and syncopation.

³⁸⁹ See Appendix G for my transcription of Watkins's solo.

Finally, Watkins borrows techniques from other wind jazz instruments such the quasi trill “shake,” glissandi, and valved fall-off of a note.

Is it fair to compare these two solos? Maybe, or maybe not, but the comparison illustrated that Julius Watkins was an exceptional horn player and his understanding of music was highly advanced. Bebop was the right style of jazz for someone looking for solo opportunities, and a natural progression away from dance bands for Watkins. Bebop’s speed and dense texture presented a special challenge for the horn with its soft timbre, rotary valves, and close partials, and underscores Watkins’ great skill. Analysis of his “Friday the 13th” solo alongside Dennis Brain’s Mozart K. 495 cadenza proves Watkins relevance as a horn player on par with the world’s most talented hornists of his age, who performed in the genre available to him based on his race.

CHAPTER 12

MID TO LATE-20TH CENTURY: WILLIE RUFF

*The South believed an educated Negro to be a dangerous Negro.
And the South was not wholly wrong;
for education among all kinds of men always has had,
and always will have,
an element of danger and revolution,
of dissatisfaction and discontent.
Nevertheless, men strive to know.*
W.E.B. Du Bois

When he was a teenager serving in the U.S. Army, a mentor told Willie Ruff to “always remember that music don’t mean a thing unless it tells a story. You’ve got a story to tell, and don’t you ever let nothing or nobody make you ashamed to tell it in music.”³⁹⁰ These words shaped the young man’s life more than he could have guessed at the time.

Early Life

Willie Ruff was born in 1931, in Sheffield, Alabama. He possessed a quick mind from a young age, and credits excellent teachers and a no-nonsense, Depression-era family life with his early success in school. His sister taught him to read at age four, and his mother lied about his age in order to start him early at the local black school, which did not offer Kindergarten, although the white school did. So, Willie Ruff successfully began the first grade at age five. In the second grade he would experience the first in a lifetime of formative musical events. Sheffield, Alabama was also the birthplace of the

³⁹⁰ Willie Ruff, *A Call to Assembly: The Autobiography of a Musical Storyteller* (New York: Penguin, 1991), 11.

“father of the blues,” W.C. Handy. A visit from Handy set Willie Ruff on the path to becoming a musician. Ruff recalls in his memoir, *A Call to Assembly*,

Although his eyesight was nearly gone by 1937, Mr. Handy’s eyes danced and sparkled with enthusiasm for his subject—“the music of the Negro race.” I remember the sound of his trumpet, which he played for us with a mute in the bell to make it sound like a sweet singing soprano...Of course, he played “St. Louis Blues” and “Memphis Blues,” songs that had made him famous. But he was far from content to leave us with the impressions that the blues and jazz we loved so much were the sum total of our musical story. I was six years old and hung on his every word. “It is from the spiritual,” he said, “that all else in our musical story in America took root.” He demonstrated “Go Down Moses” and “Swing Low, Sweet Chariot” on his trumpet and showed us those qualities that our sacred music shares with the blues and jazz. His musical examples were so clear and easy to follow, and his words were so strong, that I knew I was on the receiving end of a precious gift. He was passionate about the music’s worth and admonished us children to always value *all* the rich legacy of our musical ancestry, the secular and the sacred alike. “Be proud of it and hold it up,” he said. “Sing it with thanksgiving in your hearts, and with pride and dignity in your voices.” I felt as if his words were aimed directly at me, and I knew they would stay with me always.

Ruff was inspired by Handy and learned to play the “blowing bugle” which had belonged to a family member who fought for the Union Army during the Civil War.³⁹¹ Unfortunately, Ruff’s family was not appreciative of the noise and his bugle career was short lived. As a very young boy, Ruff had started singing outside the grocery store for candy money, and in grade school he graduated to drum lessons with an older white neighbor named Mutt. Mutt took Willie to his high school band practices to observe and learn, since the black school did not have band.³⁹²

The music which characterized the early 20th century South was steeped in minstrelsy and in religion. Ruff recalls the traveling minstrel shows in his book: “The

³⁹¹ Ruff, *A Call to Assembly*, 34.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, 38.

most memorable and, by far, the most enjoyable music-making experiences Mutt and I shared were the traveling carnival and minstrel shows that covered the South of our childhood.”³⁹³ Another musical influence was provided by Mrs. Nance, the drummer for the Sanctified church in town.

Upon the death of his mother, and the advent of World War II, the young Willie Ruff took a cue from her and lied about his age to enlist in the army at age 14. He started by playing drums in the 353rd Army Band at Fort Warren, in Cheyenne, Wyoming but when a new crop of musicians came from Fort Lee, Virginia, Ruff was unable to keep up. The bandmaster, Mr. Ruffin, was going to reassign him as a truckdriver, but the clever Ruff convinced Ruffin to allow him to stay in the band and learn the French horn. He was given a horn, a method book, and a practice room, and told he didn’t know what he had signed up for. “Ignorance is bliss,” Ruffin told him.³⁹⁴

The book was written by Oscar Franz and was printed in German on one side and English on the other. It was probably the *Große theoretisch-practische Waldhorn Schule*, or in its English translation “Complete method for the French Horn,” because Ruff wrote in his memoir: “[it] included a pictorial history of the horn along with exercises and instructions”³⁹⁵ as shown in Figure 11.

³⁹³ Ibid., 39.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., 129.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 130.

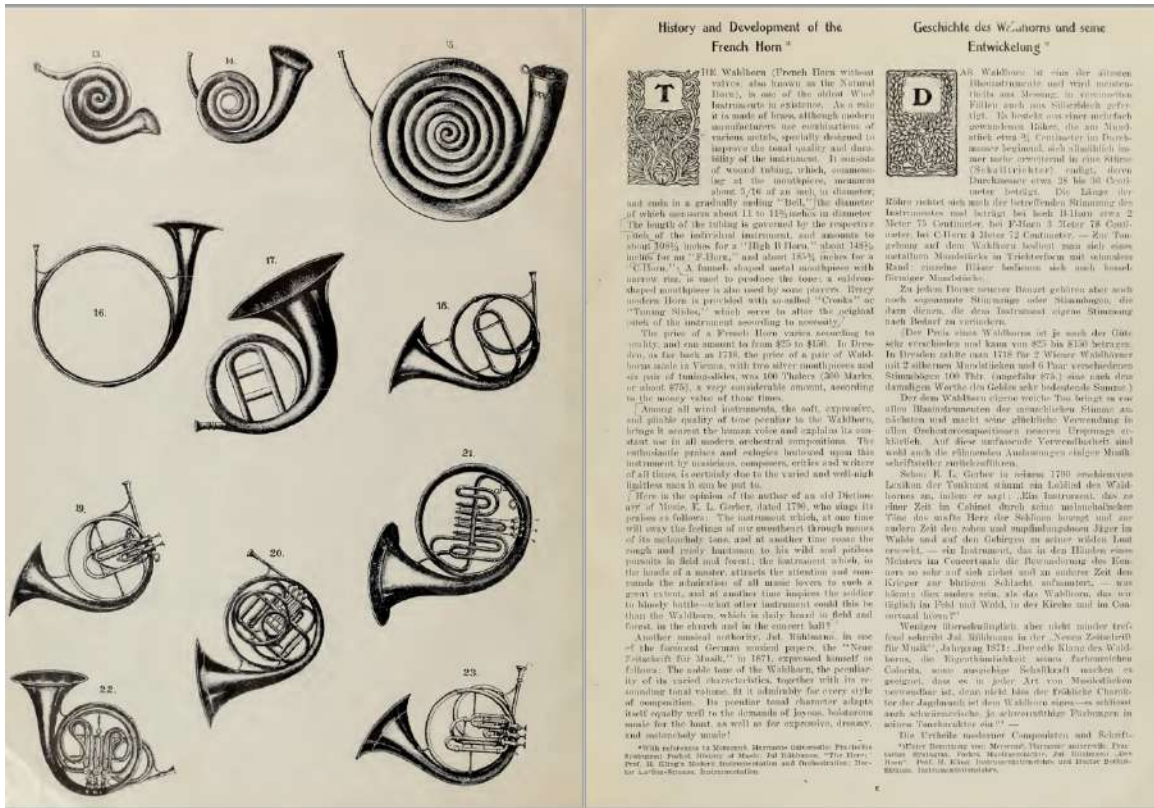


Figure 19. Complete Method for the French Horn, pages 4-5.³⁹⁶

The Franz book, with all its fascinating information for the young Willie Ruff, unfortunately lacked a fingering chart. He learned by ear at first, then was the willing recipient of guidance from the local brass hero on base, Pete Lewis. With Pete's help, Willie was soon moved to first-chair French horn and promoted to Private First Class.

Lockbourne, Tuskegee, and Meeting Dwiki Mitchell

In Ruff's own words, "By the time [I] was sixteen, [I] was good enough to be accepted into the 766th Army Air Corps band in Columbus, Ohio among the famed

³⁹⁶ Oscar Franz, *Complete Method for the French Horn* (New York:Carl Fisher, 1906), 4-5.

Tuskegee Airmen.”³⁹⁷ Lockbourne Army Airfield was the northeastern training center for the Army Air Corps, and after the Freeman Field Mutiny in which African American officers attempted to integrate an Officer’s club, became the station for the Tuskegee. He took horn lessons from Abe Kniaz, principal horn in the Columbus Symphony Orchestra, who became a lifelong friend. Kniaz was an early advocate for Ruff and pushed the young enthusiast to excel. Ruff calls Lockbourne his "Khaki Academy." Following the tradition of the black segregated military, “Elders taught youngsters about everything from music to the value of knowledge, to how to survive the American brand of apartheid.”³⁹⁸ An overlooked, yet integral, part of American history, Lockbourne was an assembly of “the black elite [which] couldn’t be integrated into a still-segregated military.”³⁹⁹ So, they were assigned to Lockbourne, a military post packed with a giant talent pool of black professionals and men and women with advanced college degrees. "There were more advanced degrees congregated on that base than on any other post in America," Ruff wrote.

The legacy of the Airmen resonated with the young man, and he was being primed for success by working and living amongst such exceptional people. Airman Coleman Young, the first African American mayor of Detroit, described the Tuskegee Airmen:

They made the standards so high, we actually became an elite group. We were screened and super-screened. We were unquestionably the brightest and most physically fit young blacks in the country. We were super-better because of the irrational laws of Jim Crow. You can't bring that many

³⁹⁷ Willie Ruff’s personal website, <https://www.willieruff.com/index.html>.

³⁹⁸ Owen McNally, "Willie Ruff, Smooth Mentor," *Hartford Courant* (August 6, 2000), n.p., <https://www.courant.com/news/connecticut/hc-xpm-2000-08-06-0008063226-story.html>.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

intelligent young people together and train 'em as fighting men and expect them to supinely roll over when you try to fuck over 'em, right?⁴⁰⁰

It was at Lockbourne where Ruff met his longtime duo partner, Dwiki Mitchell.

The two collaborated as a duo until the end of the war, then went their separate ways to school—Ruff to Yale and Mitchell to the Philadelphia Musical Academy. They joined up again in the mid-1950s, in Lionel Hampton's band. But first, Willie Ruff needed to meet his other lifelong partner: Yale University.

Yale: Part One

Willie Ruff applied to Yale because he had read an interview with Charlie Parker, in *Downbeat*, in which Ruff recalled Parker wanting to study with “this hip German dude writing hip music.” He was talking about Paul Hindemith, and the word of Charlie Parker was good enough for Ruff. He was accepted even though he never went to high school; he completed his high school equivalency test while in the army. Though Yale had admitted its first African American black student in 1870, Ruff was in the vast minority as a person of color in the Ivy League in the 1950s. According to the U.S. Department of Commerce, *Bureau of the Census*, in the decade between 1950–1960, fewer than 5% of the population of “black and other races” completed four years of college.⁴⁰¹

...with the help of the GI Bill, he wound up in New Haven at Yale as one of only a dozen or so blacks at the prestigious university when he enrolled as a freshman in 1949... Ruff was what he calls "a fly in the buttermilk." That's an ancient expression from slave times, he explains, used as a metaphor for black people moving into all-white situations. "It was a big shock for a while as I found myself in a sea of white faces at Yale," he

⁴⁰⁰ Studs Terkel, *American Dreams: Lost and Found* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 359–360.

⁴⁰¹ Thomas D. Snyder, ed., *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait*. U.S. Department of Education National Center for Education Statistics, 1993, 8.

recalls, relaxing in his office at the Yale School of Music. But, he adds, he never encountered racism at Yale.⁴⁰²

Ruff was immediately engrossed in a rich musical life in New Haven. Every college held a Saturday night dance, and Ruff could always be found performing at them. There were 10-12 jazz bands on campus, as well as bebop groups and Dixieland bands, in addition to classical ensembles. He heard Duke Ellington, Miles Davis, Billie Holiday, Art Tatum, and Fats Waller all perform live in New Haven while he was a student. Gigging as a professional bass player at dances and social events, taking horn lessons with Abe Kniaz again, this time in New York City, performing with the New Haven Symphony, studying composition and music theory with Paul Hindemith: Willie Ruff was immersed in a kind of intellectual and musical exploration previously unheard of for a young African American. For more about his studies with Hindemith, read Chapter 24 of Ruff's memoir, *A Call to Assembly*.

Segregation in the Orchestral World

Unfortunately, his assimilation was not without difficulty, and Ruff found himself embroiled in a legal battle with the American Federation of Musicians, the "Union." The New Haven chapter of the AFM was segregated and would not admit Ruff. The matter was eventually settled out of court, and Willie Ruff became a member of the AFM in 1952, after Ruff's lawyer contacted the state of Connecticut, the Governor's Office, and the Office of Human Relations.⁴⁰³ Not unlike John Marrant, Willie Ruff inhabited a space typically reserved for the white, upper class elite, and did so on his own merits and

⁴⁰² McNally, "Willie Ruff."

⁴⁰³ Ruff, *A Call to Assembly*, 218.

talent, performing for dance functions and studying European music. Ruff remembered a conversation with one of his mentors, Mr. Greenlee, in which he was chastised for choosing a career in music.

If your paint job stands in the way of your playing *major* symphony music for society, then sell that jive-assed society something it can't do without. Somebody got to keep society *outta* jail or put their sick asses *in* the hospital. You git what I'm telling you, Red?...Remember, take advantage of as much as you can outside of music at Yale. It would be a sin to learn just one thing in so rich an intellectual environment. Music is fickle you know, and Jim Crow ain't going to lay down and die because Mr. Brice taught you a thing or two and you bought an instrument and got yourself into an Ivy League school.⁴⁰⁴

Ruff understood the majority of African American undergraduates were either pre-med or pre-law students and amended his course load to follow suit as a pre-med student.⁴⁰⁵ He graduated from Yale in 1954 and prepared for an audition with the National Symphony Orchestra. Ruff's old teacher, Abe Kniaz, was then the principal horn of the National Symphony Orchestra. Kniaz told Ruff he needed an Assistant Principal Horn and wanted Ruff for the job, but not to get his hopes up:

I might be able to get the conductor to at least give you an audition, although this orchestra has never even auditioned a Negro before. It's just possible that if you're asked for from inside the orchestra, by me, it might make a difference. If I asked for any white horn player I wanted as my assistant, there'd be no question. But Washington *is* the nation's capital, after all, and it just might be the right time for them to accept a Negro in the orchestra. Who knows, Willie?⁴⁰⁶

Kniaz's audition request for Ruff was rejected by the conductor, Howard Mitchell, not for any lack of horn-playing skill on Ruff's part but because: "hiring a black musician could cause problems with the orchestra's bookings. After all, he [Kniaz] was

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., 219.

reminded, the orchestra plays in Southern states where blacks were excluded from hotels and restaurants.”⁴⁰⁷

Like Julius Watkins, Willie Ruff knew there was little hope of breaking into the orchestral world. Regardless of this knowledge, he was still devastated at the result from the NSO. Ruff was so stunned he did not speak for three or four days. He said, “it was the only way I knew to contain myself, for I was afraid that if I did open up, I would explode.”⁴⁰⁸ “Essentially, the message, no matter how genteelly cloaked back then in this upper echelon of American culture, was: ‘Sorry, you play the right notes, but you’re the wrong color.’ Or, alternatively: ‘Articulation good; pigmentation, bad.’”⁴⁰⁹

In the same year as his graduation from Yale, 1954, the Supreme Court ruled on the landmark *Brown vs. Board of Education* case, which ruled school segregation to be unconstitutional. The National Symphony Orchestra, located in Washington, D.C. is housed just across the Potomac River from where Virginia Senator Harry Byrd was leading an anti-integration campaign, the so-called “Massive Resistance.” Regardless of the changing laws, Ruff and Kniaz knew there was little to be done in the way of changing the mind of an institution entrenched in complicated and convoluted racial politics.

This racial rejection fueled an anger and drive in Ruff which pushed him to find different avenues for musical expression.⁴¹⁰ He went to New York to play an audition for

⁴⁰⁷ McNally, “Willie Ruff.”

⁴⁰⁸ Ruff, *A Call to Assembly*, 220.

⁴⁰⁹ McNally, “Willie Ruff.”

⁴¹⁰ Willie Ruff, interview by Jack Veas, May 18, 2000, OHV 306 tape C and transcript, Oral History of American Music Collection (OHAM), Yale University Library, New Haven, CT.

Erich Leinsdorf in the hopes of becoming an expatriate musician, and Leinsdorf offered him positions in the Buffalo Philharmonic and the Tel Aviv Philharmonic Orchestra. Leinsdorf, who had managed to escape Nazism in Austria, was understated in his politics. He even went so far as to say musicians should stay out of politics, and not make public proclamations of their political beliefs.⁴¹¹ Leinsdorf gave an opportunity to the young horn player Willie Ruff, and a decade later would give another young African American horn player, Robert Lee Watt, one of his first big breaks. It seems Leinsdorf, while unwilling to make public statements, was willing to make small actions on behalf of inequality and injustice in the classical orchestral world.

Ruff on the Road

Ruff was preparing to leave for Israel, as a new member of the Tel Aviv Philharmonic Orchestra, when he saw his old friend Dwiki Mitchell performing with Lionel Hampton on the Ed Sullivan show. He called the CBS switchboard, and was transferred to the Ed Sullivan greenroom where Mitchell promptly persuaded Ruff to audition for Hampton's band instead of moving to Israel: "Naw, man, don't do it. We got to get together. Israel is a very hip place...But you ought to join this band, and we can work out that duo we always talked about."⁴¹² Ruff met Mitchell and the Hampton band the next day and played a few sets with the band. He showed his versatility and exceptional musicianship when he read trombone, trumpet, and saxophone books on the

⁴¹¹ Harvey Sachs, "Salzburg, Hitler and Toscanini," *Grand Street* 6, no. 1 (1986): 183, <https://doi.org/10.2307/25006938>.

⁴¹² Ruff, *A Call to Assembly*, 228.

spot. Hampton and the bandmates were all impressed with Ruff and employed him as a full-time member of the band. So began Willie Ruff's post-orchestral horn playing career.

Life on the road was tolerable. He and Dwiki Mitchell would find opportunities to rehearse and record duos whenever they could, and Ruff enjoyed making music with the great musicians in the band. He spent time in several cities, and even came to be friends with his childhood hero, Joe Louis, when Hampton's band and Louis were both in residence in Las Vegas.⁴¹³ For the most part, it was a good life, but they couldn't escape the racism so prevalent throughout the United States. Ruff told a story in an interview about one incident where he feared for his life while on the road with Hampton:

It was about midnight when we pulled into Salt Lake City in front of the St. Louis Hotel, a small black-owned establishment, known to seasoned black tourists and motorists as an oasis in the desert of Jim Crow hotels. We found out there wasn't enough room for all of us. I saw a fleabag, whites-only hotel up the street not far from the Mormon Tabernacle... So Dwiki Mitchell and I walked up the street to the hotel. I didn't expect to be able to get a room there. But I thought I'd ask the desk clerk if he knew where black people might get a room for the night... By then, it was about 1 a.m. I rang the bell at the fleabag joint. This white guy opens the Dutch door, one of those half doors divided into top and bottom. He looked out and saw Mitchell and me, two black guys standing out there in the dark, and slammed the door shut immediately. I rang the bell again. Then the guy cracked open the door just enough to accommodate a long, double-barreled shotgun that he poked in my face. I heard two clicks from the gun, followed by the guy shouting, "Just ring the goddamn bell one more time, you n----- son of a bitch!" The gun was too close to my face to do anything. But if I turned and walked away, I was afraid he was going to shoot me in the back. Mitchell had already made it to the stairs and was out of the line of fire. I could hear him say, "Ruff, this ain't no place to die. Just turn around and put one foot after the other." It was the longest journey of my life. I was half expecting each step to be my last."⁴¹⁴

⁴¹³ Ibid., 253.

⁴¹⁴ McNally, "Willie Ruff."

New York

He moved from New Haven to New York City, and during downtime while not on tour with Hampton, he and Dwike Mitchell performed as the Mitchell-Ruff Duo. He was already busy with commercial playing, things like jingles and movie scores, but he found a musical home in jazz which fulfilled him beyond a paycheck. Ruff and Mitchell worked tirelessly as performers, but also as engaged advocates for young students in public schools of New York and New Haven, as well as on college tours around the United States. Ruff wrote about his script for the first program he and Mitchell took to schools:

We are here today to share with you a celebration of a legacy that is *yours*. It should make you very proud. We are going to play some jazz music for you. But before we play, there are a few things about the music you should be aware of. Of all the music you've heard...none is as American as jazz...Mr. Mitchell and I want you to know that Americans, and nobody else, invented jazz. Nobody else invented the blues. Nobody else invented Negro spirituals. Nobody else invented tap dancing.⁴¹⁵

Ruff then explained the importance of the talking drum tradition, how the laws which forbade the talking drum and forbade Africans from speaking in their own African languages gave rise to “‘drum substitutes’ unique to America.”⁴¹⁶ These laws he referred to are, of course, the same ones which restricted John Marrant’s performance capabilities 150 years earlier.

He performed regularly with Gil Evans and Miles Davis during the late 1950s, and was recorded on their collaborations after *Birth of the Cool* (which was recorded in 1949–50, several years before they had met Ruff): *Miles Ahead* (1957), and *Porgy and*

⁴¹⁵ Ruff, *A Call to Assembly*, 273.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 275.

Bess (1959) where the horn section consisted of himself, Julius Watkins, and Gunther Schuller. Ruff credits his early career success to his ability to change character and genre so easily. “Horn players who could manage all the styles and idioms were rare, so I got quite a lot of work.”⁴¹⁷ Ruff called Gil Evans’ jazz orchestra “revolutionary” for its time⁴¹⁸ and was featured on the tune “My Ship.” He wrote in his memoir of one meeting with Davis, in which Davis gave him advice on how to approach the French horn for jazz:

Another night at [Café Bohemia] Miles, Mitchell, and I had a conversation about Miles’s preference and acknowledged genius for playing songs with words even though he never had a singer in his band. “I always learn the words to a song before I play it. It gives me a feeling of what to do on my trumpet when I’m trying to phrase an idea. I go all over New York just listening to great singers. I even buy a lot of singers’ records.” Then he looked directly at me. “Now, take your French horn, for example: its sound is very distinctive and voice like; nobody says that you have to make it sound like trumpet or a saxophone. Shit, you’d sound silly trying to sound like Dizzy, or Coltrane. It’s just not that kind of an instrument. If I were in your place—I mean, starting out in jazz on an instrument like that—I’d listen to all the great singers, like Mabel Mercer, Sarah Vaughan, Carmen McRae, and Billie Holiday: those people with that perfect and classy diction. Listen to the words and use that as your guide for shaping lines.”⁴¹⁹

As Olaudah Equiano had been, Willie Ruff is a globe-trotting writer. In 1959, in addition to recording with Miles Davis and Gil Evans, Ruff traveled to the U.S.S.R. with the Mitchell-Ruff Duo, performing as a musical ambassador—“the first jazz ambassadors to the Soviet Union since the 1920s.”⁴²⁰ This trip brought the duo fame and notoriety, with features in the *New York Times*, *Today Show*, *Tonight Show*, and more. Soon after,

⁴¹⁷ Willie Ruff, OHAM interview by Jack Veas, May 18, 2000, OHV 306 tape D and transcript.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

⁴¹⁹ Ruff, *A Call to Assembly*, 279.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., 308.

in 1963, they would travel to Italy, along with drummer Charlie Smith, to perform a series of children's concerts similar to the ones they had been presenting across the United States and in New York. In 1964, Ruff filmed a CBS documentary in Brazil about samba and Candomblé, the Brazilian equivalent to the American black Sanctified church. In Ruff's words: "Candomblé still used pure African drums and dancing in its ritual, and I wanted to learn how the drumming contrasted with what my Mrs. Nance back in Alabama had played..."⁴²¹ The Mitchell-Ruff Duo performed with all sorts of Brazilian drummers and dancers, embracing the culture and music of Rio and Bahia. The documentary was titled *The Distant Sounds* and won a Peabody Award for excellence in documentary filmmaking.

Los Angeles

This experience with filmmaking stoked a new curiosity in Willie Ruff. In 1967 he enrolled at the University of Southern California, to study filmmaking, script writing, film scoring, and composition. In Los Angeles, he studied composition with Ingolf Dahl, and film scoring with David Raskin, while supporting himself with studio work. He regularly worked with Quincy Jones and Lalo Shifrin, and played in the orchestra for the Academy Awards and countless television shows, including the *The Odd Couple* and *Iron Side*.⁴²² He would bring his horn to composition lessons, crediting Ingolf Dahl as the best part of his studies at USC, receiving from him "the most concentrated musical

⁴²¹ Ibid., 321.

⁴²² Ibid., 327.

learning of my life.”⁴²³ They played every piece of horn and piano music Ruff could get his hands on, in addition to as much as Ruff could write, and even some works for horn and orchestra like Hindemith’s Concerto for Horn, which Dahl sight-read at the piano.

Ruff began to teach a course at UCLA in 1968 called “An Introduction to Afro-American Music.” This “leaked beyond Los Angeles”⁴²⁴ and the Mitchell-Ruff Duo became artists-in-residence at Dartmouth College for a semester, in 1970. Shortly thereafter, a call came from the Dean of the Yale School of Music, Philip Nelson, with an offer for Ruff to join the faculty. Ruff began his 46-year career on the faculty at Yale in 1971. He immediately created a program which gave his students and community an opportunity to learn from each other. That program, Duke Ellington Fellowship Program, still exists to this day.

Yale: Part Two

In 1972, he established the Ellington Fellowship and the “Conservatory Without Walls” through Yale. Along with Duke Ellington, Willie Ruff, Dwiki Mitchell, and forty other jazz greats assembled at Yale for a day of music-and history-making. The idea for the event was to celebrate musicians who had been foundational to jazz and African American musical traditions in the 20th century. Ruff described developing the idea as a dream: “My dream was for world-class artists to come regularly to the campus and give performances and workshops...for children in the public schools.”⁴²⁵ Ellington, when

⁴²³ Ibid., 329.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 342.

⁴²⁵ Willie Ruff, OHAM interview by Jack Veas, OHV 306 tape D and transcript.

contacting artists, told Ruff: “One never knows about time... Tomorrow is, too often, too late. We should honor the greats among us while they can still smell the flowers.”⁴²⁶

When the day arrived, police interrupted the event and announced a bomb threat. Charles Mingus remained onstage with his bass, saying to the police through the microphone:

You all just get Duke, Eubie, Noble Sissle, Harry Carney, and all of my musical forebears out of here. I’m staying. I’m not moving, do you understand? I’m staying right here! I’ve got to die sometime, and it ain’t ever gonna get better than right now. Racism planted that bomb, but racism ain’t strong enough to kill this music; if I’m going to die, I’m ready. But I’m going out playing ‘Sophisticated Lady.’⁴²⁷

Ruff was disappointed that all American news outlets had passed on coverage of the event, but Ellington’s “stoic serenity” was sharp: “We learn from our experiences, don’t we, Willie? We’re honoring all those beautiful musicians *because* they have become great *even* in their invisibility. Maybe Fate is trying to tell us something about invisible.”⁴²⁸

Ruff, Mitchell and Strayhorn

A decade earlier, Duke had introduced Willie to an ailing Billy Strayhorn. Ellington had taken Strayhorn to hear the Mitchell-Ruff Duo at Hickory House in 1967, and Strayhorn was so taken by the sound he returned alone the following day. He sat and listened to the duo and asked Ruff about writing for the French horn. He wanted to know about the instrument’s range, its loudness, bent notes, and the use of the mute.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁶ Ruff, *A Call to Assembly*, 370–371.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, 375.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

Strayhorn invited Ruff over to his home to play a piece he had written—a piece for Ruff and his French horn. The next day, Ruff called on him at home and the two went to work on Strayhorn’s *Suite for Horn and Piano*. Ruff described the feeling of working with Strayhorn as “heaven.” They would work, then Strayhorn would get on the phone with Ellington and play for Duke over the phone. After each consequent version, Duke and Strayhorn would strategize and amend, strategize and amend. When Strayhorn finished the final version, Dwiki was invited to accompany Willie on his next visit to Strayhorn’s. He sat down next to Mitchell and instructed him,

What I’ve written here...is quite complete in the compositional sense. But I want this first meeting to feel to you like a fitting, as in ‘fit’ a custom-made suit. The compositional elements should fit *your* hands...You know how to make sections like these on the page as big and rich in sonority as you can...Balance is the key word; but that’s the kind of thing you two do naturally anyway. I have left you space and, at the same time, given indications of essential details...⁴³⁰

Ruff describes the piece in his memoir as “a heavy work of dark sonorities, laden with surprising melodic turns which seemed to leap through daring rhythmic configurations into totally unexplored crevasses of the diatonic scale. No light musical entertainment, this, and like his thoughtful “Lush Life,” the composition was extremely hard to play but overwhelmingly rewarding and masterful.”⁴³¹ One can hear in their recordings⁴³² that Ruff and Mitchell approach the piece personally and with great care and nuance. The carefully controlled dynamic shifts, timbral changes (especially in the

⁴³⁰ Ibid., 7.

⁴³¹ Ibid., 6.

⁴³² The Mitchell–Ruff Duo, *Strayhorn–A Mitchell–Ruff Interpretation* (Kepler Label, 2004), compact disc.

horn) and mood swings are performed perfectly. Ruff's careful attention to articulation is especially impressive.

Strayhorn passed away a few months after writing the suite, in May 1967, from esophageal cancer. The *Suite for Horn and Piano* was part of Strayhorn's "short but stunningly introspective final creative outburst"⁴³³ which also included "Blood Count," his last composition, finished while in the hospital. Ruff calls both the *Suite* and "Blood Count" highly autobiographical works: "the moods of a vibrant musical career, shutting down."⁴³⁴ Duke Ellington invited the duo to perform the suite at a memorial concert at Lincoln Center:

As Mitchell and I began to play, I was oblivious to our Lincoln Center surrounding. I was hearing Strayhorn in his apartment, leading us through the music; talking us through the transitions; showing me when to bring out a counter line, when to make my horn's voice match the heavy piano sonorities he'd written for Mitchell. Strayhorn's powerful presence was there on the stage with us, giving directions, and making us play better than we knew we could. The spell was broken for me only as the last note lingered and died and Joe Williams and Tony Bennett led the applause there among the performers in the wings.⁴³⁵

Legacy

Willie Ruff retired from teaching at Yale in 2017 and moved back to Alabama. During his tenure at Yale, he cultivated the Duke Ellington Fellowship Program, took jazz to China, organized interdisciplinary programs which realized Hindemith's and Johannes Kepler's "Harmony of the World," and was the foremost researcher on the subject of African American and Native American line-singing traditions which may

⁴³³ Ruff, *A Call to Assembly*, 10.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

have roots in the music of Scotland.⁴³⁶ His current interest is his work with a program called To Conserve a Legacy, which is an effort at conservation of African American art housed in Southern institutions. He said in an interview upon his retirement: “My ambition is to put a complete audio-visual system in my backpack and zoom around to the galleries to talk about the works in their musical and historical context.”⁴³⁷

Though he endured racially motivated setbacks, Ruff was resilient. He contributed a great deal to the horn world through his collaborations with artists like Paul Hindemith, Quincy Jones, Ingolf Dahl, Billy Strayhorn, Dizzy Gillespie, Miles Davis, Gil Evans and Dwiki Mitchell. He released an album in 1984 of plainchant he transcribed for solo horn and recorded in St. Mark’s Basilica in Venice. Strayhorn’s *Suite for Horn and Piano* is one of the most under-appreciated pieces of 20th century solo repertoire for the horn.

His contributions to the greater musical world are extensive, and their impact reaches across disciplines, races, genders, classes, and cultures. Willie Ruff is truly a Renaissance man and has served the world and contemporary culture by educating anyone and everyone willing to listen. He has lived up to the extremely high expectations he set for himself after meeting W.C. Handy in the second grade. In Willie Ruff’s own words:

(W.C. Handy) said that it’s not from royalty or from the highborn that music comes, but it is often from those who are the farthest down in society. He told us of our responsibility to treasure and honor our heritage and music. After he finished, all the children who were musically inclined were permitted to shake the hand of the man who wrote “St. Louis Blues.” I was never the same boy again. I had to be a teacher.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁶ <https://www.willieruff.com/line-singing.html>.

⁴³⁷ Susan Gonzalez, "Jazz musician Willie Ruff retires, but it's 'show time' for him in the South," *Yale News* (May 1, 2017) accessed December 19, 2019, <https://news.yale.edu/2017/05/01/jazz-musician-willie-ruff-retires-it-s-show-time-him-south>.

⁴³⁸ “Jazz musician Willie Ruff retires,” *Yale News* (May 2, 2017), <https://news.yale.edu/2017/05/02/jazz-musician-willie-ruff-retires>.

CHAPTER 13

LATE 20TH CENTURY: ROBERT LEE WATT

Not everything that is faced can be changed, but nothing can be changed until it is faced.
James Baldwin

In the 1950s, Julius Watkins opened the ears of musicians who had never heard an African American man play the French horn. In the 1960s, Willie Ruff opened people's eyes to the same prospect. In the 1970s, Robert Lee Watt became the first African American horn player in a major symphony orchestra and opened the mind of the musical world.

Early Life

Robert (Bob) Lee Watt was born in 1948, in Asbury Park, New Jersey. He can trace his ancestry to the Gullah people (or Gullah-Geechee), descendants of the last enslaved people abducted from West Africa well after slavery was prohibited. The Gullah people were enslaved on coastal and island plantations along the southern Atlantic coast of the United States, also known as the Lowcountry.⁴³⁹ During the Civil War, plantation owners fled the region and the enslaved people were left to die. The Gullah people did not perish,⁴⁴⁰ and their tenacity and perseverance were passed down to Watt. From his early days, he was a fighter.

⁴³⁹ Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor Commission, <https://gullahgeecheecorridor.org/the-gullah-geechee/>.

⁴⁴⁰ Robert Lee Watt, *The Black Horn: The Story of Classical French Hornist Robert Lee Watt* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014,) 2.

He began his musical journey playing soprano bugle in drum corps, then graduated to the French horn bugle. He first heard the orchestral French horn in a recording of the *William Tell* overture. When the young Robert asked his father about the sound he heard, his father replied “Oh that’s the French horn, the peck horn. It only plays the off-beats and never gets the melody...It’s an instrument for thin-lipped white boys. Your lips are too thick for that narrow mouthpiece.”⁴⁴¹ Watt wrote in his autobiography *The Black Horn*, he “was crushed, because that horn sounded so wonderful. I felt it in my bones, like part of my heart and soul. There was nothing in my world that beautiful.”⁴⁴²

His father had been a talented jazz trumpeter and gave Bob his first lessons on how to buzz and blow a brass instrument. He was a volatile presence and would often leave for extended periods of time, and eventually became less and less involved in Robert’s daily life. Recalling a particularly bad fight between his father and grandmother, Watt wrote about music being a balm for him during his childhood:

Music was the only thing that calmed me down after such episodes with my father and grandmother. I sat and played my French horn bugle for hours in the dark in that large front room before I felt like myself again. I didn’t know, at that time, the difference between practice and playing. I just played whatever came into my head, mostly French horn passages that I had heard on movies and television.⁴⁴³

He started high school in 1963, and was placed in basic classes, instead of a college track. Embarrassed by his remedial status and wanting to impress a particular girl who played in the band, he was determined to alter his path. He requested more difficult academic classes and approached the band director, Mr. Bryan, about learning to play the

⁴⁴¹ Robert Lee Watt, *The Black Horn*, 11.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, 12.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, 16.

“real” French horn. It took persistence and dedicated study in order to fulfill his desire for advancement. Bryan had been a trombone student of Arthur Pryor (trombonist for John Philip Sousa) and was knowledgeable about brass playing and pedagogy. He told Watt: “It’s a very difficult instrument to blow...has a very small, thin mouthpiece and you might have trouble blowing it.”⁴⁴⁴ Watt was only interested in playing French horn so Mr. Bryan relented and gave him a school horn to take home, along with *Foundation to French Horn Playing*, by Eric Hauser (John Philip Sousa’s horn player.) He read the book from cover to cover and practiced for hours every day.⁴⁴⁵ When he returned to play for Mr. Bryan, he was impressed and gave Bob a better horn to use. Watt trekked his horn and schoolbooks back and forth across town on foot every day. As a fourteen-year old, his determination was already evident and his drive already strong.

Mr. Bryan conducted a professional concert band in the summer and invited Bob to play. This was how Bob met his first horn teacher, a student at Juilliard named “Crites.” Crites was instrumental in Watt’s growth as a high school horn player and recommended he listen to a recording of Pyotr Ilyitch Tchaikovsky’s Symphony No. 5, played by the Boston Symphony Orchestra, with James Stagliano performing the famous horn solo in the second movement. “When the French horn began to play, I held my breath and became a little dizzy after hearing how amazing it sounded.”⁴⁴⁶ Crites taught Bob about French horn music and technique, both of them ignoring the stares from

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., 21.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., 23, 25.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., 44.

people in the band and audience. In Watt's words, "It wasn't their fault that they had never seen a black person play French horn."⁴⁴⁷

As a teenager, Watt's father had auditioned for Juilliard. He was an excellent jazz trumpeter, but in the 20th century the institution did not teach jazz musicians. The audition committee asked him to play Bach's Brandenburg Concerto No. 1, using a D trumpet, which he had never heard of. This was a humiliating experience for his father and affected his impression of white musicians for the rest of his life. When Robert was admitted to the New England Conservatory, his father told him to major in music education because: "You're out of your Goddamn mind if you think those crackers are going to let a n----- into one of them symphony orchestras, boy!"⁴⁴⁸

Boston

Watt auditioned for, and was admitted to, the New England Conservatory, class of 1970, with full four-year scholarship. He studied with, and was mentored by, Harry Shapiro, second horn of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. Shapiro was impressed with Bob's level of horn playing but introduced him to some new ideas:

After I played, he showed me a new tonguing concept. He had me start a note without using my tongue, using the syllable "whooo" just blowing air through the horn and then adding the tongue slowly like a valve, making breaks in the tone—fascinating. He told me that I had very good tone production, a beautiful sound, and that I was very big talent. He continued by telling me that although I had a lot of talent, I was still going to have to work my tail off to become a good horn player.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., 32.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., 58.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., 63.

Shapiro was a devoted advocate for the young Robert Watt. He presented opportunities and Bob seized them. Through Shapiro, Watt made his solo debut with the Boston Pops playing Richard Strauss's Horn Concerto No. 1. Shapiro connected him with local ensembles, and he was able to join the AFM musicians union, because Harry paid his membership dues (until Bob could pay him back); Harry connected him with auditions for the Red Fox Music Camp and the Berkshire Music Festival at Tanglewood Music Center, and eventually Watt subbed with the Boston Symphony Orchestra because of Shapiro, all in three years of undergraduate study.

During one Boston Symphony Orchestra rehearsal when Watt was subbing as Assistant Principal, the conductor called upon him at the last minute to play Principal. James Stagliano, the principal horn, was out sick, and the conductor, Erich Leinsdorf, had faith in the young Robert. Leinsdorf was incidentally the same conductor who had invited Willie Ruff to Tel Aviv a decade earlier. Leinsdorf told Bob he had done "very well" in front of the entire orchestra and Watt received a round of applause from the entire ensemble.(Watt 88)

After his summer as a fellow at Tanglewood, the President of the New England Conservatory, Gunther Schuller, called Bob to his office. Schuller said the New York Philharmonic would be contacting Bob, in order to invite him to an upcoming French horn audition. This invitation would come in response to a lawsuit facing the orchestra management, from two African American musicians who were claiming racial discrimination in the orchestra's hiring and audition policies.(88) Schuller's opinion was the orchestra would likely try to exploit Watt, and Harry Shapiro agreed.(96) In Watt's words about the experience: "This gave me quite a sense of foreboding about the politics

that might lie ahead for me as a black French horn player in any symphony orchestra in these United States.”(96)

During the summer before Bob’s fourth year of college, the New England Conservatory ran into some financial problems and revoked all scholarships. This put pressure on Bob to win an audition, and Harry guided him through the process:

In these auditions, Bob, you gotta make a big impression right away, see? If you start screwing up, they’ll stop you and say thank you. Then you’ve had it. You don’t want this to happen. So, for the next several months, we will review all the major excerpts for the horn. From now on, your lessons will start with a mock audition. We will repeat the audition profile over and over until it’s second nature to you.(98)

Bob took Harry’s advice seriously and methodically began his preparations:

I came up with a little game that really helped me. First, I played my concerto. I played it three times. If there were any missed notes or anything that I didn’t like, I would add another repetition to the set of three until I could play the concerto three times perfectly. This really forced me into extreme concentration. I did the same procedure with each excerpt. If all three times were perfect, I went on to the next excerpt.(100)

Robert auditioned for the Los Angeles Philharmonic and the Chicago Symphony in close succession. Two months later, he received a call from the personnel manager of the L.A. Philharmonic with an offer from the music director, Zubin Mehta, for the position of Assistant Principal Horn. Watt accepted the position and began his new job on June 30, 1970.(108, 113)

Black Los Angeles

During the intermission at Bob’s first concert, he was greeted by a man who represented the so-called “Black Los Angeles.” This man invited Bob to his church to meet the rest of “Black Los Angeles.”(Watt 116) When Bob expressed his thanks but no thanks, the man was affronted. Bob said he “sincerely hoped that all of black Los Angeles didn’t fit into one church” and left to perform the rest of the concert. He found

black community in Los Angeles through a black horn student whose parents invited him to dinner parties and into their social circles.(119) He found community and friendship, but it was a different world from what he had grown up with in New Jersey and he was a bit of a curiosity. Most “of the black folks were at least upper-middle class or what E. Franklin Frazier called the ‘black bourgeoisie.’ To them, [he] was a black man operating in the ‘real white world.’”(120)

Watt summarized the fascination other African American people demonstrated toward him by invoking the critic Stanley Crouch:

classical music and symphony orchestras were never of great interest to black people. And perhaps for that reason there had never been, in all of my three-plus decades in the orchestra, more than a handful of black folks regularly attending the Los Angeles Philharmonic concerts. Out of 3,800 patrons, maybe twenty black folks were present at any given concert. To them culture in total was white, European, and far above them. They tiptoed into the concert hall as if hoping not to be discovered. After all, they were attending an event that, as they always said to me, “not many of us are into.” I had the distinct pleasure on several occasions of meeting some of those uncomfortable black patrons at concert intermissions. The most common exchange from them was (whispering), “Hello there, so nice to see you in the orchestra. You look good up there among all those...you know? I mean, you blend in nicely—you’re not too dark—that’s a good thing. Keep up the good work—and the fact that you’re the only one makes you all the more special, keep it that way. Nice talking to you.” I always held my breath watching them, as they tiptoed back to their seats as if being watched by some sort of invisible, white, cultural God.(160)

Racial Microaggressions

The student who had inadvertently facilitated Bob’s meeting other African American people in Los Angeles had been referred to Watt because his original teacher was having problems understanding how to help him with his embouchure. A common thread with African American horn players is they are told their lips are too large for the

small horn mouthpiece.(160) This same topic came up in conversations between Watt and Jerome Ashby many years later, in which Ashby characterized it as “a classic remark and just as classically ridiculous too.”(183) Watt remembered addressing the student’s embouchure with a simple solution:

I fixed his problem easily. It wasn’t the student’s problem: It was his teacher’s, who had a problem of perception. He was trying to get that poor kid to fit both of his lips, which were somewhat full, into the mouthpiece the way his thin white-folks lips fit...The way it works is the rim of both lips are placed on the edge of the mouthpiece, buzzing only in the very center of the lips (similar to the way one blows bubbles) and whatever is left over is rolled back into the mouth.(119)

In their work in Critical Race Theory (CRT), Jessica T. DeCuir-Gunby and Norris W. Gunby Jr., conducted a study of racial microaggressions in the workplace. They found “that the experiencing of racial microaggressions negatively affects job satisfaction and that [the subjects] often engage in detachment coping.”⁴⁵⁰ Columbia University psychologist Dr. Derald Wing Sue, defines racial microaggression as "one of the everyday insults, indignities and demeaning messages sent to people of color by well-intentioned white people who are unaware of the hidden messages being sent to them." He goes on to say “It's a monumental task to get white people to realize that they are delivering microaggressions, because it's scary to them," he contends. "It assails their self-image of being good, moral, decent human beings to realize that maybe at an

⁴⁵⁰ Jessica T. DeCuir–Gunby and Norris W. Gunby, Jr. "Racial Microaggressions in the Workplace: A Critical Race Analysis of the Experiences of African American Educators," *Urban Education* 41, 4 (2016): 39. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085916628610>.

unconscious level they have biased thoughts, attitudes and feelings that harm people of color."⁴⁵¹

Senior Editor of the American Psychological Association's *Monitor on Psychology*, Tori DeAngelis, categorized three types of microaggressions: microassaults, microinsults, and microinvalidations,⁴⁵² and Watt experienced all three of these during his tenure with the Los Angeles Philharmonic. Microassaults are overtly racist acts like hate speech. Microassaults "are symbolic of the permanence of racism."⁴⁵³ Microinsults and microinvalidations "are covert and aversive ways of communicating racist beliefs...Microinsults are used to indirectly insult a person's racial heritage or racial identity by offering a negative compliment...Similarly, microinvalidations are statements that belittle, challenge, or negate the experiences of People of Color."⁴⁵⁴

The CRT study also shows places of employment which are less diverse have higher incidences of racial microaggressions.⁴⁵⁵ "As inferred from CRT, racism is systemic, often unconscious, and historical; thus, racist behaviors are more likely to occur in a population where there are more members of the majority race."⁴⁵⁶ Research also indicates that higher levels of education, higher income, and marriage are not associated with experiencing fewer racial microaggressions in the workplace.⁴⁵⁷ "Someone who is white and married with higher education and income would not have as much emotional

⁴⁵¹ Quoted in Tori DeAngelis, "Unmasking 'racial micro aggressions,'" *Monitor on Psychology* 40, no. 2 (February 2009): 42.

⁴⁵² DeAngelis, "Unmasking 'racial micro aggressions,'" 42.

⁴⁵³ DeCuir-Gunby, "Racial Microaggressions," 393.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.," 405.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.

labor within the work context in that these characteristics would serve as support mechanisms, unlike in the case of African Americans.”⁴⁵⁸

Robert Watt experienced microaggressions in the workplace on a daily basis. There was a constant flow of interactions with well-intentioned but ignorant, colleagues. One particular conversation regarding the music of enslaved people was a good example of what Gunby calls “the tenet of whiteness as property.”⁴⁵⁹

Colleague: Bob, I’ve been meaning to say this to you ever since we met. You know I believe some of the most beautiful music ever produced on this God’s green Earth was sung by your ancestors the slaves, do you know that? When I hear that music, it makes me want to weep every time. I just wanted you to know that.

Watt: I thanked him for his gesture of good will but just had to ask him how in the world he would have been on hand to hear such music so long ago? My question went over his head and he answered by patting me on my shoulder, “I just know.”⁴⁶⁰

This seemingly innocent interaction shows just how ingrained and subconscious the belief in white supremacy is. For a white person to assume to understand how the music of enslaved people sounded is a condescending and appropriative microinvalidation at least. The common adage of African American people’s lips being too full to play the horn is an example of a systemic microinsult, in the assumption that the only proper way to play the horn is with white lips.

Although Robert Watt had transcended society’s racial expectations, he was by no means living in a “post-racial” world. Miles Davis would become a dear friend of Watt’s, and when Miles heard about Bob, he is said to have quipped: “You say he plays French

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁰ Watt, *The Black Horn*, 128.

horn in the L.A. Philharmonic and the n----- rides a horse too? I gotta see this shit, damn! If he plays in the philharmonic [sic] I know he caught hell, 'cause there are some sorry motherfuckers in that brass section.”⁴⁶¹

Robert Watt’s professional situation placed him in an elite social status within the musical world, the African American community, and Los Angeles society.

Unfortunately that did not mean that he was less likely to experience racism: “[t]he belief that as People of Color attain social status, more education, and higher incomes, the prevalence of racial microaggressions will decrease is anecdotally false.”⁴⁶² The CRT study showed “that even when People of Color enhance their complement of skills with more education in a field that has higher salaries than the national median, they are still likely to experience racial microaggressions.”⁴⁶³

White men held the power in Watt’s orchestra workplace, as evidenced in the way male colleagues treated Watt physically, as well as verbally. Several men would greet him with an undesired “pat on the ass” which he neither reciprocated nor appreciated, and sexual assault standards were mostly non-existent in the 1970s.

There was one other issue that always caused trouble and that was the insistence of some of the older men in the orchestra trying to pat me on my ass as a greeting. As a relatively new person in the orchestra, I always thought that unspoken social slight was way out of line to actually think that it was OK to pat me on my ass, especially since I clearly observed that they didn’t greet others that way. It was as if they were still hanging on to some deep racially pathological yearning that had to be expressed when they encountered me, as if they just couldn’t give me the full consideration that they gave others. It was like their own personal Jim Crow that they just couldn’t relinquish.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 240.

⁴⁶² DeCuir–Gunby, “Racial Microaggressions,” 405.

⁴⁶³ Ibid., 406.

⁴⁶⁴ Watt, *The Black Horn*, 127.

“Negro”

In his youth, Watt had a best friend named “Jones.” Watt remembered the two of them talking about the word “Negro” as a pejorative term for black people who “believed everything white folks said about black people.” Little girls who rolled their lips back into their mouth and straightened their hair, to conform to white beauty standards.⁴⁶⁵ This concept was perpetuated in black Christian communities because “Jesus had long straight hair, at least according to the white icon of Jesus that the ‘Negro’ prayed to every Sunday.”⁴⁶⁶ Watt further extended this idea to black sexuality, saying a man’s “Negro wife kept him in sexual check by constantly holding him up in critical comparison to the white icon of Jesus” and a black men should bind up his penis to their leg in an attempt to hide his sexuality.⁴⁶⁷

White Anxiety and Emasculation

In her book *Dilution Anxiety and the Black Phallus*, Margo Natalie Crawford asserts humans unconsciously respond to see lighter skin as feminine⁴⁶⁸ and thus, less threatening. She further delves into the historic obsession with the black phallus and white phallus as a means of justifying slavery, telling the story of Ham’s banishment for laughing at the sight of Noah’s naked body. Ham is then cursed with dark skin, and Noah is embraced as the white patriarch.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., 51.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., 52.

⁴⁶⁸ Margo Natalie Crawford, *Dilution Anxiety and the Black Phallus* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2008), 4.

⁴⁶⁹ Crawford, *Dilution Anxiety*, 3.

Within the post-slavery American imagination, images of the black and white phallus continue to be tied to the sensationalizing of the visual differences between light- and dark-skinned blackness. The words “black phallus” and “white phallus” have very different meanings. Lacan insists that “the phallus is a signifier,” whereas Fanon decides that the “Negro is the genital.” Fanon’s assertion that the “Negro is the genital” is deeply connected to his image of the “amputation” that “spatters” the “whole body with black blood.”⁴⁷⁰ The “Negro” is castrated when he is reduced to the genital. To reclaim the “black phallus” as “black power,” the very idea of the “black phallus” must be separated from the ongoing objectifications that make the “Negro” the “genital.” When the word “black” is added to the term “phallus,” Lacan’s use of the word “phallus” gains a fundamentally different shape. In *Desiring Whiteness: A Lacanian Analysis of Race* (2000), Kalpana Seshadri-Crooks presents whiteness as a “master signifier (without a signified).” This formulation is very compatible with the idea that the phallus is a signifier, not a body part. The question of the black phallus, given both antiblack racism and patriarchy, is the tension between the disempowerment tied to blackness and the power tied to maleness... The American one-drop rule aimed to make biracialness unintelligible: one “drop” of blackness makes you black, not biracial... The American one-drop rule assumes that blackness has reproductive power. Blackness penetrates white purity and creates pure blackness. The fear and fantasy of black reproductive and erotic power undergirds the one-drop rule.⁴⁷¹

This latent white anxiety presented itself in Robert Watt’s workplace when he was aggressively fondled by a colleague in their dressing room.

Suddenly he glanced downwards. I thought he was reaching for something on my horn, but instead he grabbed my belt buckle and actually started rustling my crotch up and down, saying, “Gee, look at this guy.” I quickly stood up, slamming him hard against the dressing room mirror and I told him never to put his hands on me like that again. My mind quickly went back to what Jones had said to me in high school about the black male phallus and how white males had a fascination with black male sexuality. Jones often said that in the South, black men were lynched and often castrated... I had just experienced a most blatant example of sexual-racial assault. None of the orchestra players present really perceived what had actually happened, nor would they or management have understood or believed its deep racial-pathological implications had I tried to report it.⁴⁷²

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 4.

⁴⁷² Watt, *The Black Horn*, 127.

In his article “Signifyin(g) the Phallus: ‘Mo’ Better Blues’ and Representations of the Jazz Trumpet,” Krin Gabbard examines the cultural emasculation of Louis Armstrong. He begins and ends with an analysis of Theodor Adorno’s interpretation of Virgil Thompson’s comparison of Louis Armstrong to the great 18th century castrati. Armstrong was consistently cast in movies as an asexual “Pierrot” type character, mugging and wisecracking, which played into stereotypes about African American intelligence and virility. For his part, Armstrong knew exactly what he was doing and defended himself, saying “Showmanship does not mean you’re not serious.”⁴⁷³ He explained his style as “a means of disarming a predominantly white and therefore potentially hostile audience.”⁴⁷⁴

Perhaps the most extreme example of the movie industry’s attempts to emasculate Armstrong is the scene in *Going Places* (1938) in which he is made to sing a love song to a horse. But here as in so much of his self-presentation, Armstrong may have been subverting the racist program of the film by overplaying and “Signifyin(g)” on his presenters.⁴⁷⁵

Even so, Armstrong’s loudest critics lambasted him for his “plantation image” (Dizzy Gillespie)⁴⁷⁶ and having a “personality [which] was developed by white people wanting black people to entertain by smiling and jumping around” (Miles Davis).⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷³ Howard Reich, “Jazz giant’s private views show anger behind smile,” *Chicago Tribune*, July 29, 2001, <https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-2001-07-29-0107290403-story.html>.

⁴⁷⁴ Reich, “Jazz giant’s private views.”

⁴⁷⁵ Krin Gabbard, “Signifyin(g) the Phallus: ‘Mo’ Better Blues’ and Representations of the Jazz Trumpet,” *Cinema Journal* 32, no. 1 (Autuman, 1992), 43.

⁴⁷⁶ Reich, “Jazz giant’s private views.”

⁴⁷⁷ John McWhorter, “The Entertainer: Louis Armstrong’s underrated legacy,” *New Yorker*, (December 6, 2009), <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2009/12/14/the-entertainer-2>.

Furtive racism and sexism permeate Adorno's essay, "Perennial Fashion—Jazz"⁴⁷⁸; he was reflecting on centuries of stereotypes and cultivated power dynamics in a discussion of a relatively new, serious musical style. Gabbard points out that racism "demands demasculization of black performers"⁴⁷⁹ and Armstrong was the first of many African Americans to establish "phallic authority"⁴⁸⁰ through his use of the trumpet.

[He] regularly used his trumpet to express phallic masculinity along with a great deal of the sexual innuendo that was already an essential element of jazz performance. When racial codes allowed, Armstrong was even given license to represent his sexuality in more conventional ways as, for example, when he performed erotically charged duets with the black actress Dorothy Dandridge in Atlantic City (1944) and with Billie Holiday in New Orleans (1947).⁴⁸¹

Jazz musicians have long held Signifyin(g) as an essential element to the idiom, not unlike the talking drum, and, in their embrace of irony and subversion, African American artists have eschewed notions of phallic masculinity. "As was often the case with Louis Armstrong, the black male was a figure of hypermasculinity at the same time that he was considered pathetically unmanly."⁴⁸² As musicians grew louder in their voices against racist practices, the style of aggressive "hypermasculine" trumpet playing changed into something new. This new style was best characterized in the trumpet playing of Miles Davis. This style "moved away from the more explicitly virile possibilities of the instrument."⁴⁸³ It was not akin to "castration" but just a lack of interest

⁴⁷⁸ Gabbard, "Signifyin(g) the Phallus," 43.

⁴⁷⁹ Krin Gabbard, "Signifyin(g) the Phallus: 'Mo' Better Blues" and Representations of the Jazz Trumpet," *Cinema Journal* 32, no.1 (Autumn, 1992): 43, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1225861>.

⁴⁸⁰ Gabbard, "Signifyin(g) the Phallus," 44.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

⁴⁸² Ibid., 45.

⁴⁸³ Ibid.

in peacocking phallic display. According to Gabbard, this style can be categorized as 'post-phallic.'"⁴⁸⁴

In spite of Davis's desire to create an almost exaggerated masculine identity, as early as the 1940s he was using his trumpet to reveal emotional depth and introspection, even vulnerability. When Davis made a "mistake"—when his tone faltered or he seemed to miss a note—the cause was soulfulness and sensitivity rather than some shortcoming of technical prowess... Since the 1950s, many of the most critically acclaimed black trumpeters have been ironists... and introverts... rather than dominators and extroverts." Art Farmer may be the best example of an artist working in a post-phallic style derived from emotional codes developed by Davis.⁴⁸⁵

When the Los Angeles Philharmonic was scheduled to audition assistant conductors, Watt was excited to see an African American man come to the stage. The candidate was immediately apologetic and self-deprecating, and Watt likened his countenance to the minstrel era.⁴⁸⁶ Watt was disappointed to see how much the orchestra liked the candidate:

Nonetheless, the orchestra loved him, the management loved him, all the worst reactionaries in the orchestra loved him, even those who barely spoke to me or the other black player loved that "high-tech" Uncle Tom. After experiencing the reception of the young, gifted, and black maestro-mascot... I was forced to ask myself: "If there had to be black men in symphony orchestras in these United States, was he the type of black man that they really wanted? Was there still a deep yearning for the self-deprecating minstrel-type black man?"⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 48.

⁴⁸⁶ Watt, *The Black Horn*, 157.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 159.

Carrying the Burden

After years of playing assistant principal horn, Watt was given the opportunity to audition for principal horn. The old principal had finally retired, and the music director approached Bob about the position. When the time came, Bob played even better than his first audition, but the music director ultimately did not choose him for the position. The director said “as much as I feel that your playing is in top form—I also feel that your sound is not yet thick enough to be chosen as principal horn of the Los Angeles Philharmonic.”⁴⁸⁸ The reasoning of music director was condescending, and his explanation infantilized Watt and invalidated his prior success:

[T]he most disturbing part of my conversation with the music director was that it was clear at that moment that, yes, he did see me as a strong player. I had to remember that, above all, he did hire me. But what was really hard to swallow was the fact that he saw me as having the potential of becoming the kind of player who was in the horn section at that time.⁴⁸⁹

In a later conversation with Associate Principal Horn of the New York Philharmonic Jerome Ashby, also African American, Watt opened up about the subtle injustice of playing assistant principal and the easy ability for the principal horn to disguise any covert bias. He likened it to Rudyard Kipling’s notion of people of color ordained by God to “take up the white man’s burden.”⁴⁹⁰

There is something very musically disconnected about it—like you’re not really playing or part of the real action. Kind of like those TV commercials where they insert a token black person, but said black person is always in the background and never part of the real action. They show the black person perhaps in one or two frames, but no more—after that it’s

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., 153.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., 154.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., 177.

always the white actors who get the yummy gravy. So, I'm always a little haunted by the fact that my white colleagues and management will become way too comfortable having me in such a position.⁴⁹¹

One of the key tenets of Critical Race Theory is white supremacy and racial power are maintained over time.⁴⁹² The United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) recently released a report called *American Experiences vs American Expectations* which “illustrates the significant changes to the demographics of the American workforce since EEOC opened its doors in 1965.”⁴⁹³ The report shows steady growth in African American earning jobs from the years 1966–2013, rising from 8.2% of the workforce to 14%. “Despite the gains in employment made by African-Americans [sic] in the last 50 years, the annual median income of African-American households in 2012 was \$33,321, compared with the national median at \$51,017.”⁴⁹⁴ This information is critical to understanding why African Americans may not report microaggressions in the workplace. DeCuir-Gunby’s study shows constant exposure to microaggressions will lead to disengagement and detachment.

Inferiority-based racial microaggressions can leave People of Color feeling subordinate to their White counterparts, and our statistically significant result indicates that they engage in a passive and potentially destructive form of coping where their plight remains hidden. Detachment coping mechanisms are characterized by not discussing issues and discontinuation of efforts to diminish the racial microaggressions. By detaching, African Americans are in essence being forced to ignore race in the workplace, which could inadvertently lead to the development of color-blind perspectives. Because detachment coping is strongly

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., 178.

⁴⁹² Kimberlé Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller and Kendall Thomas, eds. *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement* (New York: The New Press, 1995).

⁴⁹³ U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Report on demographics of the American workforce: https://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/statistics/reports/american_experiences/african_americans.cfm.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

associated with less job satisfaction, this most likely relegates the racist experiences of People of Color as nonexistent, thus allowing their White colleagues to continue their racist behaviors and remaining color blind while ignoring its effects. These effects, a direct result of racism, are integral to the origins and organizational practices that perpetuate White privilege. As such, it is imperative that African Americans remain engaged in their workplaces, choose healthier forms of coping, and actively confront issues of racism, thereby holding their White colleagues accountable.⁴⁹⁵

Watt auditioned for two other orchestras during his entire tenure with the Los Angeles Philharmonic. Aside from the hostile work environment there, he wanted to explore other avenues for the horn. The first audition was for the Boston Symphony, where he played well but did not win the position. The second was for the New York Philharmonic, which had a similar sound concept to L.A., so he knew his sound would most likely preclude him from winning the job. The audition went well, but Watt was correct in his assessment of the orchestra's horn sound. What he did not imagine receiving was the reaction from the personnel manager:

I told him thanks for inviting me and of course I understood what kind of horn player they were looking for. We shook hands and I turned to walk away when suddenly, as if he had been hypnotized or programmed by shock therapy, he stopped me and started to rattle off some sort of proclamation: "By order of the New York Human Rights Commission I am required to inform you that as a minority, you can, if you so choose, request to be advanced to the finals and be heard by the music director of the New York Philharmonic, clearing said organization of any accusation of discrimination based on race, creed, gender, or—" I yelled at him, "Stop, stop! What the hell are you saying?" Then I remembered that lawsuit against the New York Philharmonic by two black string players when I was attending the Berkshire Music Festival at Tanglewood.⁴⁹⁶

Watt has cultivated other playing opportunities through the recording industry, where he has played with legends of entertainment like Barry White, Jerry Peters, Isaac

⁴⁹⁵ DeCuir–Gunby, "Racial Microaggressions," 406.

⁴⁹⁶ Watt, *The Black Horn*, 155.

Hayes, and Ernie Fields, Jr., the son of the great bandleader who had given Julius Watkins his professional debut. He was also invited to join a professional brass quintet made up of five African American brass musicians of the highest caliber. He found musical pleasure and satisfaction in both of these endeavors and was able to treat his symphony job as just that—a job. He learned how to fly planes and ride horses and enriched his musical life through teaching. He had worked exceptionally hard to have the comfortable and exciting life that he leads; his life can be summed up by a quote from his friend, Miles Davis: “I’m going to tell you something, Bob. You are one lucky motherfucker. Your mother taught you how to hold your head up as a black man, you know that? You should be thankful you had a person like that in your corner.”⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., 243.

CHAPTER 14
LATE 20TH & EARLY 21ST-CENTURY

Robert Watt made the horn a visible orchestral instrument to African American communities and unlocked the door for African American horn players. Jerome Ashby took the door off its hinges so that it would never be closed again.

Jerome Ashby

Jerome Ashby was born on February 15, 1956, in Charleston, South Carolina.⁴⁹⁸ He and his mother moved to New York City when Jerome was in elementary school and he began playing the horn sometime shortly thereafter.⁴⁹⁹ He attended the High School for the Performing Arts, and entered The Juilliard School in 1973, where he was a student of James Chambers.⁵⁰⁰ He won the principal horn position in the La Orquesta Filarmónica de la UNAM (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México) in Mexico City in 1977 and played there for two years.⁵⁰¹ In 1979 Ashby became the second African American horn player to win a position in a major symphony orchestra. Friend and colleague Bill Warnick recalled the story of Ashby's audition:

Julie [Landsman] asked [James] Chambers if Jerome had sent in his application for the New York Philharmonic Principal Horn audition. When Chambers replied that he had not, Julie called Jerome in Mexico to convince him to audition. Jerome had to borrow money from his mother to

⁴⁹⁸ Julie Landsman, "Jerome Ashby, 1956–20017," *The Juilliard Journal*, February 2008. <http://journal.juilliard.edu/journal/jerome-ashby-1956-2007>.

⁴⁹⁹ Marshall Sealy, phone call to author, March 7, 2020.

⁵⁰⁰ International Horn Society: Jerome Ashby, <https://www.hornsociety.org/ihs-people/honoraries/26-people/honorary/132-jerome-ashby-1956-2007>.

⁵⁰¹ International Horn Society: "Jerome Ashby".

pay for the trip to New York, and by the time he got to New York he had picked up a bug and told Bill the night before the audition that he was so sick he considered cancelling the audition, except for the fact that his mom had given him the money. The next day, Jerome was the only person to advance from the first round to the second round, and then the third round, until he was the last person standing and had won the audition. The audition committee voted for him, but [Zubin] Mehta voted for Philip Myers to be offered the principal horn position, so Jerome was offered the Associate Principal Horn position.⁵⁰²

Jerome Ashby served as Associate Principal Horn of the New York Philharmonic from 1979 until his death from prostate cancer in 2007. Ashby taught hundreds of students throughout his career at Juilliard, the Manhattan School of Music, the Curtis Institute of Music, and the Aspen Music Festival School and was elected an Honorary Member of the International Horn Society in 2007.⁵⁰³

His friend since the age of ten years old, Marshall Sealy, himself a respected African American horn player, said Jerome was an inspiration to African American musicians:

He lifted us all to better places, demonstrated his humility, generously shared his talents and discipline, while understanding our individual challenges and struggles. He loved life and it was contagious. We had greater pride in being horn players because of Jerome's love of music and love of people. Maybe he was not aware of it, but because of his high standards for excellence and his first-class achievements, he opened many professional doors for other African American horn players. I can now walk into an audition or a professional engagement knowing that I stand on the shoulders of the excellence that Jerome Ashby personified. When Jerome Ashby played, there was no sound more elegant, rich, and soul-connected. And, when he smiled and laughed, the world was a happier place!⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰² Bill Warnick, phone call to author, March 13, 2020.

⁵⁰³ International Horn Society: Jerome Ashby, <https://www.hornsociety.org/ihs-people/honoraries/26-people/honorary/132-jerome-ashby-1956-2007>.

⁵⁰⁴ Marshall Sealy, "A Tribute to an American Hero," *The Horn Call*, May 2008, 37.

Surprisingly, as of March 2020, no one has written a biography about Mr. Ashby. Every account of his life is similar, though. He was kind, generous and focused on the people he loved: his family⁵⁰⁵ and students.⁵⁰⁶ Another theme in people's recollections of Ashby is his dedication to hard work. In his tribute to Ashby, New York Philharmonic horn section colleague Alan Spanjer said when he was a student, Jerome would listen to records for hours and ushered at Avery Fisher Hall so he could hear and experience as much music as possible. He went on to write about how much Ashby loved horn and music, and that he was always trying to improve; "never willing to settle for what happened to be the best at any given moment."⁵⁰⁷ Another NY Philharmonic colleague, Howard Wall, wrote "[Ashby] was one of the hardest working players I know. He once told me about his 24-hour rule, which meant he didn't feel like he should ever take off more than 24 hours at a time from playing the horn."⁵⁰⁸

Julie Landsman, lifelong friend and colleague of Ashby's at Juilliard, observed "at the funeral service, I was struck by the fact that almost everyone there referred to Jerome as 'my best friend.' The number of 'best friends' Jerome had is a sure testament to his generous heart."⁵⁰⁹ In her tribute to Ashby published by the International Horn Society, Landsman wrote:

His deep connection to the music was audible as he breathed with every phrase as each candidate played. It was as if he became the player himself, and this remarkable ability on his part enabled me to appreciate those exceptional players who eventually became our students at Juilliard. Our endless discussions about our students were invaluable to both of us. We

⁵⁰⁵ Sealy, "Tribute," 37.

⁵⁰⁶ International Horn Society: "Jerome Ashby".

⁵⁰⁷ Alan Spanjer, "Tribute to Jerome Ashby," *The Horn Call*, May 2008, 38.

⁵⁰⁸ Howard Wall, "Tribute to Jerome Ashby," *The Horn Call*, May 2008, 38.

⁵⁰⁹ International Horn Society: "Jerome Ashby".

shared a deep mutual concern for our students—a love, really, as they became our children—and I treasure the memories of these times with him.⁵¹⁰

Ashby was an extremely popular teacher, and his teaching style was straightforward. Metropolitan Opera hornist Brad Gemeinhardt described Ashby as an old-fashioned teacher: lessons were punctual; students called him Mr. Ashby, not Jerome; there is “right” and “wrong” in music. “He emphasized a rich, perfectly even sound and clear, uncomplicated phrasing. Sing your song.”⁵¹¹ Atlanta Symphony hornist Kim Gilman recalled her studies with Ashby at Juilliard:

He was very focused on the music bit of being a horn player, as opposed to the technical bit. Not that he didn’t have a lot of excellent wisdom to offer on how to operate the instrument better, but he was always clear that everything was in service of the music. He encouraged me to explore the Bb [sic] horn in the mid/mid-low register [to be] thoughtful and explor[e] your options. Ashby was the first teacher I had that encouraged me to try different fingerings to see if something different worked better.⁵¹²

David Byrd–Marrow, horn professor at the University of Denver and solo horn of the International Contemporary Ensemble, described Ashby as a consistent and organized teacher:

Mr. Ashby’s teaching style was the epitome of formulaic. When I was studying with him, he had twenty-four students at three different conservatories, four daughters and a wife, and a job at the New York Philharmonic. And that was all I knew about. With a schedule that demanding I imagine he didn’t really have a choice but to have a pretty much set template that his students followed. He loved the classics. Especially Brahms, Beethoven and Strauss. If you were working on any of the really famous works for horn, he would almost always play along with you.⁵¹³

⁵¹⁰ Julie Landsman, “Tribute to Jerome Ashby,” *The Horn Call*, May 2008, 37.

⁵¹¹ Brad Gemeinhardt, “Tribute,” 37.

⁵¹² Kim Gilman, email to author, March 11, 2020.

⁵¹³ David Byrd–Marrow, email to author, March 10, 2020.

Jerome Ashby was highly respected and deserving of the profound adulation from his students and peers. His colleague from the New York Philharmonic, Erik Ralske, summarized Ashby in a poignant statement. “He maintained the highest regard for colleagues and always gave people the benefit of the doubt. He understood that in the end, what we did professionally was not as important as who we are as human beings.”⁵¹⁴

Between Ashby’s time as a student at Juilliard and as a member of the New York Philharmonic, he played for two years in the UNAM Orchestra in Mexico City. He was one of many African American horn players of his generation to find employment outside of the United States, including Marshall Sealy and Bill Warnick.

Marshall Sealy

Marshall Sealy was born in 1954, on Long Island. His parents were both college professors and encouraged cultural enrichment, so he started playing the trumpet in 4th grade. After a few months of trumpet lessons his teacher told him: “trumpet players are a dime-a-dozen but French horn players get scholarships for college.”⁵¹⁵ Shortly after, a brass quintet visited his school and Marshall was hooked when he heard the horn. He had group lessons in a group of five beginners, at first but by the end of the year he was the only one left.⁵¹⁶

Sealy’s band director told him the best a black musician can hope for is to play Broadway or Vaudeville⁵¹⁷ shows, but when Bob Watt won the position in Los Angeles it

⁵¹⁴ Erik Ralske, “Tribute to Jerome Ashby,” *The Horn Call*, May 2008, 38.

⁵¹⁵ Marshall Sealy, phone call to author, March 12, 2020.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

changed everything. He was inspired by Watt and started working hard at the horn. His parents sent him to take lessons with Arthur Goldstein, who taught all the Long Island Youth Orchestra horn players.⁵¹⁸ Marshall auditioned and was accepted for All-State band, attended the Kinhaven music camp and the Manhattan School of Music preparatory school; because he was inspired by Watt's success.

Attending the Manhattan School of Music for college was a logical progression for Marshall, but it was not a good fit. He transferred to Ithaca College where he had a music scholarship as well a financial award to play soccer. He was overwhelmed by the time commitments to each of those activities and left after his sophomore year to enroll in instrument repair school. He excelled at this profession and was hired by noted craftsman Bob Giardinelli. It was through his instrument repair work that Marshall first met Julius Watkins, and soon he began to study with Watkins at the Henry Street Settlement School, and then at Watkins' home in Montclair, NJ.⁵¹⁹

Sealy started freelancing in the 1970s in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, playing fourth horn with the Opera Company of Boston, Philly Pops, and many other ensembles.⁵²⁰ When Jerome Ashby won his job in the New York Philharmonic he called Marshall to finish the season in Mexico City. He then won a position in the Orquesta Filarmónica de Jalisco in Guadalajara, where he played for three seasons. Marshall found the atmosphere in the Mexican orchestras was much friendlier than in the U.S. "It was less competitive and more nurturing; like a family."⁵²¹ The orchestra rehearsed every

⁵¹⁸ Conn-Selmer, "Marshall Sealy," <https://centerstage.conn-selmer.com/artists/w-marshall-sealy>.

⁵¹⁹ Marshall Sealy, phone call to author, March 7, 2020.

⁵²⁰ Conn-Selmer, "Marshall Sealy."

⁵²¹ Marshall Sealy, phone call to author, March 12, 2020.

weekday and performed concerts on Friday evening and Sunday afternoons, and the Sunday concerts were broadcast live. He was the only black person in the orchestra but said he never felt racial discrimination while in Mexico.⁵²² Sealy returned to the United States in 1990 and resumed work in Boston, where he taught at the Berklee College of Music and played in the Boston Opera.

One of his passions as a pedagogue has been to visit Historically Black Colleges & Universities (HBCU) to mentor young African American horn players. He is frequently a featured artist at the HBCU National Band Director Consortium,⁵²³ and a tireless advocate for the oral history of African American heritage and music.

Bill Warnick

I had the pleasure to speak with Bill Warnick on the phone, on March 13, 2020. I had intended to ask him a few questions about Jerome Ashby but as he shared his own story, I realized he should be included in this chapter. The following pages are all cited from that conversation.⁵²⁴

Bill Warnick was born in the Bronx in 1949. His father was a World War II veteran who was the first black motorman to work on the New York City subway system. His parents and siblings and he lived in the Lillian Wald Projects, on the lower east side. This public housing was established for city employees; their neighbors were of all colors and ancestries. He was surrounded by music constantly while growing up. The radio was

⁵²² Ibid.

⁵²³ <https://www.hbcu-nbdc.org/>.

⁵²⁴ Bill Warnick, phone call to author, March 13, 2020.

always on in their apartment; in the morning the stations played classical music and in the evenings his family listened to jazz. One of Bill's earliest memories is listening to the WNYC radio program called "Breakfast Symphony" which used the second movement of Beethoven's Symphony No. 7 as its theme music.

In junior high school he began to learn the violin, and when his school purchased French horns in spring of his last year he switched, about age 14. All of his siblings played instruments as well, and his parents encouraged them all to study music. After he graduated high school, he attended Bronx Community College and studied physics and electrical engineering before he auditioned for the Mannes School of Music in 1968. His teacher at Mannes was Paul Ingraham, and he studied with Arnold Jacobs during the summer of 1972.

In 1973 Bill did his first studio recording, he remembers it as being something with McCoy Tyner. He did a lot of studio work, but never really broke into the jingles which was where the best money was. Jingles were hard to get because they were so quick, whereas a record date could be 3 hours long and an entire album might be 3 sessions, so you were locked in place for nine hours. But he recorded a lot and played on Broadway with *Sugar Babies*, which was Brooks Tillotson's show. Brooks was going stir crazy from sitting in the pit day in and day out, so he asked Bill to take over.

In late 1976 he lived in an apartment at 808 West End Avenue with Jerome Ashby and Marshall Sealy. The three of them would play trios constantly, and formed a quartet with Greg Williams, another African American horn player. Jerome won his position in UNAM Orchestra and then the quartet split up.

Venezuela

On a hotel gig in Puerto Rico, a gentleman approached Bill and complimented his horn playing. He then asked him to audition for an orchestra which he conducted in Venezuela. Bill agreed and gave him his card, not sure if he would hear from the gentleman again. The next autumn the conductor phoned Bill to invite him to a private audition in New York. He played well, and in December 1980 Bill was offered the third horn position of Philharmonica de Caracas, where he stayed for twenty years before returning to the United States in 2000. During his two decades, he played in the orchestra, taught at the music school, and recorded jingles and other commercial music. He loved his life there and returned to the U.S. only because of the political unrest and concerns for the safety of his family. He never experienced any discrimination in the orchestra and did not recall any overt occasions of racism toward him in his professional career, either in the United States or Venezuela. He continues to play the horn professionally while enjoying retirement in Florida.

Symphony of the New World

In 1972, Warnick became the fourth horn in Symphony of the New World, the first racially integrated professional symphony orchestra in the United States.⁵²⁵ Based in New York City, the orchestra was founded by Benjamin Steinberg in 1964. The horn section over the ten years of its existence consisted of many horn greats: Paul Ingraham,

⁵²⁵ "Manhattan orchestra provides training for talented of all races," *Ebony* 22, No. 1 (November 1966), 36–40.

Bill Hamilton, Julius Watkins, Sharon Johnson, Clarence Cooper, Jerome Ashby, Brooks Tillotson, and Warnick.

The orchestra was created in response to the Civil Rights Act of 1964.⁵²⁶ In an article in *Ebony* magazine, the sentiment of the time was expressed: “This dearth is often created by Negroes themselves, many of whom, rightly or wrongly, regard the symphony world as a hostile one.”⁵²⁷ “When a Negro auditions for a place in a symphony orchestra, he automatically becomes not merely a musical question but a social one.”⁵²⁸ “A Negro violinist has to play as well as the concertmaster to play in the back of the section.”⁵²⁹

The mission statement of the Symphony of the New World (Figure 12) makes it clear the goal of the organization was to provide opportunities for under-served professional musicians. The orchestra was unfortunately never able to secure the funding it needed to establish a sustainable growth model and dissolved in 1977.

⁵²⁶ New York Public Library Staff, “Symphony of the New World: 50th Anniversary of a Pioneering Organization,” August 6, 2014, <https://www.nypl.org/blog/2014/08/06/symphony-new-world-50th-anniversary>.

⁵²⁷ *Ebony*, November 1966, 44.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*

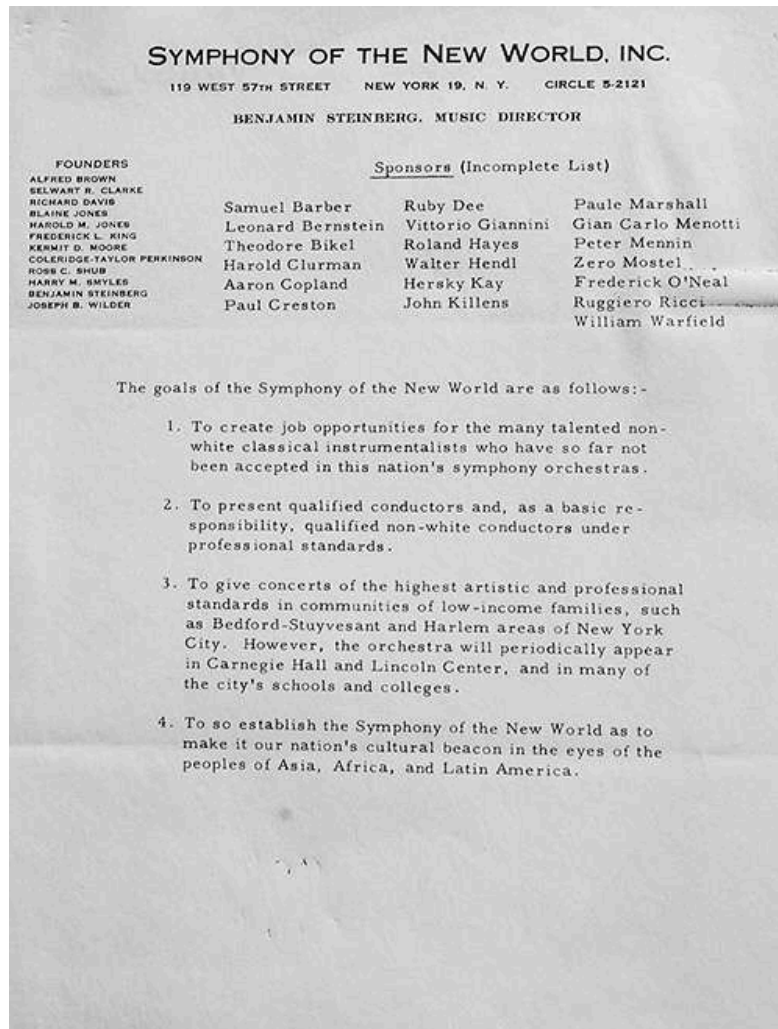


Figure 19. Mission Statement for the Symphony of the New World⁵³⁰

⁵³⁰ Barbara Steinberg, daughter of Benjamin Steinberg, founder of Symphony of the New World, <http://barbaraanneshaircombblog.com/images/symphonyofthenewworld/symphonyofthenewworld-missionstatement1964.jpg>.

CHAPTER 15

CONCLUSION

The thing about black history is that the truth is so much more complex than anything you could make up.
Henry Louis Gates, Jr.

Robert Watt's retirement and Jerome Ashby's death marked the end of the first generation of African American horn players to be allowed into American symphony orchestras. The future is bright with French horn players of all races, due in large part to the efforts of the people in this document. I would be remiss to not mention a few more horn players who opened the door for future generations. I have included a "snapshot" of some of these important people in Appendix F. While this is by no means an exhaustive list, these people's names came up several times during the course of my research.

Each of the men profiled in this document represents countless other men and women whose experiences with the horn were not documented. Without the examples of William Lee, Olaudah Equiano, and John Marrant, Francis Johnson may not have played the horn. Johnson's contributions to the African American brass band tradition paved the road for the bands of the United States Colored Troops. The USCT bands represented possibility and hope to enslaved and formerly enslaved people, and provided musical training for freemen. Those musicians played in touring minstrel bands after the Civil War and exposed innumerable people to the prospect of African American professional musicians.

Minstrel bands were a double-edged sword. While they provided employment for African American musicians during the postbellum years, the message behind the music was harmful. "Coon" songs and "coon" bands enshrined and perpetuated negative stereotypes. They encouraged the regressive impression of African Americans, including

the large and susceptible population of newly free African American people. As Reconstruction was overthrown, the “coon” clichés had already become ingrained and had permanently damaged the collective conscious of American people. Institutionalized racism entered the 20th century in the form of Jim Crow laws and segregation.

Many African American musicians served in military bands during World Wars I & II, including James Reese Europe, Julius Watkins, and Willie Ruff. Europe had been a composer of “coon” band music at the turn of the twentieth-century, and Ruff was greatly influenced by the minstrel idiom during his youth in the 1930s and 40s. Both Europe and Ruff were born in Alabama, in the heart of the segregated Deep South. Ruff’s formal musical education came entirely with his military training. Watkins, by contrast, was born in Detroit. From an early age he received the highest quality musical education available to anyone, white or black, in the Detroit public-school system. Regardless of this training and his obvious talent and enthusiasm, Watkins was unwelcome in the classical music world.

All three men pioneered jazz music. James Reese Europe was instrumental in developing proto-jazz through his 369th “Hellfighters” band; Watkins gave birth to the use of French horn as a solo jazz instrument; Ruff collaborated with jazz and classical musicians. Ruff furthermore advanced and advocated for the study of African American music history, and he is still active as an educator and innovator. They all served their country in segregated units of the military, as it was not until 1948 that Executive Order 9981 ended segregation in the Armed Forces. 1948 portended great things to come—as the first step was taken toward desegregation, Robert Lee Watt was born.

In 1970, Watt made history when he joined the Los Angeles Philharmonic. As is common, the first person to symbolically open a door faces resistance and push-back from the status quo. He endured racism and workplace harassment on a regular basis. The constant emotional and psychological burden of living through that experience triggered Watt to pursue outside musical opportunities with other African American musicians. He became a hero to other African American horn players and set an example many people, black or white, could aspire toward. One of those people was Jerome Ashby.

Ashby was born just two and a half months after Rosa Parks's courageous act of nonviolent resistance had sparked the beginning of the twentieth-century Civil Rights Movement. That world preached opportunity for African Americans but was not yet putting those words into action. Ashby proved that through hard work, determination, and resilience, it was possible for an African American musician to achieve a status previously held only by white men. He was one of the most highly esteemed horn players, and highly sought-after pedagogues of his generation, regardless of race. His legacy lives on through the hundreds of horn players whom he taught.

With the exception of Watt and Ashby, each one of the men I researched represents a person who was excluded from the horn canon for reasons beyond their control. This document has redressed their anonymity and provided fodder for future research. My research sets up a springboard for future research into the following topics: oral history of living African American horn players; African American horn players in the early 20th century military bands; African American women horn players (there is little to no existing research on this topic); and other enslaved musicians on Southern estates.

While we shall never live in a world without hate, I am heartened by the number of African American people I spoke with who said they never saw racism as an impediment to, or even a factor in, their careers. As social media and the internet makes the world feel smaller than ever before, it becomes increasingly important for individuals to take personal responsibility for understanding situations outside of their own. The color barrier has been broken and it is the duty of anyone in a position of power to ensure the barrier stays down. Without firm action from people who have access to resources by which to remedy still existing power imbalances and institutionalized racism, true equality is not achievable. If historically disenfranchised people do not have access to the same resources and education as people with historical privilege, then all of the actions I have outlined as beneficial and examples of freedom are moot. The future is bright, but only if we pay attention and keep the flame lit.

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APPENDIX A

TIMELINE

Compiled from Eileen Southern's *The Music of Black Americans* and my research

16TH CENTURY

- 1501 Africans entered the New World with explorers
- 1520s Slavery established in the West Indies

17TH CENTURY

- 1619 Virginia: First arrival of Africans to the English colonies, at Jamestown
- 1620 Massachusetts: Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock
- 1625 1,980 colonists on mainland America: 180 at Plymouth, 1800 in Virginia (No records of whether these figures included African people)
- 1626 New York: Dutch West India Company brought 11 men from Angola to New Amsterdam to work as "Company Negroes"
- 1630 MA: Founding of Boston
- 1638 MA: First African men arrived in Boston on the ship *Desire*
- 1641 "Body of Liberties" laws provided tacit approval of slavery
- By 1644 NY: Angolese men were manumitted for "long and faithful service" (same words as Washington used in his will for William Lee)
- 1649 VA: Population 15,000 white and 300 "black"
- 1650s VA: Records show that after serving their indentures, servants were given their freedom
- By 1660 Enslavement of African Americas established, first by custom then law.
- 1661 First of the "Black Codes" in Virginia recognized enslaved people
- 1667 VA Assembly law passed stating the baptism of slaves did not exempt them from bondage
- 1670 SC: Founding of Charles Town

- 1681 PA: Founding of Philadelphia
- 1688 PA: Germantown protest of slavery by Quakers
- 1693 MA: Founding of Society of Negroes in Boston

18TH CENTURY

- By 1700 all 13 colonies had legalized slavery
- 1704 NY: Missionaries of Church of England established a school for slaves
- 1707 Publication of *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* by Isaac Watts
- 1723 MA: Earliest record of black army musician—Nero Benson, trumpeter in Framingham Mass
- 1729 MA: First public concert in the colonies, Boston
- 1732 VA: George Washington born
- 1735 MA: Five slaves baptized by Jonathan Edwards
- 1735 SC: First performance of an opera in the colonies in Charles Town
- 1739 SC: Slave uprising near Charles Town “Stono conspiracy”
- 1740 SC: Negro Act of 1740
- 1741 PA: Founding of the first Moravian settlement
- 1742 SC: Negro schoolhouse opened at Charles Town—teachers were enslaved
- 1743 VA: Thomas Jefferson born
- 1745 Olaudah Equiano born in present-day Nigeria
- ~1750 VA: William Lee born close to Mount Vernon
- 1755 NY: John Marrant born in New York
- 1756 First French and Indian War
- 1775–83 American Revolution

- 1775 George Washington's orders prohibit slave recruits to the American army
- 1775 The Dunmore Proclamation
- 1775 PA: First anti-slavery society formed by Quakers in Philadelphia
- 1776 Declaration of Independence
- 1776 VA Act of 1776: black men shall be employed as drummers, fifers, or pioneers
- 1778 First enactment of laws offering freedom to slaves who served in the American Army
- 1780 PA: legislation providing for the gradual abolition of slavery
- 1782 First known printing of *Yankee Doodle* and a *Negro Jig*: Glasgow
- 1783 MA: Slavery abolished by law in Massachusetts
- 1785 John Marrant's *Narrative* published
- 1789 Olaudah Equiano's *Narrative* published
- 1790 First US census taken: over 750,000 black people, including 59,000 free
- 1792 PA: Francis Johnson born in Philadelphia
- 1792 First law passed by Congress authorizing the formation of military bands other than fife and drum corps; law amended in 1803

19TH CENTURY

- 1800 Gabriel Prosser slave revolt, Richmond VA
- 1801 PA: Publication of first African American hymnal: *A Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs from Various Authors*
- 1808 Congressional Act abolishing the slave trade
- 1812–15 War of 1812
- 1816 American Colonization Society established
- 1818 Matthew Black organized a band of African American musicians in Philadelphia

- 1821 Establishment of the American colony of Liberia, in Africa
 Founding of African Grove Theatre, NY
- 1830 First National Convention of the Free People of Color
- 1831 Nat Turner slave revolt
- 1857 Dred Scott v. Sandford
- 1861–65 American Civil War
- 1863 Emancipation Proclamation
- 1866 Civil Rights Acts is passed
- 1867 *Slave Songs of the United States* is published
- 1863–1877 Reconstruction period
- 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson
- 1890 Jim Crow legislation is enacted in the South
- 1898 First musicals on Broadway to be written and produced by African Americans; *A Trip to Coontown*, by Cole and Johnson and *The Origin of Cakewalk*, by Cooke Dunbar.
- 1899 Scott Joplin’s *Maple Leaf Rag*

20TH CENTURY

- 1901 First known recording of black musicians—Bert Williams, George Walker
- 1902 AFM Chicago Local 208 established as first African American chapter of the musicians union
- 1909 NAACP is founded
- 1910 Clef Club is founded
- 1912 W.C. Handy’s *Memphis Blues*
- 1914–1918 World War I (African Americans included in segregated draft in 1917)
- 1916 Beginning of the “Great Migration”

- 1918 James Reese Europe's 369th Infantry Band performs in Paris
- 1919 National Association of Negro Musicians holds first conference
- 1921 Julius Watkins born in Detroit, MI
- 1929 Stock Market Crash and beginning of Great Depression
- 1931 Willie Ruff born in Sheffield, Alabama
- William Grant Still's *Afro-American Symphony* is performed by the Rochester Philharmonic
- 1932 Duke Ellington's *It Don't Mean a Thing If It Ain't Got That Swing*
- 1935 Works Progress Administration establishes Federal Arts Projects, including "Colored Bands"
- 1941–48 World War II (Tuskegee Airmen established and utilized)
- 1948 Executive Order 9981 ends segregation in the Armed Forces
- Robert Watt born in Neptune Township, NJ
- 1955 Montgomery, Alabama public bus boycott marks the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement
- 1956 Jerome Ashby born in Charleston, SC
- 1957 Civil Right Act Of 1957
- 1964 Jim Crow laws overturned by the Civil Rights Act of 1964
- 1965 Voting Rights Act of 1965
- 1970 Robert Lee Watt wins audition for the Los Angeles Philharmonic,
- 1979 Jerome Ashby wins audition for the New York Philharmonic

APPENDIX B

NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENTS LISTING ENSLAVED PERSONS OR INDENTURED SERVANTS WHO PLAYED THE HORN

Organized chronologically and geographically.

BOSTON, MA

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: To be sold, for no faults, a very likely healthy Negro Man, not exceeding twenty-five years of age, and can blow a French Horn and Trumpet. Enquire of the Printer.

PUBLICATION DATE: November 25, 1751
NEWSPAPER: Boston Evening Post

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ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: A very healthy likely Negro Boy, to be sold, about 15 years of age, well qualified to tend in a family, or on a private gentleman, being a good barber, and understands dressing Hair extremely well, and plays on the French Horn. He has been in this country only three weeks, and reason of his being sold is in order to settle his deceased master's estate

PUBLICATION DATE: October 17 & 24, 1768
NEWSPAPER: Boston Gazette

+++++

CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: To be sold, for no fault, (the owner being obliged to sell him) a young Negro fellow, bred to waiting in the house, etc. He can cook tolerably well, and do most business required about a family; he knows how to manage a horse, and understands gardening very well, in short is suitable for either a family or a batchelor. He has been taught to blow the horn and is fond of it; he is a well inclined young fellow. If he is not sold before Mr. Backhouse's sale of the second of December, he will then be put up at auction. For further particulars, enquire of the printer.

POSTED BY: Charles Crouch (publisher)
PUBLICATION DATE: Many dates between October and December 1767
NEWSPAPER: South Carolina Gazette

+++++

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Absented himself from my plantation, at Horse Savanna, . . . a Negro fellow, named Caesar, 30 years old, about 5 feet 6 inches high, well set, and full faced, with a large beard, which he seldom shaves close: He plays a remarkable French Horn...as he is a native of Jamaica he may ship himself to the West Indies

POSTED BY: Bernard Elliott
PUBLICATION DATE: April 19, 1770
NEWSPAPER: South Carolina Gazette (published by Peter Timothy)

+++++

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Charles-Town, Sept. 6, 1770. Run away from the subscriber, on Saturday last, a Negro fellow, named Charles, lately arrived here from Jamaica: He is a likely young fellow, about twenty-three years of age, and about five feet nine inches high; a little pitted with the small-pox, blows the French horn well, and speaks good English.

POSTED BY: Hugh Hughes
PUBLICATION DATE: September 20 & 27, 1770
NEWSPAPER: South Carolina Gazette (Peter Timothy)

+++++

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Run-away from the subscriber, the latter end of October last, a Negro slave, named Charles, Jamaica born, a very sensible fellow, about 28 years of age . . . is a compleat waiting man, and as compleat a seaman as any Negro can be; has been two voyages to England, and was most of last war a French-Horn man on board the Deal Castle, Captain Mantle, a privateer belonging to Kingston in Jamaica.

POSTED BY: Hugh Hughes
DATE: Many postings between January and April 1772
NEWSPAPER: South Carolina Gazette (Publisher, Charles Crouch)

+++++

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Belfast, a Negro fellow belonging to Lieutenant Taggart, is to be sold at private sale; he is a complete waiting man and plays on the French horn.

PUBLICATION DATE: August 5 & 7, 1778
NEWSPAPER: Gazette of the State of South Carolina

+++++

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: To be sold at public venue, on the 6th of January, unless disposed of before at private sale, a strong, likely, healthy, young Negro fellow, is a compleat waiting man, can attend horses, and plays exceedingly well on the French horn
PUBLICATION DATE: December 30, 1778
NEWSPAPER: Gazette of the State of South Carolina

+++++

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: For sale, a complete waiting man, a lover of horses, and understands the management of them, blows the French horn
PUBLICATION DATE: April 7, 21 & 30; May 5, 1779
NEWSPAPER: Gazette of the State of South Carolina

+++++

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Fifty Dollars Reward. Ran away about a fortnight ago, from Joseph Atkinson, esq. at the High Hills of Santee, Bristol, a short thick set Negro man about 25 years of age, a shoemaker by trade, and can play well on the French Horn, cunning and artful, having formerly lived in, and is well known in and about Charles-ton, and has been lately seen there, supposed to be working about the wharves. The above reward will be paid on delivering him to the Master of the workhouse, or to William Clarkson, No. 71, King Street
PUBLICATION DATE: June 3, 1796; November 4, 1797
NEWSPAPER: The City Gazette

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ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Ran away from the subscriber on the 17th instant, a convict servant man, named George Mitchell, he is a well set fellow about 5 feet 8 inches high, of a fair complexion, and brown hair, which is frequently clubbed behind and curled at the ears, plays on the French horn and fife, can beat the drum, has a sore leg, and is very fond of drink
PUBLICATION DATE: May 29; June 9, 1774
NEWSPAPER: Maryland Gazette

+++++

NEW JERSEY

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Forty Shillings reward, with all reasonable charges will be given to any person who will bring to John De Lancey, in the delivery, or secure in the city of New-York or county of Westchester, a Negro man, who has left his mistress. He is a good looking fellow, about five feet eight or nine inches high, civil spoken, a great cockscomb, and one of the best waiters at a table in this country; plays upon the French horn, is a tolerable good cook, coachman and groom, but his vanity proving more powerful than his honesty, he fraudulently obtained a silver watch, which being discovered it is imagined occasioned his going off. He has several suits of good cloaths, was generally called Caesar, but names himself Joseph Low.

POSTED BY: Agent
PUBLICATION DATE: November 27, 1775
NEWSPAPER: The New-York Gazette; and the Weekly Mercury
NEWSPAPER LOCATION: Newark, NJ, US

+++++

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Ran away from the subscriber, in Sussex county, a likely, short, stout Mulatto lad, aged about 20 years, American born, used to horses and waiting in the house, plays well on the fiddle and French horn; had on a white drilling coat with metal buttons, white under cloaths, and beaver hat. Lived in New-York when young, since in Carolina, and lately with Mr. Rutherford in New-Jersey; can read and write; he is a pert, saucy fellow. Whoever takes up the servant above described, and secures him so that his master can have him again, shall have Fifty Pounds reward, and all reasonable charges paid...

POSTED BY: Enslaver, William M'Cullough
PUBLICATION DATE: July 28, 1779
NEWSPAPER: The New Jersey Gazette
NEWSPAPER LOCATION: Burlington/Trenton, NJ, US

+++++

NEW YORK, NY

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: To be sold, a Negro fellow named Joe, aged about 27 years; he is from Curacao, lived with Capt. Wright; blows the French horn, and is a compleat Negro; his price is 85 pounds, New York currency

PUBLICATION DATE: August 22 & 29, 1763
NEWSPAPER: New York Gazette

+++++

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: To be sold, a likely Negro man, about 28 years old, plays very well upon the French Horn and Trumpet, and is fit for any kind of housework, or any work whatsoever

PUBLICATION DATE: January 14 & 21; February 11, 1765
NEWSPAPER: New York Mercury

+++++

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: A likely Negro man, about 28 years of age, can play very well on the French horn, and trumpet, fitting to wait on a gentleman, or do any work about a house

PUBLICATION DATE: March 7, 1765
NEWSPAPER: New York Gazette and Weekly Post-boy

+++++

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Roger Duff [barber and hairdresser] plays very well on the French-horn, which he has taken with him-The said servants were pursued, and drop't some clothes and the French-horn

PUBLICATION DATE: September 10, 17 & 24; October 8, 1770
NEWSPAPER: New York Mercury

+++++

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Forty Shillings reward, with all reasonable charges will be given to any person who will bring to John De Lancy, in the delivery, or secure in the city of New-York or county of Westchester, a Negro man, who has left his mistress. He is a good looking fellow, about five feet eight or nine inches high, civil spoken, a great cockscomb, and one of the best waiters at a table in this country; plays upon the French horn, is a tolerable good cook, coachman and groom, but his vanity proving more powerful than his honesty, he fraudulently obtained a silver watch, which being

discovered it is imagined occasioned his going off. He has several suits of good cloaths, was generally called Caesar, but names himself Joseph Low.

PUBLICATION DATE: October 30; November 27, 1775
NEWSPAPER: New York Gazette; New York Mercury

+++++

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Five pounds reward. Run away from the subscriber, on the 25th of June, a Negro man, named Hector, about 32 years of age, . . . he plays upon the violin, fife and French horn

PUBLICATION DATE: September 1, 1785
NEWSPAPER: Loudon's New York Packet

+++++

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Wanted—A smart active youth that can play the Kent Bugle or French Horn. Apply at the Penny Post Office, 2 Exchange Place.

PUBLICATION DATE: January 19, 1841
NEWSPAPER: New York Herald

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PHILADELPHIA, PA

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Just imported in the slip Carrington, from Barbados, and to be sold by Willig and Morris, at their store in Front Street, near Walnut Street, a Negro man, a goldsmith by trade, blows the French horn or trumpet

PUBLICATION DATE: May 11 & 18; June 8, 1758.
NEWSPAPER: Philadelphia Gazette

+++++

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: To be sold, a likely Negro man, who can talk good English; he is a good seaman, and a good cook, fit for town or country business; he can play well on the French horn, and is about 27 years of age

PUBLICATION DATE: August 30, 1759
NEWSPAPER: Philadelphia Gazette

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ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Wanted. A servant that can blow the French horn well, to live with a gentleman in the country. Apply to the printers for further information.

PUBLICATION DATE: January 20, 1773
NEWSPAPER: Pennsylvania Gazette

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ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: A manor boy, who understands playing on the French-horn or trumpet, will hear of good encouragement by applying to Allen Moore, tavern-keeper near Pine- Street.

PUBLICATION DATE: January 3, 1776
NEWSPAPER: Pennsylvania Journal

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ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Eight Dollars Reward. Ran away from the Indian Queen yesterday morning, a negro boy named Boulchester, about 18 years of age, is about 5 feet high: he plays upon the French Horn

POSTED BY: Claypoole, David C.
PUBLICATION DATE: February 25, 1783
NEWSPAPER: Pennsylvania Packet

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VIRGINIA

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: A young healthy Negro fellow who has been used to wait on a Gentleman and plays extremely well on the French horn.

PUBLICATION DATES: March 1766
NEWSPAPER: Virginia Gazette
NEWSPAPER LOCATION: Williamsburg, VA

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ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: To be sold, a valuable young handsome Negro fellow, about 18 or 20 years of age, has every quality of a genteel and sensible servant, and has been in many different parts of the world. He shaves, dresses hair, and plays on the French horn. He lately came from London, & has with him two suits of new clothes, and his French horn, which the purchaser may have with him.

PUBLICATION DATE: July 23 & 30; August 6, 1767
NEWSPAPER: Virginia Gazette
NEWSPAPER LOCATION: Williamsburg, VA

+++++

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Just arrived, the Justitia, Captain Colin Somervell, with about 120 healthy servants, consisting of men, women, and boys, among which are many tradesmen. N.B. There is one of the servants who plays well on the French horn, flute, and other instruments.

PUBLICATION DATE: December 22 & 29, 1768

NEWSPAPER: Virginia Gazette

NEWSPAPER LOCATION: Williamsburg, VA

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ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Traveling companion sought for Cuthbert Hubbard who could also take care of horses and if he can play French horn it will be more agreeable.

PUBLICATION DATE: March 11, 1773

NEWSPAPER: Virginia Gazette

NEWSPAPER LOCATION: Williamsburg, VA

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ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Run away from Burwell's Ferry, about the 1st of February last, a Negro boy named Pompey, about eighteen years old, five feet three inches high, remarkably black, and proportionately made; he is a native of Africa, speaks English tolerably, stoops when he walks, and plays on the French horn. He had on a dark coloured duffil short coat, waistcoat, and breeches, and I have been informed he went on board a country craft up James River; he has been bred to the sea...50 shillings reward

POSTED BY: John Goodrich, Jr.

PUBLICATION DATE: April 1, 1773

NEWSPAPER: Virginia Gazette (published by Purdie, Alex, John Dixon)

NEWSPAPER LOCATION: Williamsburg, VA

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ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Forty pounds hard money reward. For taking and delivering to me near Fauquier court-house, the four following Negroes, who run away the 9th instant...Mark, about 25 years old, a stout able black fellow, about 5 feet 8 inches high, born in the island of St. Jago, and speaks the Portuguese language; by his talk is easily discovered to be foreigner, very active, and remarkable for his ingenuity; and although he has worked with a stone mason and

brick layer, has no particular trade by being capable of doing something at almost every kind of business, blows the French horn, can play on the fiddle, whistles many tunes well, and to be heard at a surprising distance, is fond of marches and church music, particularly that belonging to the Roman Catholic religion, which he professes; carried with him a twilled woollen jacket, a pair of red trousers, one or more white shirts, and some of brown linen, and a wool hat. I cannot give a particular description of his dress which I expect his ingenuity will vary as often as he finds it necessary. He has the mark of a cut on the outside (I believe) of his left hand.

POSTED BY: William Allason
PUBLICATION DATE: July 12; August 9, 1780
NEWSPAPER: Virginia Gazette (published by Dixon & Nicolson)
NEWSPAPER LOCATION: Richmond, VA

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ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Ran away this morning, from the subscriber, Mark, a black negro man, about 29 or 30 years of age, 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high, a scar on his right jaw, has the mark of a cut on the outside (I believe) of his right hand, walks much with the broadside of his feet foremost, was born in the Island of Saint Jago, and speaks his native (the Portuguese) language, by his talk is easily discovered to be a foreigner, very active, and remarkable for his ingenuity; and although he may pretend to some knowledge in stone and brick work, has no particular trade, being capable of doing something at most kinds of business. Before the war, he was employed in going by water, and is well acquainted with the Bay, Rivers, and Creeks, to which I expect he will make, in order to get on board a vessel, to be carried to a greater distance from home, and then make his escape from it. It is very probable he will pass for a freeman, in consequence of his being able to speak another language. He can blow the French horn, play the fiddle, whistles many tunes, well to be heard at a surprising distance, is fond of marches and Church music, particularly of that belonging to the Roman Catholic religion, which he professes... Whoever apprehends said negro, and delivers him to me, near the Courthouse, with the gun, will be paid eight dollars reward, besides what the Law allows. If great care is not taken by the takers up, he will most certainly make his escape from them.

POSTED BY: William Allason
PUBLICATION DATE: November 13, 1784

NEWSPAPER: Virginia Gazette or American Advertiser (Hayes)
NEWSPAPER LOCATION: Richmond, VA

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ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Any person in want of a Musician who is regularly indentured and has about fourteen months to serve may be accommodated on application at the Hay–Market in this City. The qualifications of this man [Frederick August Schwicker] for teaching & tuning the Piano Forte, Violin, Violoncello, Clarinet, Trumpet and French Horn can be ascertained on applying as above.

PUBLICATION DATE: October 1, 1806
NEWSPAPER: Virginia Gazette
NEWSPAPER LOCATION: Williamsburg, VA

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ENGLAND

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Went away from his Master's Lodging in Henrietta–Street, Covent–Garden, on Thursday Evening last, a thick well–set Negro Boy, about seventeen or eighteen Years of Age, named Peter, and had on when he went away, a dark close–bodied Great Coat with a red Cape and Sleeves, and a red Waistcoat, both with flat white Metal Buttons, old Leather Breeches, and an old Silver laced Hat, and carried with him a Copper French Horn, bound with red Leather, the Maker's Name Smith engrav'd on it. If the said Negro will immediately return to his Master, or to Mr. Thomas, at the Langbourn–Ward Coffee–House in Fenchurch–Street, he shall be kindly receiv'd; or whoever secures him, and gives Notice of him to the said Mr. Thomas, shall receive a Guinea Reward; and if any Person entertains the said Negro after this Advertisement, they shall be prosecuted with the utmost Rigour of the Law.

NEWSPAPER: Daily Advertiser
LOCATION: South East England
PUBLICATION DATE: November 6, 1742

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ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Went away on Monday night last, from his Master, Capt. Dewar, a Negro Servant, goes by the Name of George; he is about eighteen Years of Age, tall and slim, and had on a green Frock with a yellow Lining and yellow Cape, yellow Shag Breeches, a Silver laced Hat, and a new black Wig, and took with him a

French Horn. Whoever will secure him, and bring him to his Master, at Mr. Pepys's, over-against the Pump in Bishopgate-Street, shall have Two Guineas Reward; or if he will return, he will be kindly receiv'd. Note, He is an indentur'd Servant, therefore if any one harbours him they will be prosecuted.

NEWSPAPER: Daily Advertiser
LOCATION: South East England
PUBLICATION DATE: November 13, 1742

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ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Run away from the Ship Romney, Capt. Dewar, on Monday last, a Negro indentur'd Servant, named George, about eighteen Years old, five Feet eight Inches in height, of a slender Make, and had on a blue Jacket and a Sailor's Habit, and blows the French Horn. Whoever secures him, and gives Notice to Capt. Dewar, or to Mr. Pitt's, at the Jamaica Coffee-House, shall receive Two Guineas Reward; or whoever entertains him will be prosecuted as the Law directs.

NEWSPAPER: Daily Advertiser
LOCATION: South East England
PUBLICATION DATE: March 3, 1744

+++++

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Run away on Saturday, the 21st instant, from his Master's Service, a Negro Man, who was called Scipio Africanus, but now calls himself William Withers, about twenty-four Years of Age, five Feet eight or ten Inches high, had on when he went away a brown Frock lin'd with blue, and white Metal Buttons, a blue Waistcoat with the same sort of Buttons, blue Shag or Buckskin Breeches, a black Wig, and a cropt Hat; and is suspected to have taken with him a French Horn, the Maker's Name Bennet, with a Silver Mouth-Piece, engrav'd thereon, William Cleaver. Whoever harbours him shall be prosecuted with the utmost Rigour of the Law; or whoever will give Notice where the said Negro is to be heard of, or will secure him, shall receive Two Guineas Reward of Mr. William Cleaver, junior, Wine-Merchant, on St. Dunstan's Hill, Tower-Street, or of Mr. William Smith, Wine-Cooper, in Cross-Lane, St. Mary Hill

NEWSPAPER: Daily Advertiser
LOCATION: South East England
PUBLICATION DATE: April 25, 1744

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ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Elop'd from his Master, Mr. William Daniel, of Clifton, near Bristol Yesterday, a Negro Boy, named Fortune (but pretends to be christened, and calls himself Thomas Clark). When he went away his Head was close shav'd, and had on a black Wig, a light Canvas Jockey Frock and Leather-Breeches, but carried away with him two red Waistcoats and four Coats, viz, a green Plush Frock, a brown superfine Cloth Coat lined with a Straw-Colour Alapene, a white Knap Surtout, and a Drab Cloth-Colour Great Coat faced with green and white Metal Buttons. He is a well-made comely Fellow, of about twenty-one Years of Age, about five Feet six or seven Inches high, blows the French Horn, talks somewhat thick, and has the Mark of the Small Pox on the right Side of his right Eye. Whoever will secure the said Negro, and give Notice thereof to Mr. James Peters, of Clement's Inn, or Mr. Samuel Pitt, of the Jamaica Coffee-House, London, or to Robert Yescombe, Attorney at Law, in Bristol, so that his said Master may have him again, shall receive Two Guineas Reward; but if any Persons entertain or shelter him, they will be sued as the Law directs

NEWSPAPER: Daily Advertiser
LOCATION: South East England
PUBLICATION DATE: March 24, 1746

+++++

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Went away from the House of Mr. Leonard Nix, Peruke-maker in Bow-Lane, Cheapside, the 8th Instant, a Black-Boy, called Shallo: He is about 15 Years of Age, five Feet two Inches high, or thereabouts, can play a little on the French Horn and Violin, comb Wigs and Shave, and had on when he went away a light-colour'd Fustian Frock and Breeches, a scratch'd brown Wig, and an old Hat: If he will immediately return he will be kindly received and his Faults forgiven; but whoever harbours him, he being an indented Servant to a Gentleman, will be prosecuted; Any Person who will secure and bring him to the said Leonard Nix, shall receive One Guinea Reward for their Trouble.

NEWSPAPER: Public Advertiser
LOCATION: South East England
PUBLICATION DATE: August 10, 1753

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ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Run away some Time since, A Negro lad about 18 Years of Age, near five Feet two Inches high, answers to the Name of Starling, and blows the French Horn very well, (from his late Master Capt. James Pollock, deceas'd, but) now the Property of Ralph Cook, at the Sign of the Rising Sun in Princes-street, Bristol. – Whoever shall harbour or conceal the said BLACK, will be prosecuted as the Law directs; but if any Persons will secure him and give Notice to his said Master Ralph Cook, shall receive One Guinea Reward.

NEWSPAPER: Felix Farley's Bristol Journal
LOCATION: South West England
PUBLICATION DATE: March 12, 1757

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ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Ran away, a young Negro Fellow, named Othello, about nineteen Years of Age, stout and well made, speaks good English, had on when he went away, a light Cloth Coat, turn'd up with blue Cuffs and Collar, lined with Blue, plain white Metal Buttons, blue Cloth Waistcoat, with blue and white Lace, Doeskin Breeches, ribb'd Worsted Stockings, Silver Buckles in his Shoes and Knees, and an old Silver-laced Hat; the said Negro was christened some Time ago at London-Stone Church, by the Name of Robert Ward. If he will return home, (as those, who, It's imagined, corrupted him, are removed) his past Faults will be forgiven; if not, whoever will give Information to Mr. James Con[]nen, in Bell-Yard, opposite the Monument, so that he may be secured, shall have a reward of four Guineas. The above Negro had with him a French Horn, on which he was learning to play.

NEWSPAPER: Daily Advertiser
LOCATION: South East England
PUBLICATION DATE: January 28, 1761

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ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Deserted from his Master's service on Saturday, May 2, at Night, a black man, named Othello, and regularly indented as an apprentice; he is about 19 Years old, and about five feet eight inches high, lusty and well-made, his eyes remarkably large, had on a green lapelled napped coat, torn under the right-arm, with white Metal Basket Buttons, and green Lining, a scarlet Cloth Waistcoat trimmed with Gold Vellum Holes on each Side the

Buttons, Leather or blue Shag Breeches, a Silver-laced Hat with a Cockade, and black or mottled coloured Stockings, with large yellow Buckles in his Shoes, a blue Livery Surtout Coat, with yellow Lining, Cuffs, and Collar, and took with him a French Horn; he speaks English but indifferently. Whoever secures him and restores him to his Master, at Turk's Head Coffee-house in the Strand, shall be well rewarded; and any Person known to entertain him, shall be prosecuted according to Law. He went away without any Provocation, and if he returns of his own Accord he shall be kindly received.

POSTED BY: THO. LLOYD
NEWSPAPER: Public Advertiser
LOCATION: South East England
PUBLICATION DATE: May 4 & 6, 1761

+++++

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Went away yesterday from his Master's Service, and from his house in the Parish of Hadley, near Epsom, in the County of Surry, Thomas Pool, a Black, about five feet six inches high, remarkably clean made, and strong built, has a remarkable roll in his eyes, and is of a brownish black complexion for that colour; he had on when he went away a brown livery coat lined with blue, and a striped flannel waistcoat, and an old wilver laced hat, a pair of buckskin breeches, and a blue great coat; he is extremely well known in the neighbourhood of Temple-Bar, and in Wych-Street, having lived for a Twelvemonth past in chambers with his Master in New-Inn; he is also well known about Charing-Cross, where his Master has frequently lodged. All persons are hereby desired not to trust him with any thing on his Master's account, and to observe that has his slave they are not to harbour him, as his said Master will certainly prosecute any person so doing, as the law directs. N.B. He has stole and carried with him a French Horn, belonging to his Master, and was seen that evening on the back of a Post Chaise going through Leatherhead towards London.

NEWSPAPER: Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser
LOCATION: South East England
PUBLICATION DATE: February 24, 1764

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ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Run away from his Master, on Saturday the 26th instan[t], a Negro lad named Essex, about 17 years of age, 5 feet 4 inches

high, pitted with the small-[p]ox, well m[a]de, has lost half of the fourth finger of one of his hands, speaks good English, blows the French Horn a little, a native of Madagascar, has lately been enquiring the way to [B]ath and Bristol. Whoever brings him to the Blue Posts at Hackney, shall receive two Guineas reward; and whoever harbours him will certainly be prosecuted.

NEWSPAPER: Public Advertiser
LOCATION: South East England
PUBLICATION DATE: May 30, 1764

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ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Whereas one Prince, a Guinea Black, stands charged on a violent suspicion of having on or about Tuesday, the 13th instant, of having feloniously taken and carried away four guineas and a half, and other property, from his master, Mr. Shea, merchant, at Isleworth: Whoever will apprehend, or give such information to Sir John Fielding as may cause the said Prince to be apprehended, shall receive Two Guineas reward, to be paid by the above Mr. Shea. The said Negro is about 24 years of age, five feet seven or eight inches high, strong, well-made, wears his wool, had on an old brown livery coat turned up with red, with red and white worsted lace, white metal buttons, a red waistcoat full laced, buff-coloured stocking breeches, and plain hat; speaks pretty good English, and blows the French horn tolerably well.

NEWSPAPER: Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser
LOCATION: South East England
PUBLICATION DATE: August 20, 1765

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ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Run away on Saturday the 15th of November instant, from Robert Symes; Esq; of Esher in Surrey, a Negro man, named Joseph Williams, about five feet 6 or 7 inches high; has lost the little finger of his left hand, had on when he went away, a Fustian frock with a red cape, a Fustian Waistcoat, with a pair of red plush breeches, an old gold-laced hat, and at the same time stole out of the house, a French horn, a new silver laced hat; two Fustian suits of cloaths [sic], a new pair of leather breeches, two pair of shoes both lined; a blue Surtout much too big for him, four shirts, six pair of stockings, some fine printed linen handkerchiefs, which he carried away with him. If any of the above should be offered to be pawned, stop them and the bearer,

and give notice to Sir John Fielding, and you shall receive One Guinea Reward for him, and two Guineas if he is taken with the things.

NEWSPAPER: Public Advertiser
LOCATION: South East England
PUBLICATION DATE: November 20, 1766

+++++

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Run away from his owner, a Gentleman of Woodstock-street, on Monday morning last, a negro man, named John Chalk, but who has lately gone by the name of John Smart. Whoever will bring him back to the Mount coffee-house in Grosvenor-street, shall receive a guinea reward. He is about five feet five or six inches high, pretty lusty and fat, about 35 years of age, woolly head, but often wears false curls; stutters much in his speech at times; plays upon the French horn and violin; had on when he went away a silver laced hat, blue coat and red waistcoat. If any person harbours or employs him, they will be prosecuted; and if he immediately returns, he will be received and forgiven his offence.

NEWSPAPER: Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser
LOCATION: South East England
PUBLICATION DATE: January 25, 1768

+++++

ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Public Office, Bow-street, July 17. Whereas Will. Lewis, otherwise Sambo, a Negro, stands charged on a violent suspicion of having stolen a 25'. Bank Note, the Property of his Master. Whoever will apprehend and bring him before Sir John Fielding, shall receive a reward of Five Guineas. He is about five feet eight inches high, of a deep black complexion, very stout and strongly made, had on, on Friday night last, when he absconded, a black cap and black fea[t]her, a blue waistcoat, laced and looped with silver, and a new buff coloured jacket under it, leather breeches and boots, and a shirt with double ruffles, speaks English, French and Spanish, dresses hair, and blows the French horn.

NEWSPAPER: Public Advertiser
LOCATION: South East England
PUBLICATION DATE: July 18, 1768

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ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Run away a Negro Boy about seventeen Years of Age, short and stout made, marked on one or both of his Temples with Scars, also on the Forehead; wears a white Coat, reddish Waistcoat, black Breeches and Stockings, the coat rather too large, blows the French Horn, and plays a little on the German Flute; came last from Suffolk. His name is William Suza. Whoever secures him and gives Notice to the Master of George's Coffee house, Coventry-street, shall receive One Guinea Reward. He is supposed to be lurking about Curzon-street, May Fair.

NEWSPAPER: Public Advertiser
LOCATION: South East England
PUBLICATION DATE: December 13, 1771

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ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION: Run Away, From his Master's Service, at Liverpool, on Thursday last the 14th of September, 1772, A Negro man, named Seymour, about five Feet seven or eight Inches high; had on a Pair of white short Trowsers [sic], and a blue Jacket. He had also along with him a blue Coat, with a red Collar on, and a French Horn. Anyone who can give Information of him, so that he may be secured, to Capt. Tittle, in Old Hall-street, Liverpool, or to Mr. Thomas Rider, Iron Founder, in Manchester, shall receive two Guineas Reward.

NEWSPAPER: Manchester Mercury
LOCATION: North West England
PUBLICATION DATE: September 29, 1772

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SOURCES:

The British Library: Burney Collection Online, <https://www.bl.uk/collection-guides/burney-collection>

The Colonial Music Institute, The Performing Arts Colonial American Newspapers, 1690-1783 Text Database and Index: <https://www.cdss.org/elibrary/PacanNew/>

Cornell University, Freedom on the Move: <https://freedomonthemove.org/>

University of Glasgow, Runaway Slaves in 18th century Britain project: <https://runaways.gla.ac.uk/>

Windley, Lathan Algerna. *Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730's to 1790*. Westport, CT: Greenwood. 1983.

APPENDIX C

RODENBOSTEL HORN AT MOUNT VERNON

Correspondence regarding George Washington's orders and purchases of hunting horns, photos of the Mount Vernon Rodenbostel horn, and condition reports.

I have been extremely fortunate to be able to work with Associate Curator, Jessie MacLeod, at George Washington's Mount Vernon, and master horn maker Richard Seraphinoff, to study this horn. It is our determination that the extensive damage to the horn has rendered it unsuitable for playing and it should not be restored. The value to the horn community is immeasurable, as it gives evidence regarding horn-making practices in London after the death of John Christopher Hoffmaster in 1763. Furthermore, to find an historic instrument of such high quality for its time in the United States is rare.

George Henry Rodenbostel lived next door to Hoffmaster. When Hoffmaster died, Rodenbostel took over the horn-making shop until his death in 1789. On October 8, 1776, he married Hoffmaster's daughter, and on December 5, 1778, he entered his mark at Goldsmiths Hall.⁵³¹ He voted in the Westminster Election of 1780 listing his trade as a French Horn maker.⁵³²

Richard Seraphinoff has graciously lent himself to this ongoing project and will build a replica of the Rodenbostel horn in late 2020. I will perform on the horn at Mount Vernon in early 2021.

⁵³¹ Byrne, "The Goldsmith-Trumpet-Makers of the British Isles," 82.

⁵³² Ibid.

**TIMELINE OF KNOWN INFORMATION
ABOUT GEORGE WASHINGTON’S HORNS**

| | |
|------------|--|
| 1767 | George Washington ordered and received a horn |
| 1769 | Horn is sold to Brian Fairfax |
| 1769 | GW ordered a horn |
| 1770 | GW received a horn |
| 1773 | GW ordered a horn, never received |
| 1786 | GW ordered, and received a horn from Captain Morris <i>(In 1786 Washington owned two horns unless one had been destroyed or lost)</i> |
| 1799 | George Washington died |
| 1802 | Martha Washington died |
| | Edmund J. Lee purchased a horn for \$7 at the public sale of George Washington’s estate |
| 1906 | Loaned to MV by Judge James Alfred Pearce |
| 1907 | “Reformed to do away with its badly battered appearance” |
| 1921 | Formally bequeathed to MV upon Pearce’s death |
| 1959 | Moved to Center Hall (MV) |
| 1964 | Mouthpiece removed for repair in May |
| 1969 | Moved to library 1969 |
| 1980 | Moved to butler’s pantry |
| 1981 | Lent to Smithsonian Institution |
| 1983 | Returned to Mount Vernon in January |
| 1983–85 | Moved back to butler’s pantry |
| After 1985 | Moved into storage |
| 1990 | Mouthpiece damage discovered |



Enclosure

Invoice to Robert Cary & Company

20th July 1767

Invoice of Goods to be sent by Robert Cary Esqr. & Co. for the uses of George Washington—
Potomack River—Virginia¹—Vizt

6 Strong & Secret padlocks—middle size 1 Steel Slay—proper for Weaving Sale Cloth No.
 3² 1 pr Weavers pickers 1 pr Ditto Shears 4 pr Clothiers Cards 6 pr Course Wool Do
 4 frying Panns—viz.—2 large—1 middle Size—& 1 very small 2 Iron Skillets—1 to hold 2 Quarts—
 the other 3 Quarts 1 Hunting Horn 12 pr Dog Couples 2 lb. best knitting Needles sorted—not
 to be made of Brass 6 pr best Sheep Shears 6 best brass Cocks—common Size 4 best
 Carpenters broad Axes 4 Ditto Ditto Adzes 6 Do Do Clow Hammers 6 Do Do large & strg
 Compasses 6 two feet Rules 6 knots of Chalk line

George Washington to Robert Cary & Company, July 20, 1767,
https://www.loc.gov/resource/mgw5.116_0373_0628/?sp=10,
<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/02-08-02-0007-0002>.

1767

Invoice from Robert Cary & Company

London 29th Octr 1767.

Invoice of Costs & Charges of Goods Ship'd on board the Lord Cambden John Johnstoun
Commander for Virginia on the Acct and risque of Colo. Geo: Washington and to him Consignd—
Vizt¹

Mary Scott & Son Cutlery

| | |
|--|---------|
| 1 Huntg Horn | . 3. 0 |
| 1 fine red M: Lea: Pockt with Silvr Lock &ca | 1.10. 0 |
| 6 Common Launcts 6/ | . 3. 0 |
| 2 Town made Do 3/ | . 6. |
| 2 lb. knittg Needles 1/ | . 2. |

Robert Cary & Company to George Washington, October 29, 1767,
<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/02-08-02-0028>.

1769

16. Went a ducking in the forenoon—otherwise at home all day. In the Afternoon Mr. B. Fairfax came here.

During this month Bryan Fairfax bought a hunting horn from GW for 6s. and paid him 2s. 3d. lost at cards (General Ledger A, folio 287).

George Washington, Diary Entry, January 16, 1769,
<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/01-02-02-0004-0001-0016>

Cash Accounts

[January 1769]

| | | Cash | |
|----------|---|--------|---------|
| Jan'y 12 | To Cash won at Cards | | |
| — | | | £0.14.0 |
| | To Ditto recd of Mr B[ryan] Fairfax for a Huntg Horn | | 0. 6.0 |
| | To Ditto recd of Ditto on acct of Cards | | 0. 2.3 |
| | | Contra | |
| Jan'y 7 | By Charity 7/6. By Cards 7/6 | | |
| — | | | 0.15.0 |
| | By Chs Turner on acct of Mastr Custis ¹ | | 0. 5.6 |
| 10— | By 54 Gallns of Strong Beer of Mr Mercer @ 1/4 | | 3.12.0 |
| | By 52 Do of Ale of Do 11d. ² | | 2. 7.8 |
| 12— | By Mr John Muir for his fidler the Ball on occasion of the Election ³ | | 1. 0.0 |
| | By Servants 6/9 | | 0. 6.9 |
| 21— | By Jno. Prescot Balle of his Acct | | 6.14.6 |
| | By Ditto mendg Jno. Custis's Boots | | 0. 2.0 |
| 28— | By freight of 500 Bushels of Oats from the Plantation on the Eastn Shore ⁴ | | 6. 5.0 |

George Washington, Cash Accounts, January 1769,
<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/02-08-02-0119>

Enclosure**Invoice to Robert Cary & Company**

[Mount Vernon] July 25th 1769

Invoice of Goods to be sent (under the Restriction's mentioned in the Letter annexd of this date) by Robt Cary Esqr. & Co. for the use of Geo: Washington—Potomack River—Virginia—viz. ¹

1 Pint of Universal Balsam² 4 Oz. Salt of Wormwood³ 2 Oz. Murcurius Dulcis 1 lb. Blistering Plaister 1 Quart Strong Cinnamen Water 1 Pint Spirit of Hartshorne 4 Oz. of Salvolatile 4 Ditto of Spirit of Lavender 1 lb. of Powder of Tinn⁴ ½ lb. Ipecacuana ½ lb. powder'd Jallop 4 Oz. of Rhubarb powdered 4 lb. of Brimstone in powder Two Shillings worth of black (Court or sticking) Plaister⁵ 25 lb. of Whiting 3 lb. of Fig Blew 4 Oz. of Cinnamon 4 Oz. of Cloves 4 Do of Nutmegs 4 Do of Mace 1 lb. of Allspice 1 Galn of best Sa[la]d Oil 6 ½ lb. Bottles of best Mustard 6 Papers best Ink powders

5 ps. brown Rolls @ 5d. 1 ps. best Oznabrigs 1 ps. Russia Drill 2 ps. Irish Linnen @ 1/ 4 ps. Do Do @ 2/ 60 Ells of as good white Russia Sheetg as can be bought for 2/ pr Yard 2 lb. of fine whited bro. thread 4 Oz. of 6d. Ditto 4 Oz. of 8d. Do 4 Oz. of 12d. Do 4 Oz. of 15d. Do 12 ps. fine tape ½ inch wide 1 Groce flat Shirt Buttons 6 fine Search bottoms 3 M Corkg Pins 3 M short wh[it]e Do 2 M Minikin Do 500 best Londn Needles—100 of wch to be No. 1 & the rest sorted from No. 6 to 10 2 Oz. black Sewing Silk 4 fine Ivory Combs 6 fine horn Do 1 dozn course Weavrs Do 4 Comb brushes 2 best kind of Cloaths Brushes 1 Sett of Weavers Brushes A pr of Womens best Jean Stays—pr Meas[ur]e A Black Russel Quilted Coat⁶ 1 ps. dark colourd 6/4 Duffield not to exceed 2/6 pr yard 5 dozn pr best pd Hose No. 5 4 doz. pr best Do Do No. 4

10 Groce best Corks 3 pr plain & Strong Steel Nut Crakers 1 best Bell Mettle Skillet—to hold 3 Qu[ar]ts⁷ 2 Do Do Do to hold 2 Do 1 large huntg Horn bound tight round w. sml brass Wire from one end to the other & secd in such a manr as to prevt the wires from slipp 50 best Sack Bags—Markd GW & N[umbere]d from 1 to 50 1 ps. Purple grounded Callicoe flowered with white, to be pretty & not to exceed 2/ pr yd 6 Middle-sized plated Stock Locks—@ 9/. 1 Knife Basket lined with Tinn 6 large & very strong Gardners Spades 10 lb. Sein Twine

George Washington to Robert Cary, July 25, 1769,
<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/02-08-02-0158-0002>.

1770

Invoice from Robert Cary & Company

London 23d Jany 1770

Invoice of Cost and Charges of Goods ship'd on board the Betsey John Sanderson Comr for Virginia upon the Acct a<nd> risque of Colo. George Washington and to him Consignd¹—viz.

Jno. Fish Sacks²

| | |
|--|---------|
| 50 4 Bushel Sacks GW No. 1 to 50 @ 2/3 | 5.12. 6 |
| 1 Matt | . 1. |

Mary Scott & Son Cutlery

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------|
| 3 pr strg neat Steel Nutcrakrs | . 3. 9 |
| 1 la: Huntg Horn secd wt. bra. wire | .14. |
| 1/2 dozn fine horn Combs 6/ | . 3. |
| 4 Superfine Ivory D[itto] 2/ ea. | . 8. |
| 2 Coco: Comb Bristles 3/ | . 6 |
| 2 Bone Ditto 6/ | . 1. |
| 1 dozn Weaver's Do | . 6. |

Robert Cary & Company to George Washington, January 23, 1770,
<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/02-08-02-0200>.

1770

To Robert Cary & Company

Gentn

Mount Vernon Augt 20th 1770.

This Letter accompanies my Invoices for Potomack and York Rivers as also Mr & Miss Custis's —Agreeable to the several Orders therein containd you will please to dispatch the Goods & by the first Ships bound to the respective Rivers¹—Those for Potomack will come I hope by a more careful hand than the last did as I neither receivd the Goods nor Letters by Captn Saunderson till the middle of June nor coud ever discover in what Ship—by what Captn—or to what part of the Country they came (the duplicate by Peterson giving no insight into any of these matters but left me in full belief that the Ship was lost as such a lenght of time had elapsd between the date of your Letter and the receipt of it)²—In short I do not know to this hour how the Goods came to this River as it was by Accident I heard they were Stored at Boyds hole about 60 Miles from this place and was oblig'd to send for them at my own expence which will often happen if they are sent into any other River than the one they are destind to; but why this shoud have been the case in the Instance before us I am at a loss to guess as there were two Ships Suild from London to Potomack after Johnstoun did; and a little before, or nearly about the time of the date of your Letter by Saunderson, to wit, Grig in the Service of Mollison and Walker belonging to Deberts, Lee, & Sayre.³

George Washington to Robert Cary & Company, August 20, 1770,
<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/02-08-02-0248-0001>.

1773

Enclosure

Invoice to Robert Cary & Company

10th July 1773

Invoice of Goods to be Shipped by Robt Cary Esqr. & Co. for the use of George Washington—
Potomk River Virga viz.

8 pieces of best Rolls 9 ps. of best Oznabrigs 1 ps. of good Doulas 2 ps. of Irish Linnen
@ 1/3 1 ps. of Do Do 2/ 2 ps. of Do Do 4/ 1 ps. of Do Do 5/ 1 ps. of Cambrick 6/ 3 yards
plain Gauze 2 yds figurd Do Cheap sort 1 ps. of very pretty dark ground Callico @ 3/

A Black Silk Sacque & Coat propr for Second Mourning 1 Suit of fashe Linnen to wear with it
(containg 2 Caps) A White Silk Bonnett 6 Bunches of Cap Wire 6 Skeleton Do A Womans
long Cloak (red) with a Hood to suit a Tall Woman¹ 20 lb. of Shoe thread 25 lb. of Brown
Ditto 5 lb. of Colourd Do 2 lb. Whited brown Do 4 Oz. 8d. Do 4 Oz. 12d. Do 4 Oz. 2/
Do 2 Oz. 3/ Do 2 Oz. 4/ Do 4 ~~M~~ large Pinns 4 ~~M~~ Midling Do 2 ~~M~~ Minikan Do

1 <Lookers> best Razor Strop 6 Leather Halters 6 Horse Collars 2 Turkey, or other fashe
saddle Cloths 6 dble Girths 1 dble Reind Bridle 2 Snaffle Do 3 Cirsingles 6 pr Stirrup
Leathers long & strong 1 large & loud Hunting Horn—lapd & securd in the strongest manner

1 Gallon best Maravat Peas⁶ 1 Gallon earliest kind of Do 1 Oz. Winter Cabbage Seed 1
Oz. Summr Do Do 1 Oz. of Savoy Do 1 Oz. Cauliflower Do 1 Oz. Cauliflower Broccila 1 Oz.
Early Cucumber

George Washington to Robert Cary & Company, July 10, 1773,
<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/02-09-02-0204-0002>.

To Clement Biddle

Dear Sir,

Mount Vernon Feb: 10th 1786

A hasty letter which I wrote to you by Colo. Grayson was accompanied with ten half Johans.—the application of which I informed you shd be directed in a subsequent letter.¹

Let me now request the favour of you to send me the following articles if to be had.

A pair of Boots, and two pair of Shoes, to be made by Mr Star (who has my measure) agreeably to the enclosed Memo.²

Young's Six Months tour through England (his tour thro' Ireld I have).

The Gentleman Farmer—by Henry Home.

Tulls Husbandry. All to be neatly bound & lettered.³

200 Weight of Clover Seed—to be fresh and good.

12 lbs. of Saint foin seed. }
6 lbs. of the field Burnet } If to be had good

A Common Hunting horn of the largest and best sort.

It will readily occur to you, my good Sir, that these Seeds (as they are to be sown this spring) cannot be forwarded too soon. I ought indeed to have wrote for them at an earlier period, but they may yet arrive at a proper Season if they are quickly dispatched. At any rate, inform me if they are to be had, & the prospect there is of forwarding them, for thereon will depend my preparation of the ground.

The Gazettes which were furnished by Mr Dunlap, for my use, during my Military appointment, ought, undoubtedly to be paid for by the public—and I had no doubt but that this had been done, regularly, by the Qr Mr General or his assistt in the State of Pennsylvania—If the case is otherwise, I am ready to give my aid towards his obtaining it. My respects to Mrs Biddle. I am—Dear Sir, Yr Most Obedt Hble Servt

Go: Washington

George Washington to Clement Biddle, February 10, 1786,
<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/04-03-02-0467>.
May 18, 1786

1786

To Clement Biddle

Dear Sir

Mount Vernon May 18th 1786

Your favors of the 19th of Feby & 16th & 19th March, are before me; And would have been acknowledged Sooner, had any thing material, occurred.¹

The Clover Seed, Boots &c. came in Season; but I must take care to be earlier in my application another year, as the Expence of getting heavy articles from Baltimore by land, comes high; I was charged forty odd Shillings for the Transportation of those Seeds, by the Stage, from that Place. I am nevertheless much obliged to you for forwarding of them in that manner; as the delay would have rendered the Seeds useless for Spring Sowing, & altogether defective, perhaps, by the Fall. I am obliged to your Good Father for the Trouble he was at in choosing them, they are very good, & pray you, to Offer my Complts & Thanks, to him therefor, & to Capt. Morris, for his kind present of a hunting horn, as I was unable to get One in Virginia, or at Baltimore.²

George Washington to Clement Biddle, May 18, 1786,
<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/04-04-02-0062>.

Mount Vernon Inventory upon Martha Washington's death
 "1 Elegant French horn" is the second line item on Page 37
 This copy was acquired from Mount Vernon.

| Washington, George | | 25 |
|---|---------------------|--------------|
| Mt. Vernon, Fairfax County, Virginia | | |
| Fairfax County Will Book J, 1801-1806, fol. 326. | | |
| See copy in "Loose Papers File" Fairfax County Court Archives. | | |
| Death date: 14 December 1799 | | |
| Entered: 20 August 1810 | | |
| 2 Japan & 3 old brass locks | 1. 50 | |
| 2 wharffling Irons | 1. 00 | |
| 10 p ^r Iron Hinges | 5. 00 | |
| 2 Doz brass Screws | 4. 00 | |
| 2 window fasteners | . 50 | |
| 2 doz. old Small plain Irons | . 72 | |
| 8 Screw plates | . 80 | |
| 1 Cart wheel box | . 25 | |
| 1 beam for Scales | 3. 00 | |
| 3 Hackles | 4. 00 | |
| 2 pump boxes | . 75 | |
| 8 Pieces Sheet Copper | 5. 00 | |
| 3 Plow hoes | 3. 00 | |
| 1 Pump for a Greenhouse | 3. 00 | |
| 1 Set of bed Screws &c | 1. 50 | |
| 1 Paper large brads | . 10 | |
| Part of a barrel allum | 1. 00 | |
| 1 box figures plaister | 2. 00 | |
| 1 do pounded do | . 33 | |
| 1 Empty Chest | . 50 | |
| 1 Green Carriage Seat | . 25 | |
| 1 Chafing dish | . 50 | |
| 4 empty Jars | 1. 00 | |
| 1 Surveyors Staff | 1. 00 | |
| 6 Mahoganey Waiters | 2. 00 | |
| Some Stuccoe Moulds | . 50 | |
| 4 Irons belonging to Plows | 2. 00 | 54.70 |
| | \$ | 11,348.77 |
| <i>(Page 37)</i> | | |
| | Amount brought over | \$ 11.348.77 |
| 2 large Baskets | 1. 00 | |
| 1 Elegant French horn | 15. 00 | |
| 2 Saddle Cloths | . 50 | |
| 1 Blind bridle without reins | . 50 | |
| 2 Irons for a franklin | 1. 00 | |
| 2 lignam vitae balls | 1. 00 | |
| 2 old Spye Glasses | . 50 | |
| 10 leather Canteens | 10. 00 | |
| 1 do Trunk | 10. 00 | |
| 4 Pack Saddles | 4. 00 | |
| 2 bags and 2 leather valices cont ^s Markee Tents &c | 100. 00 | |
| 1 Small leather bag | . 50 | |
| 3 p ^r old holsters | . 25 | |
| 2 fringed leather housings | 1. 00 | |
| 4 Halters | . 40 | |
| 1 p ^r bellows | . 50 | |
| 30 y ^{ds} bagging | 5. 00 | |
| 60 ^{lb} Sheet Copper | 30. 00 | |
| Tin Clever Machine | 1. 00 | 182.15 |
| In Servants Hall | | |
| 6 Camp Seats | 1. 00 | |
| 2 Walnut Tables | 4. 00 | |
| 2 Presses | 6. 00 | |
| 6 fire buckets | 9. 00 | |
| 1 p ^r And Irons | 4. 00 | 24.00 |

1905

Acquisition Letter

C O P Y

MOUNT VERNON ON THE POTOMAC
FAIRFAX COUNTY
VIRGINIA

Dec. 7, 1905.

My dear Regent:

I am sending you a hurried line to thank you for your letter of 6th, enclosing ck. for November expenses. What made the sum particularly large was the item for new edition of the Guide Book (\$400. on acct.) Next requisition I shall have to ask for the balance (\$350.)

The book was revised and added to, both in text and illustration, by order of last Council - but the publisher was ill and the books were sent only last month - Your casual view of it would scarcely disclose a difference between this and former editions, yet there is quite a difference found on careful comparison.

Yes, I promptly forwarded your letter to the Mississippi correspondent. I have a chance to secure, as a loan, (to be made a gift when owner dies) the brass hunting horn which Washington prized highly as a gift from General Lafayette. It is now in possession of Judge Pearce, of Annapolis, Md. On your approval I will start correspondence through the v. R. for Maryland, the article being in her State.

Do not bother to write more than a line to say if I shall proceed to secure this interesting relic.

With best wishes and renewed prayers for your welfare,

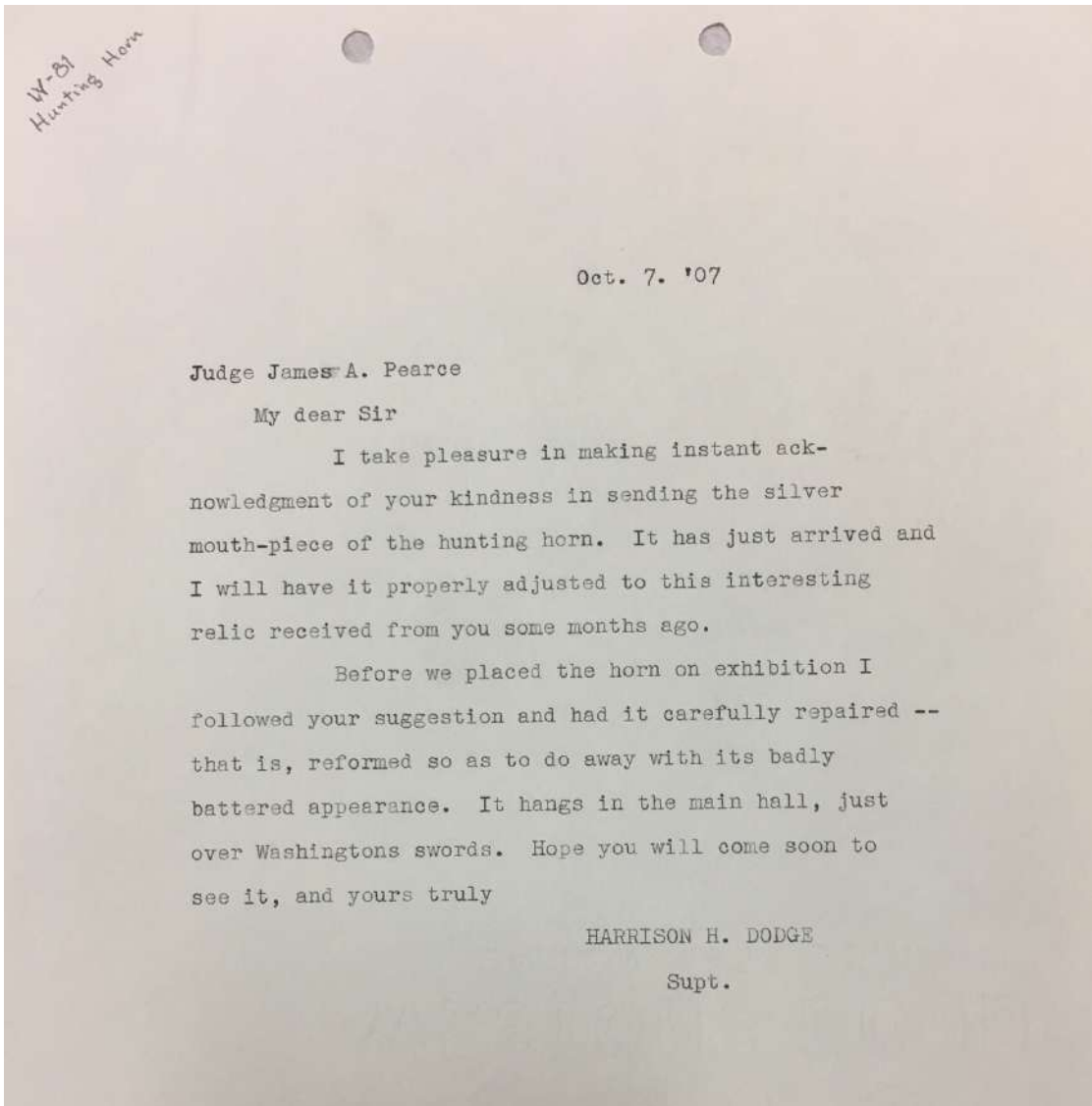
Believe me, dear Madame,

Faithfully yours,

(S) Harrison H. Dodge,
Supt.

1907

Acquisition Letter for Mouthpiece



1921

Bequeathment Letter

C O P Y

THE MOUNT VERNON LADIES' ASSOCIATION
OF THE UNION

January 12, 1921.

My dear Regent,

In compliance with your "special delivery" note of 10th (only just received) I am sending you herein copies I have made of the two Stuart certificates.

Following your decision to have me go to Philadelphia, instead of Mr. Archer, I will go there tomorrow afternoon and discuss "Administration Building" plans with Mrs. Harrison, Chairman of Special Committee, and the next morning return bringing the articles which require safe conduit.

Today comes a letter from Philadelphia signed by a Mr. J. A. P. Crisfield, Executor of James Alfred Pearce, quoting a clause in the late Judge Pearce's will, as follows:-

"Item 12. I give to the Regents of the Mount Vernon Association, General Washingtons hunting horn now in their possession as a loan, and the small profile oil portrait of General Washington in my library painted from life by Dr. Dick, to be hung in the Maryland room at Mount Vernon."

Mr. Crisfield asks to be instructed as to the disposition of the painting referred to in the abstract.

Inasmuch as I expect to be in Philadelphia Friday morning I will plan to get the painting before going for the other articles, assuming that I have your approval for this course. Will notify Mr. Crisfield when to look for me.

Think it best to take his letter with me, for identification, but will send it to you later.

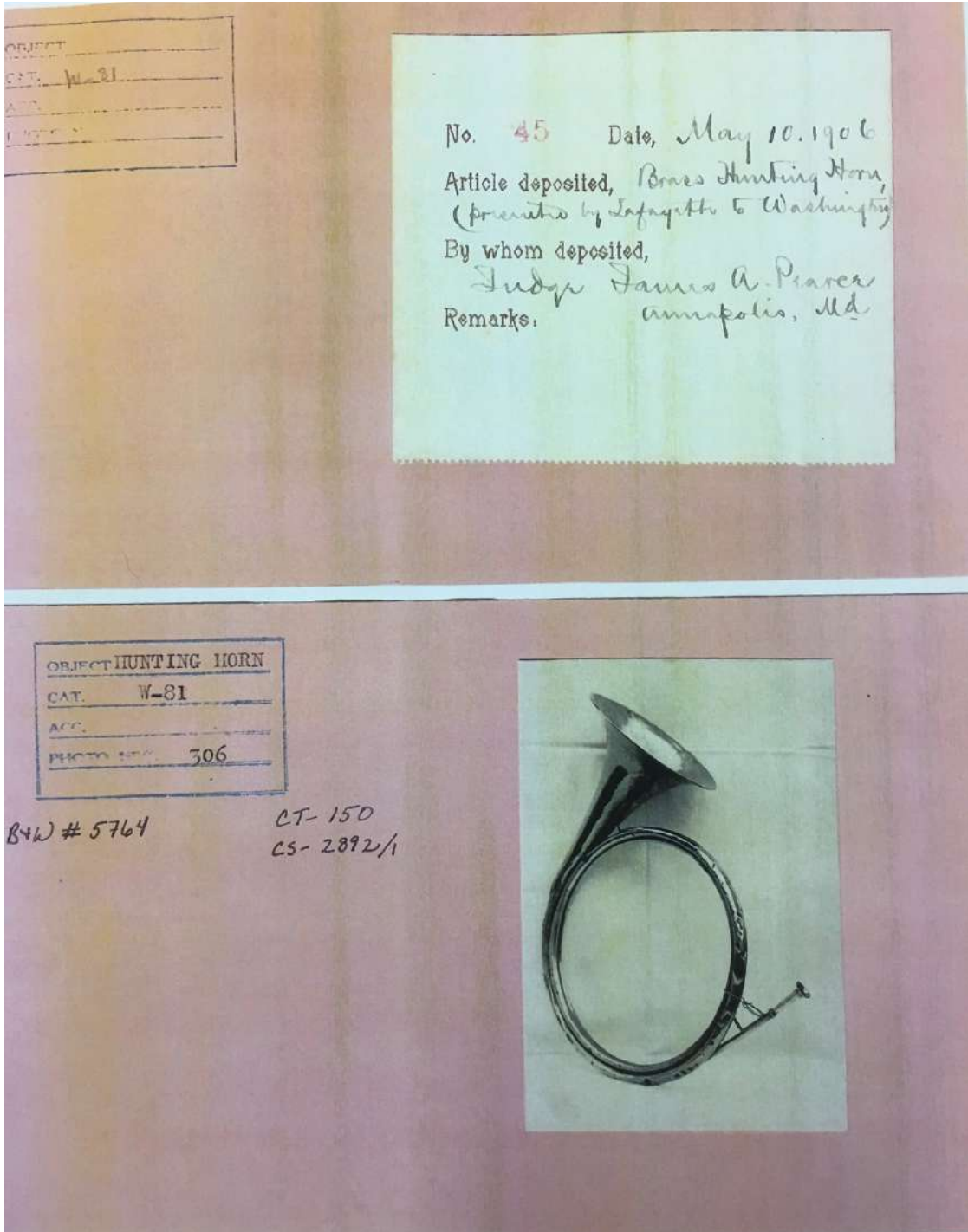
Very sincerely yours,

(Egd.) Harrison H. Dodge,
Supt.

*Original
Mt V Archives*


1906

Original Catalog Card



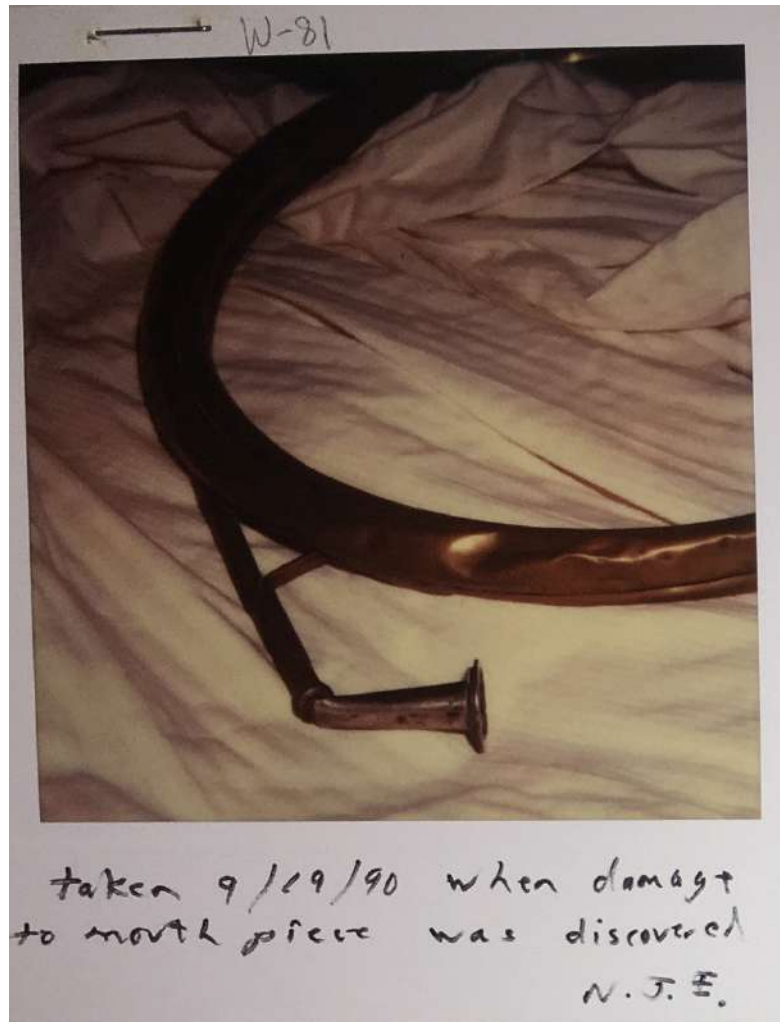
1942-1990

Old Catalog Record

| | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|---------------------------------|
| Catalogue No. <u>W-81</u> | | THE MOUNT VERNON LADIES' ASSOCIATION OF THE UNION CATALOGUE RECORD | | Object <u>HUNTING HORN</u> |
| Accession | | DESCRIPTION: Brass Hunting horn; flaring end tapering to tube twice entwined and bending straight to mouthpiece. Made by "GEORGE/ HENRY + RODENBOSTEL/ IN + PICCADILLY/ LONDON/ 17_ _". | | |
| VALUE  | | HISTORY: Sent as a loan in 1906 by Judge James Alfred Pearce, of Chestertown, Maryland and bequeathed to the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association by him in 1921. It is said to have been presented to Gen. Washington by the Marquis de Lafayette and was inherited by Judge Pearce from his grandfather, Dr. Dick, one of the physicians who attended Washington in his last illness. More likely to have been purchased by Washington as shown by the invoices. | | |
| REPAIRS: <i>1 piece removed for repair 5/67 mouth piece damaged 1990. see photos in Acc. file</i> | | There seems to be no contemporary documentation to authenticate Judge Pearce's belief that the hunting belonged to George Washington. In the MV Inventory | | |
| LOCATION: <i>Gift House 359 Library 4/69 Sutler's Pantry 1780 1781 1/62 lent to the Smithsonian 1/62 returned 1/19/85 Sutler's Pantry 4/89; 2/85</i> | | RECORDER <i>W.P.</i> | | DATE OF ENTRY <i>4/20/82</i> |
| Catalogue No. <u>W-81</u> | | THE MOUNT VERNON LADIES' ASSOCIATION OF THE UNION CATALOGUE RECORD DATA SOURCES | | Object <u>Hunting Horn</u> |
| <p>"1 Elegant French horn.....15 [dollars]" is listed in the Store House. At the July 21st. sale following Martha Washington's death, Edmund I. Lee bought "1 French Horn, 7.-". This documentation casts doubt on the history of this hunting horn, assuming, of course, that there was only one such horn at Mount Vernon. Until additional documentation appears to clarify the provenance of W-81, it ought to be considered open to question. But 4/76 there is no record at this time of what happened to the horn that Lee bought.</p> | | | | |

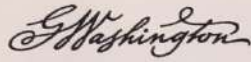
1990

Photograph of mouthpiece damage which occurred prior to 1990



2005

Treatment Proposal



GEORGE WASHINGTON'S MOUNT VERNON ESTATE & GARDENS
MOUNT VERNON LADIES' ASSOCIATION
P.O. BOX 110
MOUNT VERNON, VIRGINIA 22121
TEL 703.799.8632

Treatment Proposal

OBJECT INFORMATION

Object Number W-81 Compiled By S. Cristanetti
Accession Number Date 5/26/05
Title Hunting horn
Owner MVLA
Reason for Treatment book photography/ new facilities

DESCRIPTION

Materials brass, silver
Dimensions Ø, bell: in. 9 1/4 Height: in. 22 Width: in. 1 7/4

CONDITION

The horn is in fair condition. There are severe denting and abrasion overall. It appears that the piece was crushed, causing breakage and loss in several places. The top part of the bell appears to have been completely compressed and then at a later time it was reshaped, resulting in crease marks as well as cracks and loss. The mouth piece is severely bent, at about a 45° angle; the rim has been heavily soldered. The lower half of the coils seem to have had a stippled decoration which has been worn down. There is a solder line running inward from the bottom center edge of the bell. There are several areas of thick polishing compound residue, which has led to the formation of green corrosion products. There is also red oxidation throughout, mostly in recessed areas. There is a large black scuff mark on the exterior of the bell, at the top on the PR. There are paint splatters on the interior surface of the bell. It is very dusty and dirty overall. There is a black object number. There is a maker's stamp on the exterior of the bell, at the center on the lower half. It reads "George Henry Rodenbostel in Piccadilly London 17 . ." The blank space after the numbers suggests that this was the standard stamp used, and that the actual year would have been filled in at the time of manufacture, something that did not occur in this case.

TREATMENT PROPOSAL

- 1. Clean overall with Stoddard solvent on cotton wool.
2. Vacuum the interior to the extent possible.
3. Remove object number using appropriate solvent. acetone
4. Remove polishing compound residues mechanically. bamboo skewer
5. Remove corrosion products mechanically.
6. Polish using a Cape Cod polishing cloth. cleared w/ stoddard, then acetone
7. If consistent with curatorial plans for display, reinforce areas where breakage and/or loss have occurred using toned Japanese tissue adhered with B48N. toned w/ Golden Fluid Acrylic colors
8. Apply object number using archival ink between layers of B72 and B67.
9. Depending on curatorial plans, apply microcrystalline wax or Agateen lacquer to deter future oxidation.
10. Applied Agateen to silver mouthpiece.

SC 4/5/05 (28)

Carol Borchert Cadou 6/10/05
Date
Curator

Linda Ayres Date
Associate Director of Collections

2019

Mouthpiece in its current state (photo taken November 2019)



Mouthpiece Specifications

Funnel shape, no bowl to the cup

Flat rim

| Distance from the rim | Diameter |
|--|-----------------|
| where cup meets rim | 13 mm |
| 1 cm below rim | 11 mm |
| 2 cm below rim | 10 mm |
| 2.5 cm below rim | 9.5, 10 mm |
| 3 cm below rim | 8.5, 9, 9, 9 mm |
| 3.5 cm below rim | 8, 8, 9, 9 mm |
| 4 cm below rim (Oval shape from being bent) | 7, 8 mm |

| Rim measurements | Diameter |
|----------------------------|-----------------|
| Inner diameter of rim | 12.5 mm |
| Rim width | 3 mm |
| Distance from edge to edge | 25 mm |

2019

Horn in its current state (photograph taken November 2019)



2019

Detail of damage to bell tail



2019

Detail of damage to bell branch



Bell branch measurements

| <u>Distance from bell</u> (measured on the diagonal, in centimeters) | <u>Diameter</u> (measured from outside of the tubing, in millimeters) |
|--|---|
| 80 | 18, 17.5, 19 |
| 75 | 19, 19, 18, 16, 16 |
| 70 | Not measurable (dents) |
| 65 | 18, 18, 20, 22, 22, 13, 11 |
| 62.5 | 20, 16, 18.5 |
| 60 | 20 x4 |
| 55 | 20.25 x2, 20 x2 |
| 50 | 17.25 very smooshed spot, 18.5, 20 x4, 18, 18, 19 |
| 45 | 21 x3, 22, 22, 23 x4 (very smooshed here) |
| 40 | 19.5 dent, 21.5, 25.5, 21, 23, 25, 25.5 x2, 24 x3 |
| 35 | 28.5, 26.75, 27.5, 24.9, 27, 24 |
| 30 | 30.25, 30.8, 30, 30.8, 29.5 |
| 25 | 35.5, 34.5, 34.75, 36.5 |
| 22.5 | 43 x3, 42 x4 |
| 20 | 47, 46, 46.5, 44, 48.5, 41.5, 45.5 |
| 17.5 | 55.25, 52, 48, 53, 49, 51.5, 54, 56, 49.75 |
| 15 | 63, 58 x2, 57.75, 62, 61.5, 60, 65, 68, 62, 65, 62.5, |
| 10 | 86.75, 90, 91, 89 |

2019

Henry Rodenbostel's Makers Stamp



APPENDIX D

IGNATIUS SANCHO MINUETS

Sancho, Ignatius. *Minuets, Cotillions & Country Dances for the Violin, Mandolin, German-Flute, and Harpsichord, with Obligato French Horn parts. Composed by an African, most Humbly Inscribed to His Grace Henry Duke of Buccleugh.* London: the author, c. 1767. British Museum, Music Department, a.9.b (1), imslp.org/wiki/Category:Sancho,_Ignatius.

Sancho, Ignatius. *Minuets, Cotillions & Country Dances for the Violin, Mandolin, German-Flute, and Harpsichord, with Obligato French Horn parts. Book 2nd, Humbly Inscribed to the Right Honourable John Lord Montagu of Boughton. Composed by an African.* London: by the author and sold by Richard Duke at his Music Shop near opposite Great Turn Sile Holborn, where may be had book first, c. 1770. British Museum, Music Department, b.52.b (1),
See also imslp.org/wiki/Category:Sancho,_Ignatius.

Con spirito

2 French horns in D

2 violins

continuo

The musical score is written for three parts: 2 French horns in D, 2 violins, and continuo. The music is in 3/4 time and D major. The French horns part features a melodic line with a trill in the final measure of the first system. The violins play a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes. The continuo part provides harmonic support with chords and single notes. The score is divided into three systems, with repeat signs at the end of the first and second systems. A fermata is placed over the final measure of the third system.

A handwritten musical score for piano and violin, consisting of 12 staves. The score is organized into three systems of four staves each. The first system (staves 1-4) features a piano part with a bass line and a treble line, and a violin part with a single line. The second system (staves 5-8) continues the piano and violin parts, including a trill (tr.) in the violin part. The third system (staves 9-12) concludes the piece with a double bar line. The music includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and performance markings such as dynamics (p) and articulation (acc). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4.

2 French Horns in E \flat

Musical staff for 2 French Horns in E \flat . The staff contains a series of notes and rests, including a measure with a whole note chord and a measure with a whole note chord and a fermata.

2 violins

Musical staff for 2 violins. The staff contains a series of notes and rests, including a measure with a whole note chord and a measure with a whole note chord and a fermata.

continuo

Musical staff for continuo. The staff contains a series of notes and rests, including a measure with a whole note chord and a measure with a whole note chord and a fermata.

Musical staff for 2 French Horns in E \flat . The staff contains a series of notes and rests, including a measure with a whole note chord and a measure with a whole note chord and a fermata.

Musical staff for 2 violins. The staff contains a series of notes and rests, including a measure with a whole note chord and a measure with a whole note chord and a fermata.

Musical staff for continuo. The staff contains a series of notes and rests, including a measure with a whole note chord and a measure with a whole note chord and a fermata.

Musical staff for 2 French Horns in E \flat . The staff contains a series of notes and rests, including a measure with a whole note chord and a measure with a whole note chord and a fermata.

Musical staff for 2 violins. The staff contains a series of notes and rests, including a measure with a whole note chord and a measure with a whole note chord and a fermata.

Musical staff for continuo. The staff contains a series of notes and rests, including a measure with a whole note chord and a measure with a whole note chord and a fermata.

This image shows a handwritten musical score for piano and voice, organized into three systems. Each system consists of four staves: a vocal line (top), a piano right-hand line (second), a piano left-hand line (third), and a grand staff (bottom). The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *pp* and *p*. The first system features a vocal line with lyrics "o ho" and a piano accompaniment with a steady eighth-note bass line. The second system includes trills and slurs in the vocal line and more complex piano textures. The third system shows a vocal line with a melodic phrase and a piano accompaniment with a more active right hand. The score is written in a clear, legible hand.

A handwritten musical score for piano and voice, consisting of two systems of staves. The first system includes a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The piano part features a treble and bass clef, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. The vocal line is in a soprano or alto clef. The second system continues the piano accompaniment. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, slurs, and dynamic markings like 'p' (piano) and 'f' (forte). There are also some handwritten annotations and symbols, including 'z' and 't' above notes, and a 'p' below a note in the second system. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

APPENDIX E

**BRIGADE BANDS 1 & 2 OF THE *CORPS D'AFRIQUE*
AND UNITED STATES COLORED TROOPS**

Compiled using information from the National Archives and Records Administration,
<https://catalog.archives.gov/id/300398>

| <u>NAME</u> | <u>AGE</u> | <u>BRIGADE</u> | <u>NOTES</u> |
|-------------------------|------------|----------------|--------------|
| Aaron, James | | 2 | |
| Baisey, Calvin | 20 | 2 | |
| Baker, Amos D. | 22 | 1 | |
| Barnes, Warren P. | 33 | 2 | |
| Bavly, John | 25 | 2 | |
| Birney, William | | 1 | |
| Bolden, Moses | | 2 | |
| Bonterler, Frederick P. | | 1 | |
| Brigham, Charles R. | 22 | 2 | |
| Bronson, George | 23 | 2 | |
| Burris, Andrew | | 2 | |
| Chaffin, Joseph F. | 24 | 1 | |
| Clark, John Henry W.D. | 25 | 1 | |
| Clarke, Cortland A. | 27 | 2 | |
| Cole, William | | 2 | |
| Collins, Lyman B. | 35 | 1 | |
| Conless, John W. | 20 | 2 | |
| Cook, Lucien A. | 25 | 1 | |
| Coon, Nelson | 18 | 1 | |
| Costley, Joseph | | 2 | |
| Cyrus, Thomas Henry | 18 | 1 | |
| Davis, Charles A. | 28 | 1 | |
| De La Fontaine, Charles | 37 | 1 | |
| Didimus, Nathaniel J. | 39 | 2 | |
| Dodd, Robert J. | | 1 | |
| Douglass, Oscar F. | 21 | 2 | |
| DuBois, William | 42 | 1 | |
| Emerson, Moses W. | 30 | 1 | |
| Glines, Ozarin B. | 32 | 1 | |
| Green, David | 22 | 1 | |
| Green, John V. | | 1 | |
| Grobes, Jonathan | | 2 | |
| Hall, Frederick Douglas | 18 | 2 | |
| Hartwell, Henry E. | 21 | 2 | |
| Hasty, Robert B. | 16 | 1 | |

| | | | |
|-----------------------|----|---|---|
| Hathaway, Dexter B. | 49 | 2 | |
| Henry, Thomas E.J. | 34 | 1 | |
| Hill, James | 26 | 1 | |
| Hills, Benjamin | 29 | 1 | |
| Himes, John | 25 | 2 | |
| Howard, James | 31 | 1 | |
| Howe, William G. | 25 | 2 | |
| Jackson, Henry W. | 18 | 2 | |
| James, Henry | 20 | 2 | |
| Jefferson, Zachariah | | 1 | |
| Jones, Joshua | | 2 | |
| Jones, William | | 2 | |
| Kimball, Frederick W. | 30 | 2 | |
| Knowlton, Charles H. | 41 | 2 | |
| Laflin, John | 39 | 2 | |
| Laflin, John | | 1 | with note: "Cards withdrawn and filed in jacket of Laflin, John Brigade Band No. 2, Corps d'Afrique where they properly belong. J. H.V. Jan 9, 1896." |
| Larkin, John | 40 | 1 | |
| Lewis, Frank W. | 25 | 1 | |
| Loney, James W. | | 2 | |
| Longee, Stephen N. | 28 | 2 | |
| Lucas, Thomas O. | 36 | 2 | |
| Ludlow, William | 28 | 2 | |
| Martan, Edmund I. | 26 | 2 | |
| Martin, David | 21 | 2 | |
| Maynard, Wallace D. | 26 | 2 | |
| McCall, Theophilus | | 2 | "Theophilus" mistranscribed |
| McDaniel, James | 23 | 1 | |
| Moore, Benjamin B. | | 2 | |
| Morris, John | | 2 | |
| Moxley, Joseph | 25 | 1 | |
| Moxley, Perry | 32 | 1 | |
| Moxley, Robert | 36 | 1 | |
| O'Brien, John C. | | 2 | |
| Odell, Ira H. | 22 | 1 | |
| Peck, John | | 2 | |
| Platt, William | 38 | 1 | |
| Potter, William | | 1 | |
| Pratt, Charles | | 1 | |
| Preston, John | 25 | 2 | |
| Purington, Deleryn V. | | 1 | |

| | | | |
|------------------------|----|---|--|
| Radcliff, Charles O. | 36 | 1 | |
| Randolph, John | | 2 | |
| Ray, Frederick J. | | 2 | |
| Ray, George A. | | 2 | |
| Ray, James R. | | 2 | |
| Ray, John | 20 | 2 | |
| Sandra, Francis H. | | 2 | |
| Saunders, James B. | | 2 | |
| Scribner, Allen P. | 26 | 2 | |
| Sellers, Isaac | 21 | 2 | |
| Simmons, Thomas J. | | 2 | |
| Sims, Solomon | 25 | 1 | |
| Sloan, John | | 2 | |
| Smith, Alfred | 27 | 1 | |
| Smith, Richard | | 1 | |
| Smith, Robert | 20 | 2 | |
| Smith, William V. | | 1 | |
| Taft, Solomon I. | 34 | 2 | |
| Wheeler, John C. | 30 | 2 | |
| White, Henry | | 1 | |
| Whittemore, Stephen G. | 37 | 2 | |
| Williams, Charles H. | 34 | 2 | |
| Williams, Isaac | 20 | 2 | |
| Wilson, Thomas | 40 | 2 | |

APPENDIX F

20TH CENTURY AFRICAN AMERICAN HORN PLAYERS WHO CAME UP IN MY RESEARCH

Listed alphabetically.

Nicole Cash–Saks – Associate Principal Horn of the San Francisco Symphony from 2009–2019, Third Horn of the Dallas Symphony from 2000–2009.

Vincent Chancey – preeminent jazz horn player who studied with Julius Watkins and was a member of Sun Ra’s Solar Arkestra in the 1970s. He has released two solo albums of original compositions.

Deryk Clarke – member of The Harlem Chamber Players, and founder of Harmony Effect. Has taught at Apple Hill Chamber Music Festival, the Juilliard School's Music Advancement Program and the Mannes College preparatory division.

Junior Collins – horn player for Miles Davis’ “Birth of the Cool.” A veteran of the Army Air Force Band, directed by Glenn Miller, he also played in Claude Thornhill’s band.

Clarence Cooper – Associate Principal horn of the Denver Symphony in the 1970s, Milwaukee Symphony in the 1960s.

Sharon Johnson – member of Symphony of the New World and Tanglewood Fellow in 1963.

Joseph Lovinsky – served as principal horn of The United States Army Band “Pershing’s Own” as well as The Army Orchestra, and The Army Brass Quintet in Washington DC, from 1995–2013. Has taught at Howard University and Shenandoah Conservatory.

Bob Northern, “Brother Ah” – student at Manhattan School of Music and the Vienna State Academy in the 1950s. Worked primarily in jazz, extensively with John Coltrane, McCoy Tyner, and Gil Evans. Also studied and performed world music and frequently traveled to Africa in the 1970s. Taught at Dartmouth College, Brown University, and the Levine School of Music.

Jeff Scott – horn player in Imani Winds, composer and arranger. Newly appointed (in 2020) horn professor at Oberlin Conservatory of Music.

Mark Taylor – composer, recording artist, jazz horn player. Worked extensively with Max Roach and has released four albums of original compositions.

Roger Whitworth – the first African American horn player in the US Marine Band, “President’s Own.” He served from 1977–1988.

Larry Williams – the first African American horn player in The New World Symphony Orchestra. Has taught at The Peabody Conservatory, Peabody Preparatory, and Morgan State University.

APPENDIX G

A comparison of Dennis Brain's cadenza to the first movement of W.A. Mozart's *Concerto for Horn in Eb*, K. 495 to Julius Watkins' improvised solo from Thelonious Monk's "Friday the 13th"

The image shows a musical score for a cadenza by Dennis Brain. The score is written in treble clef with a common time signature (C). It is divided into four systems of music. The first system starts with the tempo marking 'Allegro' and a dynamic marking of 'mf'. The second system begins with the tempo marking 'meno mosso' and includes dynamic markings of 'p', 'mp', and 'f'. The third system is marked 'Moderato' and 'accelerando', with dynamic markings of 'p'. The fourth system is marked 'rallent.' and includes dynamic markings of 'mp', 'f', 'mf', and 'f'. The score features various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic hairpins.

Hans Pizka, *Das Horn bei Mozart* (Kirchheim b. München: Hans Pizka Edition, 1980), 110.

Friday the 13th

Monk/Watkins (Ambrose)

Chords: Gmaj7, F7, Eb, D7

Measures: 1, 4, 7, 11, 15, 19, 23, 27, 32

The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It consists of 32 measures. The first measure is marked with a Gmaj7 chord. The second measure is marked with an F7 chord. The third measure is marked with an Eb chord. The fourth measure is marked with a D7 chord. The score includes various musical notations such as eighth notes, quarter notes, and rests.

36

40

44

49

53

57


62

66

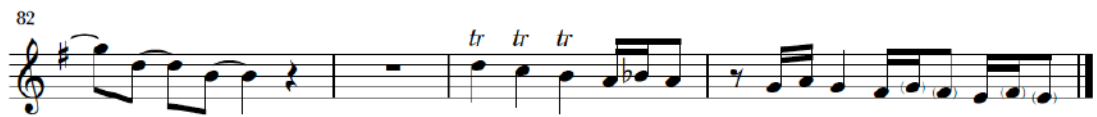
71

74

79



82



The image shows two staves of musical notation. The first staff, labeled '79', contains measures 79, 80, and 81. It begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody consists of eighth and quarter notes, with a trill (tr) over a note in measure 80. The second staff, labeled '82', contains measures 82, 83, and 84. It also starts with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. Measure 82 has a quarter rest. Measure 83 features three trills (tr) over three notes. Measure 84 contains a quarter rest followed by a sixteenth-note triplet. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

APPENDIX H

ICONOGRAPHY

I have compiled relevant paintings, photographs and other depictions. When possible I have given URLs, reference numbers, and other record indicators.



Anonymous. "1511 Tournament Roll," 1511, vellum membrane, College of Arms, London, <https://www.college-of-arms.gov.uk/news-grants/news/item/149-an-evening-with-john-blanke>. (Accessed April 15, 2020).

The Westminster Tournament Roll includes a depiction of trumpeter John Blanke, believed to have accompanied Catharine of Aragon from Spain to London.



Elias Gottlob Haussmann, *Gottfried Reicha*, 1727, oil on canvas, Leipzig, Wikimedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Gottfried_reiche.jpg. (Accessed April 15, 2020).

Reicha was a renowned trumpet player, however, in this famous portrait he is depicted with a horn. The trumpet guild was extremely strict about depictions of the trumpet and trumpet players so it is thought that this was Reicha's way to subvert the guild. This may be relevant to the later portrait of Francis Johnson with a horn.



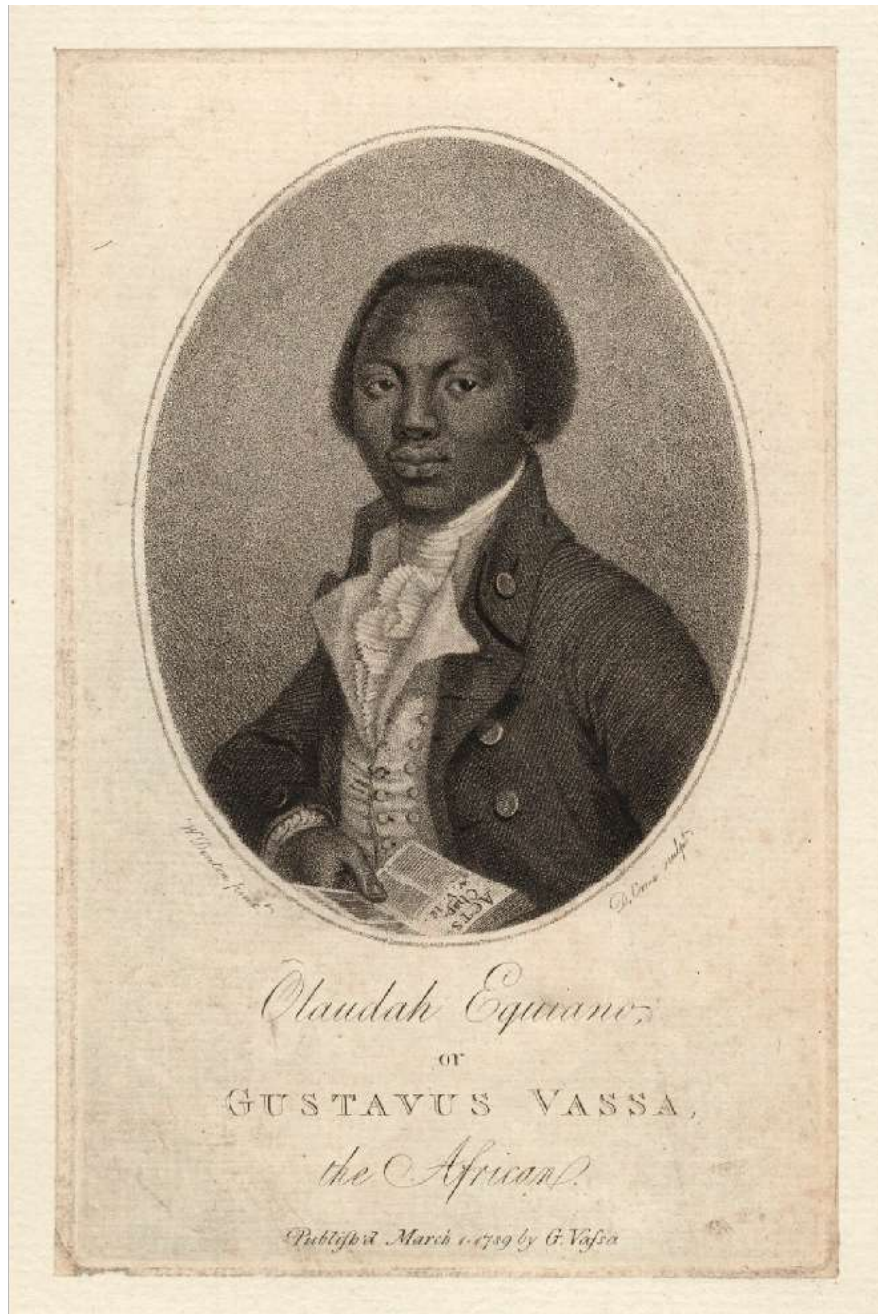
William Hogarth, *The Rake's Progress*, Plate II, 1735, etching and engraving, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/399559>. (Accessed April 15, 2020).

This painting is referenced by W.F.H. Blandford. He likened the horn being played by a huntsman in this painting to the horn made by William Bull in 1699.



John Trumbull, *The Death of General Warren at the Battle of Bunker's Hill, June 17, 1775*, 1786, oil on canvas, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/34260>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

African American Peter Salem is shown in the lower right hand corner, in the line of duty during the American Revolution.



Daniel Orme, *Olaudah Equiano*, 1789, stipple engraving, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, https://npg.si.edu/object/npg_NPG.78.82. (Accessed April 17, 2020).



Thomas Wootton, *Viscount Weymouth's Hunt: Thomas, 2nd Viscount Weymouth, with a Black Page and other Huntsmen at the Kill*, 1733–36, oil on canvas, The Tate Gallery, London, <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/wootton-viscount-weymouths-hunt-thomas-2nd-viscount-weymouth-with-a-black-page-and-other-t11835>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

Cato is shown in the lower left corner holding a horn. He was huntsman to the Prince of Wales and considered to be one of the finest horn players in England.



John Philip Hore, compiler, "Cato," in *History of the Royal Buckhounds*, Subscription Edition (Newmarket: Issued by the compiler, 1895), 322.

This depiction found in *History of the Royal Buckhounds and Ascot Races* is rendered from the Wootton painting.



Jean-Baptiste Joseph Delafosse, after Louis de Carmontelle, *Portrait of Louis-Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, on Horseback*, 1763, etching and engraving, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Elisha Whittelsey Collection*, New York City, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/363934>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

This portrait shows the size and position of a typical 18th century hunting horn while at rest. The Rodenbostel horn at Mount Vernon is too small to be carried in such a fashion. The Duc d'Orléans was an important figure in hunting horn history, and the style of horn shown was called the *Trompe d'Orleans*. The smaller coiled body was easier to carry and could still fit over the rider's hat.



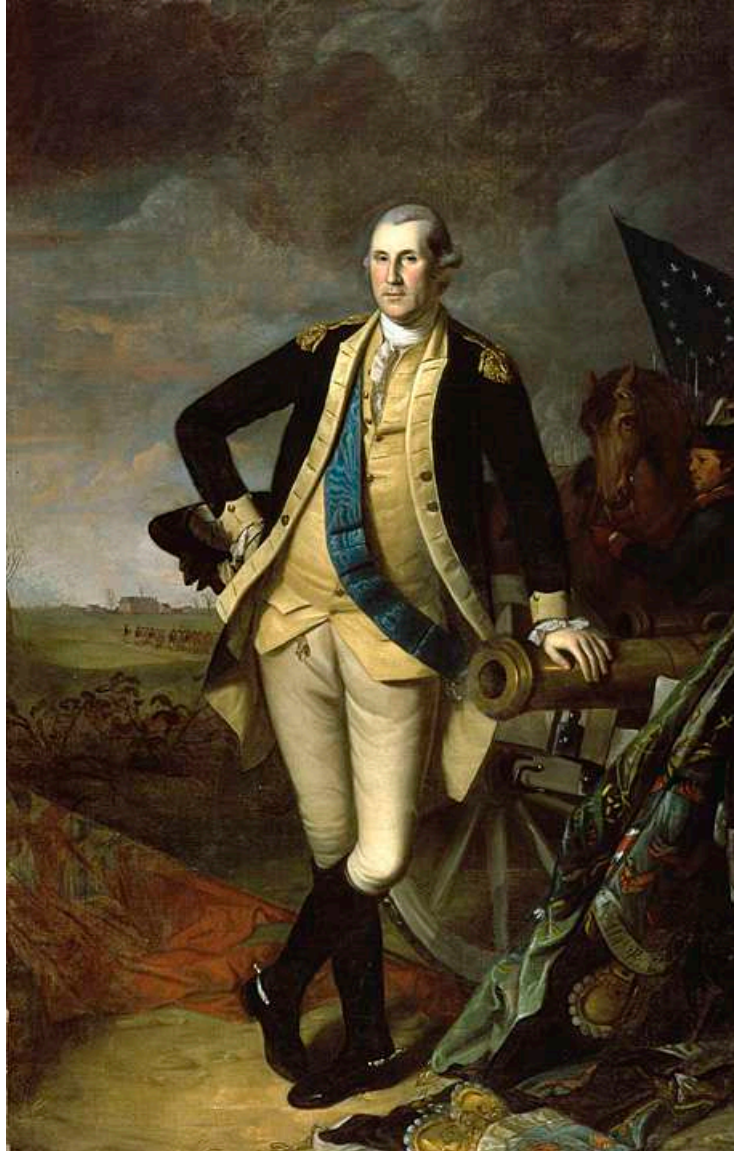
John Walters (possibly), *John Meller's Coachboy*, 1770–99, oil painting, The Erddig, *The Yorke Collection*, Wrexham, Wales, <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/1151289>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

Portrait of a servant or enslaved person of color who is holding a hunting horn. The leather straps indicate that the horn would be held as a hunting horn, to provide grip.



Unknown, *High Life below Stairs, or Mungo, addressing my Ladys Maid*, 1772, mezzotint, The British Museum, not on display, London, https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3346522&page=1&partId=1&peoA=120370-2-60&people=120370. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

A servant or enslaved person of color is shown to use the horn, possibly to serenade the merry couple.



Charles Willson Peale, *George Washington*, c. 1779–81, Oil on canvas, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The American Wing*, New York City, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/11707>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

William Lee is shown on the right, holding the horse's reins. Although he is depicted with lighter skin, there is considerable supporting evidence that this person is intended to symbolize Lee.



John Trumbull, *George Washington*, 1780, oil on canvas, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The American Wing*, New York City, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/12822>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

William Lee is shown in a turban, astride a horse.



Edward Savage, *The Washington Family 1789–96*, oil on canvas, The National Gallery of Art, *Andrew Mellon Collection*, Washington, D. C., <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.561.html>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

Frank Lee, William Lee's brother, is shown on the right side behind Martha Washington.



Albert Schindler, *Portrait of a Gardener and Horn Player in the Household of the Emperor Francis I*, 1836, oil on panel, Art Institute of Chicago, <https://www.artic.edu/artworks/184372/portrait-of-a-gardener-and-horn-player-in-the-household-of-the-emperor-francis-i>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

A person of color shown with a Wiener horn. His identity is unknown. Emperor Francis I—also known as Francis II, Holy Roman Emperor—was the founder of the Austrian Empire after the Holy Roman Empire was defeated by Napoleon.



Alfred M. Hoffy, "Frank Johnson," 1846, lithograph from a daguerreotype by Robert Douglass, Jr., Library Company of Philadelphia, <https://librarycompany.org/blackfounders/section9.htm>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).



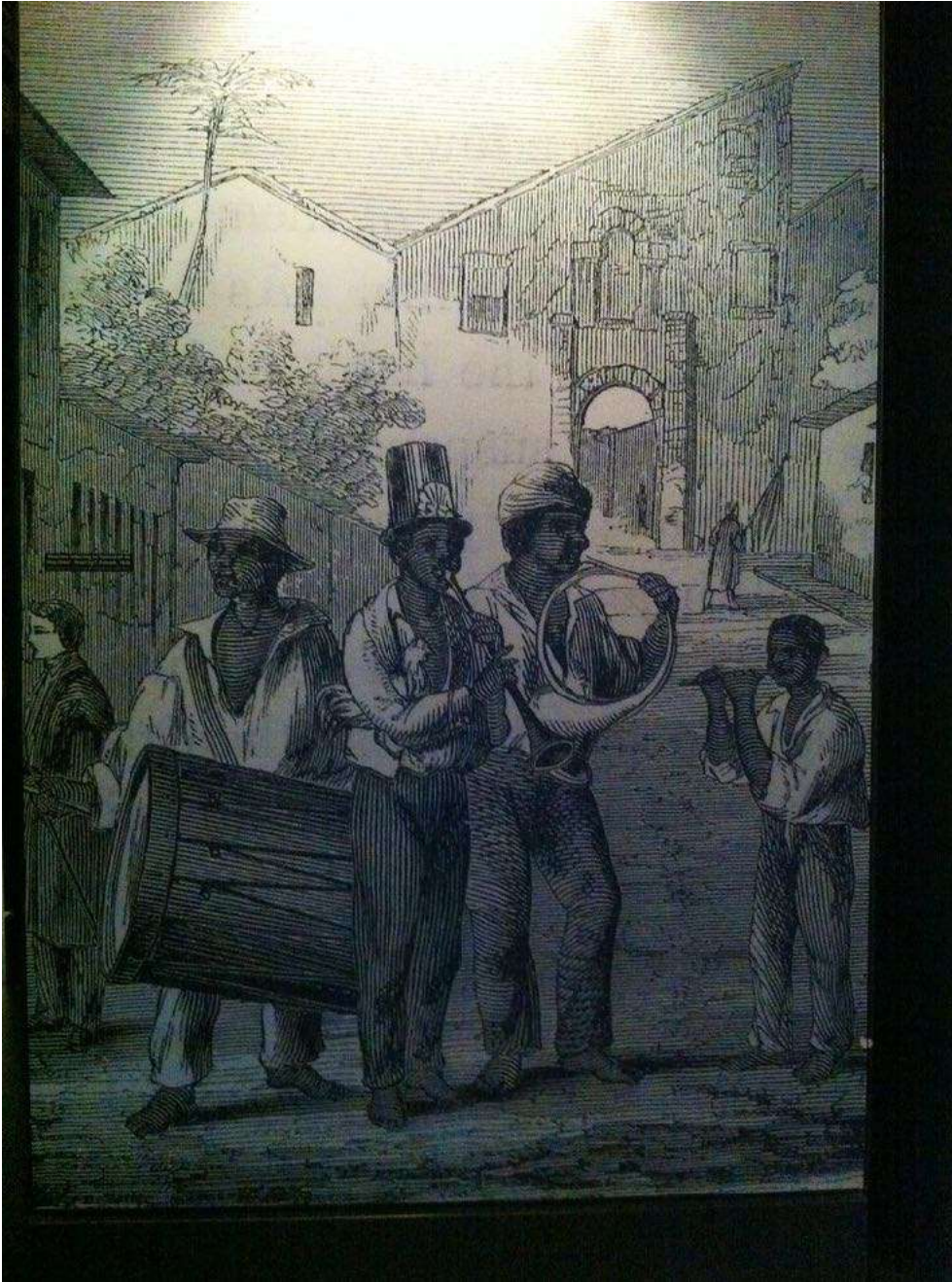
Music Division, The New York Public Library, *Francis Johnson*, New York Public Library Digital Collections, <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47df-e2fb-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).



From the personal collection of Arthur La Brew, Detroit, MI. "Francis Johnson."

Found in:

Southern, Eileen. "Francis Johnson (1792–1844)." *The Black Perspective in Music* 4, no. 2 (July 1976): 209.



Anonymous, "Untitled Image (Musicians in Brazil)", *Slavery Images: A Visual Record of the African Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Early African Diaspora*. <http://slaveryimages.org/s/slaveryimages/item/2590>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).



Emmanuel Leutze, *Washington Crossing the Delaware*, 1851, oil on canvas, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The American Wing*, New York, <https://www.metmuseum.org/en/art/collection/search/11417>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

William Lee is shown next to Washington's right arm with his oar in the water and head down. There is a red feather sticking out of his cap.



Orvin B. Dunning [photographer], "Twelve unidentified soldiers in a Union regimental band with cornets, saxhorns, French horn, and drums in partial uniforms," 1861–65, Library of Congress, *Liljenquist Family collection*, Washington, D. C., Permalink: <https://lccn.loc.gov/2019630439>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

The circular bugle is mislabeled as a French horn in the Library of Congress record.



William M. Smith [photographer], "Band of the 107th Colored Infantry," (possibly at Fort Corcoran, Arlington, VA), 1865, Library of Congress, *Civil War Photograph Collection*, Washington, D. C., <https://lcn.loc.gov/00651620>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

The only photograph in the Library of Congress of a band from the United States Colored Troops during the Civil War. The band appears to have a matching set of saxhorns, while the white band leader holds a cornet.



Unknown military photographer, “Band and four Companies, 25th Infantry Colored, garrisoning the fort and guard over the Uncapapa Sioux Indians, prisoners of war,” (Fort Randall, Dakota Territory), c1882, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D. C., Permalink: <https://lcn.loc.gov/2016650379>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

A post-Civil War band of the Colored Infantry. The instrumentation includes saxhorns and cornets, not French horns yet.



Jefferson David Chalfant, *Envious Critics*, 1894, oil on academy board, Brandywine River Museum, Chadds Ford, Pennsylvania.



Strobridge & Co. Lithograph, "Thatcher, Primrose & West's Minstrels," c.1887, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Permalink: <https://lccn.loc.gov/2014637030>. Strobridge & Co. Lithograph was based in Cincinnati, with an office in New York City.



Strobridge & Co. Lithograph, "In Old Kentucky, The Original Pickaninny Band," c.1894, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Permalink: <https://lcn.loc.gov/2014635430>.

Example of a "pickaninny brass band" that would tour with minstrel troupes.



Strobridge & Co. Lithograph, "Primrose & West's Big Minstrels: 3 Superb Military Bands," c.1895, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Permalink: <https://lcn.loc.gov/2014637010>.

This poster shows minstrel bands with three different instrumentation make ups: "Coon Band" is a traditional brass band with the addition of fifes; "Little Coon Band" includes percussion; "White Band" includes flutes, fifes and either clarinets or oboes.



Strobridge & Co. Lithograph, "Primrose & West's Big Minstrels: "Little Coon" Band & Buck Dancers," c.1895. Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Permalink: <https://lccn.loc.gov/2014637009>.

This poster shows an African American marching French horn player in the "On the Stage" group.



Strobridge & Co. Lithograph, "Primrose & West's Big Minstrels: The Superb Hunt Ball First Part." c. 1896, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Permalink: <https://lccn.loc.gov/2014637377>.

This poster a white natural horn player in the middle-right, and several performers in blackface. None of the band members are in blackface, but the tambourine playing dancers and the performers on the left are all shown in blackface.



Unknown military photographer, "23d Regimental Band of the U.S. Kansas Volunteer Infantry," (Topeka, Kansas), 1898, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Permalink: <https://lccn.loc.gov/2018645935>.

This band began in 1890 as Jackson's Dispatch Band of Topeka, Kansas, then enlisted during the Spanish-American War as the regimental band for the African American 23rd Kansas Volunteer Infantry. The instrumentation of the band follows Dodworth's instructions, and the photograph indicates alto and tenor horn players, not French horn players.



Russell–Morgan Print, “Oliver Scott's Big Minstrel Carnival: Preparing for their Daily Street Parade,” (Cincinnati), c. 1899, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Permalink: <https://lccn.loc.gov/2014637024>.

This print shows a white horn player in a minstrel band, behind and to the right of the carriage, holding the horn upside down.



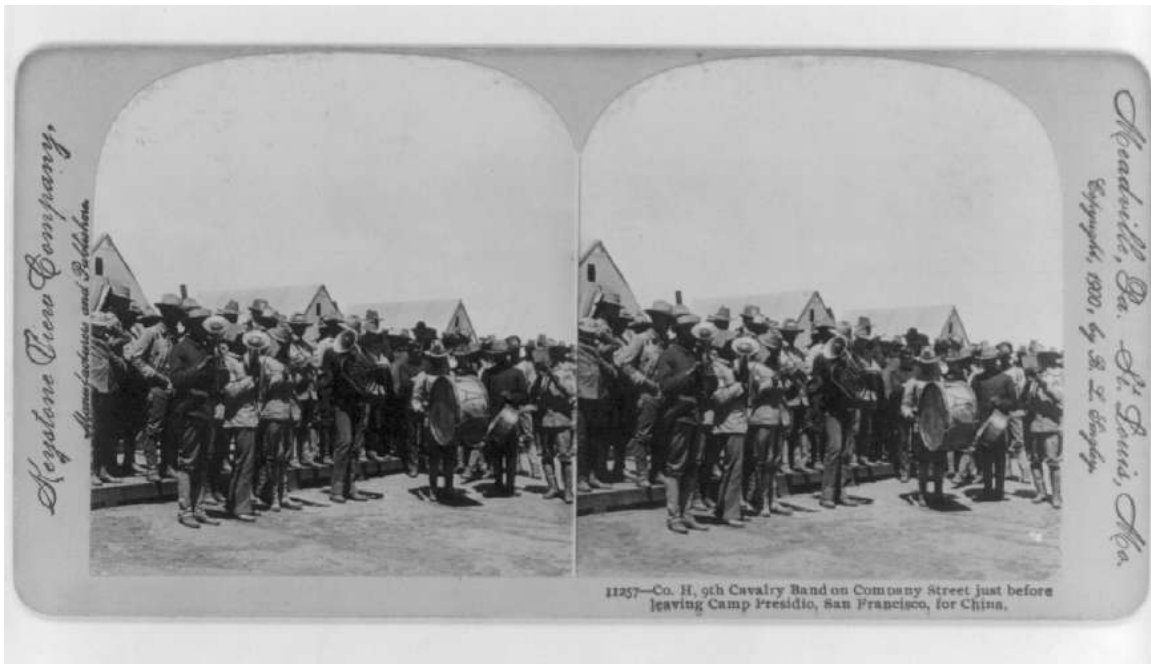
Unknown photographer, "African American band posed on steps to brick building," (Georgia), 1899 or 1900, Library of Congress, *W.E.B. Du Bois collection: Negro life in Georgia*, Washington, D. C., Permalink: <https://lccn.loc.gov/99472444>.

An African American band leader with a group of cornets, slide trombones, valve trombones, tubas, euphonium/baritones, drums, clarinet. A man in the front row, next to the man in the white shirt and hat, is possibly holding a marching French horn.



Unknown photographer, "Clafin University Brass band," (Orangeburg, South Carolina), 1899 or 1900, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Permalink: <https://lcn.loc.gov/2001705781>

According to the Library of Congress, this photo was displayed as part of the American Negro exhibit at the Paris Exposition of 1900. Clafin University is a Historically Black College and was founded after the Civil War.



Singley, B.L. & Keystone View Co. [photographer], "Co. H, 9th Cavalry Band on Company Street, just before leaving for China," (Camp Presidio, San Francisco), c.1900, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Permalink: <https://lccn.loc.gov/2002706188>

Hard to distinguish, but this appears to be a cavalry brass band with drums. They are likely traveling to China as a morale boosting apparatus for the China Relief Expedition.



Underwood & Underwood [photographer], "25th anniversary of Tuskegee Institute, Band concert on lawn," (Tuskegee Institute, Alabama), c. 1906, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Permalink: <https://lcn.loc.gov/2004668170>

No distinguishable French horns in this photograph, but it is likely that there would have been some in the concert band by this time.



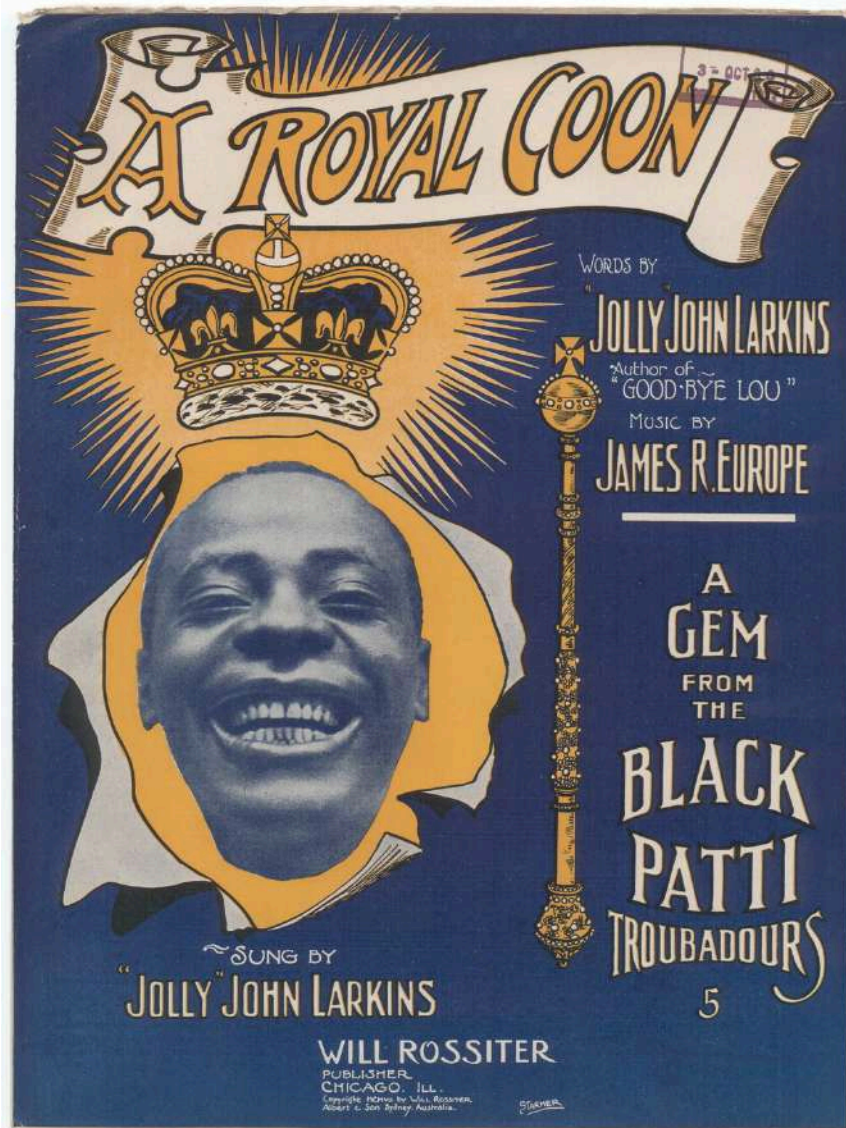
Underwood & Underwood [photographer], "25th anniversary of Tuskegee Institute, Part of military band in front of reviewing stand," (Tuskegee Institute, Alabama), 1906, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Permalink: <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004668172>



“R. Roy Pope and his circus annex band,” n.d.

Reprinted in Lynn Abbott & Doug Seroff’s *Ragged But Right: Black Traveling Shows, Coon Songs, and the Dark Pathway to Blues and Jazz*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007, 165.

Two French horn players are standing in the second row. R. Roy Pope’s band traveled with The Ringling Brothers Circus in the 1910s.



Will Rossiter [publisher], "A Royal Coon," 1907, sheet music, Library of Congress Music Division, Washington, D. C., <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ih.100005951.0/?sp=1>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

The cover for sheet music written by James Reese Europe.



Arthur P. Bedou [photographer], "Commencement day parade, Tuskegee Institute," (Tuskegee Institute, Alabama), 1913–1914, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Permalink: <https://lccn.loc.gov/2014645326>.

There is an entire row of five French horn players, behind the front row of trombones.



Unknown photographer, "Louis Armstrong and the Colored Waif's Home for Boys," (New Orleans, LA), c. 1913.

Matt Micucci, "Louis Armstrong and the Colored Waif's Home for Boys," *Jazziz*, July 4, 2016, <https://www.jazziz.com/louis-armstrong-colored-waifs-home-boys/>

Louis Armstrong is seated directly behind the band leader, with his left hand on his left leg. A French horn player is to the right of the band leader, and appears to have a single E-flat horn.



Unknown photographer, “Jenkins Orphanage Brass Band,” (Charleston, SC), n.d.

Julie Hubbard, “The Jenkins Orphanage Band,” University of South Carolina *Symposia*, <http://www.sc.edu/orphanfilm/orphanage/symposia/scholarship/hubbert/jenkins-orphanage.html>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

There is a French horn player in the front row, center. The player does not have a hand in the bell.



Unknown photographer, "Jenkins Orphanage Band at the Anglo–American Exposition in 1914," n.d.

Hubbard, Julie. "The Jenkins Orphanage Band." University of South Carolina *Symposia*. <http://www.sc.edu/orphanfilm/orphanage/symposia/scholarship/hubbart/jenkins-orphanage.html>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).



Unknown photographer, "Municipal Boys' Homes Band," (New Orleans), n.d.

Matt Micucci, "Louis Armstrong and the Colored Waif's Home for Boys," *Jazziz*, July 4, 2016, <https://www.jazziz.com/louis-armstrong-colored-waifs-home-boys/>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

Louis Armstrong is seated in the front row, center, with his legs crossed and his hat on his left knee. There is a French horn player in the second row, fourth from the left.



Edward Elcha and Percy Tappin [photographers], "Photograph Postcard of the Jenkins Orphanage Band, Charleston, South Carolina," (Charleston, SC), 1914, Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History & Culture, object no. 2014.63.88.1, Washington, D. C., https://nmaahc.si.edu/object/nmaahc_2014.63.88.1. (Accessed April 17, 2020).



Unknown photographer, "Jenkins Orphanage Band," (Charleston, SC), n.d.

Julie Hubbard, "The Jenkins Orphanage Band," University of South Carolina *Symposia*, <http://www.sc.edu/orphanfilm/orphanage/symposia/scholarship/hubbert/jenkins-orphanage.html>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).



Unknown military photographer, "Unidentified African American regimental band," (possibly upstate New York), 1917 or 1918, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Permalink: <https://lccn.loc.gov/2017648701>

There are five, possibly six, French horn players in the second row. This is the largest number of horn players for a single band in any of the photographs I located.



Unknown American National Red Cross photographer, "African American band playing; possibly James Reese Europe's band," (London, possibly across the street from the London Red Cross headquarters at 40 Grosvenor Gardens) 1917–1919, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Permalink: <https://lcn.loc.gov/2017666930>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

The musicians in the third row are playing alto horns instead of French horns.



United States Army Signal Corps photographer, "369th Infantry Regiment band led by James Reese Europe," (Courtyard of a Paris hospital, performing for the American wounded), 1918, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Permalink: <https://locn.loc.gov/2016651602>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

A French horn is visible in the background, underneath Lieutenant Europe's left hand.

GOOD NIGHT ANGELINE

ADDISON AMUSEMENTS Inc. *Presents*
Lieut. JAMES REESE EUROPE
 AND HIS FAMOUS
 369th U.S. INFANTRY "HELL FIGHTERS" BAND





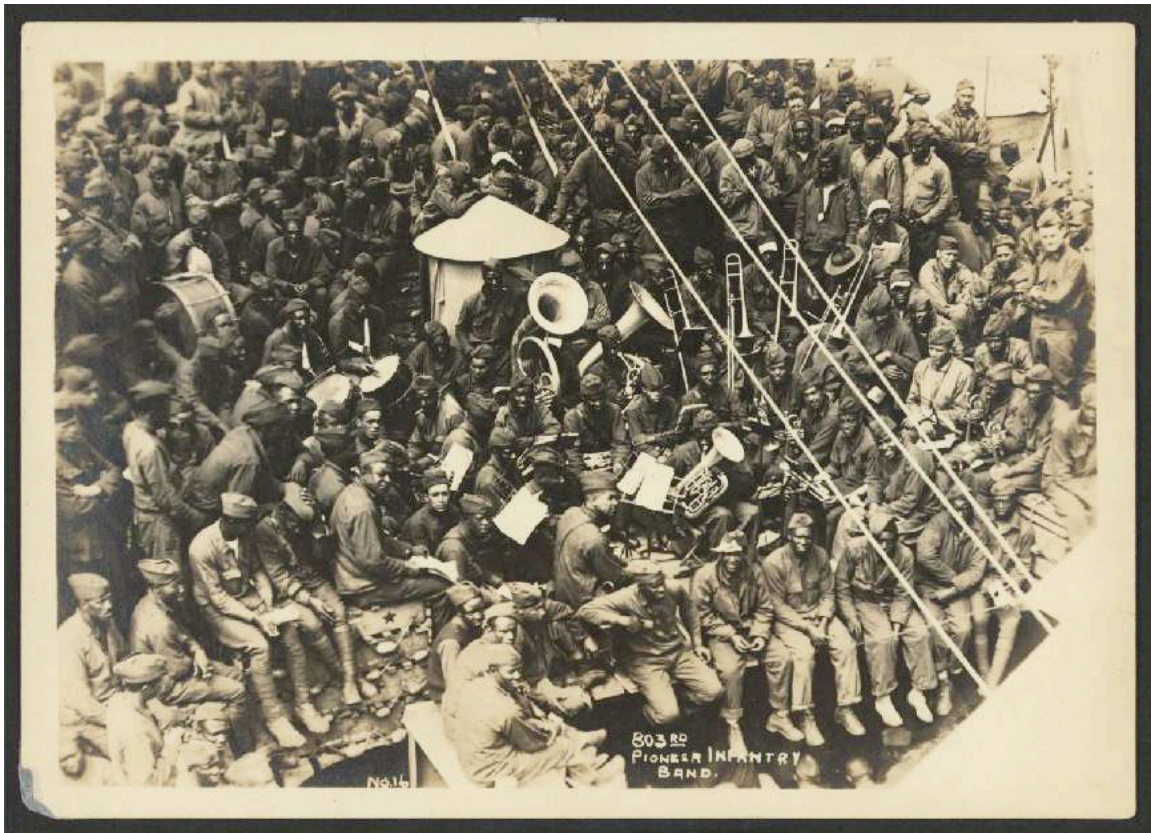

| | |
|--|----|
| GOOD NIGHT ANGELINE | 50 |
| ON PATROL IN NO MAN'S LAND | 50 |
| <small>By Lieut. JAMES REESE EUROPE, NOBLE SISSE and EUBIE BLAKE</small> | |

M. Witmark & Sons
 New York · Chicago · Philadelphia · Boston · San Francisco · London

1919

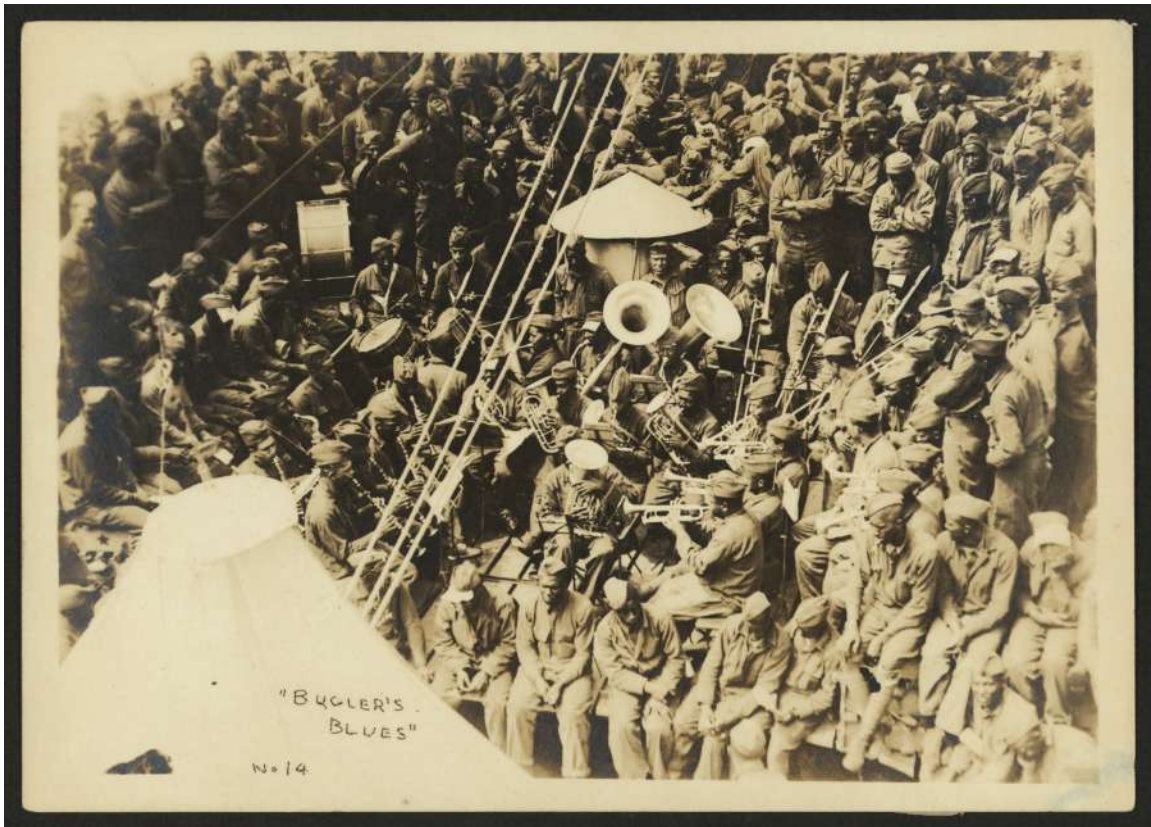
M. Witmark & Sons, "Good Night Angeline," 1917–1919, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Permalink: <https://lccn.loc.gov/2013562464>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

Sheet music of James Reese Europe's "Hellfighters," featuring music by Noble Sissle and Eubie Blake.



Unknown military photographer, "803rd Pioneer Infantry Battalion on the U.S.S. Philippine," (Brest Harbor, Brest, France), July 18, 1919, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Permalink: <https://lcn.loc.gov/98501232>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

No distinguishable French horns in this photograph, but in the corresponding photograph on the next page, there is at least one French horn player.



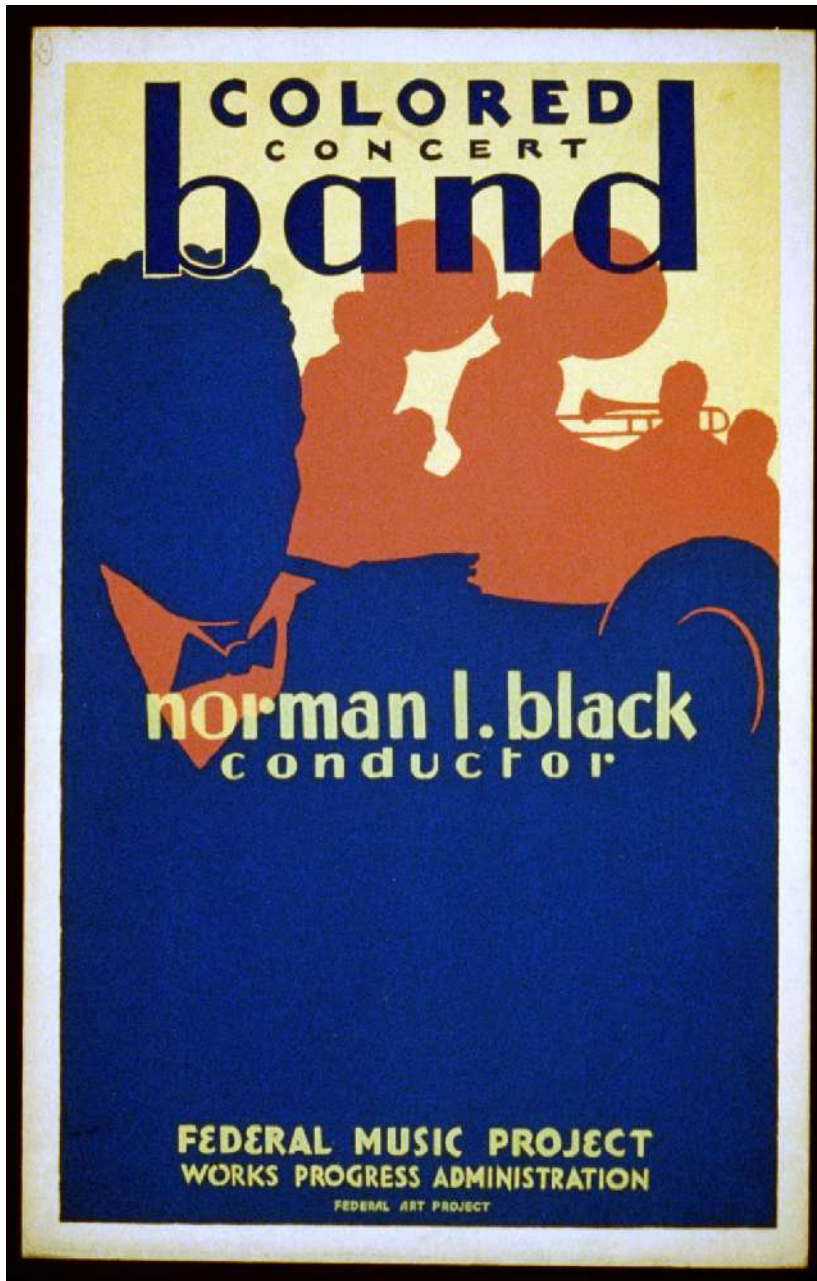
Unknown military photographer, “Bugler’s Blues’: 803rd Pioneer Infantry Battalion,” (U.S.S. Philippine return voyage to the United States, from Brest, France), July 18, 1919, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Permalink: <https://locn.loc.gov/2010651610>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

A French horn player can be seen in the center-left of the photograph.



Underwood & Underwood [photographer], "Lt. James Reese Europe's band of the 369th infantry," (U.S.S. Stockholm, returning to USA), 1919. U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, NARA record: 1123804, Washington, D. C.

A French horn player is visible in the back of the band, at the very right side.



Works Progress Administration Federal Music Project, "Colored concert band, Norman L. Black, conductor," (Illinois), 1936, print on poster board: silkscreen, color, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D. C., <https://lcn.loc.gov/98509681>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).

Poster for Federal Music Project program of an African American concert band in Illinois.



Undated photo of Julius Watkins.

Photo supplied by Peter Hirsch in Patrick Smith's DMA dissertation.

Patrick Smith, "Julius Watkins and the Evolution of the Jazz French Horn Genre." DMA diss., University of Florida. 2005. page 59.



Unsigned article, "Symphony of the New World," *Ebony*, November 1966, page 43.

Julius Watkins is playing second horn.



Unsigned article, "Symphony of the New World: Sharon Johnson, french hornist," *Ebony*, November 1966, page 39.



Unsigned article, "Duet for tuba and french horn," *Ebony*, November 1966, page 84.

Ronald Davis, student at High School of Music and Art, and Bernice Jones, student at High School of the Performing Arts



Unknown photographer, "New Jersey All-State Band," (Paramus, NJ), 1966. *The Black Horn*, Kindle edition, location 2519.

Robert Watt is standing in the back row with his French horn.



Unknown photographer, "Bob Watt at L.A. Philharmonic Rehearsal," 1975, *The Black Horn*, Kindle edition, location 2528.



Unknown photographer, "Jerome Ashby in brass quintet," 1980s.
AfriClassical blog: "Jerome Ashby," <https://africlassical.blogspot.com/2008/01/wilmer-wise-photo-of-jerome-ashby-in.html>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).



“Horn section of the Orquesta Filarmónica de Caracas.” Caracas, Venezuela: 1980s.
Personal collection of Bill Warnick.

Left to Right: Bill Warnick, Paul Franklin Miller, Paul Frankliin Miller, Seth
Orgel, Kevin Schmalz, Ann Greene and Scott Snowden.



“Jerome Ashby,” c. 2000

Personal collection of Misty Tolle, April 29, 2013, <https://mistytolle.wordpress.com/2013/04/29/5-life-changing-habits/>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).



Unlisted photographer, “Jerome Ashby,” International Horn Society, <https://www.hornsociety.org/ihs-people/honoraries/26-people/honorary/132-jerome-ashby-1956-2007>. (Accessed April 17, 2020).