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CHARLES E. KINZER

The Band of Music of the First Battalion of Free Men of Color and the Siege of New Orleans, 1814–1815

From December 16, 1814 to March 25, 1815, the 353 native Louisianans who comprised the state militia's First Battalion of Free Men of Color were officially enrolled in the United States Army. During this period the black militiamen participated as a unit in General Andrew Jackson's successful defense of the city of New Orleans against a large-scale British attack, for which service they earned his respect and praise. According to the muster and pay rolls compiled subsequent to the armed hostilities, the battalion consisted of six companies, staff officers, and a band of as many as nine pieces.¹ This band constitutes one of the earliest known manifestations of a rich tradition of music-making on the part of the free colored population of antebellum New Orleans. Although the surviving military records offer little more than the names of the bandsmen, the combination of these data with material from other sources (such as eyewitness accounts of the battles, historical studies of military music and music in New Orleans, and records from the New Orleans city archives) permits the establishment of a probable instrumentation for the ensemble, an account of its activities during federal service, and a delineation of the ethnic and cultural background of its members.

On September 6, 1812, Louisiana Governor William C. C. Claiborne approved a legislative bill authorizing the organization of a militia infantry corps comprised of free blacks.² The bill restricted eligibility to native "free men of colour" who had paid state tax and had for two years been owners (or sons of owners) of real estate worth at least

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\$300. Mindful of white apprehension over the arming of free blacks, the legislators also stipulated that the commanding officer be white, and that the unit be limited to four companies, each with an aggregate strength of 64 men.³ Claiborne soon thereafter placed the new Battalion of Free Men of Color under the nominal charge of Lieutenant Colonel Michel Fortier, a wealthy white merchant. The actual command of the unit went to Major Pierre Lacoste, a white plantation owner, who was assisted by Second Major Vincent Populus, ranking officer among the free men of color.⁴

Most of the men who volunteered for service in the militia battalion lived in the vicinity of New Orleans. The city was home to a relatively large number of free persons of color (nearly 5,000 by 1810), known collectively as *gens de couleur libres*. The majority of the *gens* were of a mixed heritage that included French (or Spanish) and African ancestors. This largely French-speaking subgroup called themselves "Creoles of color;" they have also been labelled "mulattoes" and "black Creoles."⁵ The preponderance of French surnames on the rolls of the First Battalion of Free Men of Color suggests that most of its members were Creoles of color. All of the militia musicians for whom biographical details are presented below belonged to this semi-autonomous community.

By the time of its federalization in 1814, the battalion had expanded from four companies to six, each led by a free man of color holding the rank of captain. The muster rolls from the siege of New Orleans show that company strengths varied; the largest, that of Captain Louis Simon, numbered 71 men, and the smallest, that of Captain Ferdinand Lioteau, numbered 45.⁶ In addition, the threat of British aggression prompted the formation in mid-December 1814 of a sister battalion comprised primarily of free men of color who had emigrated to Louisiana from Santo Domingo (Haiti). This Second Battalion of Free Men of Color, four companies strong, was commanded by Major Louis d'Aquin (a white regular army officer), who in turn answered to Lieutenant Colonel Fortier.⁷ Although aligned in design, purpose, and cultural makeup, the two infantry units performed separate duties during the siege.

The muster and pay rolls of the headquarters company of the First Battalion of Free Men of Color, entitled "Field Staff, Non-Commissioned Staff, and Band," list three "Senior Musicians" and eight "musicians" among its personnel.⁸ The Senior Musicians, one of whom probably served as bandmaster, were Barthelemy Campanell, Louis Hazeur, and Etienne Larrieu. The eight musicians, bandsmen, were Elie Beroché, Celestin Bizot, Louis Charlot, Michel Debergue, Raymond Gaillard, Emelian Larrieu, Emile Tremé, and Felix Tremé.⁹

The band of the First Battalion of Free Men of Color was the second-

those of the federal War Department, did stipulate that each unit be provided with field musicians, who supplied the fife-and-drum signals necessary to the maneuvers of drill and battle. Each infantry company was authorized to carry a drummer and a fifer; also, the headquarters staff of a regiment or battalion was to include a drum major and fife major who would see to the instruction and coordination of the company musicians.¹³

It is difficult to determine the extent to which the field music regulations were implemented among the volunteer units involved in the defense of New Orleans, as the muster and pay rolls of the two battalions of free men of color and the Battalion d'Orléans do not reflect a consistent pattern. While some company rosters omit any designation of musicians, most include one person labelled either "drummer" or "musician." A few rosters show two "musicians"; however, the specific designation of "fifer" does not appear.¹⁴ As for the First Battalion of Free Men of Color in particular, its company rolls list the following six men as "musicians" (company name in parentheses): François Crepin and Raimond Ventourine (Capt. Louis Simon's company), Jean Baptiste (Capt. Charles Porée's company), Henry Paul (Capt. Antoine Diesse's company), Emelian and Etienne Larrieu (Capt. Jean Ternoir's company).¹⁵ It would thus appear that the companies of Simon and Ternoir carried a drummer and a fifer, and that those of Porée and Diesse may have employed only a drummer. The rosters of the two remaining companies, those of Captains Ferdinand Lioteau and Bazile Demazal-liere, do not include any designated musicians; however, because field music was considered a necessity, it is unlikely that the duty actually went unfilled.

The names of Emelian and Etienne Larrieu also appear on the muster and pay rolls for the headquarters company. The payrolls seem to show that both men performed a double duty: Emelian Larrieu received full pay as a "musician" (at a rate of \$9 per month, for a period of three months and ten days) in Ternoir's company and again (at the same rate, but for one less day of service) as a "musician" in the headquarters company; Etienne Larrieu received full pay both as a "musician" in Ternoir's company and as a "senior musician" (at a higher rate, \$11 per month) in the headquarters company.¹⁶ No authorization or explanation for such an unusual situation is to be found in the regulations governing the Louisiana militia. However, Emelian Larrieu's status as a musician in both Ternoir's company and the headquarters company would suggest that he played either fife or drum in a field-music capacity and also played in the band, perhaps (but not necessarily) as a fifer/piccoloist or drummer. As Etienne Larrieu held the rank of senior musician in the headquarters company, it seems probable that he served not only as a performing field musician, but as drum major or fife

major for the entire battalion (although it is unclear whether such dual service would merit the full pay of both positions).¹⁷

Unfortunately, the muster and pay rolls of the First Battalion of Free Men of Color give no information as to instrumentation for the band of music (nor is such data supplied for the band of the Battalion d'Orléans). A probable instrumentation may, however, be deduced from the traditions of military bands in America and Europe, especially France, and from what is known about music in turn-of-the-century New Orleans.

Nearly every aspect of social life in New Orleans was influenced by French cultural traditions, and music was no exception. From colonial times, even during the period of Spanish rule (1769–1802), militia units had been staffed primarily by settlers of French ancestry, and their bands were most probably modeled after those of France, which before the French Revolution (1789) consisted of eight to twelve pieces.¹⁸ During the late 1700s bands of this size, made up of pairs of wind instruments including oboes, clarinets, horns, bassoons—with the occasional addition of a serpent—flourished throughout Europe. Towards the end of the century, these so-called *harmonie* ensembles were expanded via the addition of Janissary percussion instruments, including bass drums, cymbals, and triangles.¹⁹ In *The Rise and Development of Military Music* (London, 1912), Henry George Farmer gives the following instrumentations, typical of European military bands near the turn of the nineteenth century:²⁰

FRANCE (1795) Corps d'Elite	FRANCE [ca. 1790] Line Regiments
1 Flute	1 Piccolo
6 Clarinets	4 Clarinets
3 Bassoons	2 Oboes
1 Serpent	2 Bassoons
1 Trumpet	2 Horns
2 Horns	3 Drums, etc. [Bass drum,
2 Drums, etc. [Bass drum, Cymbals]	Cymbals, Triangle]
ENGLAND (1794) Grenadier Guards	PRUSSIA & AUSTRIA (1800) Line Regiments
1 Flute	2 Flutes
6 Clarinets	2–4 Clarinets
3 Bassoons	2 Oboes

2 Serpents	2 Bassoons
1 Trumpet	2 Trumpets
3 Horns	2 Trombones
Drums, etc.	1 Serpent or Contrabassoon
	4 Drums, etc.

At the time of the American Revolution (1776–83), military bands in the colonies began to develop along the lines of those in Europe, although the process was gradual, dependent upon the availability of instruments and proficient musicians. The research of Raoul Camus (*Military Music of the American Revolution*) shows that by the middle of the war, several bands had been established. Those attached to infantry or artillery regiments generally conformed to the makeup of the *harmonie* ensemble, consisting of about eight musicians who played clarinets, oboes, French horns, and bassoons, in pairs. Some bands omitted oboes, using a total of four clarinets instead.²¹ The Janissary instruments, so fashionable in Europe, did not gain currency in the United States until well after this period. Two further performance traditions brought from Europe did considerably affect the players' lives: many wind players were expected to be able to double on string instruments, and bands of music were required to entertain at various officers' functions, including concerts and dances.²²

New Orleans had a strong musical heritage of its own by the time the First Battalion of Free Men of Color was organized. Its first known opera performance (of Grétry's *Silvain*) dates from 1796, and concerts, balls, and parades had long been commonplace.²³ Military-style bands, such as those carried by the volunteer militia units, occupied a prominent position in the city's early musical scene. For example, they helped transform the funeral parade, a traditional military practice, into a long-running civic custom.²⁴ Black musicians, both slave and free, seem to have been active throughout the history of the city, and were frequently called upon to provide music for balls and parades. Indeed, one of the first orchestras to be mentioned in a description of a New Orleans ball (1802) consisted of "six Negroes, mainly fiddlers."²⁵

Most of the instruments considered above were available in New Orleans at the time of the battle with the British. In *Music in New Orleans: The Formative Years, 1791–1841*, Henry Kmen reports finding twenty-two references to the clarinet in newspaper announcements for concerts dating before 1810; thirteen of those programs included concertos for the instrument. His evidence shows that French horns, flutes, and bassoons also appeared frequently, both in ensembles and for solos. The oboe, however, seems not to have been used so often; it was featured in only one such announcement (1813) before 1820.²⁶

In light of these considerations, a reasonable idea of the instrumen-

tation of Lacoste's band of music may be reached. If two of the three senior musicians in the First Battalion of Free Men of Color served respectively as drum major and fife major, the third probably handled the duties of bandmaster. As bandmasters usually performed, leading with their instruments, this arrangement would bring the number of musicians in Lacoste's band to nine.²⁷ Such a size suggests an instrumentation derived from the structure of the *harmonie* ensemble, an instrumentation similar to those of the American military bands of the late 1700s; i.e., pairs of oboes, clarinets, French horns, and bassoons. It is unlikely that the band contained Janissary instruments, since they normally augmented the full complement of winds and a band so equipped should thus number about twelve musicians. If oboes (or competent oboists) were indeed relatively scarce in early nineteenth-century New Orleans, the band may well have carried four clarinets instead.

This scheme accounts for eight instruments. As one bandmember, Emelian Larrieu, also served as a company field musician, it seems that the ninth may have been either a side drum or fife. Of these two possibilities, the latter appears more probable. The addition of a fife (or, more likely for tuning purposes, a one-keyed piccolo) to the sound of a *harmonie* band would enhance its projection in the open air. Such an instrumentation corresponds exactly to the winds listed above in Farmer's description of the standard French "line regiment" band of ca. 1790.²⁸

In addition to its parade and ceremonial duties, Lacoste's band was surely called upon to provide entertainment at officers' meals, parties, or dances. For indoor occasions of this nature, some of the musicians probably played stringed instruments, converting the parade band into an orchestra. Noting that such versatility was commonly expected, Camus discusses several instances from the Revolutionary War; in one he cites an orchestral instrumentation of clarinets, oboes, French horns, violins, and bass viols.²⁹ Kmen has written that wind instrumentalists "had a long tradition in New Orleans of playing dance music as well as street parades."³⁰

An idea of the activities of Lacoste's band of music may be gained by reviewing the duties assigned to the entire battalion over the course of the siege of New Orleans. The militia unit had been mustered twice each month since August 1814, and at those times the band must have provided music for such functions as parades and reviews. The musicians may also have been involved in the intensified recruiting efforts, which seem to have included city-wide parading.³¹

The band of music almost certainly participated in the ceremonies welcoming General Jackson to the city; McConnell cites reports that

The effect of Jackson's arrival in New Orleans on December 2 was electric; the people of Louisiana were inspired anew. Jackson spent the first day attending to social amenities, reviewing the volunteer companies, and collecting information concerning the protection of the city.³²

In addition to providing military music for the formal review of troops, Lacoste's band may well have been called upon to perform for some of Jackson's social activities, especially if these involved appearances at parties or dances.³³

By December 16, the date of its official muster into the service of the United States Army, the First Battalion of Free Men of Color had already been ordered to take up a guard position at the confluence of the Bayou Sauvage and the Chef Menteur waterway—the latter connects Lake Pontchartrain with Lake Borgne and the Gulf of Mexico—approximately twenty miles northeast of New Orleans. The unit, minus Captain Lioteau's company (which had been assigned to Fort St. Philip), left New Orleans for Chef Menteur along the Gentilly Road at 4:00 A.M. the morning of December 17. Once encamped, it spent the following week on alert against a possible British attack, and, partly in order to deter an offensive, conducted exercises involving the firing of cannon. One such simulation took place on December 22 from 9:00 to 11:00 A.M. During this period, the primary function of the band must have been to provide music for recreation.³⁴

On Christmas Day, 1814, Major Lacoste retreated to a position three miles back on Gentilly Road because of concern that the British might attack from the rear across a dried marsh. Informed of the move, Jackson immediately ordered Lacoste to reorganize protection of the earlier position, and sent reinforcements. The next day Lacoste requested that his battalion, restless and eager to become centrally involved in the defense of the city, be allowed to join the "*ligne Jackson*" (the encampment at Chalmette, where fighting had already taken place). The request was granted and, leaving the Chef Menteur post to the reinforcements (under General Coffee), the First Battalion of Free Men of Color marched to Jackson's camp.³⁵

At the Chalmette encampment, the battalion took a position near the middle of a long line of defense that ran along an irrigation canal, perpendicular to the Mississippi River.³⁶ The duties of the band seem to have entailed performances at various points up and down the line as a means of raising and maintaining morale among the soldiers. Alexander Walker's 1856 account of the siege (based upon interviews with veterans) includes the following description of Jackson's line in the days leading up to January 1, 1815:

About two hours before daybreak, a general stir would be ob-

servable in the American camp—this was for the general muster. Drums were then beaten and several bands of music—among which that of the Orleans battalion [Plauché's] was conspicuous—would animate the spirits of the men with martial strain, that could be heard in the desolate and gloomy camp of the British, where no melodious notes or other sounds of cheerfulness were allowed to mock their misery.³⁷

Walker also quotes a British officer as having written that

the American camp exhibited, at least, as much of the pomp and circumstance of war as modern camps are accustomed to exhibit, and the spirits of its inmates were kept continually in a state of excitement by the bands of martial music.³⁸

American morale rose further on December 28 when the U.S. artillery completely shut down an early morning attack by the British.³⁹ Under protection of the field pieces, the infantrymen constructed earthworks along the canal, and by New Year's Day the fortifications were secure enough to allow for a celebratory parade. As Walker describes it,

the Americans were not disturbed by the British maneuvering—Indeed, they had turned out, to honor and salute the New Year, by various joyful demonstrations. A grand parade was ordered. At an early hour all the troops were out in clean clothes, with bright arms, and cheerful countenances. The different military bands pealed forth their most animating strains. The various regimental and company standards were unfurled, and fluttered gaily in the morning breeze. Officers rode to and fro through the camp, full of pride and enthusiasm.⁴⁰

A commemorative newspaper article later recalled that the bands that day played both "Yankee Doodle" and "The Marseillaise," the latter appropriate in light of the French character of Louisiana and New Orleans.⁴¹

Before the festivities ended, the British attacked with artillery fire. Although completely surprised, Jackson's troops quickly regained composure and engaged in battle. By 3:00 P.M., after a day of intense fighting, the Americans had emerged victorious.⁴²

The decisive battle came on January 8, 1815. Lacoste's Battalion maintained its position in the center of Jackson's line, although it was not under direct fire (the heavy fighting occurred on each end of Jackson's line). Once again, the Americans prevailed, and this time the British suffered more than two thousand casualties. Among the British dead were their commander, General Pakenham, and two other generals. The "Battle of New Orleans" was effectively over, although there were several skirmishes as the British retreated out of Louisiana.⁴³

General Jackson kept the volunteer troops on alert, and the First Battalion of Free Men of Color remained encamped on the battlefield until January 19, 1815, when a detachment from the unit was ordered to round up stragglers, including lost or runaway slaves.⁴⁴

Jackson's review of troops on January 21 probably constituted the next important performing occasion for Lacoste's band. Following the review, Jackson allowed the militia units to return to the city, with orders to drill once each day.⁴⁵ Although such orders meant relief for the infantrymen, the musicians were surely as active as ever because of the extensive celebrations taking place in New Orleans. Indeed, the day of January 23, 1815, may well have been the busiest of the entire campaign for the band, as no doubt they participated in the official festivities, which included a parade and a formal ceremony in the Place d'Armes under a specially built triumphal arch.⁴⁶ The celebrations continued through that night, and the musicians of Lacoste's band may well have provided music for dancing revelers, either as a unit or as members of various civilian ensembles.

The battalions of free men of color continued to serve until the British could be driven from the Gulf of Mexico. A few days after the celebration, Jackson ordered Lacoste's unit back to the Chef Menteur post to improve fortifications. This duty extended through the month of February. By March 5, the soldiers had returned to New Orleans, where official notice of the ratification of the Treaty of Ghent soon arrived. Jackson promptly dismissed the volunteer troops, and the First Battalion of Free Men of Color was returned to the jurisdiction of the state of Louisiana on March 25, 1815.⁴⁷ The duties of the band of music during February and March 1815 no doubt continued as before the new year: music was surely needed for various entertainments and at the dismissal ceremonies.

The final muster and payrolls show that the bandsmen served in the United States military for three months and nine days. For this service, the senior musicians received \$36.11, and the musicians received \$29.61.⁴⁸ For some time after the siege, those bandsmen who remained in New Orleans most probably enjoyed a period of relative celebrity, particularly in their musical endeavors.⁴⁹ Opportunities open to these free men of color, according to the research of Henry Kmen, included employment as orchestral musicians (for ballroom dances and theater music, perhaps even opera), as chamber musicians (for small entertainments and dances), and of course as bandsmen (for parades and other outdoor events).⁵⁰ Service as musicians in a European-style militia unit adjunct to the United States Army indicates that they had been trained to perform European-style music on European instruments, and that each had attained a relatively high degree of proficiency (which, for some at least, included the ability to read Western music notation).

Certainly, as native Louisianans, by all accounts proud of their own Creole-of-color (thus partly European) heritage and active in the French-dominated culture, these men were steeped in musical traditions that revolved around operatic overtures and arias, eighteenth-century dance music, and patriotic martial music.

In the years following the Battle of New Orleans, the First Battalion of Free Men of Color continued to muster and drill occasionally. For instance, Major Lacoste reviewed his troops on November 15, 1815, and they participated as a unit in the civic celebration commemorating the first anniversary of the battle on January 8, 1816. However, interest in militia service declined in Louisiana over the next several years (as it did throughout the United States), and documented references to activities of the battalion are few after 1815.⁵¹

At least six of Lacoste's musicians, the three senior musicians and three of the bandsmen, settled permanently in New Orleans: Barthelemi Campanell, Michel Debergue, Raymond Gaillard, Louis Hazeur, Etienne Larrieu, and Emelian Larrieu. Because the surviving descriptions of musical performances by free men of color rarely refer to any of the musicians by name, the degree to which these men pursued music in the course of their civilian lives is unknown. The following biographical information gives a picture of the lifestyles of Creole-of-color musicians in the antebellum period.

Barthelemi Campanell (ca. 1793–1843), one of the senior musicians of the battalion, owned and operated a hardware store at 71 Levee Street during the 1820s and 1830s. In 1822, he legally married Madeleine Minette Siffrey, with whom he had cohabited since about 1810.⁵² This union made legitimate their seven children. Campanell bought a house at 126 St. Philip Street in 1827, where he and his family resided. His first wife seems to have died during the 1830s, as he remarried in 1839 to Carmelite Laforesterie.⁵³ The final reference to Barthelemi Campanell is a listing in the 1843 directory, which reports his address as "Port, near Goodchildren" (Goodchildren Street is now St. Claude Avenue).⁵⁴

Michel Debergue (1795–1865), a cabinet maker by trade, belonged to a musically prominent Creole-of-color family.⁵⁵ His younger brother, Jacques Constantin Debergue (1799–1861), became a well known "professor of music" and has been identified by modern scholars as the "M. Constantin" who conducted the orchestra of the Théâtre de la Renaissance in 1840.⁵⁶ Michel Debergue took Josephine Blanco (b. 1799) as his wife by the early 1820s, and the couple had several children over the following decade. Like Campanell, Debergue seems to have become fairly wealthy; he owned slaves and real estate, including properties in the French Quarter and the Faubourg Marigny. The Debergues resided in the latter neighborhood from the 1820s on.⁵⁷

In the 1860s, at an age of nearly 70, Michel Debergue traveled to Veracruz, Mexico. Returning to New Orleans aboard the schooner *Volentin*, he died in an accident at sea on April 30, 1865. The ship reached New Orleans on May 14, and a mass was held for him at Annunciation Church on June 7, 1865.⁵⁸

Born on October 25, 1789 and baptized in the St. Louis Church, Raymond Gaillard (d. 1864) grew up across the street from the Debergue family. The 1805 city directory shows that his (white) father, Raymond Gaillard, lived at 57 St. Ann Street (between Bourbon and Dauphine streets, upriver side), and that Michel Debergue's (white) father, also named Michel, lived at 58 St. Ann Street (downriver side). Both housed free colored women (apparently consorts) and children under their roofs.⁵⁹

In 1824 the elder Gaillard, a shopkeeper, built a new cottage on the corner of St. Ann and Dauphine streets, in which the mother of the musician Raymond Gaillard lived until the mid-1850s.⁶⁰

Like many Creoles of color, the younger Raymond Gaillard entered the trade of carpentry. The 1832 city directory lists him as such, and shows an address of 80 Grands Hommes (now Dauphine) Street, in the Faubourg Marigny. He and his wife, Marie Lajoie, with whom he had several children, lived at various addresses in that district throughout the antebellum period. Gaillard died in New Orleans on September 12, 1864, at the age of 75.⁶¹

Louis Hazeur (ca. 1792–1860) was the son of a Creole officer in the French Army, *Chevalier* Antoine Hazeur, and a free woman of color named Jeanette Favre.⁶² The second of nine children, he was born in Jamaica, apparently while his parents were en route to Louisiana from a French military post in Guadeloupe.⁶³ He grew up on his father's plantation in Metairie (which extended from the Mississippi River to Lake Pontchartrain, approximately where Causeway Boulevard now runs), but after his own volunteer military service, settled in the city of New Orleans, working as a carpenter. He married three times and was twice a widower. His second wife, Marguerite Robin de Logny (whom he married on April 13, 1828), bore him two daughters.⁶⁴

Hazeur resided at 47 St. Anthony Street (near the corner of Love [now North Rampart] Street, in the Faubourg Marigny) from the early 1820s to about 1850. In 1850, the state legislature awarded Hazeur and fifteen other veterans of the Battle of New Orleans a pension of \$8 per month for a period of two years. Hazeur and his wife Sylvanie Brochet continued to reside in the Faubourg Marigny during the 1850s, moving ca. 1851 to Girod (now N. Villere) Street and later (ca. 1854) to Goodchildren Street.⁶⁵ In the summer of 1860, Louis Hazeur traveled to Mexico with the family of his daughter, Athénaïs Hazeur Tio. They had joined a number of Louisiana's free colored citizens who sought

to escape an increasingly oppressive social atmosphere by establishing agricultural cooperatives in such countries as Mexico and Haiti. Hazeur's family settled at the fledgling Eureka Colony, located at the mouth of the Tecolutla River, about 130 miles south of Tampico. He died at the colony on November 6, 1860.⁶⁶

Like Michel Debergue, Louis Hazeur seems to have belonged to a musical family; a number of his relatives played instruments and three of his direct descendants became professional musicians. The Hazeur/Tio family returned to New Orleans in 1877, and by the late 1880s two of Louis's grandsons, Louis and Lorenzo Tio (b. 1862 and 1867, respectively) had established themselves as the foremost clarinetists in the city's black (mainly Creole-of-color) musical circles. Hazeur's great-grandson, Lorenzo Tio, Jr. (1893–1933) was among the first to adapt the clarinet to the emerging jazz style.⁶⁷

The city directories of 1822 and 1823 list former senior musician Etienne Larrieu (ca. 1795–ca. 1845) as a storekeeper on Toulouse Street. Possibly in partnership with Emelian Larrieu (a situation requiring only one directory entry, for which the initial 'E' might suffice), he apparently continued as such until ca. 1843. The directory of that year shows him to be a carpenter residing on Elysian Fields Avenue, in the Faubourg Marigny. He seems to have died by the summer of 1845, as the 1846 directory contains the following entry: "Larieux, widow, corner of Elysian Fields and Morales."⁶⁸

Joseph Emelian Larrieu (1798–1850), for whom biographical data are more plentiful, remained a storekeeper longer than Etienne, operating a grocery at the corner of Customhouse (now Iberville) and Dauphine streets in the early 1840s. Although he, too, seems to have gone eventually into carpentry (as a joiner), he lived at that address until his death in 1850. In 1835, Emelian Larrieu legally married his common-law wife Roxane de Morant (1811–52); the ceremony made legitimate their four children. An entry in the 1850 Federal Census shows that the couple had two more children after their marriage, and that by the time of his death Larrieu owned \$2500 worth of real estate.⁶⁹

After the Civil War, the Reconstruction government of Louisiana made pensions more freely available to the veterans of the Battle of New Orleans, and three widows of the former musicians applied. Sylvanie Brochet (widow of Louis Hazeur) and Josephine Blanco (widow of Michel Debergue) received pension grants in 1868; Marie Lajoie (widow of Raymond Gaillard) received a grant in 1876.⁷⁰

The existence of a European-style militia band in the early years of the nineteenth century is but one manifestation of the essential position of music in the Creole-of-color culture throughout the antebellum period. Politically repressed, financially limited, and socially restricted, the *gens de couleur libres* had few outlets in which to express the

sophistication and elegance that they felt extended from the European part of their heritage. Music, however, was a treasured element of French culture (the social practices of which they sought to emulate)⁷¹ and music making offered the Creoles of color a rare opportunity to participate and excel in an activity revered throughout the Western world. The affluent white population of New Orleans encouraged the development of musical ability among free people of color (in order to augment the short supply of professional musicians to be expected in a frontier environment),⁷² and the resulting interaction (however limited) with the dominant caste afforded these musicians greater prestige within their own society.⁷³

In general, the Creole-of-color musicians seem to have performed exclusively in the European style, forsaking any conscious retention of African musical traditions. Kmen writes that in antebellum New Orleans “virtually all avenues of contact with European music [including dance music, martial music, and opera] were open to Negroes.”⁷⁴ In addition, many of the wealthiest Creoles of color sent sons to be educated in France; several of these were trained as musicians. The entire Creole-of-color community in New Orleans took great pride in the accomplishments of its musical expatriates, and the successes of such figures as the composers Edmond Dédé (1827–1903), Lucien Lambert (ca. 1827–96), and Victor-Eugène Macarty (ca. 1820–81) served to strengthen the hometown conviction that European music was a worthwhile vocation.⁷⁵

The decades following the Battle of New Orleans witnessed the development of several significant venues for free colored musicians. In 1834, a group of free colored war-veterans-turned-tradesmen (a category including Michel Debergue, Raymond Gaillard, Louis Hazeur, and the Larrieus) formed the Société des Artisans. Another, more exclusive, organization, the Société d’Economie, had originated slightly earlier, its members coming from the professional ranks of the free men of color.⁷⁶ Formed as literary organizations, these societies soon assumed wider, quasi-political roles in the Creole-of-color culture. Their postbellum counterparts, the benevolent societies of 1865 to the 1890s, sponsored many events involving music, such as parades, picnics, baseball games, train excursions, dances, concerts, musicales, programs of poetry, and tableaux vivants.⁷⁷ Although specific information regarding the antebellum societies is scarce, they may well have enjoyed similar activities, if perhaps on a smaller scale.

The Creoles of color also formed specifically musical organizations, such as the Société Philharmonique, active in the late 1830s.⁷⁸ This group of over one hundred professional and amateur musicians (of whom, however, fewer than ten are named in primary sources such as James Monroe Trotter’s *Music and Some Highly Musical People* [1878])

organized a full-scale orchestra, led by Constantin Debergue and Richard Lambert (ca. 1800–1862). Its roster almost certainly included musicians such as Louis Hazeur, Michel Debergue (brother of Constantin), Barthelemi Campanell, the Larrieus, and Raymond Gaillard, all of whom were then still living in New Orleans. Many of the same musicians undoubtedly performed at the Théâtre de la Renaissance, which opened in 1840 (documentation survives for that season only) exclusively for free colored audiences. The orchestra of the Société Philharmonique gave concerts in this hall under the baton of “Monsieur Constantin” (Kmen contends that this is probably a stage name for Constantin Debergue), who also directed the pit orchestra at the Théâtre de la Renaissance.⁷⁹

Thus, although the amount of surviving evidence regarding specific musical activities on the part of the *gens de couleur libre* is small, it is clear that music was an integral part of their culture in antebellum New Orleans. The musicians of the First Battalion of Free Men of Color are among the earliest known musicians of any race in the city’s history. Certainly, their musical abilities and sensibilities were shaped by the same mixing of Latin (primarily French) and African cultures as had occurred for many decades in the French colonies of the Caribbean. The activities of these men during the siege of New Orleans in 1814–15 mark the beginnings of a distinct and autonomous tradition of music making for generations of American Creoles of color, a tradition extending well into the twentieth century.

NOTES

1. Roland C. McConnell, *Negro Troops of Antebellum Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), 67; Powell A. Casey, *Louisiana in the War of 1812* (Baton Rouge: the author, 1963), 33–36. McConnell cites the Muster and Pay Rolls for the First Battalion of Free Men of Color of the Militia of the State of Louisiana, MS in Record Group 94 (Records of the Office of the Adjutant General), National Archives. The muster roll of the headquarters company of the battalion is entitled, “Field Staff, Non-Commissioned Staff, and Band.” The six company muster rolls are headed by captain’s names, e.g., “Capt. Antoine Diesse’s Company of Men of Color, 1 Battalion, Louisiana Militia.”

2. *Acts Passed at the First Session of the First Legislature of the State of Louisiana, Begun and Held in the City of New Orleans, July 27, 1812* (New Orleans: Thierry, 1812), 72 (hereafter cited as *Acts, First Session*).

3. *Ibid.* In Louisiana’s general militia act (*Acts Passed at the Second Session of the First Legislature of the State of Louisiana* [New Orleans: n.p., 1813], 40–82) hereafter cited as *Acts, Second Sessions*, eligibility was further restricted to men between the ages of 16 and 50. It also stipulated that companies were to be assembled with arms on the last Saturday of each month and that two battalion reviews would take place each year, in the months of April and September.

4. McConnell, *Negro Troops*, 67.
5. The best primary source pertaining to the Creoles of color of New Orleans is Rodolphe Desdunes, *Nos hommes et notre histoire* (Montreal: Arbour et Dupont, 1911), available with substantial editorial apparatus as *Our People and Our History*, trans. and ed. Dorothea Olga McCants (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973). The work includes a chapter extolling the accomplishments of a number of prominent Creole-of-color musicians (all of a later generation than considered here); this material is amplified in Lester Sullivan, "Composers of Color of Nineteenth-Century New Orleans: The History Behind the Music," *Black Music Research Journal* 8 (1988): 51–82.
6. McConnell, *Negro Troops*, 67–68.
7. McConnell, *Negro Troops*, 69–71.
8. *Index to the Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Soldiers Who Served During the War of 1812 in Organizations from the State of Louisiana* (Washington: National Archives Microfilm Publications, 1955), hereafter *Index to Service Records*. This source, based upon the muster and pay rolls of March 1815, lists the name and rank of all personnel of the First Battalion of Free Men of Color. It shows that the unit carried a total of fifteen musicians. The Compiled Service Records for each of the fifteen have been examined; these records specify company membership, and they show that eight musicians and three senior musicians served in the headquarters company.
9. Compiled Service Records of Barthelemi Campanell, Louis Hazeur, Etienne Larrieu, Elie Beroché, Celestin Bizot, Louis Charlot, Michel Debergue, Raymond Gaillard, Emelian Larrieu, Emile Tremé, and Felix Tremé; Record Group 94, National Archives.
10. For the use of the terms "band of music" and "field music," see Raoul F. Camus, *Military Music of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976), 6–39 passim.
11. Casey's (*War of 1812*) roster of the Battalion d'Orléans (pp. lix–lxi, prepared from muster and pay rolls in the National Archives) is specific as to company makeup. Its headquarters company ("Field Officers, Staff, and Band") carried four music officers (Chief Musician, Chief of Drummers, Sgt. of Music, Cpl. of Music) and seventeen musicians. The battalion included five companies of soldiers; two company rolls list a drummer; and the roll for Captain Roche's company lists two musicians. See also Ronald R. Morazon, *Biographical Sketches of the Veterans of the Battalion of Orleans, 1814–1815* (n.p.: The Legacy Press, 1979).
12. Camus, *Military Music*, 21–23.
13. *Acts, Second Session*, 48, 68. The regulations state that drum and fife majors shall "teach martial music to all the drummers and fifers of their regiments;" and specify for them a wage of "two dollars per day for every day they shall have been actually employed" (p. 68).
14. Casey, *War of 1812*, i–lxxxii passim; *Index to Service Records* (see also John Marion Bennett Pierson, *Louisiana Soldiers in the War of 1812* [n.p.: Louisiana Genealogical and Historical Society, 1963], a monograph-form transcription of the *Index*). For example, only three men in d'Aquin's Second Battalion of Free Men of Color are designated as musicians on the rolls (each is listed as a "drummer"); as the unit consisted of four companies, it was authorized to carry as many as ten (four company drummers, four company fifers, a drum major, and a fife major.)
15. Compiled Service Records of François Crepin, Raimond Ventourine, Jean Baptiste, Henry Paul, Emelian Larrieu, Etienne Larrieu; Record Group 94, National Archives.
16. *Ibid.*, Compiled Service Records of Emelian Larrieu and Etienne Larrieu.
17. The state militia regulations stipulate that drum and fife majors were to be appointed by the colonel in charge of a particular regiment or battalion, but make no provision for the possibility of dual service as a company musician (*Acts, Second Session*, 56). Typical duties of drum and fife majors are outlined in Camus, *Military Music*, 12–

14, 17–18; Camus also reports that as drum and fife majors were not authorized in the Continental Army of 1776, the drum major was usually chosen from among the company drummers and “was normally expected to continue to function as a company drummer” (p. 63).

18. Henry Kmen, *Music in New Orleans: The Formative Years, 1791–1841* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966), 203; Jacob A. Kappey, *Military Music—A History of Instrumental Wind Bands* (London: Boosey & Co., 1894), 88; David Whitwell, *Band Music of the French Revolution* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1979), 16; Camus, *Military Music*, 29.

19. Kappey, *Instrumental Wind Bands*, 88; Camus, *Military Music*, 36.

20. Henry George Farmer, *The Rise and Development of Military Music* (London: William Reeves, 1912; repr., Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), 84. The bracketed information is from Farmer’s apparent source for the French ensembles, Jean-George Kastner, *Manuel général de musique militaire à l’usage des armées françaises* (Paris: Didot freres, 1848; repr., Geneva, Minkoff, 1973), 165, 168–69. Farmer’s note refers simply to “Kastner.” Both Farmer and Kastner attribute the instrumentation of the band of the French line regiments to “Fétis.” The information seems to derive from François-Joseph Fétis, *Manuel des compositeurs, directeurs de musique, chefs d’orchestre et de musique militaire* (Paris: Schlesinger, 1837), 94–95, 109–13.

21. Camus, *Military Music*, 132–51 passim.

22. *Ibid.*, 20–21, 38–39, 136–39. Camus writes that the European woodwind player of the eighteenth century was “fully capable on the oboe, flute, clarinet, and probably also bassoon. The performer was also required to double on the string instruments to form orchestral ensembles.”

23. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans*, 58, and passim. The earliest extant concert program, of 17 December 1805, lists the overtures to Cherubini’s *Démophon* and to Grétry’s *Panurge*, for “full orchestra” (p. 216).

24. A news item in the *Moniteur de la Louisiane* of November 16, 1808, describes the procession that laid to rest a Colonel Macarty, Creole plantation owner and militia officer. The role of music in the military funeral is discussed in Camus, *Military Music*, 115–117.

25. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans*, 226–245 passim. Kmen writes, “the Negro [both slave and free] had ample opportunity to hear and to participate in the music around him. Indeed he could not escape it. In the dance field it is possible he played more than whites” (p. 236). Kmen also contends that at least one proprietor of a commercial ballroom (Legé’s Assembly Room) in the 1830s ordinarily employed Negro musicians (p. 231).

26. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans*, 217–21. Stringed instruments seem to have been popular as well. Violin, viola, cello, and even bass were featured in concerts before 1810.

27. Camus, *Military Music*, 23–24.

28. Piccolos, side drums, and bass drums were among the first instruments routinely added to the core *harmonie* instrumentation of American military bands in the early nineteenth century; see Raoul F. Camus, “Bands,” *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, 4 vols., ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock and Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1986) 1:127–37.

29. Camus, *Military Music*, 138. One example of this type of versatility among free colored musicians in New Orleans is the later generation composer, Edmond Dédé (1828–93), who was trained on clarinet and violin (see Lester Sullivan, “Composers of Color of Nineteenth-Century New Orleans: The History Behind the Music,” *Black Music Research Journal* 8 [1988]: 51–82).

30. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans*, 208.

31. A parade of all militia troops took place on August 21, 1814 (McConnell, *Negro Troops*, 60). Recruiting reached a zenith with the late-October publication of Jackson's address "To the free-coloured inhabitants of Louisiana" (McConnell, 63–64), which is reprinted in Arsenne Lacarrière Latour, *Historical Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814–15, With an Atlas* (Philadelphia: Conrad, 1816; repr. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964), xxxi–xxxii [appendix].

32. McConnell, *Negro Troops*, 65. See also Latour, *War in Louisiana*, who states that the volunteer companies were commanded that day by Major d'Aquin of the Second Battalion of Free Men of Color, and reports that "the military appearance of those companies, and the precision of their manoeuvres, gave the general great pleasure" (p. 52).

33. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans*, 1–41 passim. According to custom, the festivities surrounding almost all special occasions in New Orleans included ballroom dancing. Newspaper records from the months of the siege have not survived, but Kmen writes that the city's "devotion to dancing was epidemic" by the early 1800s (he identified over eighty sites for dancing in New Orleans established before 1841); he also points out that "Jackson" balls were held for many years after the siege, usually on January 10 (p. 7).

34. McConnell, *Negro Troops*, 65, 81. Powell A. Casey stated in an interview that "probably for morale purposes, the band would have played during the march whenever the troops stopped. I have a feeling that the musicians probably served as stretcher-bearers or in other support roles during the actual battles" (interview by the author, Baton Rouge, La., February 18, 1991).

35. Latour, *War in Louisiana*, 114–117; McConnell, *Negro Troops*, 81.

36. McConnell, *Negro Troops*, 115.

37. Alexander Walker, *Jackson and New Orleans: An Authentic Narrative of the Memorable Achievements of the American Army* (New York: J. C. Derby, 1856), 246–47. The emphasis on the band of Plauché's (white) Battalion d'Orléans is to be expected in light of American social attitudes, the fact that Plauché's band was larger than Lacoste's (by perhaps ten pieces), and that many members of the battalion were prominent upper class citizens of New Orleans (such as the composer Louis Desforges and Auguste Tessier, promoter of the popular Quadroon balls).

38. Walker, *Jackson*, 248.

39. McConnell, *Negro Troops*, 82.

40. Walker, *Jackson*, 254–55.

41. McConnell, *Negro Troops*, 82–83; *New Orleans Tribune*, Sept. 15, 1864; *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, Jan. 9, 1851. In *Negro Musicians and Their Music* (Washington, D.C.: Associated, 1936), Maud Cuney-Hare wrote that "in the famous Battle of New Orleans, under Jackson in 1815, the men of color came marching down the old Bayou Road, singing 'Le Marseillaise' and their own Creole war song, 'En Avan' Grenadié'—'Go forward grenadiers, he who is dead requires no ration.' This old song of fearless courage, originated at an earlier period. It sprang into life as a battle cry of the native San Dominicans when they were fighting the mother country (France) for their independence" (p. 265).

The First Battalion of Free Men of Color may have reentered New Orleans from Chef Menteur on the Bayou Road on December 26, 1814. Some distance from the city, Bayou Road (an extension of Hospital [now Governor Nicholls] Street) became Gentilly Road. If the First Battalion (generally natives of Louisiana) used the song, they probably borrowed it from the men of Major Louis d'Aquin's Second Battalion of Free Men of Color, most of whom were born in Santo Domingo (Haiti). Modern sources offer no indication that the Second Battalion used the Bayou Road, as they were stationed on the "ligne Jackson" for the entirety of the siege.

42. McConnell, *Negro Troops*, 83.
43. *Ibid.*, 84–90.
44. Latour, *War in Louisiana*, 184–85.
45. McConnell, *Negro Troops*, 91.
46. John Smith Kendall, *History of New Orleans*, 3 vols. (Chicago: Lewis, 1922), 1:106. In addition, a *Te Deum* was sung in the St. Louis Church.
47. Latour, *War in Louisiana*, 204; McConnell, *Negro Troops*, 96.
48. Compiled Service Records of Louis Hazeur, Etienne Larrieu, and Emelian Larrieu. The senior musicians were paid at a rate of \$11/month. The musicians received \$9/month; private soldiers, \$8/month.
49. Beyond the military rolls, no records whatsoever have been found for Jean Baptiste, Elie Beroché, Louis Charlot, Celestin Bizot, François Crepin, Henry Paul, Emile Tremé, Felix Tremé, or Raimond Ventourine.
50. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans*, 226–45 *passim*. Kmen's research indicates that the free colored population of New Orleans included a sizable number of musicians; thus we may infer that the eight or nine chosen for this band were probably among the finest.
51. McConnell, *Negro Troops*, 99. The U.S. Army rolls of March 25, 1815 seem to be the final references to the band of music.
52. New Orleans City Directories, 1822–43; Marriage Contract, Barthelemi Campanell and Madeleine Minette Siffrey, Marc Lafitte, n.p., June 19, 1822, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. The yearly city directories of the antebellum period have proved to be an invaluable source for this study. As the title and publisher varies from year to year (see Dorothea N. Spear, *Bibliography of American Directories Through 1860*, [Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1961], 222–29), these volumes are hereinafter referred to as City Directory, followed by year.
- The 1822 and 1823 entries read "Campanell, B.[.] Campanell & Avine Hardware, [71] Levee." Campanell's 1822 Marriage Contract states that he was a partner of "Philippe Avigno," and that he owned property worth \$16,000. The later directories list only Campanell as proprietor of the hardware store.
53. City Directory, 1832; Marriage Contract, Barthelemi Campanell and Carmelite Laforesterie, Theodore Seghers, n.p., April 17, 1839, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. The spelling of Campanell's first name is taken from his signature, which appears on both marriage contracts.
54. City Directory, 1843. Two of Campanell's sons continued to live in New Orleans, Philippe (1814–58), and Soulange (1817–64). See Obituary, Philippe Campanell, *New Orleans Bee*, June 28, 1858; Obituary, Soulange Campanell, *New Orleans Bee*, Apr. 9, 1864.
55. Family Meeting of Michel, Pauline, and Constantin Debergue (heirs of Constance Simon, their mother), Octave de Armas, n.p., Apr. 15, 1835, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives.
56. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans*, 235–36; Sullivan, "Composers of Color," 54.
57. Debergue Family Meeting; United States Bureau of the Census, *Population Schedules of the Sixth Census of the United States, 1840* (Washington: National Archives Microfilm Publications, 1967), 134:158; United States Bureau of the Census, *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington: National Archives Microfilm Publications, 1967), 238:70. The 1840 census report shows that in that year Debergue's household included fifteen slaves in addition to his family. The 1850 census entry lists four probable children: Josephine Debergue (b. 1822), Homère Debergue (b. 1824), Virgile Debergue (b. 1833), and Irma Debergue (b. 1833). The city directories of 1823–61 show that Debergue resided in turn on Marigny (1820s), Elysian Fields (late 1830s–42), Spain (mid-1840s), Union (1849–58), and St. Claude (early 1860s) streets.

58. Death Certificate, Joseph Michel Debergue, June 12, 1865, New Orleans Department of Health, microfilm copy at New Orleans Public Library; "Marine News," *New Orleans Bee*, May 13, 1865; Obituary of Michel Debergue, *New Orleans Tribune*, June 6, 1865.

59. Earl C. Woods, *Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Church of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Volume 4, 1784–1790* (New Orleans: Archdiocese of New Orleans, 1989), 137; City Directory, 1805. This directory contains census type information regarding the inhabitants of each dwelling. The senior Gaillard lived with one free woman of color and housed four free colored children. Debergue lived with one free woman of color and housed three free colored children. By 1835, the Debergue family owned about three-quarters of the downriver side of the block of St. Ann between Bourbon and Dauphine (see Debergue Family Meeting).

60. City Directories, 1823–56. See also Rosemary Fay Loomis, *Negro Soldiers—Free Men of Color in the Battle of New Orleans, War of 1812* (New Orleans: the author, 1990), 5–6; about this house, Loomis reports that "the 1824 French Quarter cottage, post-colonial-style, of one of Lacoste's musicians, Raymond Gaillard, is restored, and, on occasion, open to visitors at 917 St. Ann Street."

However, Gaillard's mother, widow of the white Raymond Gaillard, is consistently listed as head of household at the address corresponding to this location in the city directories. The directories also indicate that Gaillard the musician lived elsewhere, at least from 1832 on.

61. *Ibid.*; United States Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census, 1850*, 238:73; Obituary of Raymond Gaillard, *New Orleans Tribune*, Sept. 13, 1864. The 1843 directory reports Gaillard's address as the corner of Frenchman and Goodchildren streets. In the 1851–53 directories he is listed at 107 Goodchildren.

The census entry shows Raymond Gaillard to be a 61-year-old male mulatto carpenter, with real estate holdings of \$4,000, living with Marie Lajoie (a 35-year-old mulatto female) and four minors (all with the last name Gaillard).

62. Marriage Contract, Louis Hazeur and Louise Renette Mandeville, Philippe Pedesclaux, n.p., Jan. 14, 1817, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives; Monte M. Lemann to Harry H. Hall (of Hall & Monroe Law Offices), May 29, 1908, Hazeur family papers (held by Mrs. Rose Tio Winn), photocopy in author's possession.

63. United States Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census, 1850*, 238:63. The entry shows "Louis Azure" to be a 45-year-old mulatto male born in Jamaica.

The household, headed by François Gras (a white male confectioner), also includes the woman known to be Louis Hazeur's third wife, Sylvanie Brochet. She appears as "S. Brochet," a 28-year-old mulatto female born in Louisiana. Neither Hazeur's nor Brochet's given age can be correct; testimony from Brochet's succession (the settlement of her estate, Orleans Parish Second District Court docket no. 37,340 [1874], microfilm copy at New Orleans Public Library) gives her birthdate as 1810, and Hazeur must have been born before 1800 in order to have served with the 1814 militia. The ages in the census report seem to be estimations given by another member of the household.

Hazeur is listed last out of the seven residents of the household; thus it appears unlikely that he was the person with whom the census enumerator spoke. This likelihood may cast doubt on the statement that he was born in Jamaica, although that birthplace seems to be supported by all that is known about the career of his father (for information about Antoine Hazeur see Sale of Property, Baldera to Hazeur brothers, Pedro Pedesclaux, n.p., Feb. 29, 1792, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives).

64. Marriage Contract of Louis Hazeur and Louise Renette Mandeville (1817); Donation, Marguerite Avril Robin [de Logny] to Louis Hazeur, Charles Janin, n.p., April 19, 1828, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives; and Marriage Contract of Louis Hazeur and Magdeleine Sylvanie Brochet (1837). The 1837 marriage contract gives the names of

Hazeur's daughters, Marguerite Hortensia (b. ca. 1829), and Marguerite Athénaïs (b. 1830).

65. City Directories, 1822–58. *Acts Passed by the Third Legislature of the State of Louisiana, 1850* (New Orleans: G. F. Weisse, 1850), 223. Hazeur was one of two free men of color among this group of veterans. He may have been in financial need at the time, as the 1850 Census shows him to be a boarder. After 1851 he seems to have maintained his own household. He appears in the 1858 city directory as “Azur, Louis, Goodchildren [corner] Morales.”

66. Memoir of Antoinette Louis Marcos Tio [1877], Hazeur family papers, held by Mrs. Rose Tio Winn, photocopy in author's possession. See also H. E. Sterkx, *The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Louisiana* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1972), 285–97 passim. In the years immediately preceding the Civil War, social and political conditions for free people of color in Louisiana deteriorated rapidly. Many relocation schemes appeared during this period; the majority had Mexico or Haiti as their planned destination.

Sylvanie Brochet stayed behind in New Orleans. She appears singly in the 1860 U.S. Census as a boarder in the household of Antoine St. Leger, a 25-year-old mulatto male jeweller (United States Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census, 1860*, 419:74).

67. Memoir of Antoinette Louis Marcos Tio; Sterkx, *The Free Negro*, 285–97; Al Rose and Edmond Souchon, *New Orleans Jazz: A Family Album*, 3d rev. ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984), 121.

68. City Directories, 1822–46. Unfortunately, five of the directory listings for the name Larrieu appear with only the initial “E,” which could stand for either Etienne or Emelian (City Directories: 1832, 1834, 1838, 1841, 1842). For example, the directories of 1832 and 1834 include an entry that reads, “Larieu, E., dry goods, 147 Dauphine.” Variant spellings for Larrieu include Larieu, Larieux, and Larrieux; however, Joseph Emelian's signature on his 1835 marriage contract clearly reads “Larrieu.”

69. Marriage Contract, Joseph Emelian Larrieu and Marianne François Roxane de Morant, Louis Feraud, n.p., May 2, 1835, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives; City Directories, 1841–42; Death Certificate of Joseph Emelian Larrieu, December 6, 1850, New Orleans Department of Health, microfilm copy at New Orleans Public Library; United States Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census, 1850*, 235:16.

70. Pension Records of Michel Debergue, Raymond Gaillard, and Louis Hazeur, State of Louisiana, *Pension Records of the War of 1812*, Louisiana State Archives.

71. Roland Wingfield, “The Creoles of Color: A Study of a New Orleans Subculture,” (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1961), 64.

72. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans*, 231–36.

73. Wingfield, *Creoles of Color*, 65; Rodolphe Desdunes, *Nos hommes*, 113–22 passim. Wingfield states that the free people of color maintained three subclasses within their own society: a small upper class made up of professionals and proprietors; a middle class composed of artisans (such as shoemakers, tailors, and cabinet-makers), and a lower class made up of unskilled laborers, mostly non-Creole (purely African heritage) blacks who had been freed from slavery (pp. 70–71). All of the musicians considered in this study worked as artisans or proprietors.

74. Kmen, *Music of New Orleans*, 232–33.

75. James Monroe Trotter, *Music and Some Highly Musical People* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1878), 333–53 passim; Desdunes, *Nos hommes*, 113–22 passim; Kmen, *Music of New Orleans*, 234; Sullivan, “Composers of Color,” 54–55, 62.

76. Desdunes, *Nos hommes*, 39–40; Roulhac Toledano and Mary Louise Christovich, *Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road*, New Orleans Architecture, vol. 6 (Gretna, La.: Pelican, 1980), 104–5. Constantin Debergue was a member of the Société d'Economie (Obituary, Jacques Constantin Debergue, *New Orleans Bee*, March 13, 1861).

77. Toledano and Christovich, *Faubourg Tremé*, 104; John W. Blassingame, *Black New Orleans, 1860-1880* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), 144-45.

78. Trotter, *Highly Musical People*, 351-52; Kmen, *Music of New Orleans*, 234-35; Sullivan, 54. Sullivan calls the orchestra of the Société Philharmonique "the first non-theatrical orchestra in the city."

79. *New Orleans Bee*, Feb. 4 to May 12, 1840. The Théâtre de la Renaissance ran boxed advertisements showing each week's bill, which usually consisted of several short vaudevilles and comedies. The advertisements of Feb. 10 to Feb. 13, contain the line, "dans les entr'actes, l'orchestre, dirigé par M. Constantin, exécutera plusieurs ouvertures."