

1993

The Tio Family: Four Generations of New Orleans Musicians, 1814-1933. (Volumes I and II).

Charles E. Kinzer

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**The Tio family: Four generations of New Orleans musicians,
1814–1933. (Volumes I and II)**

Kinzer, Charles E., Ph.D.

The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col., 1993

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THE TIO FAMILY: FOUR GENERATIONS
OF NEW ORLEANS MUSICIANS,
1814-1933

VOLUME I

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The School of Music

by
Charles E. Kinzer
B.Mus., Auburn University, 1983
M.Mus., University of Alabama, 1985
May 1993

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME I

	<u>page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
LIST OF EXAMPLES	vii
ABSTRACT	viii
CHAPTER	
1 EARLY HISTORY OF THE TIO AND HAZEUR FAMILIES	1
2 LOUIS HAZEUR, THE SIEGE OF NEW ORLEANS AND THE MUSIC OF THE GENS DE COULEUR LIBRES	43
3 THOMAS LOUIS MARCOS TIO, MUSIC IN THE LATE ANTEBELLUM PERIOD, AND THE EMIGRATION TO MEXICO	82
4 THE EARLY CAREERS OF LOUIS AND LORENZO TIO, 1878-1890	127
5 LOUIS AND LORENZO TIO AFTER 1890	169

VOLUME II

6 LORENZO TIO, JR., AND HIS EARLY CAREER, 1893-1918	209
7 THE LATER CAREER OF LORENZO TIO, JR., 1918-1933	248

CHAPTER	<u>page</u>
8 THE TIOS AS TEACHERS AND THEIR INFLUENCE UPON THE MUSICIANS OF NEW ORLEANS	297
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	331
APPENDICES	
A MAPS	353
B TRANSCRIPTIONS	357
VITA	382

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Instrumentations of Military Bands, c1800	50
2. Performances of the Excelsior Brass Band, as reported in the <i>Weekly Louisianian</i> , March 1879 to June 1882	139
3. Performances of the Excelsior Brass Band, as reported in the <i>Weekly Pelican</i> , December 1886 to November 1887 and December 1888 to Novemeber 1889	151
4. Roster of the Band of Richards and Pringle's Georgia Minstrels, 1897	173
5. Rosters of the Band and Orchestra of Oliver P. Scott's Refined Colored Minstrels, 1898	179
6. Roster of the Band of John W. Vogel's Afro- American Mastodon Minstrels and Darkest America Show, 1898	184
7. Roster and Instrumentation of the Bloom Symphony Orchestra, c1903	194
8. Roster and Instrumentation of the Onward Brass Band, c1913	221
9. New Orleans Musicians known to have studied with Lorenzo Tio, Jr.	319

LIST OF EXAMPLES

Example	Page
1. "Bouncing Around," mm. 34-35, 38-39, clarinet ...	276
2. "Red Man Blues," mm. 13-14, clarinet	277
3. "Red Man Blues," mm. 5-10, 21-26, 77-82, clarinet	278
4. "Bright Star Blues," mm. 11-14, clarinet	279
5. "Lou'siana Swing," mm. 1-4, clarinet	280

ABSTRACT

Thomas Louis Marcos Tio (1828-c1881), and his uncle, Louis Hazeur (c1792-1860), were active musicians in the antebellum free-colored society of New Orleans. Two of Thomas Tio's sons, Louis (1862-1922) and Lorenzo (1867-1908), in turn became involved as clarinetists and arrangers in the marching bands, minstrel shows, and pit orchestras of late nineteenth-century New Orleans. The most widely known of the Tios, however, was Lorenzo, Jr. (1893-1933), who exerted a prime influence on the development of the early style of jazz clarinet performance. The teacher of Sidney Bechet and Barney Bigard, he performed with many jazz groups in New Orleans, Chicago, and New York. As a composer Lorenzo Tio, Jr., is said to have supplied material to Duke Ellington.

The dissertation presents a historical account of the musical activities of the Tio family from 1814 to 1933 and assesses their position in the musical community of New Orleans. Sources include newspapers, civil records, taped interviews, and sound recordings. Appendices contain maps and music transcriptions.

CHAPTER 1
EARLY HISTORY OF THE TIO
AND HAZEUR FAMILIES

Marcos Tio (1755-1823) was born in the town of Caldas de Estachen in Catalonia. The son of Josef Tio and Leocadia Riena, he migrated to the Spanish colony of New Orleans sometime before 1787, the year in which his name first appears in the city's tax records.¹

At that time, New Orleans was yet quite small; its population numbered less than five thousand,² and the town proper was still confined to the dimensions that architect Adrien de Pauger had laid out some seventy years earlier, roughly coterminous with the present-day French Quarter.³ During the late 1700s, however, the city experienced a remarkable amount of construction. New or renovated buildings

1. Will of Marcos Tio, Christoval de Armas, n.p., 19 March 1822, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives; List of Tavernkeepers Licensed by the City of New Orleans, City Treasury Accounts, 1787, Records and Deliberations of the Cabildo, vol. 3, no. 2, New Orleans Public Library; Rose Tio Winn, interview by the author, tape recording, 11 May 1990; Bernadette Ramdall, letter to the author, 6 August 1991.

2. Carlos de Morant, *New Orleans Census of 1791*, 6 November 1791, Louisiana State Archives, 23.

3. Maps showing locations referred to throughout this text appear in Appendix A.

included the Presbytère and the Cabildo, work was begun on a new St. Louis Cathedral, and a canal was built that connected the city with Lake Pontchartrain via Bayou St. John.⁴

In New Orleans, Marcos Tio operated a tavern on Levee Street, close by the Place d'Armes (now Decatur Street and Jackson Square, respectively).⁵ He lived and worked in this neighborhood from about 1790 through the first decade of the nineteenth century.⁶ Early census records show that by 1804 Tio's Spanish-born nephew, Francisco Tio (1778-1869), had come to live with him.⁷ The two men enjoyed a close association from that time on, eventually becoming business partners.

Marcos Tio opened a small brokerage firm sometime around 1805. He had imported liquors as a tavernkeeper, and

4. John Smith Kendall, *History of New Orleans*, 3 vols. (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1922), 1:33-35.

5. de Morant, 14-15. At the time, Levee Street was also referred to as Front Street, and many of its residents are listed as inn (or tavern) keepers.

6. Ibid.; H.A. Heins, *New Orleans Census of 1804*, 1 June 1804, Louisiana State Archives, 33; City directory, 1805, 1807, 1809 [individual volumes of the city directory vary widely as to title, thus references to this composite source appear in shortened form]. Tio is listed as a cabarétier in the 1804 census, and the directory entry of 1807 reads "Tio, Marc; marchand, rue de la Levee Sud, no. 1."

7. Marcos Tio is listed in the 1791 census as head of a household including one unnamed white man whose age does not correspond to that of Francisco Tio. Listed separately on Levee Street is a Joseph Tio, tavernkeeper, who may have been Marcos's brother. It is not clear, however, whether Francisco (then 13 years old) could have been part of this second household. Francisco Tio is listed by name as a member of Marcos Tio's household in the 1804 census.

seems to have gradually expanded his operation to include other articles and provisions.⁸ He was firmly established in this career by 1807; city directories subsequent to that year list him as a "commission merchant," a term explained by French traveler C. C. Robin in his 1803 account of life in New Orleans:

The highest profession is that of merchant, that is to say, one who buys cargoes of ships to sell wholesale or who receives them to sell on commission. Few of them are actually ship-owners or speculators in their own right. Rather, they are simply commission merchants or wholesalers, selling to retailers or distant farmers who buy their provision in bulk once a year, who pay with cotton or other produce.⁹

Many of the Spanish merchants in the colonial society were of Catalanian descent; Robin termed this group "active, industrious, and frugal."¹⁰ In addition to the enterprises outlined by Robin, Marcos Tio acted as executor of estates and wills, and occasionally served as an agent in the slave trade.¹¹ The extent of his business ventures was such

8. As a liquor merchant, Tio received 45 pipas of rum from Havana on 10 March 1803 (Spanish Judicial Records, Book 4087 [year 1803], Historical Collection, Louisiana State Museum). See also City directory, 1807-22.

9. C. C. Robin, *Voyage to Louisiana* [1803], trans. Stuart O. Landry, Jr. (New Orleans: Pelican, 1966), 36.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Execution of testament of T. Peats, Christoval de Armas, n.p., 4 September 1817, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives; Sale of Slave, Hampton to St. Romes (Tio acting as agent), Philippe Pedesclaux, n.p., 20 February 1818, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives.

that for a time he did indeed own a ship, the 62-foot brig *Margaret*, which he registered in New Orleans in 1805.¹² Marcos worked closely with his nephew, Francisco, and the firm seems to have prospered. When Marcos willed his controlling share to Francisco in 1822, he declared no outstanding debts, and Francisco's own descendants continued to operate the business into the twentieth century.¹³

Although the Catalan immigrants in colonial New Orleans distinguished themselves in commerce, they were generally excluded from the social life of the upper class, which was patterned entirely on French cultural traditions. As Robin also wrote, "by an incredible injustice, they [the Catalans] are very little regarded. They seem to be held on a level with Negroes."¹⁴

Early in the decade of the 1790s Marcos Tio entered into a common-law marriage with Victoire Wiltz (c1777-1847), a free woman of color, and this relationship

12. United States Works Progress Administration (Survey of Federal Archives in Louisiana), "Ship Registers and Enrollments of New Orleans, Louisiana, Vol. 1, 1804-1820" (Typescript, 1941), entry no. 542.

13. City directories, 1822-1904. Francisco Tio headed the company until the 1860s. His son Francisco Ciriaco Tio continued the brokerage after him.

14. Robin, 37. In the censuses and directories, quite a few Iberian surnames are to be found among Marcos Tio's Levee Street neighbors, such as Estevan, Garcia, Morales, Herrera, etc.

continued until his death in 1823.¹⁵ Such cross-racial unions, although not legally sanctioned, had become institutionalized in New Orleans during the colonial period, partly because of the small number of white women among the citizenry. The system of *plaçage*, whereby a white man would furnish an apartment for a free woman of color and pursue discreet (and often monogamous) physical relations with her, was an accepted custom by the 1790s, and evidence suggests that this may have been the way that Marcos Tio began his involvement with Victoire Wiltz.¹⁶

Victoire Wiltz was a "mulatto" according to Tio's will, therefore she was probably the child of a white man and a

15. "Badillo v. Tio" (1851), Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Louisiana, vol. 6 (New Orleans: T. Rea, 1852; reprint, St. Paul: West Publishing, 1910), 129-46. The report of this court case, a dispute over an inheritance claimed by the free-colored issue of a *plaçage* relationship (see note 16), includes testimony regarding the childhood of Joséphine Macarty Tio (b. 1792, natural daughter of Augustin Macarty and Victoire Wiltz), who claimed that Marcos Tio raised her from infancy as his step-child.

16. *Ibid.* This source contains a contemporary explanation of the existence in Louisiana of the *plaçage* system, written by Justice J. Rost:

[When the Louisiana Colony] came under the dominion of Spain [1763], there were . . . but few women of the white race, and hardly any of equal condition with the officers of the Government and of the troops stationed here. The inevitable consequence was that these gentlemen formed connections with women of color. This custom, coming as it did from the ruling class, soon spread throughout the colony, and was persevered in long after there ceased to be any excuse for its continuance (p. 132).

black woman (who may have been a slave). Wiltz was a fairly common family name during this period in Louisiana, both for whites and blacks, and it seems to derive from one prominent family of eighteenth-century plantation owners.¹⁷

Prior to 1792, Victoire Wiltz was for a time the consort of Augustin Macarty, a Spanish nobleman and army officer. She gave birth to his child, Joséphine, who was baptized on 3 February 1792. About this time Macarty, who was known to keep several mistresses, discontinued his liaison with Victoire. Her relationship with Marcos Tio must have begun shortly thereafter, since Joséphine was raised as Tio's child.¹⁸

In addition to Joséphine, Victoire and Marcos had seven children of their own, beginning in 1794 with a son named Joseph (Joseph Marcos Tio, d. 1837), who eventually followed his father into the family business.¹⁹ On 7 June 1798, Victoire gave birth to a second son, Louis

17. See early census reports, city directories. One example is Juan Batiste Wiltz, a prominent hardware merchant in colonial New Orleans, who in 1791 lived on Levee Street only a few blocks from Tio (de Morant, 16).

18. "Badillo v. Tio," 130.

19. Baptismal Record of Joseph Marcos Tio in Earl C. Woods, *Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Church of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Volume 5, 1791-1795* (New Orleans: Archdiocese of New Orleans, 1990), 366. Joseph Marcos Tio, mulatto, was born on 16 October 1794 to parents Marcos Tio and Victoire Wiltz, and baptized 12 January 1795.

Marcos Tio (d. c1844).²⁰ As an adult, Louis became a shoemaker and then a grocer, typical trades for a free man of color. Between 1800 and 1817, five more children were born to Victoire and Marcos: Victoire (1800-1837), Jean (1808- after 1831), Julie (1809-1835), Mariano (1811-1840), and Magdeleine (1817-1836).²¹

The United States purchased the Louisiana Territory in the final weeks of the year 1803. Under the new American administration of Governor William C. C. Claiborne, New Orleans grew rapidly. From 1805 to 1810 its total population doubled, rising from 8,475 to 17,242. Within these figures the number of free people of color more than tripled, from 1,566 to 4,950. This increase was fueled in the spring of 1809 by the arrival of some 1,977 free people of color among a group of 5,754 refugees from

20. Baptismal Record of Luis [sic] Tio in Earl C. Woods, *Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Church of the Archdiocese of New Orleans*, Volume 6, 1798-1801 (New Orleans: Archdiocese of New Orleans, 1991), 353. Louis Marcos Tio was baptized on 1 July 1798.

21. Will of Marcos Tio; Death Certificates of Victoire Marcos Tio (19 June 1837), Julie Marcos Tio Coussy (10 November 1835), Mariano Marcos Tio (30 May 1840), Magdeleine Marcos Tio (20 May 1836), New Orleans Department of Health. Children in this society customarily carried their father's name as a middle name, regardless of their sex.

The last document that refers to Jean Marcos Tio is a Sale of Property, Tio to Tio, Theodore Seghers, n.p., 24 October 1831, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. It contains his signature.

the slave revolts in Santo Domingo (Haiti).²² The period also witnessed an influx of American citizens who founded a large suburb, the Faubourg Ste. Marie, immediately upriver from the city (the area now known as the Central Business District). Cultural and political tensions soon developed between these new residents and the established Creoles.²³

Marcos Tio continued to live and conduct business at No. 1 South Levee Street throughout these years.²⁴ Within the family, Tio's stepdaughter Joséphine entered into common-law marriage with his nephew Francisco in 1807, a relationship later celebrated in the church by a priest.²⁵ Also, a small house was purchased in Victoire Wiltz's name on St. Philip Street (between Dauphine and

22. Kendall, 1:85.

23. In this text, the term "Creole" refers to American-born descendants of French and Spanish settlers, and the term "Creole of color" refers to American-born persons of French or Spanish and African descent. See Kendall, 1:75-85; Roulhac Toledano and Mary Louise Christovich, *Faubourg Tremé and the Bayou Road*, New Orleans Architecture, vol. 6 (Gretna, LA: Pelican, 1980), 85-108 passim.

24. City directory, 1805, 1807. Tio's name often appears incorrectly in the directories; for example, in that of 1807 he is listed as Marc Tio, and the attached business directory (*Le Diamant*) of the same year lists him as Marcostio. This second version may result from his signature, which appears in early documents as "Marcos tio" (see *Sale of Slave, Hampton to St. Rome's*).

25. "Badillo v. Tio," 139-40. It remained unlawful for whites to marry free people of color.

Burgundy streets) by the year 1808; she lived at this location until her death in 1847.²⁶ Although he remained conjugally involved with Victoire, Marcos seems to have outwardly maintained his residence at his place of business. The United States Census of 1810 lists him there as head of a household including three white males and two slaves.²⁷ Victoire Wiltz seems to have been listed separately; there appears a "V Wiltz" on St. Philip Street, head of a household of eight free people of color and two slaves.²⁸

Victoire Wiltz's house stood at what is now 926-928 St. Philip Street. It was a typical small Creole cottage, described in early records as "brick between posts."²⁹

26. Map of New Orleans drawn by Joseph Pilié, City Surveyor, 18 August 1808, held in Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University. This source shows the city blocks divided into lots, each labelled with the owner's name. Marcos Tio's name appears as "Marquet" on the site of a lot he owned on St. Ann Street.

27. United States Bureau of the Census, *Population Schedules of the Third Census of the United States, 1810* (Washington: National Archives Microfilm Publications, 1967), 10:230. Further references to United States census records appear as follows: Federal Census, year, microfilm reel no.: page no.

28. Ibid., 239. In 1810, Victoire Wiltz's family included six free persons of color: Victoire herself, and her children Joseph, Louis, Victoire, Jean, and Julie. Other residents might have been boarders, or her daughter Joséphine and Joséphine's (white) husband, Francisco Tio.

29. New Orleans Historic Collection, "Vieux Carre Survey" (Typescript, 1960-68), Square 85, 926-928 St. Philip Street. See also file for 930-932 St. Philip, of which an 1809 description reads that it is "bounded on one side by Victoire Wiltz, on the other by Agatha Fanchou."

A drawing of the house was made in 1849, two years after Victoire's death, and it shows two doors and two windows on the St. Philip Street facade.³⁰

During the 1810s, Marcos Tio built a two-story brick building on a St. Ann Street lot he had purchased in 1795 (the address is now 623-625 St. Ann, between Chartres and Royal streets).³¹ This structure replaced a wooden warehouse and served as Tio's new business office and official residence. The ground floor was used for commerce, and it included a storehouse for "merchandise and effects."³²

30. Ibid. A larger structure was built over and around Victoire's house in 1885, and when this conglomerate building was itself restored in the early 1970s, the owners discovered Victoire's original house intact within the 1885 walls and adapted their restoration to preserve it. See *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, 26 March 1972.

31. Sale of Property, Ventura to Tio y Riena, Carlos Ximenes, n.p., 29 January 1795, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives; New Orleans Historic Collection, "Vieux Carre Survey," Square 47, 623-625 St. Ann Street. The "Vieux Carre Survey" file contains a typescript history by Edith Long (1964) and a photograph of the building taken before its most recent restoration.

32. Will of Marcos Tio. A building fitting every description of Tio's house still stands on this property today and in the history of the lot there is no indication that his house was ever destroyed. The building currently forms part of the Place d'Armes Hotel. According to Edith Long's essay in the "Vieux Carre Survey":

The only known reference in the documents on this property [the lot] relate to Marcus [sic] Tio, who owned it from 1795 to 1822. This dwelling may have been built by him, but it doesn't look that old. That may be because it was restored without much sensitivity to surfaces or regard to authentic detail.

For the people of New Orleans, the political process begun in 1803 with the Louisiana Purchase came to fruition early in the second decade of the century; a constitutional convention met in November 1811, and in the following April the State of Louisiana was admitted to the Union. The economic future of New Orleans seemed bright. The city was already one of the principal centers of the cotton trade, and the recent introduction of steam navigation on the Mississippi River (January 1812) coupled with the increased use of the cotton gin (invented 1793) promised to make it even more prominent as a commercial center. However, progress was delayed by the War of 1812, as New Orleans came under the effect of the British embargo and blockade. By the spring of 1813, the economy was so depressed that the local banks were forced to suspend specie payments on their notes.³³

Although trade was difficult, the threat of battle had yet to reach New Orleans, and the first week of February 1813 found Marcos Tio witnessing the confirmation of one of his daughters at the St. Louis church. In the records, the daughter's name appears as Santiaga Tio, which does not correspond to the given name of anyone known from other sources to be a family member.³⁴ Two possibilities exist

33. Kendall, 1:91-95.

34. Alice Daly Forsyth, compiler. *Confirmações* [sic] (New Orleans, Genealogical Research Society of New

for the identity of Santiago Tio. First, the name may refer to a daughter who died before 1822, the date of Marcos's will. Second, the name Santiago may have been a pseudonym. The use of pseudonyms was not uncommon in the antebellum New Orleans society, and one such instance definitely occurred within this generation of the Tio family; that is, Victoire Marcos Tio was known to friends by the name Aglaée when she died in 1837.³⁵ If such is also the case with Santiago, the name probably refers to Julie Marcos Tio.

The theater of operations of the war with Great Britain shifted from the northern states to the Gulf of Mexico in the final months of 1814. That December, it became apparent that notwithstanding the peace negotiations taking place in Ghent, an attack on the city of New Orleans

Orleans, 1967), 152-53. The full title of the manuscript source is given as follows: "First Book of Confirmations of this Parish of New Orleans, containing folios from the beginning up to the present" [covers the period 1798-1841]. Santiago Tio, daughter of Don Marcos Tio and and a free mulatta named Victoria [Victoire Wiltz], is listed as no. 88 of a group of 350 parishioners who were confirmed on 2 February and 5 February of 1813, upon the visit to New Orleans of the Bishop of Cartagena and the Indies. She was sponsored by her father.

35. Obituary of Aglaée Marcos Tio, *L'Abéille de la Nouvelle Orléans*, 22 June 1837. Although this source, a newspaper with both French and English sections (and also carrying the title *New Orleans Bee*), uses only the name Aglaée, Victoire Marcos Tio had died 19 June 1837; no other member of Marcos Tio's family died near that date. For more information regarding the use of pseudonyms, see Sally Kittredge Evans, "Free Persons of Color," *The Creole Faubourgs, New Orleans Architecture*, vol. 4 (Gretna: Pelican, 1974), 25-36.

was imminent. General Andrew Jackson was placed in charge of its defense, and when he arrived in New Orleans on 2 December he found an enthusiastic group of volunteer soldiers in the form of the state militia.³⁶ The standing militia had been strengthened throughout that autumn by the recruiting efforts of Governor Claiborne. By 19 December, the day after Jackson reviewed his troops at the Place d'Armes, the numbers of militiamen who had been mustered into the United States Army included two battalions of free men of color.³⁷ The First Battalion of Free Men of Color under Major Pierre Lacoste (part of the regiment of Colonel Michel Fortier) had been organized by the state in 1812 and was composed primarily of Louisiana natives between the ages of 16 and 50.³⁸ On the muster roll for this unit's participation in the defense of New Orleans appears the name "Marcostillo," which must refer to one of the sons of Marcos Tio, probably his oldest, Joseph Marcos Tio, who was of the proper age.³⁹

36. Roland C. McConnell, *Negro Troops of Antebellum Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), 65.

37. *Ibid.*, 56-72 *passim*.

38. *Ibid.*, 53.

39. Marion John Bennett Pierson, *Louisiana Soldiers in the War of 1812* (N.p.: Louisiana Genealogical and Historical Society, 1963), 79. Francisco Tio also volunteered his service to the American army. He is listed in muster rolls as "Franco Tio" (p. 116), a private in the regiment of Colonel Zenon Cavelier, which served on the west bank of the Mississippi River, across from the main battlefield.

Lacoste's battalion consisted of six companies and a small "band of music."⁴⁰ During the time of the armed conflict, December 1814 through January 1815, the battalion first performed a reconnaissance/security mission at Chef Menteur (the waterway connecting Lake Pontchartrain with Lake Borgne and the Gulf of Mexico) and then joined the troops on the main line of fighting at the Chalmette battlefield, where it played a supporting role in the decisive action.⁴¹

Several historical accounts of the Battle of New Orleans contain references to American regimental bands. For instance, on New Year's Day, 1815, the Americans held a parade, and in these festivities the bands were reported to have played both "Yankee Doodle" and "The Marseillaise."⁴² One of three "senior musicians" in Lacoste's Battalion of Free Men of Color (with whom "Marcostillo" may well have been acquainted) was Louis Hazeur (c1792-1860), whose sister and daughter later married into the Tio family.⁴³

Louis Hazeur was a Creole of color whose white (Creole) forebears had served in the French Army. He and his eight siblings were the natural children of Chevalier Antoine

40. McConnell, 67-68.

41. Ibid., 73-90 passim. The duties of the First Battalion of Free Men of Color during the Siege of New Orleans are discussed in Chapter 2, below, pp. 43-63.

42. Ibid., 82-83.

43. Pierson, 58.

Hiacinthe Hazeur (1754-c1833) and Jeanette Favre (c1765-c1830), a free woman of color.⁴⁴ Antoine Hazeur was himself the son of François Marie Joseph Hazeur, écuyer [squire] (d. 1758), a Quebec-born infantry captain who served on the Gulf Coast and retired in Louisiana.⁴⁵

In 1750 François Marie Joseph Hazeur purchased a large plantation near New Orleans, in the area known then and today as Metairie. His property extended from the Mississippi River to Lake Pontchartrain, encompassing an area to either side of the route of the present-day Clearview Parkway.⁴⁶ The elder Hazeur and his wife, Marie

44. Marriage Contract, Louis Hazeur and Louise Renette Mandeville, Philippe Pedesclaux, n.p., 14 January 1817, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. Antoine Hiacinthe Hazeur commanded a French Army regiment in Guadeloupe in the late 1700s, and the Tio family oral history holds that Jeanette Favre grew up in the French West Indies (Guadeloupe and Martinique) in the employ of Josephine de Beauharnais, Creole consort of Napoleon Bonaparte.

45. Wedding Certificate of François Marie Joseph Hazeur and Marie Joseph de Lussere, 15 May 1741, in Jacqueline Olivier Vidrine, *Love's Legacy: The Mobile Marriages Recorded in French, Transcribed, with Annotated Abstracts in English, 1724-1786* (Lafayette, LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana Press, 1985), 212-13; Baptismal Record of Antoine Hiacinthe Hazeur, 13 April 1754, in Earl C. Woods, *Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Church of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Volume 2, 1751-1771* (New Orleans, Archdiocese of New Orleans, 1988), 147. Antoine Hiacinthe Hazeur's mother, Marie de Lussere Hazeur, was born in the Gulf Coast settlement of Mobile [AL].

46. Sale of Property, Pascalis [de la Barrel] to Hazeur, William Henry, n.p., 20 July 1750, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. This property was located about four miles west of the land purchased by Antoine Hazeur in 1817, which is labelled "Hazeur plantation" on Map 1 of Appendix A, p. 353.

de Lussere Hazeur, had two daughters, Jeanne Constance and Marie Marguerite, and three sons, Louis, François, and Antoine Hiacinthe. Each of the sons pursued a career in the military, and all served in the French West Indies.⁴⁷

In 1781 François Hazeur purchased a neighboring plantation, just to the east of the first. He and his brother Louis moved to this new property, leaving the original family tract in the care of Antoine Hiacinthe.⁴⁸

Antoine Hiacinthe Hazeur and his brothers were befriended by Pierre Clement de Laussat (1756-1835), the last French prefect in charge of the Louisiana colony, and Laussat's memoirs contain a description of their plantation

47. Sale of Property, Baldera to Hazeur bros., Philippe Pedesclaux, n.p., 29 February 1792, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. In this act Pedesclaux notes that Louis and Antoine Hazeur had both previously commanded French Army regiments on the island of Guadeloupe. All three Hazeur brothers occasionally used the suffix de Lorme after their last name, as shown by their signatures in this document. Marie Marguerite Hazeur married Louis Chauvin Beaulieu, another Metairie landowner, on 1 June 1762. Jeanne Constance Hazeur married Pierre François Dreux on 18 February 1767.

48. Laura L. Porteous, "Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana, XXXIII (April-June 1780)," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 14 (1933): 463-66. This article contains an abstract of the Succession [settlement of estate] of Laurencia Delhommer, which began on 1 April 1780 and was completed following the sale of Delhommer's plantation to François Hazeur on 24 May 1781.

This second property extended from the Mississippi River four leagues above New Orleans to Lake Pontchartrain. François Hazeur sold it, along with the original Hazeur tract, in 1824 to Pierre Gervais Arnoult; see Henry C. Bezou, *Metairie: A Tongue of Land to Pasture*, rev. ed. (Gretna: Pelican, 1979), 151.

life, dating from 1803 and including an account of the cultural origins of their descendants:

The sight of a well-kept plantation makes one envy its owner. Messrs. Hazeur possessed two such plantations. The oldest brother and the one they called "l'Habitant" lived together on one. The Chevalier [Antoine Hiacinthe] had his separate lodging on the other. They had only one shed, only one management, and only one income--they were models of brotherly closeness. They spent their days together. They had the same manners and the same tastes; even the tone of their voices was alike. They were not married. That was their shameful side, their colonial weakness; they were surrounded by offspring whose color betrayed their origin. Except for that, no others were better company, had a greater sense of honor or more loyalty, nor were more faithful Frenchmen. Born of a military family, they had themselves served in the regiments of our country. They retired from it with the Cross of St. Louis.⁴⁹

Antoine Hazeur had met his Creole-of-color consort, Jeanette Favre, while serving in Guadeloupe, and she bore the first of their nine children, a daughter named Josephine, there in about 1790.⁵⁰ A son, Louis (the militia-band musician), was born in Jamaica circa 1792, apparently while the young family was en route to Louisiana.⁵¹ Antoine and

49. Pierre Clement de Laussat, *Memoires of My Life*, trans. Agnes-Josephine Pastwa (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 52-53. The term "habitant" generally meant "farmer." Regardless of de Laussat's views toward colonial social conventions, Antoine Hiacinthe Hazeur lived as man and wife with Jeanette Favre at his plantation; he indicates so in Donation, Hazeur to Hazeur, Louis T. Caire, n.p., 14 September 1829, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives.

50. Obituary of Josephine Hazeur, *New Orleans Bee*, 24 November 1862; Death Certificate, Josephine Hazeur, 27 November 1862, New Orleans Department of Health.

51. Marriage Contract, Louis Hazeur and Louise Renette de Mandeville; Federal Census, 1850, 238:63.

Jeanette had seven more children after settling in Metairie: Charles Homère "Sylvain" (1794-1862), Thomas Hiacinthe (1795-1873), Jean Baptiste (1799-1865), Malthide Adele (1804-1877), Pierre Favre (1810-1848), Marie Antoinette "Pamela" (c1811-1880), and Pierre Favélllo (c1816-1866).⁵²

In 1816 Antoine Hazeur liquidated his one-third interest in the land he shared with his brothers and soon thereafter bought a smaller plantation, also in Metairie but closer to New Orleans.⁵³ This property extended in a narrow strip from the Metairie Road to Lake Pontchartrain, immediately east of what is now the 17th Street Canal. Hazeur moved his family to the new plantation, and eventually transferred its ownership to his free-colored children.⁵⁴

52. Death Certificates of Pierre Favre Hazeur (4 March 1848), Sylvain Homère Hazeur (27 November 1862), Jean Baptiste Hazeur (6 July 1865), [Thomas] Hiacinthe Hazeur (5 October 1873), Mathilde [sic] Adele Hazeur (9 September 1877), Mrs. Maurice Doublet [Marie Antoinette Hazeur] (14 November 1880), New Orleans Department of Health. Death dates of Louis and Pierre Favélllo Hazeur appear in Memoir, Antoinette Tio (1877), Hazeur family papers, held by Rose Tio Winn, photostat in author's possession.

53. Sale of Property, Antoine Hazeur to Louis and François Hazeur, Philippe Pedesclaux, n.p., 7 November 1816; Sale of Property, Rousseau to Antoine Hazeur, Philippe Pedesclaux, n.p., 11 November 1817; both records held at Orleans Parish Notarial Archives.

54. Sale of Property, Antoine Hazeur to Thomas, Sylvain, and Jean Baptiste Hazeur, Louis T. Caire, n.p., 25 August 1828, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. This plantation, owned after 1828 by the Creole-of-color Hazeurs,

Three of Antoine Hazeur's sons, Thomas, Sylvain, and Jean Baptiste, spent the bulk of their lives as farmers on the lands in Metairie. Louis Hazeur seems to have been the only Creole-of-color Hazeur to follow his father into the military, and that was as a musician in a militia unit, rather than as a professional soldier.⁵⁵ Such service was nonetheless significant; the First Battalion of Free Men of Color played a central role in the defense of New Orleans throughout the British siege.

The Battle of New Orleans (ending the month-long siege) was won decisively by the American forces on 8 January 1815, when an enemy attack was repelled and the British commanding officer, General Pakenham, was killed. The First Battalion of Free Men of Color, including Louis Hazeur and Joseph Marcos Tio, was discharged from federal service on 25 March 1815; thereafter, the soldiers

measured three arpents (about 600 ft.) frontage on Metairie Road. Its principal crop is unknown; however, many Metairie plantations produced such crops as rice, beans, corn, potatoes, and indigo. In the mid-1800s, the Hazeurs allowed contractors to harvest cypress logs from the portion of their land closest to Lake Pontchartrain (Contract, Hazeur bros. and John Cronier, 1 June 1854, Hazeur family papers, held by Rose Tio Winn, photostat in author's possession).

55. The obituary of Jean Baptiste Hazeur (New Orleans Bee, 6 June 1865) states that he was a veteran of 1814-1815, but his name does not appear under Hazeur (or any related spelling) in the muster rolls for the militia. There are several Jean Baptistes listed, but it remains unclear whether any of these refers to Jean Baptiste Hazeur.

met for militia duty only occasionally and the unit eventually disbanded. The veterans did, however, participate in many of the annual civic celebrations of the battle.⁵⁶

In the late 1810s, Joseph Marcos Tio followed his father, Marcos, and cousin Francisco into commercial business. His activities as a *marchand* included trading in real estate and slaves.⁵⁷ Joseph may also have become a seaman; in September 1817 he registered the 58-foot schooner *Caroline*, listing himself as both owner and master (captain).⁵⁸ He sold the ship shortly thereafter, but this activity suggests that he had probably entered the shipping part of the Tio family business. Joseph's role in the company expanded over the years; he left New Orleans in the mid-1820s for Pensacola, Florida, to manage real estate for Francisco, and by 1837, when he died, he was working in the Tabasco region of Mexico as an overseas partner of the New Orleans firm.⁵⁹

56. McConnell, 97-115 *passim*.

57. Sale of Slaves, Tio to Duverger, Philippe Pedesclaux, n.p., 3 March 1817, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. This act describes the sale of five slaves, at a total price of 3000 piastres (the piastre was roughly equivalent to the dollar).

58. United States Works Progress Administration, "Ship Registers," entry no. 124.

59. Act of Procuration, Francisco Tio to Joseph Marcos Tio, Christoval de Armas, n.p., 21 February 1826, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives; Succession of Joseph

The city of New Orleans enjoyed prosperity and growth in the period following the British siege. However, the year 1817 brought an outbreak of yellow fever, and the resulting mortality rate prompted the city government to adopt a number of health-minded measures, such as the creation of a municipal Board of Health.⁶⁰ On 14 January of that year, Louis Hazeur married Louise Renette Mandeville, a Creole-of-color from New Orleans. This was the first of three marriages for Hazeur, who had established himself as a carpenter since his military service.⁶¹

The United States government conducted its Fourth Census in 1820, and the enumerators listed Marcos Tio as head of a household on St. Ann Street, between Condé (now Chartres) and Royal, the correct location for the business office described above.⁶² This entry includes tallies denoting three white males over the age of 45 (two of which

Marcos Tio (1856), Orleans Parish Second District Court docket no. 29,338, New Orleans Public Library.

In the act of procuration, Francisco Tio appoints "Sieur Joseph Marcos Tio, living in the territory of West Florida, the town of Pensacola," as his legal representative for all business and legal affairs there, specifically to oppose the construction of a new street through Francisco's bayfront lot between the extant Basin and Saragossa Streets.

60. Kendall, 1:110-11.

61. Marriage Contract, Louis Hazeur and Louise Renette Mandeville.

62. Federal Census, 1820, L3:71. Street numbers were not given in census reports.

must refer to Marcos and Francisco) and three slaves. As in the case of the 1810 Federal Census, it appears likely in view of the political and cultural atmosphere in New Orleans that both Marcos and Francisco may have reported the business address as their household in order to appear separate from their free-colored families. Francisco's wife, Joséphine Macarty, is listed as head of her own household some distance further from the river on St. Ann Street. The census records do not seem to include listings for Victoire Wiltz or the other members of the Tio family, nor is there an entry for the Hazeur plantation.⁶³

In the early 1820s mayor Louis Philippe de Roffignac brought many civic improvements to New Orleans, such as the planting of trees in the Place d'Armes, in the Place Congo (a public gathering place for slaves, now part of Louis Armstrong Park), and on the river levee. He authorized

63. Ibid., 73. Early census records present several persistent problems for research. For example, the enumerators recorded the name of only the designated head of household, and failed to count some residents because they were away from home when the enumerator called. The latter may have been the case in 1820 for Victoire Wiltz. On the other hand, there is also the possibility of a faulty report arising from mistakes on the part of the enumerator or the resident with whom he spoke. In the 1820 Census, on the sheets that covered the present-day 900 block of St. Philip Street, there appears an entry for a "Victor Willis," free man of color, with a household of several free people of color. Whether this could be an incorrect listing for Victoire is only a possibility. Accurate census records were probably more difficult for workers to obtain in rural areas than in cities, and perhaps not unexpectedly the Hazeur plantation appears to have been omitted from the 1820 census.

cobblestone paving on principal streets and the installation of large lamps on many street corners. The city continued to serve as an important commercial center, both for trade with western states via the Mississippi River and for shipping across the Gulf of Mexico.⁶⁴

Marcos and Francisco Tio engaged in trade with Mexican firms during this period,⁶⁵ and they may have also had dealings in Haiti, a possibility suggested by the fact that Marcos's second son, Louis, traveled there in the summer of 1821. How long Louis may have stayed in Port au Prince remains unknown, but he returned to New Orleans aboard the schooner *Luminary*, which docked in New Orleans on 17 August.⁶⁶ Listed in the ship's register as "Ls. Marcos Teo," a 22 year-old shoemaker whose residence was New Orleans, he had sailed with a group of seven New Orleanians, all young men of the artisan class. The party included

64. Kendall, 1:115-17.

65. Shipping Contract, Francisco Tio and F. Gallico (of Veracruz, Mexico), Christoval de Armas, n.p., 21 November 1821, Orleans Parish Archives.

66. Milton P. Rieder, Jr. and Norma Gaudet Rieder, eds., *New Orleans Ship Lists, Vol. 2: 1821-1823* (Metairie: Rieder, 1968), 7. Ship captain was Thomas Williams. The names, ages, and occupations of the passengers appear as follows: "John B. Quinones, 30, hair dresser; N. G. Santacruz, 21, tailor; Jean P. Menard, 24, peddler; John B. Sulcain, 26, sailmaker; Lewis Coucy [Louis Coussy], 19, cabinet maker; Ls. Marcos Teo, 22, shoemaker; Chas. Vincent, 24, shoemaker."

Louis Coussy (1800-1834), a cabinet maker who later married Julie Marcos Tio.⁶⁷

Marcos Tio was 68 years old in 1822, and by that spring his health had begun to fail. He convalesced at the St. Philip Street residence of Victoire Wiltz, and it was there, on 19 March, that he dictated his will to notary Christoval de Armas.⁶⁸ At that time, the elder Tio owned several properties within the city, which he bequeathed to his heirs. To Francisco Tio he left the business firm, including the building on St. Ann Street and all its effects. To "Tina" Macarty, whom he identified as "the daughter of Victoire Wiltz, and also a free mulatto" (thus it appears that the name "Tina" was a pseudonym used by Joséphine Macarty), he left a house and lot on Burgundy Street between Conti and Bienville. Tio also owned a group of buildings that stood on two lots at the corner of Orleans and Bourbon Streets; this property he left in equal shares

67. Marriage Contract, Louis Coussy and Julie Marcos Tio, Joseph Arnaud, n.p., 15 September 1827, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. Coussy had been born in Port au Prince to Monsieur Louis Coussy and Iphegenie Carriesse, a free woman of color. He immigrated to New Orleans with his mother, perhaps among the refugees of 1809. Iphegenie Carriesse resided in New Orleans at 147 Royal Street (the 1822 city directory lists her at that address as "Miss Fugeny Carriesse").

68. Will of Marcos Tio. Tio may have already been living with Victoire Wiltz. The final sentence of his will reads: "The testament was made in the city of New Orleans in the residence of the testator, property of Victoire Wiltz, situated in the city on St. Philip Street between Dauphine and Burgundy on 19 March 1822" (emphasis added).

to his own seven children, with the condition that it not be split for sale until the youngest, Magdeleine (then five years old), came of age. In the interim any rent from the property was to be collected by Victoire Wiltz.⁶⁹

Despite poor health, Marcos Tio lived for over a year after he made his will, presumably at the St. Philip Street house. He died in the autumn of 1823, and his testament was copied into the books of the city Recorder of Wills on 2 December that year.

The 1823 city directory is the earliest such volume to contain entries for the members of Marcos Tio's family. Francisco Tio is listed at the St. Ann Street business office; Victoire Wiltz and Joséphine Macarty both appear as residents of 155 St. Philip Street; and Louis Marcos Tio, then about 24 years old, is listed as a *cordonnier*, or shoemaker, at 252 Burgundy Street, which was probably the same property that Marcos had willed to Tina (Joséphine) Macarty. In addition to the Tios, Louis Hazeur is shown as a carpenter, residing at 39 St. Antoine Street, in the Faubourg Marigny (the Creole district, situated between Esplanade and Enghein Avenues).⁷¹

69. Ibid.

70. City directory, 1823.

71. Ibid. Louis Marcos Tio's name appears as "Marcostio, Louis."

Louis Marcos Tio established himself as an artisan/businessman during the 1820s. Beginning as a shoemaker, by 1830 he had become a grocer and real estate owner.⁷² The first example of his financial independence is a notarial act of sale for a lot at the corner of Dauphine and Dumaine streets (now 901-903 Dauphine Street). The transaction took place on 14 February 1826, and Tio purchased the property from Isabelle Fanchon, a free woman of color, at a price of 750 piastres, which he paid in cash.⁷³

The following year, Louis Marcos Tio married Malthide Hazeur (c1804-1877), the second daughter of Antoine Hiacinthe Hazeur and Jeanette Favre.⁷⁴ Like many Creoles of color, Louis and Malthide were united by a marriage contract. On 3 May 1827, they met, along with several members of Malthide's immediate family, in the office of notary public Joseph Arnaud where they stated their

72. City directory, 1830. Tio is listed herein as "Marcos Tio, Louis, grocer, 78 Craps corner Bagatelle" (a Faubourg Marigny location, now Burgundy and Pauger Streets, respectively).

73. Sale of Property, Fanchon to Tio, Marc Lafitte, n.p., 23 August 1826, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. An earlier transaction may have helped Tio finance this purchase. The previous January he had sold his share of his father's Orleans Street property to his mother for 800 piastres (Sale of Property, Tio to Wiltz, Christoval de Armas, n.p., 17 January 1826, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives).

74. Marriage Contract, Louis Marcos Tio and Malthide Hazeur, Joseph Arnaud, n.p., 3 May 1827, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. Witnesses were Josephine Hazeur, Pamela [née Marie Antoinette] Hazeur, and Pierre Favéillo Hazeur.

intentions and listed the wealth that each brought to the union. For his part, Louis contributed \$1500; \$1000 in the form of his "grounds and house at the corner of Dumaine and Dauphine," and \$500 in currency. Malthide's dowry also amounted to \$1500. She held \$1000 in currency and the remainder was in the form of a trousseau of household goods that had been given to the couple by their mutual friends. The trousseau included such items as a bed, bedroom furnishings, a pair of tables and a dozen chairs, six silver table settings, and a mirror. The contract indicates that the couple moved into the house on Dumaine Street.⁷⁵

On 15 September 1827 Louis Marcos Tio's sister Julie married his friend Louis Coussy.⁷⁶ Like her brother, Julie was married via contract by Joseph Arnaud. The combined wealth of this couple was \$4000; it included Julie's trousseau and property in the new Faubourg Tremé (the area now bounded by North Rampart Street, St. Bernard Avenue, North Broad Street, and Canal Street). Louis owned one lot on Tremé Street (now Derbigny), and Julie owned another at

75. Ibid. The city directory of 1827 shows no entry for Louis Marcos Tio. Although in general the directories of the day appear inconsistent with regard to inclusion of free persons of color, the 1827 directory does list "Mademoiselle Victoire Wiltz" at 155 St. Philip Street.

76. Marriage Contract, Louis Coussy and Julie Marcos Tio. This contract ceremony took place in the home of Victoire Wiltz.

79 St. Claude Street, near the corner of St. Philip, where the couple soon took up residence.⁷⁷

Louis Coussy pursued a career as a carpenter within the Creole-of-color society. He and Julie had several children over the next few years, two of whom, Louis and Rosella, lived beyond infancy.⁷⁸

Louis Marcos Tio and his wife, Malthide, began having children themselves in 1828, with the birth of a son, Thomas.⁷⁹ On 23 December of that same year, perhaps in order to have domestic help for the care of a new baby, Louis purchased a female slave from his half-sister, Joséphine Macarty.⁸⁰

77. Ibid.; City directory, 1832 and 1835.

78. Toledano and Christovich, *Faubourg Tremé*, 194; Will of Victoire Marcos Tio, Louis Feraud, n.p., 18 March 1837, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives (this source names Julie's children). Also, the 1830 census lists a Lewis Coussi [sic], white, head of a household that included three children under the age of five. Considering that this entry appears on the pages that cover the Faubourg Tremé and that the possibility exists that the family could have "passed" for white, this tally would indicate that the Coussys had more than two babies (Federal Census, 1830, 45:8).

79. Donation of Property, Hazeur to Tio, Theodore Seghers, n.p., 29 June 1835, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. This source lists the children of Malthide Hazeur Tio and gives their ages. Following the family custom, Thomas used his father's entire name as his middle names.

80. Sale of Slave, Macarty to Tio, Joseph Arnaud, n.p., 23 December 1828, Orleans Parish Archives. The girl, named "Molly, alias Melita," was about 18 years old.

In 1830 the United States government conducted another national census, but again not all of the Tios or Hazeurs were included in the reports. While Francisco Tio, Louis Coussy, and Louis Hazeur appear as heads of households in New Orleans, no entry was made for households under the names of Victoire Wiltz or Louis Marcos Tio.⁸¹

The family of Joseph Marcos Tio appears listed in the report for Escambia County (Pensacola), Florida. As noted above, Joseph had moved to Pensacola by February 1826, and his family seems to have joined him by the summer of 1830, when the census was conducted. He is listed in the census report as Joseph M. Tio, head of a household of eight free

81. One household listed in the census report for New Orleans may in fact refer to the family of Louis Marcos Tio. The section of the report covering addresses in the area of Dauphine and Dumaine Streets includes an entry for a "Theodule" Tio, which name appears in no other source considered in this study (Federal Census, 1830, 45:224).

This family consisted of one free man of color between the ages of 24 and 36 (Theodule), one free woman of color between 10 and 24, one free colored male under 10, one free woman of color between 55 and 100, and one female slave between 10 and 24. Census reports were made in the summer months, and the count for the family of Theodule Tio corresponds closely to the make-up of Louis Marcos Tio's family in mid-1830: Louis was about 30 years old, Malthide was about 26, Thomas was two, and the slave Molly was perhaps 20. Also, Victoire Wiltz was about 53, and Malthide's mother Jeannette Favre, if still living, could well have been over 55; neither appeared elsewhere in the census, and either might have been living with the young couple (although street addresses were not given in the census reports, names on p. 224 of the Orleans Parish report have been checked with listings in the 1830 city directory, and most were found to reside on Dauphine Street near the corner of Dumaine Street).

people of color and owner of three slaves.⁸² Later documents, concerning the settlement of his estate, indicate that Tio had entered into a common-law marriage with Jeanne Maole, a free woman of color from New Orleans, sometime in the late 1810s, and that at least five of their seven children were born before 1830.⁸³

According to the census rolls for New Orleans, the household of Louis Hazeur included several children, some of whom may have been the issue of his first marriage.⁸⁴ On 13 April 1828, he had married his second wife, Marguerite Avril Robin de Logny (d. c1835), a free woman of color. Marguerite bore Louis two daughters before she died, Marguerite Athénaïs in 1830, and Marguerite Hortensia in 1834. Athénaïs Hazeur (d. 1903) married Thomas Louis Marcos Tio in 1856, thus reinforcing the bonds between the Tio and Hazeur families.⁸⁵

82. Federal Census, 1830, 15:55. As with all United States census reports before 1850, only heads of households are named.

83. Succession of Joseph Marcos Tio (1856); Inventory of Victoire Wiltz, Amedée Ducatel, n.p., 26 July 1848, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. Joseph's children were: Augustin Joseph "Gustave", b. c1818; Marcos Joseph "Pepillo", b. c1820; Victoire Magdeleine, b. 1822; Clement Joseph, b. c1825; Josephine Joseph, b. 1830; Aimée Joseph, b. 1832; and Pauline, b. 1834.

84. Federal Census, 1830, 45:20.

85. Donation, Robin [de Logny Hazeur] to Louis Hazeur, Charles Janin, n.p., 19 April 1828, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives; Marriage Contract, Louis Hazeur and Sylvanie Magdeleine Brochet, Carlile Pollock, n.p., 14 June 1837, Orleans Parish Archives. The 1837 marriage contract

By 1830, Louis Marcos Tio worked as a grocer at 78 Craps Street, on the corner of Bagatelle Street, a location in the Faubourg Marigny at which a prominent grocer, Jean Baptiste Azereto, owned property. Although Azereto himself operated a separate grocery at 163 Levee Street, Tio may have been his employee or tenant.⁸⁶ On 6 September 1830, Tio's young family was augmented by the birth of a daughter named Josephine Antoinette (d. 1894),⁸⁷ and other changes were in store. In the autumn of 1831 the Tios moved from Dauphine Street to the Faubourg Tremé, next door to the Coussy family. On 8 October Louis sold his property, which brought a price of \$2400.⁸⁸ Sixteen days later he bought a lot and house on St. Claude Street from his younger brother, Jean Marcos Tio, for \$1100.⁸⁹ Jean had owned the lot since

states that Hazeur is a widower, and lists the two children of his previous marriage to Marguerite de Logny, deceased.

86. City directory, 1830-34; Roulhac Toledano, Sally Kittredge Evans, and Mary Louise Christovich, *The Creole Faubourgs, New Orleans Architecture*, vol. 4 (Gretna: Pelican, 1974), 99-101.

87. Extract of Baptismal Record from St. Louis Church, Josephine [Antoinette] Tio, baptized 28 September 1830, Hazeur family papers, held by Rose Tio Winn, photostat in author's possession.

88. Sale of Property, Tio to Forrestier, Felix de Armas, n.p., 8 October 1831, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives.

89. Sale of Property, Tio to Tio, Theodore Seghers, n.p., 24 October 1831, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. This property formed one-half of a large lot Jean and Julie Tio had purchased together in 1825 and subsequently split.

1825, and he built the house and outbuildings on it.⁹⁰ The act of sale describes the main house as "brick between posts"; thus it was a typical Creole cottage, similar to the home of Victoire Wiltz. It stood closer to St. Philip Street than the Coussy residence, between their house and the corner house.⁹¹

Louis and Malthide had another baby in 1832, a son whom they named Marc Louis. This child seems to have died before reaching maturity, however, as his name is absent from any documents after 1835, including an 1850 family meeting of the children of Louis Marcos Tio (held in connection with the succession of Victoire Wiltz).⁹²

Relations between the white and free-colored populations of New Orleans deteriorated in the decades leading to the Civil War. The state legislature of 1830 passed a series of laws designed to restrict the activities of the so-called *gens de couleur libres* (who then numbered about 12,000), primarily because of widespread white fears

90. From the explicit statement in the document that "the house was built by the present seller," it seems that Jean Marcos Tio, about whom little is known, may have been a carpenter. The youngest son of Marcos Tio, Mariano, was a carpenter, as were many other free men of color.

91. The Coussys were listed in the 1835 city directory at 79 St. Claude Street. Street numbers on this block ascended from the corner of Dumaine to the corner of St. Philip Street. Both families lived on the northwest, or lake, side of St. Claude.

92. Family Meeting of Tio Minors, Amedée Ducatel, n.p., 30 October 1850, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives.

that free blacks might incite unrest among slaves.⁹³ Laws such as the one forcing free people of color who had entered Louisiana after 1825 to leave the state within sixty days made it necessary for all to be able to prove their freedom and residency upon any challenge. Those who had entered between 1812 (the year Louisiana became a state) and 1825 were required to sign a register in the Mayor's office. Because their ancestors had come to Louisiana in colonial times, the Tios and Hazeurs were exempt from registration, but the public harrassment of their social class was a fact of everyday life.

By 1834, Louis Marcos Tio had moved his grocery enterprise a few blocks, to 200 Grands Hommes (now Dauphine) Street, also in the Faubourg Marigny. The 1834 city directory lists both Tio and J. L. Dolliole as grocers at this address. Dolliole belonged to a large Creole-of-color family that included several prominent building contractors. Tio and Dolliole operated their grocery through 1835.⁹⁴

The mid-1830s brought hard times to the personal lives of the Tios. Julie Marcos Tio and her husband Louis Coussy divorced in the spring of 1834, and Coussy fell ill and died

93. Toledano, Evans, and Christovich, 97-99.

94. City directory, 1834 and 1835; Toledano and Christovich, 91-92. Tio remained at the Craps Street location at least to 1832. The 1832 directory lists him as "Marcos T. L, grocer, Craps c. Bagatelle" (punctuation follows the source).

that August.⁹⁵ Within a year of Coussy's death, Julie herself fell ill, and was taken to her mother's house on St. Philip Street. She died on the afternoon of 9 November 1835, leaving her children, Louis and Rosella, orphans.⁹⁶

Although Malthide Hazeur Tio gave birth to her fourth child, a daughter named Clementine Marcos Tio (d. 1873), in 1835,⁹⁷ she, too, experienced marital difficulties during this period. She seems to have begun an effort to establish separate ownership of property in 1835, when she acted singly in accepting a gift of real estate from her older sister, Josephine.⁹⁸ The problems intensified the

95. Settlement of Community Property, Coussy and Tio, Louis Feraud, n.p., 2 July 1834, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives; Succession of Louis Coussy, Theodore Seghers, n.p., 3 September 1834, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. In the divorce, Julie retained possession of the house on St. Claude Street and \$880 in cash. Louis Coussy was left with stock in the Railroad Company of Lake Pontchartrain.

96. Death Certificate, Julie Marcos Tio, 10 November 1835, New Orleans Department of Health. The children were placed in the care of Francisco Tio.

97. Death Certificate, Clementine Tio, 27 September 1873, New Orleans Department of Health.

98. Donation of Property, Hazeur to Tio, Theodore Seghers, n.p., 29 July 1835. Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. Josephine donated the property, a vacant lot on the corner of Josephine (now North Prieur) and Independence Streets (east of the Faubourg Marigny), to Malthide's four minor children. Financial control of the lot was specifically assigned to Malthide as their representative. Louis Marcos Tio was not present for the act, nor does the document contain any reference to him. Malthide, who previously had consistently included the surname Tio in her signature, this time signed simply "Malthide Hazeur."

following year, as Malthide supported her brother Pierre Favélllo Hazeur in a court suit against Louis Marcos Tio.⁹⁹

Pierre Favélllo, acting as agent for an out-of-town businessman, sued Tio in order to recover a delinquent debt. On 2 May 1836 New Orleans Civil District Court Judge Alexandre Laneuville authorized the city marshall to seize Tio's St. Claude Street property (as well as another lot he owned on St. Anthony Street) and to sell it at a public auction. When the auction took place (9 June 1836), Pierre Favélllo and Malthide bid jointly and purchased the St. Claude Street property for \$3000.¹⁰⁰ Apparently fearing such a development, Louis Marcos Tio had earlier instructed his legal counsel to oppose "the projects and executions of Mathilde [sic] Hazeur, wife separated in goods from the constituent."¹⁰¹

99. Sale of Property, Hazeur to de Santos, Amedée Ducatel, n.p., 12 August 1837, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. This documents refers to the Civil District Court suit, "P. F. Hazeur (agent of Charles Francioli) v. Louis Marcos Tio." See also Legal Advertisement, New Orleans Bee, 9 May 1836.

100. Ibid. Pierre Favélllo mortgaged his house in order to contribute \$1500 to the bid; Malthide matched the amount in cash. Thirteen months later, when they sold the property to de Santos, the proceeds (again \$3000) were divided evenly.

101. Act of Procuration, Tio to Chon, Louis Feraud, n.p., 31 May 1836, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. Although the document reads "wife separated in goods," there is no indication that Malthide and Louis had ceased to live together. Julie Marcos Tio's property settlement made it clear that she and Louis Coussy were "separate in

During the very time that Louis Marcos Tio was involved in litigation, his youngest sister, Magdeleine Marcos Tio, passed away. Barely nineteen years old, she had been living at home with her mother, Victoire Wiltz, and died (of unknown cause, possibly yellow fever or malaria) there on 20 May 1836.¹⁰²

The following year brought further hardship to the Tio family. In the spring of 1837, Victoire Marcos Tio, the remaining sister of Louis Marcos, fell extremely ill and was confined to a bed at her mother's home. On 18 March she made out her will, in which she bequeathed most of her wealth to her mother and to the orphaned children of Julie Marcos Tio.¹⁰³ She died on 18 June 1837 and an obituary appeared in the *New Orleans Bee* four days later. In the form of a brief open letter signed "UNE

body and goods" (emphasis added). As for the spelling of Malthide's name, from this time on it usually appears as "Mathilde," although her signature retains the earlier spelling, "Malthide." This act mentions an impending period of "detainment" for Louis Marcos Tio, but does not specify its nature.

102. Death Certificate, Magdeleine Tio, 20 May 1836, New Orleans Department of Health.

103. Will of Victoire Marcos Tio, Louis Feraud, n.p., 18 March 1837, revised 15 June 1837 (registered 20 June 1837), Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. Victoire's estate included her house on Dumaine Street (in the same block as that of Julie Marcos Tio Coussy and Louis Marcos Tio), several other properties, and one female slave named Tabitte. The fact that she dictated the will to notary Louis Feraud through an open window, while she lay in bed and he stood outside on the walk, suggests that Victoire may have suffered from a contagious disease.

AMIE," it eulogized "Aglée Marcos Tio," a name that must have been a pseudonym for Victoire.¹⁰⁴

Within ten weeks of his sister's death, Louis Marcos Tio's older brother, Joseph, died of unknown cause in the Tabasco province of Mexico (27 August 1837).¹⁰⁵ Joseph had been in Mexico for some time in business with Francisco Tio, and his net worth at the time he died was judged to have exceeded \$60,000. Joseph died intestate, and since his had been a common-law marriage to Jeanne Maole, his seven children were not considered forced heirs. Thus Francisco Tio was able to assume control of the estate, which he did quickly, sending an employee to Tabasco in November 1837 to liquidate assets. Eighteen years later, Joseph's children sued for their rightful inheritance and the official recognition of their paternity, both of which they were granted by the Civil District Court in a decision that withstood Francisco's subsequent countersuit.¹⁰⁶

104. Death Certificate, Victoire Marcos Tio, 19 June 1837, New Orleans Department of Health; Obituary of Aglaée Marcos Tio, New Orleans Bee, 22 June 1837. Outbreaks of diseases such as yellow fever were an annual occurrence in New Orleans. Deaths from yellow fever in particular usually began in late May and continued through the summer. However, the virus ran a quick course, and Victoire Tio seems to have been seriously ill for at least three months prior to her death.

105. Succession of Joseph Marcos Tio.

106. Ibid. Joseph's children are named above; see note 81.

These years seem to have been somewhat happier for the Hazeur family. Although Antoine Hiacinthe Hazeur died in about 1833, he had previously assigned ownership of his plantation to his free-colored children, specifically to the three sons who worked the land: Thomas, Sylvain, and Jean Baptiste. In addition to land and buildings, Antoine's estate included ten slaves, four of whom were born at the plantation.¹⁰⁷ The elder Hazeur (he was 75 years old in 1828) enjoyed a close relationship with his children; in the notarial act describing the donation he states his appreciation for the care he and Jeanette Favre received from their sons.

On 14 June 1837, widower Louis Hazeur (eldest son of Antoine) married free woman of color Magdeleine Sylvanie Brochet (1810-1874).¹⁰⁸ Louis continued in the carpentry business, and his wife moved in with him at 47 St. Anthony Street, where he lived with his two young daughters,

107. Sale of Property, Hazeur to Hazeur, Louis T. Caire, n.p., 25 August 1828, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives; Donation, Hazeur to Hazeur, Louis T. Caire, n.p., 14 September 1829, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives.

108. Marriage Contract, Louis Hazeur to Magdeleine Sylvanie Brochet; city directory, 1822-52. A number of records in the Orleans Parish Notarial Archives pertain to the activities of the other Hazeur brothers; for example, the carpenters Pierre Favélllo and Pierre Favre bought and sold several pieces of property, and Thomas Hiacinthe, who lived on the Metairie plantation, sold a 31-year-old slave, Catherine, to a man from New Orleans (Sale of Slave, Hazeur to Tricou, Carlile Pollack, n.p., 10 May 1837). See also the notarial books of L. T. Caire, Theodore Seghers, and Louis Feraud, *passim*.

Athénaïs and Hortensia. The new family continued to reside there through the 1840s.

On 3 May 1838, the eleventh anniversary of their marriage, Malthide Hazeur brought her own legal suit against Louis Marcos Tio. She went before parish court judge Charles Maurian to recover her \$1500 dowry from the community property of the marriage. Her petition, in part, reads as follows:

For some time past the affairs of said Louis Marcos Tio have been in the greatest disorder, suits have been brought against him and his property seized and sold, from which state of things your petitioner has just reason to apprehend that his estate will not be sufficient to meet her just claims and demands.¹⁰⁹

City Marshall Bazile Beauregard testified in behalf of Malthide that, after serving the 1836 writ of seizure, he had reason to believe that the defendant was in "failing circumstances" and poor health. Judgment in the new case came on 19 November 1838:

The Court . . . being fully satisfied that the affairs of the defendant are in such a state as may endanger her right, and . . . [that the plaintiff] has brought to the marriage a dowry of fifteen hundred dollars, which has been acquired by the defendant; it is ordered, adjudged and decreed that judgment be entered in favor of the plaintiff against the defendant, that the parties be separate in property, and that the plaintiff do recover the sum of fifteen hundred dollars with interest, court costs, etc.¹¹⁰

109. "Hazeur v. Tio" (1838), Parish Court of New Orleans docket no. 11,022, New Orleans Public Library. The petition was written by Malthide's counsel, A. Murphy.

110. Ibid., Judgment, 19 November 1838.

The language of the court documents (i.e., "separate in property") again suggests the possibility that Louis and Malthide were not bodily separated. Indeed, this suit may have been their concerted attempt to ensure that Louis's heirs would receive an inheritance free of lien.

Louis Marcos Tio lived for several years after the court case was closed. The only document that refers to his death comes from the 1848 succession of his mother Victoire Wiltz, and it is a petition written by his nephew Clement Joseph Tio. Clement states that Victoire's second son, "Louis Marquette," died "four years ago," or in 1844.¹¹¹ The number of Victoire's surviving children had already been reduced by the death, on 29 May 1840, of her youngest son, Mariano. Mariano Marcos Tio, then a 38-year-old carpenter, never married.¹¹² It is unclear how many siblings outlived him. In addition to Louis, Jean Marcos Tio may have remained living as of 1840. No record of his death has surfaced; it is possible that he left New Orleans during the 1830s.

111. Inventory of Victoire Wiltz, Amedée Ducatel, n.p., 26 July 1848, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. Other than this petition, the above court case of 1838 constitutes the final reference to Louis Marcos Tio.

112. Death Certificate of Mariano Marcos Tio, 30 May 1840, New Orleans Department of Health. Although no cause was recorded on his death certificate, it was noted that he "departed this life suddenly, yesterday . . . at 3:00 P.M. at the domicile of his mother."

Thus in 1840 the Tio family consisted of the matriarch Victoire Wiltz, her daughter Joséphine Macarty (who was married to Francisco Tio), two sons (one unaccounted for), and a host of grandchildren. The grandchildren descended from Marcos Tio numbered twelve; seven belonging to Joseph, two to Julie, and three to Louis. These last three, Thomas, Antoinette, and Clementine, were more closely associated with the family of their mother, Malthide Hazeur. As for the Hazeurs, in 1840 three of Malthide's brothers and one sister resided on their plantation, and three other brothers lived in the city of New Orleans, including the musician/carpenter Louis Hazeur. Malthide's younger sister, Antoinette, was married to New Orleans businessman Maurice Doublet;¹¹³ their descendants became prominent violinists in the late-nineteenth-century Creole-of-color society.

The early history of the family of Thomas Louis Marcos Tio shows that the later musicians were descended from relatively well-to-do free people of color with French, Spanish (Catalonian), and African forebears. Both of Thomas's grandfathers had achieved prominence; Antoine Hiacinthe Hazeur commanded a French Army regiment and Marcos Tio built a successful brokerage enterprise. Their offspring, Creoles of color, owned property (including real estate and

113. Will of Maurice Doublet, Achille Chiapelle, n.p., 8 December 1842 (registered 28 February 1843), Orleans Parish Notarial Archives.

slaves), served in the military, and pursued their own business ventures. Although the late 1830s witnessed a decline in the Tio family, Thomas's father, Louis Marcos Tio, had been a grocer wealthy enough to own houses and several lots in new faubourgs. His uncle (and later, father-in-law) Louis Hazeur had served as a musician/officer in a military band, and had established himself as a carpenter. As the century progressed and the Civil War drew near, the Tios and Hazeurs found life increasingly difficult on a social level, but their relative social prominence and involvement in such activities as music eventually allowed them a more tolerable position than that of many Creoles of color in New Orleans.

CHAPTER 2
LOUIS HAZEUR, THE SIEGE OF NEW ORLEANS,
AND THE MUSIC OF THE GENS
DE COULEUR LIBRES

From 16 December 1814 to 25 March 1815, Louis Hazeur and the 352 other Louisianians 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.¹ According to the muster and pay rolls compiled subsequent to the armed hostilities, the battalion consisted of six companies (each with a strength of about fifty men), staff officers, and a small "band of music."² Major Pierre

1. McConnell, 67; Powell A. Casey, *Louisiana in the War of 1812* (Baton Rouge: the author, 1963), 33-36; Compiled Military Service Record of Ls. Hazeur, Record Group 94, Records of the Office of the Adjutant General, National Archives.

2. *Ibid.*, 60. 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 is

Lacoste, a white plantation owner, commanded the unit with the assistance of Second Major Vincent Populus, ranking officer among the free-colored soldiers. In general, the volunteers who made up the First Battalion of Free Men of Color lived in the vicinity of New Orleans, and the preponderance of French surnames on the unit's roster suggests that the majority were, more specifically, Creoles of color.³

The personnel of the headquarters company (the "Field Staff, Non-Commissioned Staff, and Band") of the battalion included three "senior musicians" and eight "musicians."

entitled, "Field Staff, Non-Commissioned Staff, and Band." The six company rolls are headed by captain's names; e.g., "Capt. Antoine Diesse's Company of Men of Color, 1 Battalion, Louisiana Militia."

The Louisiana legislature authorized the creation of the battalion in September 1812 (*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). The act specified four companies of 64 men each, but two more were formed prior to the British siege. Personnel was restricted to native free men of color who had paid state tax and for two years had been owners (or sons of owners) of real estate worth at least \$300.

The date of Louis Hazeur's initial enrollment in the militia battalion is unknown, as the United States Army muster rolls of March 1815 are the earliest surviving documents to report names of militiamen.

3. McConnell, 67-68; Casey, lxii-lxiii; 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). The names given in these sources are drawn from the muster and pay rolls for the First Battalion of Free Men of Color (see note 2, above).

The senior musicians (one of whom probably served as bandmaster) were Louis Hazeur, Barthelemi Campanell, and Etienne Larrieu. The musicians, bandsmen, were Elie Beroché, Celestin Bizot, Louis Charlot, Michel Debergue, Raymond Gaillard, Emelian Larrieu, Emile Tremé, and Felix Tremé.⁴

The band of the First Battalion of Free Men of Color was the second-largest music ensemble attached to the American forces defending New Orleans, one of two "bands of music."⁵ The other was part of Major Jean Baptiste Plauché's "Battalion d'Orléans," the regular (white) militia unit of the city, and it consisted of about twenty musicians.⁶ Because the regulations concerning the

4. Index to the Compiled Service Records *passim*. This index 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. See Compiled Service Records of Louis Hazeur, Barthelemi Campanell, Etienne Larrieu, Elie Beroché, Celestin Bizot, Louis Charlot, Michel Debergue, Raymond Gaillard, Emelian Larrieu, Emile Tremé, and Felix Tremé, Jean Baptiste, François Crepin, Henry Paul, and Raymond Ventourine (Record Group 94, National Archives).

5. 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*.

6. Casey, lix-lxi. See also Ronald R. Morazon, *Biographical Sketches of the Veterans of the Battalion of Orleans, 1814-1815* (N.p.: The Legacy Press, 1979).

structure of the state militia made no provision for full-scale bands, it appears probable that the normal operation of these groups (before and after federal service) was financed by the gentlemen officers in charge of their units, a practice not uncommon in military organizations of the day.⁷

The state militia regulations, drafted in 1812 and patterned after those of the federal War Department, did stipulate that each unit be provided with so-called "field music," the fife-and-drum signals necessary to the logistics 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.⁸

It is unclear whether the First Battalion of Free Men of Color employed a full complement of field musicians, as the rolls for its six companies do not reflect a consistent pattern. Two company rosters each include two men listed as "musicians," two rosters show only one "musician" (more specific labels do not appear), and the two remaining

7. Camus, *Military Music*, 21-23.

8. *Acts Passed at the Second Session of the First Legislature of the State of Louisiana* (New Orleans: n.p., 1813), 48, 68.

company rosters omit the designation entirely.⁹ Although it is possible that not every company enjoyed the luxury of having a fifer,¹⁰ drum signals were considered an absolute necessity, and it is doubtful that such duty could have actually gone unfilled. Those men designated on the company rolls as field musicians for the First Battalion of Free Men of Color were Jean Baptiste, François Crepin, Henry Paul, Raimond Ventourine, and Emelian and Etienne Larrieu.¹¹

As noted above, the names of Emelian and Etienne Larrieu also appear on the muster and pay rolls for the headquarters company. The pay rolls 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 the infantry company of Capt. Jean Ternoir and again (at the same rate, but for three months and nine days) as a "musician" in the headquarters

9. This tally is consequent to the examination of the Compiled Service Records of all soldiers holding the rank of musician in the First Battalion of Free Men of Color. See note 4, above, and note 11, below.

10. Camus, *Military Music*, 17. The fife was secondary in importance to the drum, and until the late 1700s it was not used as widely. For example, while the regular infantry companies of the British Army had employed drums since before 1700, fifers were authorized only for its grenadier (elite infantry) companies until about 1760.

11. Compiled Service Records of Jean Baptiste (Capt. Charles Porée's company), Henry Paul (Capt. Antoine Diesse's company), Emelian and Etienne Larrieu (Capt. Jean Ternoir's company), and François Crepin and Raimond Ventourine (Capt. Louis Simon's company).

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.¹² No authorization or explanation for such a 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 indicate 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 or drummer. Since 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).¹³

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 (neither is such data supplied for the band of the Battalion d'Orléans). A

12. Ibid., Compiled Service Records of Emelian Larrieu and Etienne Larrieu.

13. Typical duties of drum and fife majors are outlined in Camus, *Military Music*, 12-18; Camus also reports that since 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 "expected to continue to function as a company drummer" (p. 63).

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 derived from 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 surely modeled after those of France,¹⁴ which before the French Revolution (1789) consisted of eight to twelve pieces.¹⁵ During the late 1700s bands of this size, made up of pairs of wind instruments including oboes, clarinets, horns, bassoons, and sometimes serpents, flourished throughout Europe. Towards the end of the century, these so-called *harmonie* ensembles were expanded via the addition of Janissary percussion instruments, including drums, cymbals, and triangles.¹⁶ In *The Rise and Development of Military Music* (London, 1912), Henry George Farmer gave the

14. Henry Kmen, *Music in New Orleans: The Formative Years, 1791-1841* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966), 203.

15. 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.

16. Kappey, 88; Camus, 36.

following instrumentations, typical of European military bands near the turn of the nineteenth century (Fig. 1):¹⁷

FRANCE
(1795)
Corps d'Elite

1 Flute
6 Clarinets
3 Bassoons
1 Serpent
1 Trumpet
2 Horns
2 Drums, etc. [Bass
drum, Cymbals]

FRANCE
[c1790]
Line Regiments

1 Piccolo
4 Clarinets
2 Oboes
2 Bassoons
2 Horns
3 Drums, etc. [Bass drum,
Cymbals, Triangle]

ENGLAND
(1794)
Grenadier Guards

1 Flute
6 Clarinets
3 Bassoons
2 Serpents
1 Trumpet
3 Horns
Drums, etc.

PRUSSIA & AUSTRIA
(1800)
Line Regiments

2 Flutes
2-4 Clarinets
2 Oboes
2 Bassoons
2 Trumpets
2 Trombones
1 Serpent or Contrabassoon

Figure 1. Instrumentations of Military Bands, c1800.

17. 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 a l'usage des armées françaises* (Paris: Didot freres, 1848; repr., Geneva: Minkoff, 1973), 165, 168-69. Farmer refers simply to "Kastner." Both Farmer and Kastner attribute the instrumentation of the band of the French line regiments to "Fétis"; the source seems to be François-Joseph Fétis, *Manuel des compositeurs, directeurs de musique, chefs d'orchestre et de musique militaire* (Paris: Schlesinger, 1837), 94-95, 109-13.

At the time of the American Revolution (1776-1783), 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 shows that by the middle of the war, several bands were established. Those attached to infantry or artillery regiments generally conformed to the make-up of the *harmonie* ensemble, consisting of about eight musicians who played clarinets, oboes, French horns, and bassoons, in pairs. Some bands omitted oboes, utilizing a total of four clarinets instead.¹⁸ The Janissary instruments, although fashionable in Europe, did not gain currency in the United States until well after this period. However, other performance traditions brought from Europe held that many of the wind players doubled on string instruments and that the bands of music were required to entertain at various officers' functions, including concerts and dances.¹⁹

New Orleans had a strong musical heritage of its own by the time the First Battalion of Free Men of Color was

18. Camus, *Military Music*, 132-51 *passim*.

19. *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."

organized. Its first known opera performance (of Grétry's *Sylvain*) dates from 1796, and concerts, balls, and parades had long been commonplace.²⁰ 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 civic custom that survives to the present day.²¹ 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."²²

Most of the instruments considered above were available in New Orleans at the time of the battle with the

20. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans*, 58, and *passim*. The earliest extant concert program, of 17 December 1805, lists the overtures to Cherubini's *Demaphon* and Grétry's *Panurge*, for "full orchestra" (Kmen, 216).

21. A news item in the *Moniteur de la Louisiane* of 16 November 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, 115-17.

22. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans*, 226-45 *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).

British. In *Music in New Orleans: The Formative Years, 1791-1841*, Henry Kmen reports that he found 22 references to the clarinet in newspaper announcements for concerts dating before 1810; 13 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 as often; it was mentioned in only one such announcement (1813) before 1820.²³

In light of these considerations, a reasonable idea of the instrumentation 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. Since bandmasters usually performed, leading with their instruments,²⁴ this arrangement would bring the number of musicians in Lacoste's band to nine. Such a size suggests an instrumentation derived from the structure of the *harmonie* ensemble and similar to those of the American military bands of the late 1700s; i.e., pairs of oboes, clarinets, French horns, and bassoons. The presence of Janissary instruments seems unlikely, since they

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

24. Camus, *Military Music*, 23-24.

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 have carried four clarinets instead. This scheme accounts for eight instruments; the fact that one bandmember, Emelian Larrieu, also served as a company field musician suggests 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 the sake of good tuning, 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 c1790.²⁵

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

25. 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*, ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock and Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1986) 1:127-37.

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.²⁶ Kmen has written that wind instrumentalists "had a long tradition in New Orleans of playing dance music as well as street parades."²⁷

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 probably also took part in the intensified recruiting efforts, which included city-wide parading.²⁸

26. 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 (1828-1893), 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).

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

28. A parade of all militia troops took place on 21 August 1814 (McConnell, 60). Recruiting peaked in late October with the publication of Jackson's address "To the free-coloured inhabitants of Louisiana" (*Ibid.*, 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, FL: University of Florida Press, 1964), xxxi-xxxii [appendix].

The band of music almost certainly participated in the ceremonies welcoming General Jackson to the city:

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.²⁹

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.³⁰

By 16 December, 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, approximately 20

29. McConnell, 65. See also Latour, who states that all volunteer companies were commanded that day by Major Louis 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).

30. 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 among the citizenry the "devotion to dancing was epidemic" by the early 1800s (he identified over 80 sites for dancing established in New Orleans before 1841); he also points out that "Jackson" balls were held for many years after the siege, usually on 10 January (p. 7).

miles northeast of New Orleans. The unit left New Orleans for Chef Menteur along the Gentilly Road (now Gentilly Boulevard)³¹ at 4:00 A.M. the morning of 17 December.

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 22 December 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.³²

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. One day later, 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

31. For maps showing this and other locations within the city, see Appendix A.

32. McConnell, 65, 81. Powell A. Casey (see note 1, above) stated in an interview that "probably for morale purposes, the band would have played during the march whenever the troops stopped. I have the feeling that the musicians probably served as stretcher-bearers or in other support roles during the actual battles" (interview by the author, tape recording, 18 February 1991).

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.³³

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.³⁴ 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 1 January 1815:

About two hours before daybreak, a general stir would be observable 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.³⁵

33. Latour, 114-17; McConnell, 81.

34. McConnell, 115.

35. 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).

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.³⁶

American morale rose further on 28 December when the United States artillery completely shut down an early-morning attack by the British.³⁷ 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.³⁸

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

36. Ibid., 238.

37. McConnell, 82.

38. Walker, 254-55.

French character of Louisiana and New Orleans.³⁹ Before the festivities ended, however, the British attacked with artillery fire. Jackson's troops were completely surprised, but they quickly regained composure and engaged in battle. By 3:00 P.M., after a day of intense fighting, the Americans had emerged victorious.⁴⁰

The decisive battle came on 8 January 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

39. McConnell, 82-83; *New Orleans Tribune*, 15 September 1864; *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, 9 January 1851. In *Negro Musicians and Their Music* (Washington, DC: Associated, 1936), Maud Cuney-Hare wrote that

in the famous Battle of New Orleans, 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 26 December 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 appropriated it from the men of Major Louis d'Aquin's Second Battalion of Free Men of Color (four companies strong), most of whom were born in Santo Domingo. Modern sources offer no indication that the Second Battalion used the Bayou Road, as it was stationed on the "ligne Jackson" for the entirety of the siege.

40. McConnell, 83.

again, the Americans prevailed, and this time the British suffered more than 2,000 casualties, including the death of their commander, General Pakenham. The "Battle of New Orleans" was effectively over, although there were several skirmishes as the British retreated out of Louisiana.⁴¹

General Jackson kept the volunteer troops on alert, and the First Battalion of Free Men of Color remained camped at the battlefield until 19 January 1815, when a detachment from the unit was ordered to round up stragglers, including lost or runaway slaves.⁴²

Jackson's review of troops on 21 January 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.⁴³ 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 23 January 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

41. Ibid., 84-90.

42. Latour, 184-85.

43. McConnell, 91.

d'Armes under a specially-built triumphal arch.⁴⁴ The celebrations continued through that night, and the musicians of Lacoste's band most probably provided music for dancing revelers, if not as a unit then 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 5 March, 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 25 March 1815.⁴⁵ The duties of the band of music during February and March 1815 no doubt continued as before the new year; for example, music was probably needed for various entertainments and at the dismissal ceremonies.

The final muster and pay rolls show that the bandsmen served in the United States military for three months and nine days. For this service, the senior musicians received

44. Kendall, 1:106.

45. Latour, 204; McConnell, 96.

\$36.11, and the musicians received \$29.61.⁴⁶ For some time after the siege, those bandsmen who remained in New Orleans⁴⁷ most probably enjoyed a period of relative celebrity, particularly in their musical endeavors.

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), chamber musicians (for small entertainments and dances), and of course as bandsmen (for parades and other outdoor events).⁴⁸ 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, must have included the ability to read Western music notation). Certainly, as native Louisianians, by all accounts proud of their own Creole-of-color (thus

46. Compiled Service Records of Ls. Hazeur, Emelian Larrieu and Etienne Larrieu. The senior musicians were paid at a rate of \$11/month. Musicians received \$9/month; private soldiers \$8/month.

47. Beyond the military rolls, no records whatsoever have been found for Jean Baptiste, Elie Beroché, Louis Charlot, Celestin Bizot, Francois Crepin, Henry Paul, Emile Tremé, Felix Tremé, or Raimond Ventourine.

48. 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.

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 15 November 1815, and they participated as a unit in the civic celebration commemorating the first anniversary of the battle on 8 January 1816. However, interest in militia service declined in Louisiana over the next several years (as it did in the entire country), and documented references to activities of the battalion are few after that date.⁴⁹

Besides Louis Hazeur, at least five of Lacoste's musicians settled permanently in New Orleans: Barthelemy Campanell, Michel Debergue, Raymond Gaillard, Etienne Larrieu, and Emellan Larrieu. Since 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, but the following biographical

49. McConnell, 99. The United States Army rolls of 25 March 1815 are the only known sources to give the names of the rank and file soldiers, or to mention the band of music.

information gives a picture of the lives of Creole-of-color musicians in the antebellum period.

Barthelemi Campanell (c1793-1843), 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 1810.⁵⁰ 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 died during the 1830s, and he remarried in 1839 to Carmelite Laforesterie. The final reference to Campanell is a listing in the 1843 directory, which reports his address as "Port, near Goodchildren" (Goodchildren Street is now St. Claude Avenue).⁵¹

Michel Debergue (1795-1865), a cabinet maker by trade, belonged to a musically prominent Creole-of-color

50. City directory, 1822-43; Marriage Contract, Barthelemi Campanell and Madeleine Minette Siffrey, Marc Lafitte, n.p., 19 June 1822, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. The 1822 and 1823 directory entries read, "Campanell, B.[;] Campanell & Avine Hardware, 71 Levee." Campanell's 1822 marriage contract states that he was a partner of "Phillipe Avigno," and that he owned property worth \$16,000. The later directories list only Campanell as proprietor of the hardware store.

51. City directory, 1843; Marriage Contract, Barthelemi Campanell and Carmelite Laforesterie, Theodore Seghers, n.p., 17 April 1839, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. The spelling of Campanell's first name is taken from his signature, which appears on both marriage contracts.

family.⁵² 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 1840.⁵³ 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.⁵⁴

52. Family Meeting of Michel, Pauline, and Constantin Debergue (heirs of Constance Simon, their mother), Octave de Armas, n.p., 15 April 1835, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives.

53. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans*, 235-36; Sullivan, 54. Constantin Debergue's first wife, Rose Dumaine (Marriage Contract, Theodore Seghers, n.p., 29 March 1837, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives), died in 1845 (Obituary, *Courrier de la Louisiane*, 15 April 1845). He later married Micaelle Hazeur, possibly a cousin of Louis Hazeur, who survived him by three years (Obituary, *Widow C. Debergue*, *New Orleans Bee*, 19 December 1864).

54. Debergue Family Meeting; Federal Census, 1840, 134:158; Federal Census, 1850, 238:70. The 1840 Census report shows that in that year Debergue's household included 15 slaves in addition to his family. The 1850 census entry lists by name 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 Michel Debergue resided in turn on Marigny (1820s), Elysian Fields (1830s-1842), Spain (mid-1840s), Union (1849-58), and St. Claude (early 1860s) streets.

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 30 April 1865. The ship reached New Orleans on 14 May, and a mass was held for him at Annunciation Church on 7 June 1865.⁵⁵

Born on 25 October 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 (possibly consorts) and children under their roofs.⁵⁶

In 1824 the elder Gaillard, a shopkeeper, built a new cottage on the corner of St. Ann and Dauphine streets, in

55. Death Certificate, Joseph Michel Debergue, 12 June 1865, New Orleans Department of Health; "Marine News," *New Orleans Bee*, 13 May 1865; Obituary of Michel Debergue, *New Orleans Tribune*, 6 June 1865.

56. Baptismal Record of Raymond Gaillard in 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. 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 three free-colored children. By 1835, the Debergue family owned about 3/4 of the downriver side of the block of St. Ann Street between Bourbon and Dauphine (see Debergue Family Meeting).

which the mother of the musician Raymond Gaillard lived until the mid-1850s.⁵⁷

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 12 September 1864, at the age of 75.⁵⁸

The city directories of 1822 and 1823 list Etienne Larrieu (c1795-c1845) as a storekeeper on Toulouse Street. Possibly in partnership with Emelian Larrieu

57. 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.

58. Ibid.; Federal Census, 1850, 238:73; Obituary of Raymond Gaillard, *New Orleans Tribune*, 13 September 1864. The 1843 directory reports Gaillard's address as the corner of Frenchman and Goodchildren Streets. In the directories of 1851-53 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 \$4000, living with Marie Lajoie (a 35 year-old mulatto female) and four minors (all with the last name Gaillard).

(a situation requiring but one directory entry, for which the initial 'E' might suffice), he apparently continued as such until about 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."⁵⁹

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 eventually gone into carpentry (as a joiner), he lived at that address until his death in 1850.⁶⁰ In 1835, Emelian Larrieu legally married his common-law wife Roxane de Morant (1811-1852); 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

59. City directories, 1822-43. 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".

60. City directories, 1841-42; Death Certificate, Joseph Emelian Larrieu, 6 December 1850, New Orleans Department of Health.

that by the year he died Larrieu owned \$2500 worth of real estate.⁶¹

Although biographical information regarding Louis Hazeur (c1792-1860) has been presented above,⁶² a brief summary is appropriate here. The son of Chevalier Antoine Hazeur and (free woman of color) Jeanette Favre, Louis was born in Jamaica, probably 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, but after his own volunteer military service settled in the city of

61. Marriage Contract, Joseph Emelian Larrieu and Marianne François Roxane de Morant, Louis Feraud, n.p., 2 May 1835, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives; Federal Census, 1850, 235:16.

62. See Chapter 1, pp. 14-19, 30, 41-42.

63. Federal 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 or Brochet's given age can be correct; testimony from Brochet's succession (1874, Orleans Parish Second District Court docket no. 37,340, 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 are probably 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 possibility 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.

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 13 April 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 15 other veterans of the Siege of New Orleans a pension of \$8/month for two years. He and his wife, Sylvanie Brochet, continued to reside in the Faubourg Marigny during the 1850s, moving in about 1851 to Girod (now N. Villere) Street and later (c1854) 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

64. Marriage Contract, Louis Hazeur and Louise Renette Mandeville (1817); Donation, Marguerite Avril Robin [de Logny] to Louis Hazeur, Charles Janin, n.p., 19 April 1828, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives; Marriage Contract, Louis Hazeur and Magdeleine Sylvanie Brochet (1837). The 1837 marriage contract gives the names of Hazeur's daughters, Marguerite Athénaïs (b. 1830), and Marguerite Hortensia (b. 1834).

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. He appears in the 1858 city directory "Azur, Louis, Goodchildren c[orner] Morales."

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 (discussed below, see Chapter 3, pp. 99-109). He died at the colony on 6 November 1860, just six months after leaving New Orleans.⁶⁶

Although Louis Hazeur's precise duties with the First Battalion of Free Men of Color remain unclear, his position as a senior musician (along with Barthelemy Campanell and Etienne Larrieu) indicates that he served in one of three capacities: as drum major, fife major, or bandmaster. If, as the payrolls suggest, Etienne Larrieu doubled as a company (field) musician and as either fife or drum major, the probability that Hazeur was involved with the band of music increases. The oral history passed to his descendants holds that Hazeur played the clarinet,⁶⁷ an instrument

66. Memoir of Antoinette Louis Marcos Tio, [1877], Hazeur family papers, manuscript held by Mrs. Rose Tio Winn, photostat in author's possession.

Sylvanie Brochet stayed behind in New Orleans. She appears in Federal Census, 1860 (419:74) as a boarder in the household of Antoine St. Leger, a 25 year old mulatto male jeweller. In 1868, she signed a pension application by mark next to the name "Widow Louis Hazeur" (Pension Record of Louis Hazeur, Pension Records of the War of 1812 [Microfilm, n.d., Louisiana State Archives], 3:373). Brochet died destitute on 26 June 1874 in New Orleans, at the age of 64 (Succession of Sylvanie Brochet, 1874).

67. Rose Winn, interview, 11 May 1990. That Hazeur may have played the clarinet is also suggested by statements

almost certainly employed in the band, and one befitting a bandmaster of the period (unfortunately, no information has surfaced as to precisely what instrument any one of Lacoste's musicians may have played). In any case, however, Hazeur occupied a position important to the functions of the battalion, requiring proficiency as a performer and the ability to teach and manage subordinates; such a position would seem to indicate that he stood among the foremost of free-colored musicians in early nineteenth-century New Orleans.

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 1876.⁶⁸

made by two later-generation musicians who knew the Tio/Hazeur family: Barney Bigard (1906-1980) stated that Lorenzo Tio, Jr.'s "whole family, from his uncle's father's father [i.e., Louis Hazeur] were all clarinetists" (Bigard, interview by Barry Martyn [c1973], transcript of tape recording, photostat in author's possession); and Charlie Bocage (c1895-1963) stated that there had been clarinetists in the Tio family "back to his [Lorenzo Tio, Jr.'s] great-grandfather [Louis Hazeur]" (Bocage, interview, 18 July 1960, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University.

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

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 component of their heritage. Music, however, was a treasured element of French culture (the practices of which they sought to emulate)⁶⁹ and music-making offered the Creoles of color a rare opportunity to participate and to excel in an activity revered throughout the Western world. The affluent white population of New Orleans encouraged the development of musical ability among the free people of color (in order to augment the short supply of professional musicians to be expected in a frontier environment),⁷⁰ and the resulting interaction, however limited, with the dominant caste afforded these musicians greater prestige within their own society.⁷¹

69. Roland Wingfield, "The Creoles of Color: A Study of A New Orleans Subculture," (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1961), 64.

70. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans*, 231-36.

71. Wingfield, 65; Rodolphe Desdunes, *Nos hommes et notre histoire* (Montreal: Arbour et Dupont, 1911; available with substantial editorial apparatus as *Our People and Our*

In general, the Creole-of-color musicians seem to have performed exclusively in the European style, forsaking 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."⁷² More specifically, he states:

At the white balls a section of the hall was usually reserved for the free colored. They couldn't dance, but they could watch and listen.

The same situation obtained in the opera. [At the theater on St. Philip Street] the free colored sat in the second loges, while slaves could sit in the amphitheater for fifty cents. When the Orleans Theater opened, that house offered the third row of boxes for the free colored but made no provision for slaves. . . . And at the concerts where chamber music and overtures were played, a place was set aside for free colored and sometimes one for slaves. . . . Thus a visitor from Alabama was struck by hearing Negroes in the streets of New Orleans humming operatic melodies. But for them it was just natural.⁷³

History, trans. and ed. Dorothea Olga McCants [Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973]), 113-22 passim. Wingfield states that the free people of color maintained three distinct 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 non-skilled 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.

72. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans*, 232-33.

73. *Ibid.*

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 (c1827-1896), and Victor-Eugène Macarty (c1820-1881) served to strengthen the home-town conviction that European music was a worthwhile vocation.⁷⁴

Beyond the martial activities discussed above, Creole-of-color musicians performed in a variety of settings, public and private, including concerts and musicales, balls, and theater orchestras. For example, an item in the *Daily Picayune* from 1841 describes a "negro ball" in a private residence, halted by police at 2:30 A.M. The orchestra (consisting of a clarinet, three fiddles, two tambourines and a bass drum) reportedly played the same dances (waltzes, cotillions, and reels) that were current at white functions.⁷⁵ As early as 1820, groups of free men of color had organized benefit concerts at such locations as the St. Philip Street theater, and the regular orchestra of

74. James Monroe Trotter, *Music and Some Highly Musical People* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1878), 333-53 passim; Desdunes, 113-22 passim; Kmen, *Music in New Orleans*, 234; Sullivan, 54-55, 62.

75. *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, 12 January 1841.

at least one commercial ballroom in the mid-1830s seems to have been made up of colored musicians.⁷⁶

The 1830s witnessed the development of another significant venue for musicians: the benevolent society, with its attendant functions often requiring musical entertainment. In 1834, a group of free-colored war-veterans-turned-tradesmen (a category including Louis Hazeur, Raymond Gaillard, the Larrieus, and Michel Debergue) 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.⁷⁷ Begun as literary organizations, these groups soon assumed quasi-political roles in the Creole-of-color community. By the time of the Civil War and its aftermath, such societies served a variety of functions:

The societies provided insurance in the event of poverty, sickness, and death, since white insurance companies would not accept free persons of color as clients. The benevolent associations, therefore,

76. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans*, 234; *Louisiana Gazette*, 6 March 1820; *New Orleans Bee*, 23 December 1834 (Advertisement for Legé's Assembly Room). In March 1820, a white opera company was hired to perform for an audience of free people of color, profits being sent to the aid of free-colored victims of a recent fire in Savannah, Georgia.

77. Desdunes, 39-40; Toledano and Christovich, *Faubourg Tremé*, 104-05. Constantin Debergue was a member of the *Société d'Economie* (Obituary, Jacques Constantin Debergue, *New Orleans Bee*, 13 March 1861).

were groups formed to blanket all social needs, including aid to asylums, schools, homes for the aged, and even burial expenses. These societies and associations also provided space, funds, and audience for brass bands and musicales, thus fostering the continued development of musical tradition among the gens de couleur and the former slaves.⁷⁸

In their heyday (1870-90), the benevolent societies sponsored many events involving music, including parades, picnics, baseball games, train excursions, dances, concerts, musicales, and programs of poetry and tableaux vivants.⁷⁹ Although specific information regarding the the antebellum societies is scarce, it seems likely that they 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.⁸⁰ In 1878, James Monroe Trotter described this group as follows:

Before the late war, the city had an association of colored men called the "Philharmonic Society." Several liberal-minded native and foreign gentlemen of the other race were always glad to

78. Toledano and Christovich, *Faubourg Tremé*, 104.

79. *Ibid.*

80. Trotter, 351-52; see also Kmen, *Music in New Orleans*, 234-35; and Sullivan, 54. Sullivan calls the orchestra of the Société Philharmonique "the first non-theatrical orchestra in the city." The French spelling derives from an advertisement in the *New Orleans Bee* of 6 April 1840 which refers to the organization as the "Société Philharmonic."

come and play with the "Philharmonics" overtures and other music of a classical character. This was really a scholarly body of musicians, with whom the very best artists of any race might well be proud to associate. Constantin Deberque [sic] and Richard Lambert were among those who at times directed the orchestra. Eugene Rudanez, Camille Camp, Adolph Angelaine, T. Delassize, Lucien and Victor Pessou, J. A. Bazanac, Charles Martinez, and over one hundred other amateur musicians, added a lustre to the good name of the colored men of New Orleans, even during the gloomy days of oppression.⁸¹

Kmen reports that the "Philharmonic Society was in existence by the late 1830s";⁸² thus, its roster almost certainly included musicians such as Louis Hazeur, Michel Debergue (brother of Constantin), Barthelemy Campanell, the Larrieus, and Raymond Gaillard, all of whom were then still living in New Orleans.⁸³

Many of the same musicians probably performed in the pit orchestra of the Théâtre de la Renaissance, which opened in 1840 exclusively for Creole-of-color audiences. The orchestra of the Société Philharmonique gave concerts in this hall under the baton of "M. Constantin," who also

81. Trotter, 351-52.

82. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans*, 234.

83. In addition to his connection with the Debergues, Louis Hazeur seems to have been a friend of the family of J. A. Bazanac. Hazeur's marriage contract of 1818 was witnessed by a Jn. Bte. Bazanac, who was probably a close relative of J. A. [Joseph] Bazanac, identified by Trotter as a member of the Société Philharmonique and as an "excellent performer on the flute and bassoon, and a teacher of music" (p. 348). Further discussion of Joseph Bazanac is presented in Chapter 3, below, p. 89.

directed the pit orchestra there.⁸⁴ Kmen, contending that "M. Constantin" was a stage name for Constantin Debergue, writes that he himself

is convinced that the orchestra of the Renaissance Theater was made up of members of the Negro Philharmonic Society, and that the director of that society's orchestra was the director of the theater orchestra.⁸⁵

How long the Société Philharmonique or the Théâtre de la Renaissance operated is unknown; advertisements for the theatre run for only a few months in the New Orleans Bee of 1840, and Trotter's discussion of the Société does not include a time frame.

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 bandsmen, fifers, and drummers 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

84. New Orleans Bee, 4 February to 12 May 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 10 February to 13 February contain the line, "dans les entr'actes, l'orchestre, dirigé par M. Constantin, exécutera plusieurs ouvertures."

85. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans*, 235.

same mixing of Latin (primarily French) and African cultures as had occurred for many decades in the French colonies of the Caribbean. However, the activities of these musicians during the Siege of New Orleans in 1814-1815 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.

CHAPTER 3
THOMAS LOUIS MARCOS TIO, MUSIC IN THE
LATE ANTEBELLUM PERIOD, AND THE
EMIGRATION TO MEXICO

Thomas Louis Marcos Tio was born in New Orleans in 1828.¹ The oldest child of Louis and Malthide (Hazeur) Tio, Thomas was part of a large but close-knit Creole-of-color family with French, Spanish, and Afro-Caribbean forebears. As Creoles of color, the Tios and Hazeurs were party to a culture that placed high value on music and musical ability (as discussed above, pp. 74-81). Within the family, Thomas's uncle Louis Hazeur was a musician, and his mother and aunt Antoinette Hazeur Doublet may have had some musical training as well.² Given his cultural orientation and surroundings, it seems certain that Thomas was exposed to music at an early age, and very likely that he received musical instruction as a boy.

1. Federal Census, 1850, 238:61.

2. This probability is suggested by the fact that two of Louis Hazeur's nephews became active musicians: Thomas Tio and Maurice Jean Baptiste Doublet, the son of Antoinette Hazeur Doublet. There is no evidence of any

In the autumn of 1831, about the time Thomas Tio reached the age of three, his family moved from their home at the corner of Dumaine and Dauphine streets to a new house (built by his uncle Jean Tio) on St. Claude Street, between St. Philip and Dumaine streets.³ One aunt, Julie Tio Coussy, lived next door, and another, Victoire Tio, lived on the Dumaine Street side of the same block. This new neighborhood was part of the Faubourg Tremé, a recently settled area home to many free people of color.⁴

The Tio residence stood in close proximity to two sites important to the history of music in New Orleans, the Place Congo and Perseverance Hall, both of which may have spurred the development of Thomas's interest in the medium. The Place Congo, a grassy square less than two blocks up St. Claude Street (towards Canal St.) from the Tio home, was so called because from c1808 to c1835 it served weekly as a recreation area for the slaves of New Orleans. Following

prior musical activity on the paternal sides of either of these families. Some amount of musical training was probably a family tradition on the Hazeur plantation, and whether Louis's younger sisters were well-versed or not, each must have encouraged, if not initiated, the musical training of their children.

3. For maps showing this and other locations within the city, see Appendix A.

4. Sale of Property, Tio to Tio, 24 October 1831; Marriage Contract, Louis Coussy and Julie Marcos Tio; Will of Victoire Marcos Tio; Toledano and Christovich, Faubourg Tremé, 85-107.

a long-standing custom, slaveowners in the city allowed their bondsmen a respite from toil each Sunday afternoon. During this free time, large numbers of slaves regularly congregated at the Place Congo. There they took part in a variety of social activities, many of which involved music and dancing.⁵

Although the slave gatherings at the Place Congo are significant simply because they offered an unusually free opportunity for the expression of African cultural traditions, they also provided a fertile setting for the interaction of African and Western cultural strains, resulting in traditions that can properly be called Afro-American. Early descriptions of the activity at the Place Congo, such as that written in 1819 by architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe, make it clear that at first every aspect of the revelry was almost wholly Afro-Caribbean, from the

5. Toledano and Christovich, *Faubourg Tremé*, 63-71; Henry A. Kmen, "The Roots of Jazz and the Dance in the Place Congo: A Re-Appraisal," *Yearbook for Inter-American Musical Research* 8 (1972): 5-16. Officially known as Circus Place, the Place Congo (also called Congo Square) was the city square bounded by North Rampart, St. Peter, St. Claude, and St. Ann Streets. It is now part of Louis Armstrong Park.

Kmen writes that prior to 1808 most of the large-scale slave assemblies involving African music and dancing seem to have taken place on the river levee on Sundays. A city ordinance of 1817 limited such gatherings "for the purpose of dancing or other merriment" to the more confined Circus Place (Place Congo), a then-vacant square at the rear of the old town, which had been cleared in 1804 with the removal of a colonial fort; it also made official the traditional Sundays-only policy.

dances to the singing and the (mostly percussive) musical instruments.⁶ Kmen notes that as New Orleans became more Americanized over the course of the 1820s, the new citizens brought with them slaves born and reared in other parts of the United States, which caused changes in the the character of the proceedings at Place Congo:

As the American slaves swarmed in, they naturally imposed many of their own customs, and before long the new songs heard in the Square were "Hey Jim Along," "Get Along Home You Yallow Gals," and "Old Virginia Never Tire." Similarly, the instruments played were fifes and fiddles, banjos, triangles, jew harps, and tambourines.⁷

Thus, by the mid-1830s, when Thomas Tio was a child, the singing and dancing at Place Congo represented a mixing of African and Western customs, more so than the European-based musical traditions of his own Creole-of-color subculture. One eye-witness account of a Sunday at Place Congo survives from 1834, that of James R. Creecy, who saw there

groups of fifties and hundreds . . . in different sections of the square, with banjos, tom-toms, violins, jaw-bones, triangles, and various other instruments. . . . The dancers are most fancifully dressed, with fringes, ribbons, little bells, and shells and balls, jingling and flirting about the

6. Kmen, "Roots of Jazz," 8-10. See also Benjamin Henry Boneval Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans* [1819], ed. Samuel Wilson, Jr. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951).

7. *Ibid.*, 14.

performers' legs and arms, who sing a second or counter to the music so sweetly.⁸

The slave gatherings at Place Congo ceased sometime about 1835. Kmen writes that "there is no additional evidence of dancing in Congo Square" beyond that date, other than a brief revival of the activity in the summer of 1845.⁹ The cessation may have been due to objections from residents of the increasingly populated Faubourg Tremé, some of whom were probably concerned about the effects of licentious behavior on their young children.¹⁰ In any case, simply because of the proximity of his home to the Place Congo, it is clear that Thomas Tio must have had first-hand experience with the musical traditions of the slaves of New Orleans during a time when there began to occur a significant blending of African and European elements.

Even closer to Thomas Tio's house, in fact within the same block of St. Claude Street, stood Perseverance Hall, the home of a wide variety of cultural activities throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. La Loge

8. James R. Creecy, *Scenes in the South and Other Miscellaneous Pieces* (Washington: Thomas McGill, 1860), 20-21.

9. Kmen, "Roots of Jazz," 15.

10. Ibid., 10. Kmen quotes the 1822 city directory (p. 40) as containing a suggestion that the slaves "be ordered to assemble at some place further from the houses."

Persévérance, numéro Quatre, a white fraternal-masonic organization, erected the building in 1819, and continued to own and operate it throughout the 1830s.¹¹ In their study of the architecture of the Faubourg Tremé, Roulhac Toledano and Mary Louise Christovich write that

like many benevolent and church-related institutions in the city, the building was rented for social and cultural events. The main hall, with its wooden balcony and outstanding stairway, was appropriate for concerts, dances, musicales, recitals, poetry readings, and theater.¹²

On the same side of St. Claude Street as the Tio house, the two-story Perseverance Hall was the most imposing structure on the otherwise residential block. Thomas Tio may have attended musical events there with his parents; if not, he must have been aware of the hall's function, given a typical childhood curiosity. Living close by such an important cultural center and observing musicians (these trained in the European style) at work almost certainly influenced his own subsequent decision to pursue music as a vocation.

On 12 August 1837, Thomas Tio's mother and uncle Pierre Favélllo Hazeur sold the St. Claude Street house.¹³ Whether the family moved and if so, where to, is unclear, as neither

11. Toledano and Christovich, *Faubourg Tremé*, 68-69.

12. *Ibid.*, 70.

13. Sale of Property, Hazeur to de Santos. Malthide Tio and Pierre Favélllo Hazeur had assumed possession of the house from Louis Marcos Tio in 1836; see above, pp. 34-36.

Louis nor Malthide Tio appear listed in the city directories of 1837-44 or the 1840 Federal Census. Probably the family either took up residence with relatives or moved into the vacant house of Louis's recently deceased sister, Victoire Marcos Tio. Victoire had died two months before, leaving her mother, Victoire Wiltz, as principal heir to her estate. The property included a house on the Dumaine Street side of the same city block in which Thomas Tio's family already lived.¹⁴ There is no evidence that the house was immediately sold, and it may be that Louis and Malthide Tio made arrangements within the family to move into it. Such a possibility is suggested by an entry in the 1846 city directory (two years after Louis Marcos Tio himself had died): "Azur, Mathilde Mrs, 216 Main [Dumaine] St," an address that corresponds to the area in question.¹⁵

It would appear, therefore, that Thomas Tio spent his childhood in the Faubourg Tremé; if so, he probably attended the school for free-colored children at the corner of St. Claude Street and Bayou Road, only two blocks (downriver) from his home. This school was operated in the late 1830s

14. Will of Victoire Marcos Tio.

15. By 1846, Malthide, whose first name was often misspelled "Mathilde," seems to have generally reverted to using her maiden name, combined with the married title.

A second possibility for the move would be that Malthide Hazeur Tio took her family to live at the Hazeur plantation; however, since in 1837 Louis Marcos Tio was clearly still living, it seems more likely that the family remained within the city of New Orleans.

by a group of free-colored churchwomen known locally as the Sisters of the Presentation. The Ursuline nuns purchased the building in 1840 and continued the school throughout the next decade.¹⁶

Tio may also have received instruction from Joseph Bazanac, a prominent Creole-of-color musician and school-teacher who eventually became his personal friend.¹⁷ Bazanac lived and worked in the Faubourg Marigny during this period. In the early 1840s he seems to have provided private tutoring from his own offices; by 1846 he was employed at a coeducational school at the corner of Union and Love (now Touro and Rampart) Streets.¹⁸ Since Bazanac, a member of the Société Philharmonique, played bassoon and flute and was known as a music teacher, it seems almost certain that he would have instructed Thomas Tio in music as well as any other subject. Furthermore, his experience as a wind

16. Toledano and Christovich, *Faubourg Tremé*, 99-100.

17. Act of Procuration, Tio to Bazanac, Abel Dreyfous, n.p., 13 April 1859, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. Marriage Certificate, [Thomas] Louis Marcos Tio and Athénaïs Louis Hazeur, 7 June 1856, Annunciation Church (New Orleans) Archives. Tio entrusted Bazanac as his representative in all business and legal affairs after leaving New Orleans in 1859. Bazanac also appears as Tio's partner or agent in a number of notarial acts recording real estate transactions in the 1850s. Such ties in business, and the fact that Bazanac was a prominent witness to Tio's marriage indicate suggest the likelihood of a close personal relationship as well.

18. City directories, 1835-49.

musician suggests the possibility that he could have coached the boy on the clarinet.¹⁹

Thomas Tio's father, Louis Marcos Tio, died sometime about 1844.²⁰ A few years later, Thomas became peripherally involved in a complicated estate settlement following the death, on 11 October 1847, of his grandmother, Victoire Wiltz.²¹ Victoire died intestate, leaving her house and three rental properties to a large group of heirs comprising one surviving child (Joséphine Macarty Tio) and twelve grandchildren. Her finances had for some time been managed by her son-in-law Francisco Tio (husband of Joséphine), and after her death he assumed executive control of the estate. However, in July 1848, the children of Victoire's predeceased eldest son, Joseph, initiated legal action to force its final settlement and distribution.²²

19. Trotter, 348. Trotter's (1878) paragraph on Bazanac reads, "Joseph Bazanac was an excellent performer on the flute and bassoon, and a teacher of music. He was, besides, acknowledged as a skillful instructor in the French and English languages. He died a few months ago."

20. Petition of Clement Tio, attached to Sale of Property, Heirs of Victoire Wiltz to Antoine Merales and Joseph Giambone, Amedée Ducatel, n.p., 31 January 1851, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. Louis Marcos Tio was insolvent by 1838; no evidence has surfaced to indicate that he left any significant estate.

21. Death Certificate, Victoire Wiltz, 21 December 1847, New Orleans Department of Health. Victoire died at her home on St. Philip Street.

22. Inventory of the Estate of Victoire Wiltz, Amedée Ducatel, n.p., 26 July 1848, Orleans Parish Notarial

The process of settling Victoire Wiltz's estate took about three years. Her property was liquidated and split into fourths for distribution, one-fourth to Joséphine Macarty, one-fourth to the heirs of Joseph Marcos Tio, one-fourth to the heirs of Louis Marcos Tio, and one-fourth to the heirs of Julie Tio Coussy. Thus Thomas Tio and his two younger sisters, Antoinette and Clementine, each became one-twelfth heirs of Victoire Wiltz. Thomas's share of the inheritance, about \$1000, came to him in cash installments (as each property was sold) during his first years of legal maturity, from the time he was 20 until he was about 23 years old. He invested a portion of the money back into real estate, a market in which he eventually became quite active.²³

Sometime before 1850 Thomas Tio and his sister Antoinette moved out of their mother's house and took up residence in the home of their aunt Antoinette "Pamela" Hazeur Doublet. Antoinette Doublet, widow of a Creole-of-color dry goods merchant, lived with her son and another

Archives. See also a related series of depositions and petitions attached to Sale of Property, Heirs of Victoire Wiltz to Merales and Giambone.

23. Sale of Property [and attached documents], Heirs of Victoire Wiltz to Merales and Giambone, 31 January 1851. Thomas received a share of the proceeds from this sale, about \$375. Within months, he had purchased a lot in the Faubourg Tremé; see Sale of Property, Jonan to Tio, John Claiborne, n.p., 1 May 1851, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives.

niece at 21 St. Anthony Street in the Faubourg Marigny, quite near to the homes of Louis Hazeur and Joseph Bazanac.²⁴

The other niece boarding with Antoinette Doublet was Marie Marguerite Athénaïs Hazeur (1830-1903, daughter of Louis Hazeur), whom Thomas Tio would eventually marry.²⁴

By this point, Thomas Tio seems to have become active in Creole-of-color musical circles. His cousin, Jean Baptiste Maurice Doublet (1828-1883), played the violin.²⁵ Although Thomas and Jean Baptiste both worked during the day as cigar makers, they also found time to study and perform music. Indeed, next door to the Doublets lived Ludovico Gabici, a prominent white music teacher with whom Doublet (at least) is known to have studied. According to the 1850 Federal Census, Gabici's household included one boarder, a 16-year-old musician named Adolphe Dantonet. Like the Tios and Doublets (and most Creoles of color), Dantonet was listed

24. Federal Census, 1850, 238:61. This source contains a remarkable misspelling of names on the part of the enumerator: Antoinet Darible, L. B. Doublet, Antoinette Marcostiot, Athénaïs Azure, and Thomas L. Marcostiot. The household also included two slaves, a 35-year-old female and a seven-year-old male (Federal Census, 1850, 245 [Slave Schedules]:270). Antoinette Doublet's deceased husband was Maurice Doublet (1808-1842), a Creole of color of French and St. Domingan ancestry.

The city directories of 1848-53 list Bazanac at the School for Both Sexes, 97 Love Street. The 1850 Federal Census (238:63) shows that Louis Hazeur and his third wife, Sylvanie, boarded in the St. Anthony Street home of François Gras. Perhaps a crowded situation at that address prompted Athénaïs to move in with her aunt. In about 1852, Louis and Sylvanie Hazeur moved to Girod (now Villere) Street.

25. Trotter, 344-45.

as a mulatto by the census enumerator. Although slightly younger than either Thomas Tio or Jean Baptiste Doublet, he too must have interacted with them, possibly via the medium of music.²⁶

Of these early associates of Thomas Tio, both Ludovico Gabici and Jean Baptiste Maurice Doublet enjoyed long musical careers in New Orleans. In his 1878 survey of prominent black musicians, James Monroe Trotter devoted a paragraph to Doublet:

Maurice J. B. Doublet was born in New Orleans in the year 1831 [sic]. In that city he takes rank with the best violinists, and is highly rated as a general musician. Modesty has kept him away from the public but too often, since he possesses powers that would cause him always to be the recipient of much applause from large and cultivated audiences. He studied under L. Gabici. Mr. Doublet, as a violinist, is most remarkable for the purity of tones produced, and the faithfulness he exhibits in giving expression to the composer's thoughts. These qualities, which it seems were given him by nature, are also noticeable in all of his pupils. Mr. Doublet is also a composer, but is so modest as to hide from the general public all that he has done in that line.²⁷

26. Ibid.; Federal Census, 1850, 238:61. See also Trotter, 344-45. The census entry for L. Gabici (b. 1813 in Italy) shows his profession to be music. Gabici's first name appears variously in primary and secondary sources as Louis, Ludwig, Luigi, and Ludovico. The use herein of "Ludovico" maintains consistency with two recent works: Lester Sullivan, "Composers of Color of Nineteenth-Century New Orleans," *Black Music Research Journal* 8 [1988]: 54; and Louis Panzeri, *Louisiana Composers* (New Orleans: Dinstuhl Printing and Publishing, 1972), 27.

27. Trotter, 344-45.

Doublet died in 1883, at the age of 56. He gained prominence in the black musical circles of postbellum New Orleans; his later activities are discussed below, pp. 132-36.

Ludovico Gabici (1813-c1865) has been mentioned in several historical accounts of music in New Orleans. Trotter notes that in addition to teaching Doublet, he instructed the Creole-of-color composer Edmond Dédé.²⁸ Henry Kmen has written that Gabici was one of a handful of white immigrant musicians who "were not averse to teaching talented Negroes."²⁹

Gabici pursued a variety of musical activities beyond teaching and playing the violin. He composed, conducted ensembles, operated a music store, and published sheet music. He first arrived in New Orleans from Cuba in 1837 to conduct the orchestra at James Caldwell's St. Charles Theater.³⁰ The city directories of the day consistently list him as musician, music teacher, or professor of music, and they show that he moved to 19 St. Anthony Street sometime before 1849. He moved out of the Faubourg Marigny to Bayou Road by 1852, and within another three years he opened a music store at 172 Royal Street. Gabici continued to move frequently (both

28. Trotter, 340. Dédé, born in the same year (1828) as Thomas Tio and J. B. M. Doublet, coincidentally also earned a living as a cigar maker before leaving New Orleans c1857 to pursue a successful musical career in France.

29. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans*, 234.

30. *Ibid.*, 151.

his dwelling and his business), but throughout the latter half of the 1850s he consistently maintained a large advertisement in the city directory:

Gabici, L, Prof. of Music, Bookbinder and Stationer, Importer and Dealer in Pianos and Music; Piano Fortes tuned. He is prepared to recommend professors and teachers of music, either for city or country instruction; 172 Royal, d[welling] Bayou Rd. n[ear] Miro.³¹

Perhaps by the time this advertisement ran (1856) he was occasionally able to recommend some of his former Creole-of-color students for such employment.

Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, Creole-of-color musicians continued to enjoy numerous opportunities to perform. As a clarinetist and saxophonist,³² Thomas Tio

31. (Cohen's) City directory, 1856. Gabici's music store appears to have been successful. In 1856 he moved it from Royal Street to 39 Camp Street (from the French to the American side of Canal Street). Then in February 1857 he purchased a second location, 86 Chartres Street (in the French Quarter); he seems to have operated the two stores until the time of the Civil War.

The notarial act of sale for the Chartres Street store shows that Gabici purchased from Frederick Zambelli "un fonds de magasin de musique, instruments de musique," etc., for a price of \$10,000. One of the witnesses of the act was Louis Jacques Even, a long-time New Orleans professor of music who may have been an employee or silent partner of Gabici (Sale of Property, Zambelli to Gabici, Abel Dreyfous, n.p., 22 February 1857, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives).

32. Louis R. Tio [grandson of Thomas], interview, 26 October 1960, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University. Adolphe Sax invented the saxophone in France c1840, and patented it there in 1846. Although the instrument gained in popularity quite rapidly, it probably took some years before many saxophones appeared in New Orleans. Thus it may be that Thomas Tio performed on this instrument only later in life, after he had emigrated to Mexico.

may well have played in chamber groups (for musicales and concerts), dance orchestras, theater-pit orchestras, and marching bands. By 1852 he moved out of his aunt's home to a nearby residence at 37 St. Anthony Street and he continued to earn a living making cigars at least through 1853. Tio's name appears in the city directories of later years (1859-1860) with no trade indicated; he may eventually have turned to music as a full-time occupation.³³

On 7 June 1856, Thomas Tio married Marie Marguerite Athénaïs Hazeur, his first cousin, in Annunciation Catholic Church.³⁴ The Reverend Father Joseph Morisot performed the ceremony in front of family and friends. Ten men among those present signed the official church record as sponsors, thus creating a list of some of the couple's closest

33. City directories, 1851-61, 1866. The 1852 and 1853 entries are identical; they read, "Tio, Louis Macos [sic], cigars, 37 St. Anthony." Similarly, those of 1859-61 and 1866 are identical. They read, "Tio, Louis, Laharpe n[ear] St. Bernard." Because Tio's family left the city in June 1860, his name should not appear in the 1861 and 1866 editions (the directory was not produced during the Civil War years of 1862-65); however, Lawrence Gushee has suggested that these volumes, due to the hardship of war, were essentially reprints of the 1860 edition.

Tio and J. B. M. Doublet moved out of Antoinette Doublet's house at about the same time. The 1851 city directory shows that Doublet had moved to 330 Bayou Road, near the new residence of Ludovico Gabici. The directories do not indicate a trade for Doublet, but he is listed as a musician in Federal Census, 1860, 419:332.

34. Marriage Certificate [Thomas] Louis Marcos Tio and Athénaïs Louis Hazeur. Annunciation Church is located in the Faubourg Marigny at the corner of Mandeville and Marigny Streets.

associates. From the Hazeur family appear four signatures: those of Pierre Favélllo Hazeur, youngest son of Antoine Hiacinthe Hazeur and uncle of both Thomas and Athénais; Elvirin and Klebert Hazeur, the sons of another uncle, the deceased Pierre Favre Hazeur; and J. B. M. Doublet. Louis Coussy [Jr.], son of Julie Marcos Tio Coussy, also signed the document, representing the Tio side of Thomas's family. The remaining signatures (one is illegible) seem to be those of friends: Joseph Decoudreaux, Theophile Fortin, Joseph R____, Joseph Bazanac, and L. J. Even. Decoudreaux (b. 1805), a prominent Creole-of-color carpenter, headed a large family that resided at 17 St. Anthony Street, close by the home of Pamela Doublet.³⁵ No information has surfaced about Fortin or Joseph R____, but Bazanac, as noted above, taught and performed music and may have served as an early mentor of Thomas Tio.

The final signature is of considerable interest, as it denotes Louis Jacques Even (1796-c1865), a white French-born professional musician associated with Ludovico Gabici.³⁶ Even's presence at Thomas Tio's wedding

35. City directories, 1822-1882; see also Federal Census, 1850, 238:61. A connection between Decoudreaux and the Hazeur family is indicated in the obituary of Sylvain Homère Hazeur, *New Orleans Bee*, 18 November 1862. Hazeur's body lay in state at the Decoudreaux residence.

36. Federal Census, 1850, 235:99; Federal Census, 1860, 418:586. Even's signature also appears on Sale of Property, Zambelli to Gabici, Abel Dreyfous, n.p., 22 February 1857, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. Listed

indicates that Tio did interact with white musicians, and perhaps also signifies that he had reached a certain degree of prominence in Creole-of-color circles.

After he married, Tio began to trade in real estate more extensively. On 1 August 1856, in the office of notary public Joseph Cuvillier, he bought six lots in a newly developed area of the city of Carrollton (on the western edge of New Orleans), and 22 lots in the Faubourg Franklin and Faubourg Gueno, downtown neighborhoods now considered part of the Faubourg Tremé.³⁷ For the properties Tio spent \$1155, and the purchases may well represent an investment of his savings and some wedding gifts, coming as they did within a month of the wedding itself.

In April 1857, Athénaïs Hazeur Tio gave birth to her first child, a boy named Joseph Marcos. He was baptized at Annunciation Church the following December with Klebert Hazeur and Antoinette Tio acting as godparents. Some time

consistently as a musician or professor of music in city directories from 1823 through the 1850s, Even also seems to have maintained a boarding house at his St. Louis Street residence. The entry for his household in the 1850 census includes ten boarders; that of 1860 shows six.

37. Sale of Property, Duhart to Tio, Joseph Cuvillier, n.p., 1 August 1856, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives; Sale of Property, Brou to Tio, Joseph Cuvillier, n.p., 1 August 1856, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. Tio made both purchases through agents who also happened to be musicians. The first sale was arranged by Joseph Bazanac. The second was handled by Charles Richard Lambert (c1800-1861), a Creole-of-color professor of music whose sons Lucien and Sidney enjoyed successful musical careers abroad (see Sullivan, 58-62).

during this same period, Thomas Tio moved his family to a house on Laharpe Street near St. Bernard Avenue, at which location he was listed in the directories of 1859 and 1860.³⁸

In the years immediately preceding the Civil War, social and political conditions for the Creoles of color in Louisiana deteriorated rapidly. Slavery had become a national issue, and the Southern press continually stirred anti-black sentiment, often maligning the free people of color in particular.³⁹ Many newspapers went so far as to call for the expulsion from Louisiana of this "anomalous" class. Discussing this trend, H. E. Sterkx has written that

the New Orleans Bee [stated] that even though free Negroes were better off in the South than in the North, they should be expelled because such people were "dangerous companions to the slaves." To prove this contention the editor wrote that the free Negro "gets drunk, debauches our slaves, and preaches insubordination to them." The *Picayune* stoutly maintained that the state government had the right to protect its citizens by expelling this "debauching, drunken, insolent group" whose main object was to "tamper with slaves and thereby make them discontented."⁴⁰

38. Certificate of Baptism, Joseph Marcos Tio, 28 December 1857, Annunciation Church (New Orleans) Archives; City directories, 1854-60. Tio does not appear in the directories of 1854-58.

39. H. E. Sterkx, *The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Louisiana* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1972), 285-315.

40. *Ibid.*, 309; *New Orleans Bee*, 10 October 1859; *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, 17 January 1859.

The prevailing atmosphere of hatred was fed not only by racism and fears for the future of slavery on the part of wealthy whites but by resentment among white laborers, who felt that the free men of color were their "worst and most damaging competitors for menial jobs."⁴¹

Although the Creoles of color in New Orleans had long faced legal restrictions on their behavior, travel, and interactions with other classes, they had always been assured many rights, such as access to the court system and the right to own property. In the late 1850s, however, their rights and even their continued freedom became endangered. The state legislature of 1859 considered a number of threatening bills, including one calling for the enslavement of all free blacks who refused to leave the state by a specified date. Other propositions involved the confiscation of properties belonging to free people of color and elimination of their right to testify against whites in court.⁴² Although several other states (including Arkansas and Mississippi) did pass expulsion measures, the Louisiana legislature ultimately stood by its free-colored citizens, preserving all civil rights previously extended to them.⁴³

41. Sterkx, 304.

42. Ibid., 302-3, 313; Baton Rouge Gazette and Comet, 27 April 1859.

43. Ibid., 313-14.

Contributing another aspect of volatility to the situation were a number of violent assaults against free people of color by armed groups of white extremists. The most highly publicized of these occurred in the Attakapas region of Louisiana, including the southwestern parishes of St. Landry, Calcasieu, St. Martin, St. Mary, Lafayette, and Vermillion. There, in 1859, a series of intimidating incidents (involving such prominent white landowners as ex-governor Alfred Mouton) prompted a large group of free people of color to flee their homes and seek asylum in Haiti.⁴⁴

The plight of the rural free people of color was doubtless watched closely by many in New Orleans, particularly since those who did emigrate usually gained passage there.⁴⁵ Many schemes for the relocation of free people of color appeared during this period, and most suggested either Haiti or Mexico as suitable destinations:

Mexico was depicted as especially advantageous for free Negroes; the soil and the climate being "adapatable to their natures." Moreover, it was contended that within a few years amalgamation with the Mexican people would take place and thus "obliterate their origin."⁴⁶

44. Ibid., 297-302; see also "Ho! For Hayti," *New Orleans Daily Delta*, 15 January 1860.

45. Ibid., 301.

46. Ibid., 296; Sterkx quotes from the *Baton Rouge Weekly Gazetteer and Comet*, 2 February 1857.

The Mexican government encouraged the relocation ideas, and in 1856 it made available several lands in the state of Veracruz for the establishment of colonies (in the form of agricultural cooperatives).⁴⁷ At least one such colony was established shortly thereafter:

In the summer of 1857, a small party from St. Landry parish settled on lands they had bought near Vera Cruz, on the Popolopan River. This group concentrated their efforts to the cultivation of Indian corn, and were so successful that they wrote their friends in Louisiana, describing the advantages "held out to them in Mexico." It was also pointed out that in Mexico "they were not subjected to the inequalities from caste as they were in their homes." The representations of these pioneers induced several other free Negro families of Louisiana to try their fortunes in Mexico.⁴⁸

Another effort at colonization in Mexico was initiated by Louis Nelson Fouché, a Creole-of-color entrepreneur from New Orleans.⁴⁹ On 2 July 1857 the Mexican government authorized Fouché and a group of Mexican landowners known as the *Cofradia* to establish a colony on the left bank of the Llave estuary of the Tecolutla River, near the town of

47. Manuel Bartolomeo Trens, *Historia de Veracruz* (Jalapa: n.p., 1948-50), Tome 5, vol. 1, 150-53.

48. Sterkx, 296; he quotes the *Mexican Extraordinary* (Veracruz), 30 July 1857, as it was quoted in the [Washington, DC] *National Intelligencer*, 20 August 1857. A similar version of the story appears in the *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, 12 August 1857.

49. Born in Jamaica, Fouché immigrated to New Orleans by the early 1820s. In 1823 he married Maria Francisca Lefebre at the St. Louis Church. He was active in the Creole-of-color society as a builder, architect, teacher of mathematics, and writer. See Toledano, Evans, and Christovich, *The Creole Faubourgs*, 32, 36; and Toledano and Christovich, *Faubourg Tremé*, 102.

Papantla in the state of Veracruz.⁵⁰ This cooperative was to be known as the "Eureka Colony." Fouché contracted to sell shares to one hundred families under the auspices of the Mexican consulate in New Orleans, and to use the proceeds to finance the operation.⁵¹

How quickly Fouché sold the shares remains unknown, as do the details of how and when Thomas Tio invested in the plan; however, little seems to have happened until the spring of 1859. The surviving documents pertaining to the colony indicate that by then Fouché must have sold a substantial number of shares,⁵² and Tio's own real estate dealings suggest that he had already cast his lot with the colonists. On 28 January 1858 Tio sold six properties in the Faubourg Franklin, part of his 1856 acquisition. One year later he liquidated more of that real estate, this time selling five lots in the Faubourg Washington, an area east of the Faubourg Marigny.⁵³

50. Trens, 152. The Tecolutla River flows into the Gulf of Mexico approximately 130 miles south of the city of Tampico.

51. Act of Reorganization, Eureka Colony, 25 August 1859, certified in Mexico by Santiago Bautista, deposited in the Acts of Octave de Armas, n.p., 11 November 1859, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives.

52. Ibid.

53. Sale of Property, Tio to Borsenberger, Abel Dreyfous, n.p., 28 January 1858; Sale of Property, Tio to Retif, Abel Dreyfous, n.p., 14 February 1859; Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. All lots involved were undeveloped.

Two actions from the following April clearly indicate that Tio was preparing to emigrate. On the 11th he obtained a copy of his baptismal record from the St. Louis Church, a record that would have been necessary in order for him to prove his free status during any travels;⁵⁴ on the 13th he assigned power of attorney to his longtime friend and mentor Joseph Bazanac.⁵⁵

Throughout the early summer of 1859, Thomas Tio made ready to travel to the Eureka Colony. One of his final actions in New Orleans was to register as a free person of color with the mayor's office, which he did on Tuesday, 19 July 1859.⁵⁶ Although the register itself constituted a manifestation of the oppressive American society, inclusion in it entitled Tio to reenter the State of Louisiana safely. Probably he viewed registration as a contingency measure in the event his projects should fail.

54. New Orleans, Office of the Mayor, *Register of Free Colored Persons, 1859-1861* (Microfilm, n.d., Louisiana State Archives), 373. When Tio signed this register (19 July 1859), he provided a copy of the 1828 baptismal record which had been made for him on 11 April 1859.

55. Act of Procuration, Tio to Bazanac, Abel Dreyfous, n.p., 13 April 1859, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. Tio's wife was to remain in New Orleans for some ten months after he left, and in this act he reserves for her the right of refusal in any actions taken by Bazanac.

56. *Register of Free Colored Persons*, 373. The entry reads "Thomas Marcos Tio," and shows that he was a 31 year-old mulatto caulker born in New Orleans. Upon registration, Tio received a certificate showing his legal status, which has survived among the Hazeur family papers, held by Mrs. Rose Winn (photostat in author's possession).

Within a month of signing the mayor's register, Tio had traveled to Mexico and arrived at the site of the Eureka Colony. Dissatisfied with Fouché's conduct in the distribution of shares, Tio and another colonist, Auguste Metoyer, arranged to meet with the members of the *Cofradía* in order to rewrite their contract. This reorganization took place on 25 August 1859 in a rural area near Tampico; the resulting document was subsequently sent to Joseph Bazanac in New Orleans, who deposited it with a notary public.⁵⁷

According to the reorganization papers, the colonists charged that Louis Nelson Fouché had defrauded all parties to the original agreement and proposed that he be removed from the dealings completely. Originally Fouché was to have sold shares only under the auspices of the Mexican consulate and was to have invested the proceeds with the New Orleans financial firm of Caballero and Besualdo until the lands could be purchased from the *Cofradía*; apparently he instead sold shares privately and then speculated with the funds, even after Caballero threatened to seize them. Accepting the word and good intentions of the colonists, the *Cofradía* and the Mexican authorities agreed to bypass Fouché and recognized Tio and Metoyer as the legitimate representatives of the Eureka Colony.⁵⁸

57. Act of Reorganization, Eureka Colony.

58. Ibid.

As for the terms of the reorganization, the *Cofradía* offered to sell lots directly to those colonists already committed through Fouché and to defer payment until the colony had turned a profit from its agricultural operations.⁵⁹ Although it meant losing any money previously paid to Fouché, Tio and Metoyer accepted the new terms.

Who were the other colonists? The New Orleans sources offer only limited help in this regard, as they generally indicate presence in the city and are inconclusive as to absence. No evidence has surfaced to indicate that any of Tio's musical or business associates emigrated with him.⁶⁰ Indeed, besides Metoyer, about whom nothing is known, the only persons so far identified as colonists are Tio's own relatives.

59. Ibid. The *Cofradía* agreed to reserve the lots for Fouché's customers for a period of two months, after which time they would sell them on a first-come, first-served basis. Trens reports that in general, the Mexican government's policy toward colonization held that colonists were to be regarded as Mexican citizens and that they would be required to renounce citizenship of any foreign country. Fouché had also contracted for exemptions from military service and from payment of any taxes other than municipal levies (Rosalie Schwartz, *Across the Rio to Freedom: U.S. Negroes in Mexico* [El Paso: University of Texas at El Paso Press, 1975], 40). Tio and Metoyer agreed to uphold the non-financial terms of the previous pact.

60. One possible candidate for a fellow emigré, however, is Michel Debergue. As noted above (p. 67), Debergue died at sea during a return voyage to New Orleans from Veracruz in 1865. He had several children; city directory and census reports suggest that some of them also left New Orleans about this time.

Among the surviving papers of the Tio/Hazeur family is a brief memoir of the years in Mexico (1860-1877) written by Antoinette Tio, sister of Thomas.⁶¹ According to this source, Thomas Tio was joined in Mexico in the summer of 1860 by his wife and their two young children, his sister Antoinette, his father-in-law/uncle, Louis Hazeur, and another uncle, Pierre Favéllo Hazeur.⁶²

As noted above, Thomas Tio himself left New Orleans for the colony in late July 1859, just days after signing the mayor's register of free persons of color (19 July 1859). In order for him to arrive in a Mexican port, proceed to the Eureka colony, and arrange to meet with the *Cofradía* by 25 August 1859, he must have traveled by sea; sea passage from New Orleans to Veracruz (city) or Tampico then generally took from 10 to 15 days. A daily marine news column in the New Orleans *Bee* shows that two vessels, the brig *Stetson* (under Captain Trenis), and the schooner *Star* (under Captain Gumerson), had cleared the port of New Orleans bound for Mexican ports (Tampico and Veracruz, respectively) by Saturday 23 July 1859. Since no other vessels left for

61. Memoir, Antoinette Tio, 2 October 1877, Hazeur family papers, held by Rose Tio Winn, photostat in author's possession.

62. This information is consistent with that found in other sources. For example, the family does not appear in the Federal Census schedules of 1860 or 1870. See also Louis R. Tio, interview; Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990.

Mexico between that date and 3 August 1859, it seems likely that Tio traveled aboard one of these two.⁶³

Athénais Tio continued to live at the Laharpe Street residence, probably with her sister-in-law Antoinette. At the time Thomas left, Athénais was pregnant with her second child; she gave birth to a daughter, Josephine, on 30 September 1859.⁶⁴ About nine months later, on Thursday 7 June 1860, she and the other family members who had decided to emigrate boarded a vessel, probably the brig *Stetson* (under Captain Trenis), for Tampico, where they arrived safely on 17 June. On 27-29 June they made the 130-mile trip south to the site of their new home at the Eureka Colony.⁶⁵ Thus by the summer of 1860 Thomas Tio had brought his family away from New Orleans to a less than certain future at an agricultural cooperative in the Mexican tropics; he must have

63. New Orleans Bee, 23 July 1859. This column has been surveyed from July 1859 through June 1860. Estimation of the typical duration of a voyage from New Orleans to Tampico is based upon the information found herein.

One of Tio's cousins, Auguste Victor "Klebert" Hazeur (1836-cl900, son of Pierre Favre Hazeur) may have accompanied him on this journey. This possibility is suggested by the fact that Klebert Hazeur registered with the Mayor's office on the same day as Thomas Tio (*Register of Free Persons of Color*, 151). In the register, his profession is listed as "planter"; thus it would seem appropriate for him to have traveled to the agricultural Eureka Colony. If he did visit the area, however, Hazeur did not settle there, as two of his children were born in New Orleans during the early 1860s (*Federal Census*, 1870, 515:233).

64. City directory, 1861; Memoir, Antoinette Tio.

65. Memoir, Antoinette Tio; New Orleans Bee, 7 June 1860.

felt quite strongly about the injustice of antebellum American society and been convinced that his family would ultimately have more economic and social opportunity in the Republic of Mexico.

However, as turbulent as the social climate of the United States was during this period, the situation was hardly more settled in Mexico. The removal of dictator Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana in 1854 had precipitated the era generally called the Reform (1855-76):

In 1855 Mexico plunged into its most profound crisis of the nineteenth century. For more than two decades the crisis continued, and, when it was over, the survivors had to pick up the pieces of a country that had witnessed rebellions, civil wars, foreign intervention, a new constitution, a government in exile, a Hapsburg emperor, and human suffering on a scale unequaled since the ravages of disease had decimated the Indian population in the sixteenth century.⁶⁶

In addition to the political turmoil, Mexican society was clearly divided along racial lines (although not as rigidly as that of New Orleans), and people of African descent lived in the margins of society. To an extent, the War of the Reform (1858-60) was the struggle of the mestizo (those of mixed Spanish and Indian descent) against the power monopoly of the Creole Spanish (persons born in Mexico to Spanish parents), and it had only a limited impact upon the

66. Robert N. Sinkin, *The Mexican Reform, 1855-1876: A Study in Liberal Nation-Building* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 3.

remainder of the population, made up of Indians and blacks.⁶⁷ A limited cross-cultural mobility was, however, possible in Mexico (as exemplified by Benito Juárez, a leader of the reform movement and an Indian who had been born in abject poverty),⁶⁸ and someone like Thomas Tio, with a certain amount of wealth and a degree of European sophistication, probably fared better than most in the marginal castes.

During the 1850s the central government of Mexico was extremely weak; almost all real power belonged to local political bosses. In rural areas these were the *hacendados*, owners of large plantations and ranches, such as the *Hacienda Cofradía*.⁶⁹ Many haciendas employed upward of five hundred workers, often including a private militia. Richard Sinkin describes the system, with its prevalent atmosphere of opportunism, as follows:

With power dispersed to local levels after 1823, the ultimate source of . . . authority was the hacienda. Here the creole aristocracy--the *hacendados*--reigned, surrounded by retainers who formed the nucleus of their private armies. The

67. *Ibid.*, 18-26. Slavery, never widespread, had been abolished in Mexico by the Emancipation Decree of 1829.

68. *Ibid.*, 18, 40.

69. *Ibid.*, 93-113. The *Cofradía* may have been a family operation; two of the three signatures on the document of reorganization bear the surname Nuñez (R. M. Nuñez and Doña Teresa Nuñez; the third signature reads "Fortunato Mora").

strength of each hacendado depended on two factors: the production of the hacienda and the strength of the private army. Both of these elements required large amounts of human labor. Thus each hacienda was potentially the enemy of its neighbor, since each was striving to maximize the number of men under its control. In many parts of Mexico the haciendas fought not only with each other but also over Indian land, which supplied both land and labor for the growing great estates.⁷⁰

By late 1859, the leaders of the Eureka Colony seem to have made strides towards establishing their cooperative as a viable business enterprise. Whether the colony flourished remains unclear,⁷¹ but Thomas Tio evidently did well enough financially to proceed with the plan to have his family join him in a matter of months.

The Tio family lived at the Eureka Colony for almost three years. According to the Tio/Hazeur oral history, as remembered by descendants, the day-to-day existence in the colony was exceedingly difficult. The efforts of the colonists to establish and maintain productive farmland were continually hampered by both the tropical climate of the area (the so-called *tierra caliente*) and the terrorist activity of highway bandits who then infested much of rural

70. Ibid., 95.

71. New Orleans newspapers show that the brokerage house of Caballero and Besualdo (and several other firms) received a number of shipments of specie out of Tampico and Veracruz throughout the final quarter of 1859. For instance, the steamer *Tennessee* delivered \$12,000 to them on 26 October (New Orleans Bee, 27 October 1859). It is unknown, however, whether Caballero's firm was the one chosen to hold the Eureka Colony funds after the reorganization meeting.

Mexico.⁷² On 6 November 1860, Thomas Tio's father-in-law/uncle, Louis Hazeur (the former militia musician), died. He was buried at the Eureka Colony, scarcely five months after he had arrived there. The period, however, was not without happier aspects, as Athénaïs Tio became pregnant in the summer of 1861. She gave birth to her third child, a boy christened Antoine Louis, on 4 February 1862 at the colony.⁷³

The birth of Antoine Louis Tio (1862-1922) came during a crucial episode in the history of the Republic of Mexico.

72. Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990. See also Sinkin, 20, 102-5; Jack Autrey Dabbs, *The French Army in Mexico, 1861-1867* (The Hague: Mouton, 1963), 66. In a letter published in *DeBow's Review* 34 (1866): 623-30, former Confederate official Matthew Fontaine Maury described the post-Civil War prospects for colonization in Mexico, and mentioned "bands of lawless marauders who are ever ready to pounce upon the helpless farmer" (p. 625).

73. Memoir, Antoinette Tio. This source (apparently written in two sittings, one on 1 February 1874 and the other on 22 October 1877) lists the birthdates of the children of Thomas and Athénaïs Tio. Many of the dates given throughout the memoir carry a specific weekday. Such complete-to-the-weekday dates have been found to correspond with calendars of the appropriate years. On this basis, I have taken Antoinette Tio's account to be correct.

Although Antoinette Tio's memoir is the earliest available source for the birthdates of Thomas Tio's children, it is not the only one. A list of dates, at variance with those of the memoir, appears in Federal Census, 1900, 572: Enumeration district 59, Sheet 9. The census report (representing an interview with an unnamed family member) gives the following birthdates: Louis Tio, January 1863; Josephine Tio, June 1864; Lorenzo Tio, August 1866; Genéviève Tio, May 1868. One birthdate from this source, that of Athénaïs Tio, given as June 1837, is known to be incorrect. An extract of her birth certificate from the St. Louis Church shows it to be 20 February 1830 (Hazeur family papers, held by Rose Tio Winn, phostostat in author's possession).

In January 1862 the French Army occupied the port city of Veracruz and began to carry out efforts to install Maximilian II, a Hapsburg, as emperor. This action marked the beginning of the five-year period known as the French Intervention.⁷⁴ What specific effect the Intervention had upon the French-speaking Creole-of-color settlers of the Eureka Colony cannot be accurately assessed, but it seems likely that their relations with the surrounding Mexican populace became strained. On 3 November 1862, the Eureka Colony was burned, apparently by intruders, and within a month, Thomas Tio and his family left the area, taking refuge in Tampico, which had recently come under French control.⁷⁵

The Tio family spent the next fifteen years in Tampico. Between December 1862 and October 1874, except for an eighteen-month period (July 1865-December 1866) during which Thomas Tio owned a home, the Tios rented their lodgings, moving from house to house five times. In October 1874 Thomas again bought a house, which the family occupied until

74. Dabbs, 20.

75. Memoir, Antoinette Tio. Rose Tio Winn, great-granddaughter of Thomas Tio, recalls from her youth an account of the event, which held that armed intruders invaded the colony. "Now which side or exactly who this was I don't know, but somehow they [the colonists] got on the wrong side of the fighting in Mexico. The colony was eventually burned out, and they [the family] moved to Tampico" (interview, 11 May 1990).

According to Antoinette Tio's memoir, the family arrived in Tampico on 3 December 1862, just days after the French army occupied the city (see Dabbs, 34).

returning to the United States in 1877.⁷⁶ Thomas and Athénaïs Tio had two more children who lived beyond infancy during these politically turbulent years, a daughter, Genéviève, born 5 November 1864 at a time when the French army controlled three-quarters of the nation, and a son, Augustin Lorenzo, born 28 August 1867, just two months after Maximilian and two of his generals were executed at Querétaro. Also within the family, Pierre Favéillo Hazeur, uncle of both Thomas and Athénaïs Tio, died in Tampico on 23 September 1866.⁷⁷

In the early 1860s the small city of Tampico, governed by the French, was a relatively busy seaport, a sizable portion of its trade coming via blockade-running vessels from the Confederate states.⁷⁸ Consequently, there were a number of Anglo-Americans among the populace, often involved in receiving and storing shipments of cotton, and this element contributed to the cosmopolitan character of the

76. Memoir, Antoinette Tio. The memoir includes the names of the landlords and the dates between which the Tios rented from each: Don Ignacio Mascareña, 1862-63; Don Juan Acosta, 1863-65; Ernest Arn____, 1866-68; Ulisse Labourdette, 1868-72, Don Andrés Grillo, 1872-74.

77. Ibid., Dabbs, 99. See also Marriage Certificate, Augustin L. Tio and Alice Majeau, 1 February 1893, New Orleans Department of Health. This source gives Lorenzo Tio, Sr.'s birthplace as "Tampico, Mexico."

78. William Watson, *The Adventures of a Blockade Runner; or, Trade in Time of War* (London: T. Fischer Unwin, 1898) passim.

city. William Watson, a sea captain in the employ of the Confederates, docked in Tampico frequently and he described it as follows:

Although the town was occupied by the French troops, the civil government was not interfered with. Some cumbersome restrictions had been abolished by the French, and some reforms and some progressive measures introduced, and on the whole, business and things in general seemed to be tending towards prosperity. The people appeared contented.⁷⁹

Watson was in Tampico in June 1864 when Maximilian accepted the Imperial Crown of Mexico, and he noted that, although the city celebrated the event, many people seemed somewhat ambivalent about national politics:

Talking that day with some prominent merchants of the place, I asked if they thought that the people were sincere in the part they took in the demonstration. "Sincere enough during the time it lasts," was the reply, "and they would do just the same to-morrow for President Juárez, if he could come in and drive out the French and unseat Maximilian."⁸⁰

The French army began to withdraw from Mexico early in 1866, hoping to leave Maximilian with a dependable military of his own. Mexican support for the emperor, however, never materialized, and the forces of Benito Juárez, now backed by United States interests, soon retook much of the Republic. They attacked and captured Tampico on 1 August 1866. From that time on, Thomas Tio and his family lived in a Mexico

79. Ibid., 136-37.

80. Ibid., 137.

governed by Mexicans, although political strife returned ten years later when General Porfirio Díaz (1830-1915) overthrew the government established by Juárez.⁸¹

What of Thomas Tio's musical career and the musical activities of the family during their Mexican residency? Unfortunately, no detailed information has to date emerged. However, because the position of the later Tio musicians in the literature of jazz history has depended in part upon their "Mexican heritage" and the degree to which they may have carried some kind of Mexican musical influences with them to New Orleans, the present discussion addresses the musical issues of the family's Mexican period, including the general musical environment, Thomas Tio's career, and the training of his sons, Joseph, Louis, and Lorenzo.

Throughout the nineteenth century Mexico City constituted the only significant Mexican center for the European-style music with which Thomas Tio was familiar.⁸² In a concise description of the musical scene in mid-century Mexico, Robert Stevenson notes that what little activity existed in the areas of chamber and symphonic music did not extend beyond Mexico City, and despite the founding of a

81. Dabbs, 156-76; Sinkin, 5. Díaz governed Mexico from 1876 to 1911.

82. Robert Stevenson, *Music in Mexico: A Historical Survey* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1952), 172-223 passim.

national conservatory in 1866, amateurs rather than professionals dominated musical circles. However, he also points out that the Mexican public was overwhelmingly fond of music, particularly Italian opera, and uniformly regarded music as a "worthy vocation." Moreover, the piano had become a common household instrument and the demand for piano music was sufficient to sustain five music-publishing houses.⁸³

The situation must have been especially limited in outlying areas. For example, opera performances and pianos were probably rarities in a town such as Tampico, which, unlike Veracruz, did not serve as port of entry for Europeans (or European goods) traveling to Mexico City.⁸⁴ As for the Eureka Colony, unless the colonists had access to a piano in the facilities of the *Hacienda Cofradía*, it is quite doubtful they had any kind of performance opportunities outside their own homes. Any music-making must have been recreational, perhaps taking the form of small musicales (Antoinette Tio played the guitar, and there may have been a few other musicians among the colonists).

Essentially, there does not seem to have been any significant musical community for Thomas Tio to fit into upon

83. Ibid., 218-19.

84. Dabbs, *passim*; See also Jorge Hernandez Millares and Alejandro Carrillo Escribano, *Atlas Porrúa de la República Mexicana* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1966), 99.

his arrival in Mexico. Once the family moved closer to Tampico, he may have been able to resume some of the activities he pursued in New Orleans, such as performing in a theater orchestra or marching band, although it is unlikely that any evidence of such work would have survived.

Of one musical activity we can be more certain, however. Thomas Tio must have seen to the musical training of his sons, since they became active in the musical circles of New Orleans very soon after returning there in 1877.⁸⁵

Because they came to be associated with the development of jazz, the education of the next generation of Tios is an issue of some import in the history of that style. Many authors, perhaps wishing to establish a historical connection for the "Spanish tinge" in early jazz described by Ferdinand "Jelly Roll" Morton (1890-1941),⁸⁶ have placed particular emphasis on the supposed "Mexican origins" of the Tio family.⁸⁷ Perhaps because their New Orleans Creole-of-color beginnings have remained largely unknown, the Tios have

85. The 1881 city directory includes the following entries: "Tio, Joseph, musician, 303 N. Roman," and "Tio, Antoine, musician, 303 N. Roman."

86. Gilbert Chase, ed., *The American Composer Speaks* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1966), 164.

87. See Jempi De Donder, "The Second Hundred Years," *Footnote 19/6* (1988): 27; Al Rose and Edmond Souchon, *New Orleans Jazz: A Family Album*, 3d rev. ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984), 121. Rose and Souchon unaccountably report a birthplace of "Mexico, D.F." (Mexico City) for both Louis and Lorenzo Tio, Sr.

at times been accorded Mexican traits they did not in fact exhibit. For example, most jazz historians have employed a Spanish spelling, "Luis," to refer to Antoine Louis Tio, although his signature clearly reads "Louis" and no primary source encountered in this study has shown that he (or his father, Thomas Louis Marcos Tio) ever spelled it differently.**

The principal source for the embellishment of the Tio family's connection to Mexico is one of the earliest works to deal with jazz, Samuel B. Charters's *Jazz: New Orleans, 1885-1958*, which appeared in 1958. In the second edition of this directory, Charters writes:

The Tios, Lorenzo and Luis, and Lorenzo's son, Lorenzo, Jr., were probably the most influential clarinet players in the city. Lorenzo and Luis were graduates of the Mexican Conservatory of Music in Mexico City, and after they moved to New Orleans

88. Ibid.; see also Alden Ashforth and John Chilton, "Tio," *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz* (London: Macmillan, 1988), 2:538; William Schafer, *Brass Bands and New Orleans Jazz* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), 98-99; John Chilton, *Who's Who of Jazz* (London: Macmillan, 1985), 332; Barney Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke: The Autobiography of a Clarinetist*, ed. Barry Martyn (London: Macmillan, 1985), 1-40 passim; Gene Anderson, "Johnny Dodds in New Orleans," *American Music* 8/4 [1990]: 414; to cite some of the more recent.

Antoine Louis Tio's signature appears in *Sale of Property*, Tio heirs to Thompson, Amedée Ducatel, n.p., 2 March 1886, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives. In a taped interview with Bill Russell and Richard Allen (Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University), Louis R. Tio, grandson of Thomas, specifically states that the family always used the spelling L-o-u-i-s.

either of them played regularly with the Excelsior Brass Band [emphasis added].⁸⁹

Charters based his writings primarily on interviews with surviving jazz musicians and enthusiasts, but he seems to have made little attempt to corroborate the information given him.⁹⁰ The contention that Antoine Louis Tio and Augustin Lorenzo Tio attended and graduated from the Mexican National Conservatory appears to lack factual basis, and is at best implausible, considering the Tio family's circumstances during this period.

The *Sociedad Filarmónica Mexicana* established a conservatory in Mexico City in 1866 (renamed the *Conservatorio Nacional de Música* in 1877), which offered instruction in woodwinds, among other areas.⁹¹ At that time, however, Thomas Tio and his family lived in the coastal town of Tampico. Primary sources, including the Tio family

89. Samuel B. Charters, *Jazz: New Orleans, 1885-1963* (New York: Oak Publications, rev. ed., 1963), 9. Charters also writes that the Tios "came to New Orleans about 1885," an educated guess which postdates the actual reentry by seven years.

90. Charters, Preface to *Jazz: New Orleans, 1885-1963*; Marquis, 124, 149-51; Anderson, 406-407; Donald M. Marquis, interview by the author, New Orleans, 22 February 1991.

91. Stevenson, 191; Gloria Carmona, *Periodo de la Independencia a la Revolucion (1810 a 1910)*, no. 3 of *Historia*, vol. 1 of *La Música de México*, ed. Julio Estrada, (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autonoma de México, 1984), 175. Woodwinds were taught by clarinetist Jesus Medinilla.

oral history, show no indication that family members ever moved or even traveled to Mexico City.⁹² Moreover, Athénaïs Tio moved back to New Orleans with her sister-in-law and children in 1877; her son Joseph was then 20 years old, but Louis was only 16, and Lorenzo 10. Thus it becomes even more doubtful that Louis or Lorenzo could have already graduated from the Conservatory.⁹³

The only primary source material on this topic casts further doubt on Charters's assertion. In 1898, while separately involved with touring minstrel companies, Louis and Lorenzo Tio kept in touch with each other via personal communications in the entertainment column of a black newspaper, the *Indianapolis Freeman*. On 8 October 1898, that paper published the following note from Lorenzo Tio:

Lorenzo Tio, ex. clarioneteist [sic] of Richard, Pringle, Rusco & Holland's Minstrels, now with Oliver Scott's Colored Minstrels, would like to inform all of

92. Louis R. Tio, interview; Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990. Louis R. Tio mentioned that he thought the family spent some time in Veracruz as well as Tampico, but did not elaborate.

93. The only real candidate for a Tio having a connection with the *Conservatorio Nacional* would be Joseph Marcos Tio (b. 1857), who conceivably could have traveled from Tampico to Mexico City to enroll at the school. However, Joseph died in 1884, and he seems to have been unknown to future generations of New Orleans jazz musicians; thus, unless Charters's interviewee meant that Louis and Lorenzo Tio had a relative who studied at the Mexican National Conservatory, the entire idea is probably fanciful speculation, perhaps engendered by the interviewee's respect for the musicianship of the Tios and his knowledge of their actual Mexican birth.

his friends in the profession, that Prof. Louis Tro [sic], clarinet virtuoso with Prof. Henderson Smith's \$10,000 band, taught him, and [he] is proud to return honor to his brother and Professor; also proud to be a chip off the old block . . . he says "Brother, I wish you much success."⁹⁴

Thus, it would appear that Augustin Lorenzo Tio almost surely did not attend the conservatory. The most reasonable conclusion is that Thomas Louis Marcos Tio was personally responsible for training his sons, at least the two older ones. In fact, Thomas may well have emulated his friend Joseph Bazanac and augmented his income by teaching music lessons, particularly after the family moved to Tampico. Such activity would be in keeping with the pedagogical traditions established for generations among Creoles of color in New Orleans.

Events in New Orleans in the 1870s precipitated the return of the Tio family to the United States. The older generation of the Hazeur family (the brothers and sisters of Louis Hazeur) had held onto their Metairie plantation throughout the Civil War, but by the early 1870s, only three of the nine siblings remained living.⁹⁵ At that time, these three, Thomas Hiacinthe Hazeur, Malthide Hazeur Tio,

94. Indianapolis Freeman, 8 October 1898.

95. Pierre Favre Hazeur died in 1848; Louis Hazeur died in 1860 at the Eureka Colony; Josephine Hazeur and Sylvain Homere Hazeur died in 1862; Jean Baptiste Hazeur died in 1865; and Pierre "Pepin" Favéllo Hazeur died in 1866 in Tampico. Death Certificates for all but Louis and Pierre Favéllo are held at the Louisiana State Archives.

and Antoinette Hazeur Doublet, resided together on the farm, which was operated by a nephew, Augustin Victor "Klebert" Hazeur.⁹⁶

Thomas Hiacinthe Hazeur died on 5 October 1873.⁹⁷ He owned the majority of the family property, and his succession involved its redistribution among other family members. A legal battle soon developed, in which Thomas's daughter, Marie Louise Hazeur (b. 1847), attempted to establish herself as sole heir and thus gain a controlling interest in the land. Her efforts were opposed by Thomas's sisters, Malthide Tio and Antoinette Doublet, who wished to be considered partial heirs. Such an arrangement had been allowed in the previous successions of their brothers Sylvain and Jean Baptiste. Malthide and Antoinette received the support of the other potential (but lesser) heirs, their nieces and nephews, including Klebert Hazeur and (by proxy) Athénaïs Tio.⁹⁸

96. Federal Census, 1870, 515:233; City directory, 1873-74.

97. Death Certificate, H.F. Hazeur, 6 October 1873, New Orleans Department of Health. Thomas (the initial 'F' on the death certificate appears to be a clerical mistake for 'T') died but ten days after Clementine Tio, youngest sister of Thomas Tio, who also resided at the plantation (Death Certificate, Clementine Tio, 26 September 1873, New Orleans Department of Health).

98. Succession of Thomas H. Hazeur (1875), Orleans Parish Civil District Court docket no. 29,170, New Orleans Public Library. Since their mother, Malthide Hazeur Tio, was still living, neither Thomas nor Antoinette Tio held an interest in this succession.

In addition to the legal tangles, the Hazeurs may have experienced financial difficulties operating the farm, due in part to a lack of young males in the family and in part to the depressed Reconstruction economy of Louisiana.⁹⁹ The documents pertaining to the succession of Thomas Hazeur include an inventory of the estate taken on 1 March 1875; at that time the Hazeur livestock consisted of only two horses, one of which was crippled. The inventory also describes a four-room dwelling with but meager furnishings: a bed, a bureau, an armoire, and a few pieces of silver tableware. The land and buildings were appraised at a value of \$6000; the total estate came to \$6075.¹⁰⁰

The family situation in New Orleans reached a crisis in the summer of 1877 when Malthide Hazeur Tio, then 73 years old, fell ill. According to the memoir of Antoinette Tio, word was sent to Thomas and the family in Mexico; at that point Athénaïs and Antoinette decided to return to New Orleans with the children. Perhaps due to the fact that he owned property and had established himself financially, Thomas remained in Tampico, where he died in about 1881.¹⁰¹

99. Federal Census, 1870, 515:233 shows that Klebert Hazeur (age 34) and a laborer named Max (age 25) were the only males living on the property who could be reasonably expected to tend crops. At that time, Thomas Hazeur was over 70 years old.

100. Succession of Thomas Hazeur.

101. Emancipation of Augustin Lorenzo Tio (1886), Orleans Parish Civil District Court docket no. 16,506, New

Antoinette and the 20 year-old Joseph Marcos Tio seem to have left Tampico almost immediately upon hearing of Malthide's illness. They arrived in New Orleans by way of Galveston, Texas, on 3 September 1877. Sadly, Malthide had died just four days earlier (31 August), diagnosed with hepatitis.¹⁰²

How soon afterwards Athénaïs Tio and the other children followed is unclear, but she and her family established a household in New Orleans within a year. Her oldest son, Joseph Marcos Tio, appears listed in the 1879 city directory (reflecting the situation in late 1878) as "Tio, Marcus, cigarmaker, 301 N. Roman."¹⁰³ Although Thomas Tio stayed

Orleans Public Library. In this case, dated 18 January 1886, the court ordered that Lorenzo Tio, Sr. (then 18), "be fully emancipated and relieved of all the disabilities which attach to minors, with full power to do and perform all acts as fully as if he had attained the age of twenty-one years." Athénaïs Tio petitioned for the ruling in order to facilitate the sale of Lorenzo's inherited share of the Hazeur plantation. In the petition she states that "his father, Thomas L. Marcos Tio, died five years ago."

102. Memoir, Antoinette Tio; Death Certificate, Mathilde Adele Hazeur Tio, 1 September 1877, New Orleans Department of Health. Antoinette Tio writes, "Nous sommes arrivés a la Metairie lundi soir 3 Septembre, ou nous avons appris que ma pauvre chère maman, était morte depuis vendredi 31 Aout et enterée samedi 1 Septembre 1877."

103. City directory, 1879; Memoir, Antoinette Tio. As of 22 October 1877, Antoinette Tio and her nephew, Joseph Marcos had rented a house in New Orleans. Athénaïs must have arrived sometime later. Federal Census, 1910, 521: Enumeration district (ED) 112, family no. 114, shows Louis Tio's date of entry into the U.S. as 1877. Federal Census, 1900, 572: ED 59, Sheet 9, gives a date of 1878.

behind, his family resettled permanently in the United States, and his sons soon gained prominence in the same musical circles to which he had once belonged.

CHAPTER 4
THE EARLY CAREERS OF LOUIS AND
LORENZO TIO, 1878-1890

When Athénaïs Tio brought her children to New Orleans from Tampico, Mexico, she returned to a vastly changed social environment, one quite different from what she had known before the Civil War. Between the years of 1860 and 1878, New Orleans participated in Louisiana's secession from the United States (26 January 1861), became a center for the assembly of Confederate troops (Summer 1861), was captured and occupied by the Union Army (May 1862), and experienced the political and social upheavals of Reconstruction (1865-77).¹

The most profound social and economic differences resulted from the eradication of slavery, effective in Union-held territories 1 January 1863. Over the next fifteen years great numbers of freedmen migrated to the urban environment of New Orleans, vying for jobs and creating their own roles in the new social order. During the period from 1860 to 1880

1. Joe Gray Taylor, *Louisiana: A Bicentennial History* (New York: Norton, 1976), 87-114 passim. See also Kendall, 228-408 passim.

the number of blacks living in New Orleans more than doubled, from 25,423 (including 10,939 free persons of color) to 57,617, while the white population rose only slightly, from 144,601 to 158,859.² The Creoles of color, who had made up the majority of the free-colored population of the antebellum period, now found their cultural and economic position threatened. Under the law, all persons of African ancestry (to whatever degree) were regarded equally as "black," but the Creoles of color did not readily accept the the freedmen as peers. As John W. Blassingame describes the situation:

The most important cause of social division in the Negro community was cultural differences. This area, as with wealth, education, and occupations, was to a degree linked with color and previous condition. The free mulatto [Creole of color] was French in thought, language, and culture while the black freedman was English-speaking and Afro-American in culture. . . . Because the Creole Negroes used French in their daily affairs, [sometimes] vacationed and were educated in Paris, deliberated in French at their club meetings, and read French novels, poems, and newspapers, English-speaking blacks were generally barred from associating or communicating with them.³

Relations between whites and the Creoles of color also deteriorated during Reconstruction. The Democrats regained control of the state government in 1876, and President Rutherford B. Hayes withdrew the remaining Federal

2. John W. Blassingame, *Black New Orleans, 1860-1880* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), 1-9.

3. *Ibid.*, 155-56.

troops in April 1877.⁴ A number of prominent Creoles of color had taken part in the carpetbag Republican government, and the embittered whites made no provision for the former *gens de couleur libres* as they carried out new efforts to disfranchise and subjugate all blacks. For the Creoles of color, life in New Orleans during the late nineteenth century was characterized by loss of political power, reductions in economic status, and increasingly institutionalized racial segregation.⁵

Within the new atmosphere, the Creoles of color continued their clannish social ways and nurtured their French-oriented culture, in which literature and music played a vital role. They also helped create a viable black press in postbellum New Orleans.⁶ The nature and scope of social activity in the Creole-of-color community is reflected in the pages of four successive newspapers, each under black editorship: *L'Union* (1862-64), *The New Orleans Tribune* (1864-70), *The Weekly Louisianian* (1877-82), and *The Weekly Pelican* (issues survive from 1887 and 1889 only).

4. Kendall, 390-405 passim.

5. Desdunes, 165-94 passim; Kara E. Rousseau, "Cultural Patterns of Colored Creoles: A Study of A Selected Segment of New Orleans Negroes with French Cultural Orientations" (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1955), 13; Taylor, 104; Wingfield, 54-56.

6. Blassingame, 157; Desdunes, 175-76.

News items from the *Weekly Louisianian*, in publication at the time the Tio family returned from Mexico, show that dancing, concertizing, and attending theater productions were regular activities for many blacks in New Orleans, particularly Creoles of color. The paper paid close attention to the accomplishments of the leading musicians in the community, such as Louis Martin, Arthur P. Williams, Sylvester Decker, Théogène Baquet, and J. B. M. Doublet (cousin of Thomas Tio). These men conducted ensembles and organized performances, contributing significantly to the cultural vitality of the period.

Louis Martin conducted an orchestra of about 20 pieces in a formal concert at Globe Hall (at the corner of St. Peter and St. Claude Streets)⁷ on 14 October 1877. The *Weekly Louisianian* of 20 October reported that the music was "skillfully executed," and that the orchestra's

rendition of several difficult overtures, symphonies, etc., evidenced careful training, and reflected credit upon their accomplished leader, Prof. Louis Martin. New Orleans is probably the only city in the United States that can boast of an orchestra, complete in all its details, composed entirely of colored men.⁸

A printed program for the concert is reproduced in James Monroe Trotter's *Music and Some Highly Musical*

7. For maps showing this and other locations within the city, see Appendix A.

8. *Weekly Louisianian*, 20 October 1877. Further references to this source appear parenthetically in the text, with the abbreviation WL followed by the date (e.g., WL, 10.20.77).

People. It lists thirteen selections, which include songs, instrumental features, and the overtures to three operas: *La Muette de Portici* [Auber, 1828], *Sémiramis* [probably *Semiramide*, Rossini, 1823], and *La Dame Blanche* [Boieldieu, 1825].⁹ As was customary in New Orleans, the program was followed by a dance. Martin seems to have enjoyed a successful career in music; further newspaper references indicate that he also led a string band (generally a dance-music ensemble of four to eight pieces, including violin and guitar or mandolin) in the late 1880s.¹⁰

Arthur P. Williams (1840-after 1916) served as a school principal and choir director in addition to performing widely as a pianist and organist. He organized several exhibitions at Sumner School featuring his vocal students, such as the one of 29 June 1879, wherein he led the young people in singing selections from Gilbert and Sullivan's 1878 operetta, *H.M.S. Pinafore* (WL, 7.5.79).¹¹ Williams also participated in Church-sponsored activities; for instance, he helped direct a five-night variety entertainment at St. Philip's

9. Trotter, 350.

10. *Weekly Pelican*, 29 February 1887. Further references to this source appear parenthetically in the text, with the abbreviation WP followed by the date (e.g., WP, 2.20.87).

11. References to other school musicales directed by Williams appear in the *Weekly Louisianian* of 17 January 1880 and 2 July 1881.

Protestant Episcopal Church (WL, 4.12.79). As a performer, he frequently provided music for private parties and dances. At one such occasion in December 1880 he introduced five new dances to the revelers: "the Continental, Prince Imperial, Varieties, New York, and Pinafore lancers" (WL, 12.25.80).¹²

One of the most respected Creoles of color active in the postbellum music scene of New Orleans was Jean Baptiste Maurice Doublet (1828-1883), whose talents as a violinist garnered the lavish praise of James M. Trotter (passage quoted above, p. 93). Doublet also taught music privately, and one of his prime contributions in that area, like that of his cousin Thomas Tio, was the training of his sons, at least four of whom became performing musicians in their own right.¹³

Doublet functioned in a variety of musical roles. He led dance-music ensembles, as indicated in the following news account of a masonic lodge meeting and party:

12. Williams, whose musical achievements are noted by Trotter (p. 343), also held offices in a number of social/masonic organizations. He served as organist for the Eureka Lodge, and in 1881 was elected Eminent Commander of the Bethany Commandery of the-Knights of Templar. The extent of Williams's social involvement was such that Blassingame has considered him one of the dozen or so most prominent leaders of the non-Creole (those whose primary language was English) black community (p. 157).

13. The younger Doublets, Joseph M., Charles, Anthony, and Aramis, are discussed below, p. 135.

At 9 o'clock the spacious hall was cleared, and until the "wee hours of the morning" the beauties of our Creole and [Afro-]Cuban population could be seen twirling in the maze of the dance to the strains of fine music from Prof. Doublet's band (WL, 1.28.82).

He also performed as a soloist:

Last Tuesday evening, 6th inst., a select party of ladies and gentlemen whiled away the happy hours of a pleasant evening at the residence of Mr. Hewlitt [sic] on Rampart Street. Several musical amateurs being present, the company was treated to a "Musicale." Prof. Maurice Doublet, violinist, accompanied by a young lady at the piano, executed some very fine selections. Several ladies performed on the piano and sang. After the "musicale" the company engaged in a "hop." The "Pinafore lancers" and "Varieties" were danced (WL, 9.10.81).

Doublet seems to have been employed by the host of the above party, Leopold Hewlett, as a music teacher for Hewlett's daughter, Manela. In December 1881 Doublet helped to organize a large-scale concert featuring the young lady at the piano. The initial newspaper announcement of the event noted that

the services of Mr. J. B. Doublet as chief of orchestra will be secured along with those of nine other musicians. The soirée, under such auspices promises to be one of the best yet enjoyed by our population (WL, 12.24.81).

A subsequent article described the proceedings in detail:

We take pleasure in giving the programme of Miss M. Hewlett's Concert, which will take place on Monday, January the 16th[:]

Overture--Brilliant valse executed by the orchestra.
 Opera of Verdi--[Il] Trovator[el], by Mr. E. Populus.
 Norma, Duo, violin and piano, by Mr. Doublet and Miss L.
 Variations of [Henri] Herz on "L'Etoile du Nord," by Miss Hewlett.

Duo, cornet and piano, by Miss Hewlett and
A[lcide] Staes.

Comic song, by Mr. Nicholas.

Opera--[La] Favorite of Donizetti, by Miss Hewlett;

and a series of other operatic songs and romances.
The concert will close with a "Vaudeville" by Messrs.
Allain and Giovanni. Then will follow a ball for the
balance of the night. Admission 25 cents. Tickets
sale corner Rampart and St. Philippe [sic], at
Hewlett's cigar factory (WL, 1.7.82).

One day prior to the concert appeared an announcement that
the "grand social and instrumental concert" would take place
at the Globe [also referred to as the Masonic] Hall, corner
of St. Peter and St. Claude Streets (WL, 1.14.82).

A lengthy review in the *Weekly Louisianian* of 21
January 1882 proclaimed the concert a resounding success:

The Masonic Hall was crowded with a large and
appreciative audience last Monday evening, the 16th
inst. The occasion which drew this brilliant
assemblage of the elite of our population was the
grand vocal and instrumental concert given under the
auspices of Mr. Leopold Hewlett, with Prof. Doublet as
musical director. The entertainment was rendered in
the French language by amateurs of a high order of
excellence.

Each participant received glowing praise, such as was
accorded to Miss Hewlett:

"L'Etoile du Nord," one of H. Herz chefs d'oeuvres,
was beautifully rendered by Miss Hewlett. The
audience appreciated the same with delight.

The reviewer applauded the efforts of Doublet's orchestra,
noting that

the [program] opened with a grand overture by the
orchestra,--a brilliant valse of O. Metra, executed

with fine effect. . . . The orchestra . . . opened the second part of the concert with "Les Fleurs d'Automne," by Ziegler.¹⁴

Doublet's pedagogical skills, and no doubt his parental pride, were also displayed to good effect when

the little boy, A. Doublet, 9 years old, surprised the audience in the brilliant execution of *la Norma*, "Duo," violin and piano, Miss Hewlett occupied the piano.

Although J. B. M. Doublet had three sons whose first initial was A, this was most probably Aramis N. Doublet, who was born in June 1873.¹⁵

The Doublet family's involvement in Creole-of-color musical traditions ran a course similar to that of their cousins, the Tios. The son of Antoinette Hazeur, J. B. M. Doublet had married Anais Dupré by 1859, when their first child, Joseph Maurice, was born.¹⁶ Living first in his mother's home on St. Anthony Street and then (after the Civil War) at their own residence, 426 St. Ann Street, the Doublets had six more children between 1860 and 1880: Charles (b. 1867), Anthony (b. 1870), Antonia (b. 1872), Aramis (b. 1873), Achille (b. 1875), and Emile (b. 1880).¹⁷ In

14. A leading French composer of dance music, Olivier Metra (1830-1998) published over 100 waltzes in the mid-1800s. "Ziegler" remains unidentified.

15. Federal Census, 1880, 461:321; Federal Census, 1900, 572: ED 67, Sheet 18.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.; Federal Census, 1900, 571: ED 49, Sheet 7; City directory, 1858-80.

addition to Aramis, the three older sons studied music and pursued musical careers. Charles and Anthony later organized a dance orchestra with Louis and Lorenzo Tio.¹⁸ Joseph had already attained some measure of prominence by 1880, as he was included in Trotter's 1878 list of noteworthy black musicians:

J. M. Doublet is only eighteen years of age, but is considered already a violinist of excellent ability. He has studied music under the direction of his father, J. B. M. Doublet.¹⁹

Whether the Tio brothers, Joseph, Louis, and Lorenzo, took part in any of J. B. M. Doublet's musical activities is unknown, but the two families did interact after the Tios returned to New Orleans. The Tios established a household at 301 N. Roman Street (near the corner of Roman and Columbus Streets) in 1878. This location was about twelve blocks from the Doublets, whose house stood on St. Ann Street, between

18. This was the Tio and Doublet String Band, discussed below, p. 162-65. Charles Doublet was first listed in the city directory as a musician in 1882; Anthony was listed as such in 1894.

19. Trotter, 346. Joseph's middle name, by which he occasionally went, was Maurice. His name first appeared in the City directory in 1878, where he was listed as Joseph M. Doublet, musician. He continued to be listed under that name until 1887, except for two separate years, 1880 and 1885, when he was listed as Maurice Doublet, musician.

It is possible that the *Weekly Lousianian* article of 10 September 1881 (see above, p. 133) refers to [Joseph] Maurice, instead of his father, [Jean Baptiste] Maurice. However, the title "Prof[essor]" generally denoted a high degree of prominence, and in the *Weekly Lousianian* was used only for such prominent figures as Williams, Martin, and Baquet. On this basis, it seems most probable that the Maurice Doublet in question is the father, J. B. M. Doublet.

Galvez and Miro streets (both families lived in the Faubourg Tremé). J. B. M. Doublet's mother, Antoinette, who had resided with her son's family for some time,²⁰ died at 426 St. Ann on 13 November 1880. Her death was reported to the city board of health the next day by Joseph Marcos Tio.²¹

The Tios became involved with the black brass bands of New Orleans early in their careers. Modern sources based upon interviews with latter-generation brass band musicians uniformly list Louis and Lorenzo Tio as regular members, from the mid-1880s on, of the Excelsior Brass Band.²² This group was the most prominent of a number of well-known bands active throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century. As no complete roster of the very early Excelsior band has surfaced, it seems possible that the oldest Tio brother, Joseph, may also have marched with the group before leaving New Orleans in about 1883 (his departure and death are discussed below, p. 148).

20. 1880 Census, 461:321. She is listed with the Doublet family by her pseudonym, Pamela.

21. Death Certificate, Mrs. Maurice Doublet, 14 November 1880, New Orleans Department of Health.

22. Charters, 9-10; William J. Schafer, *Brass Bands and New Orleans Jazz* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), 98; Al Rose and Edmond Souchon, *New Orleans Jazz: A Family Album*, 3d rev. ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984), 194-95; Donald M. Marquis, *In Search of Buddy Bolden: First Man of Jazz* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 83-84.

The Excelsior Brass Band is mentioned regularly in the *Weekly Lousianian* from March 1879 to June 1882, more often than any other musical organization (six other brass bands are named). News items indicate that the Excelsior band consisted of up to sixteen musicians, and was led until 1881 by Sylvester Decker (b. c1840) and after that time by cornetist Théogène Baquet (b. c1854).²³ The band marched in parades, presented formal concerts, and provided music for soirées, picnics, sporting events, and excursions. Figure 2, below, shows a compilation of the Excelsior band's performances from this period as reported in the *Louisianian*. Although this list surely represents only a portion of the band's actual engagement calendar, it clearly reflects the varied nature of brass-band work in New Orleans.

While in many instances the newspaper merely announced that the events were to take place, it occasionally ran descriptive articles after the fact; these articles provide an idea of various aspects of the performances. For example,

23. Decker is mentioned in the issues of 3.8.79, 6.14.79, 10.11.79, and 1.12.81; Baquet is mentioned in those of 8.20.81, 8.27.81, and 3.5.82. The role of each in the Excelsior band is discussed below, pp. 142-43.

DATE	FUNCTION
3.4.79	Fireman's Day Parade, New Orleans
3.7.79	Fireman's Day parade, Mobile, AL
3.13.79	dance (Constantine Commandery of the Knights of Templar), location not given
6.7.79	train excursion (Odd Fellows) to Thibodaux, LA
7.3.79	steamboat excursion (Constantine Commandery) to Baton Rouge
10.16.79	Excelsior Brass Band concert, St. James Chapel
10.20.79	Excelsior Brass Band concert and dance, Cottrell's Hall
2.10.80	Excelsior Brass Band Mardi Gras Ball, location not given
3.4.80	Fireman's Day parade, New Orleans
2.12.81	parade (Young and True Friends), New Orleans
6.25.81	St. John's Day baseball tournament (Eureka Lodge), The Fairgrounds
8.17.81	picnic (Knights of Athena), Loeper's Park
8.25.81	concert and dance (Americus Club), Loeper's Park
9.22.81	Emancipation Proclamation anniversary celebration, Oakland Park
12.17.81	dance (Friends of Louisiana), Economy Hall
6.26.82	pyrotechnical exhibition and soirée (St. Joseph's Young Men's Benevolent Association), Delachaise Park

Figure 2. Performances of the Excelsior Brass Band, as reported in the *Weekly Louisianian*, March 1879 to June 1882.

an account of the annual Fireman's Day parade of 4 March 1879 includes a description of the band's uniforms:

One important and noticeable feature of the day's celebrations was the appearance of the "Excelsior Band" at the head of Pelican Fire Co. No. 4, under the leadership of Mr. Sylvestus [sic] Decker in their new and beautiful uniforms, planned after the style of the Prussian military costume, with dark blue helmet hats, ribbed with burnished brass, corded in white,

with white horse-hair plumes; long military coats, three rows of brass buttons, corded in white with brass epaulets; pants of dark navy blue cloth with white stripe. Everywhere they appeared their approach was heralded with murmurs of admiration (WL, 3.8.79).

The excursion to Baton Rouge of 3 July 1879 was sponsored by a New Orleans (black) fraternal society, the Constantine Commandery of the Knights of Templar, and hosted by a similar group from Baton Rouge. It began with a steamboat trip up the Mississippi River to Baton Rouge, where the excursionists received a cannon salute before disembarking. The afternoon's activities included a parade from the wharf into town (before a large crowd) and a picnic on the grounds of the state capitol (WL, 7.12.79). The uniformed Excelsior band led the parade; undoubtedly, it also performed on the deck of the steamboat and at the picnic.

In February 1880 the Excelsior band held its own subscription Mardi Gras ball, and the *Weekly Lousianian* reported that the event "was a most decided financial success, clearing [funds] sufficient to purchase a new set of instruments" (WL, 2.14.80).

In August 1881 the band gave two outdoor concert-and-dance programs for social clubs at Loeper's park (a small recreational area located on Bienville Avenue just beyond the upper boundary of the Faubourg Tremé). The first of these,

on 17 August, was billed as the "Grand Entertainment of the Knights of Athena," and the newspaper reported that

the Excelsior Brass Band, under the direction of Professor T. V. Baquet, during the intervals of the dance, discoursed operatic selections from Fahrback, Meyerbeer, Balfe, Offenbach, and Beethoven, which enraptured the guests with strains of music that caused many to pause in the grand promenade which encircled the spacious floor of the pavilion (WL, 8.20.81).²⁴

Perhaps the one event on the Excelsior calendar that most typified the spirit of the black community in New Orleans and its delight in pageantry was the St. John's Day celebration of 25 June 1881:

[The] Eureka Grand Lodge commemorated St. John's Day, by a parade and a Grand Masonic Festival at the Fair Grounds. During the day there was a Baseball [sic] tournament of the League Clubs. At night the extensive grounds were illuminated by the new Electric Light. The Excelsior and Pickwick Brass Bands vied with each other in popular music (WL, 7.2.81).

In addition their brass-band work, the Excelsior musicians helped establish the custom among early New Orleans bands of altering their instrumentation to include string instruments for ballroom dance performances. Such a modification, indicated in the following announcement, could be accomplished either by doubling among themselves or by substituting string players for some of their number:

24. Philip Fahrback (1815-1885) was a Viennese composer/orchestra leader who published about 400 dances and marches. His son, Philip, fils (1834-1894), pursued a similar career, and himself published about 350 dances and marches. Michael William Balfe (1808-1870), an Irish singer, composed several successful operas, including *The Siege of Rochelle* (1835) and *The Bohemian Girl* (1843).

Tonight the "Friends of Louisiana" will give their Fancy Dress and Masquerade Ball at the Economy Hall. The celebrated Excelsior String Band is engaged for the occasion. Admission 50 cents (WL, 12.17.81).

Who were the musicians who made up the Excelsior organization of 1879-82? The *Weekly Louisianian* names three early leaders of the Excelsior Brass Band: Sylvester Decker, Leon Cuillette, and Théogène Vital Baquet. Decker, the first known leader, is listed in the city directory as early as 1873; then as a laborer living on Perdido Street, in the uptown section, several blocks upriver from Canal Street. A Samuel Decker, musician, is listed in the 1880 Federal Census and the 1881 city directory at 437 South Franklin (now Loyola Avenue, in the same neighborhood as Perdido Street).²⁵ As Decker's initials were given in the newspaper as "S. S." (WL, 2.12.81), it seems quite possible that the census and directory listings both refer to the bandleader. Decker continued to reside in the area just upriver from Canal Street throughout the decade; his name appears intermittently in the directories of the day.²⁶

Sylvester Decker relinquished leadership of the Excelsior band for a few weeks in September 1879, and his

25. Federal Census, 1880, 458:117; City directory, 1881. The census report gives Decker's birthplace as Texas.

26. City directories, 1873-90. The Samuel Decker of the census report is also taken to be the S. S. Decker of the Excelsior band by Lawrence Gushee in his article, "Black Professional Musicians in New Orleans, c1880," *Inter-American Music Review* 11/2 (1991): 60.

place was taken by Leon Cuillette (WL, 9.20.79). Little is known of Cuillette; he appears but once in the city directory, that of 1882, listed as a musician living on St. Louis Street. Decker reassumed leadership of the band by October 1879 (WL, 10.11.79).

Cornetist Théogène Baquet took over leadership of the Excelsior Brass Band by August 1881 and continued in that capacity until 1904. A Creole of color, Baquet resided in the Faubourg Tremé, where in addition to performing he worked as a shoemaker and cigar maker.²⁷ He and his wife had a number of children during the 1880s; two sons, George and Achille, later became professional clarinetists, and both were involved with the early development of jazz. From August 1902 through 1903 Théogène Baquet served as president of the newly-formed black local 242 of the American Federation of Musicians. During these later years he also directed a concert band made up of musicians from several prominent brass bands.²⁸ He seems to have either died or left New Orleans by 1907, at which point his name disappears from city records.

The *Weekly Louisianian* names three others in connection with the Excelsior band: James O. Hoggatt, a Mr. Penn and a Mr. Boisseau, each of whom not only played an

27. City directories, 1880-1907.

28. Gushee, "Black Professional Musicians," 56.

instrument but supplied tickets for subscription functions.²⁹ No information has surfaced about Penn, but Hoggatt and Boisseau were well-known names among Creole-of-color musicians. James Oswald Hoggatt (1856-after 1900), doubled as a musician and a postal carrier. Throughout the 1880s he lived with his mother and siblings in the Faubourg Tremé. His younger brother, Miller Zenas Hoggatt (1858-1898), is listed consistently as a musician in the city directories. The Hoggatts are most probably the pair of alto horn players whose name appears as "Hackett brothers" in several secondary-source rosters of the Excelsior band.³⁰

Joseph Boisseau (c1856-c1908) enjoyed a long career as the foremost baritone horn player in New Orleans. He also supported his family by working as a teamster and cigar maker. After the turn of the century Boisseau performed with the Bloom Symphony, a Creole-of-color concert orchestra. In that setting he adapted bassoon parts to the baritone horn.³¹

29. Hoggatt is mentioned in the issues of 3.13.80, 4.17.80, and 1.14.82; Hoggatt and Penn in the issue of 3.8.79; Hoggatt and Boisseau, 10.11.79.

30. City directories, 1879-1901; Federal Census, 1880, 461:104; Federal Census, 1900, ED 23, sheet 6; Death Certificate, Zenas Hoggatt, 18 May 1898, New Orleans Department of Health. The listing of "Hackett Brothers" appears in Charters, 14; Schafer, 98; Rose and Souchon, 194.

31. Federal Census, 1880, 458:127; Federal Census, 1900, 571: ED 38, sheet 9; City directories, 1879-1910; Charters, 5; Gushee, "Black Professional Musicians," 62. Charter refers to this musician as "Edward" Boisseau, although this first name does not appear in primary sources.

Joseph, Louis, and Lorenzo Tio established themselves rapidly in the same musical community as Decker, Baquet, et al. (Louis and Lorenzo are the only persons listed in any source as playing clarinet in the Excelsior band of this period). At the same time, they helped support their family and participated in its affairs.

According to entries in the city directory, both Joseph and Louis made cigars, a trade they may have learned from their father. As of late 1880, they worked for Frederick Beling, whose cigar factory was located at 78 North Peters Street, close to the river in the Faubourg Marigny. The 1880 Federal Census report shows that others in the family worked, as well. Athénaïs hired out as a domestic worker, and her teen-age daughters, Joséphine and Genéviève, were seamstresses. As of 1880 the 13-year-old Lorenzo still attended school, but within a few years he undertook steady employment as a brickmason.³²

32. City directory, 1879-90; Federal Census, 1880, 462:616. In the census report, Marie Marguerite Athénaïs Tio is listed as Margaret; Louis Tio is listed by his first name, Antoine; and Lorenzo's name appears as Laurent. The 1881 city directory contains five entries for the family:

Tio, Adele; widow Thomas, r[esidence] 303 N. Roman
 Tio, Antoine, musician, r. 303 N. Roman
 Tio, Joseph, musician, r. 303 N. Roman
 Tio, Louis, cigarmaker, F. Beling, r. 301 N. Roman
 Tio, Marcus, cigarmaker, F. Beling, r. 301 N. Roman

This confused situation may reflect a sense of humor on the part of the family member who supplied the information to an unsuspecting directory enumerator. Thomas's widow, of

During the early 1880s the Tios participated in the final division and sale of the Hazeur family plantation. With the deaths of Thomas Hiacinthe Hazeur (1874) and his sisters Malthide (1877) and Antoinette (1880), no fewer than fifteen heirs received shares in the property. After a period of legal wrangling, Thomas Hazeur's daughter, Marie Louise Hazeur, inherited the largest portion, or seven-fifteenths. Among the other heirs were Thomas Tio, Antoinette Tio, Athénaïs Hazeur Tio, and J. B. M. Doublet, each of whom inherited a one-fifteenth interest. When Thomas Tio died, his share descended to his five children.³³

Marie Louise Hazeur liquidated her interest in the plantation on 6 November 1880 (one week before the death of her aunt, Antoinette Doublet). By this time, the family had

course, was Marie Marguerite Athénaïs Tio, who seems to have occasionally used the name Adele as a pseudonym, perhaps appropriated from the full name of her deceased mother-in-law/aunt, Malthide Adele Hazeur Tio. In spite of the different addresses, the four remaining entries refer to two people, Joseph Marcos and Louis Antoine Tio. The family address appears as 303 North Roman Street in a few other sources as well; it seems that the house on Roman Street was probably a double shotgun (small duplex) and that the Tios occupied both sides. The brothers may have taken advantage of the situation to gain directory space for each of their professions. The designation of "musician" lends weight to the probability that Joseph and Louis had already become established in the Creole-of-color musical community.

33. Monte M. Lemann to Harry H. Hall (Hall and Monroe Law Offices, New Orleans), 29 May 1908, Hazeur family papers, held by Rose Tio Winn, photocopy in author's possession. This letter, an attorney's report, summarizes the inheritance and sale of the Hazeur plantation.

been unable for several years to pay taxes on the property, and at least two cash loans for which it had served as collateral remained outstanding. Consequently, the lesser heirs were obliged to follow suit. After a lengthy series of purchases (nine separate acts of sale, extending into the spring of 1886), Joseph Thompson, of Dayton, Ohio, acquired the entire tract of land.³⁴

The final sale, completing Thompson's acquisition, involved Thomas Tio's interest, held by his children. On 2 March 1886, they met Thompson in the office of notary public Amedée Ducatel and sold their one-fifteenth of the property for \$294, which, however, went directly to Ducatel as holder of a previous lien.³⁵ All told, Thompson seems to have paid about \$2800 for the Hazeur plantation, which had previously (in 1875) been appraised at a value of \$6075. Such an apparently inequitable transfer, deriving essentially from the already impoverished condition of the Hazeur heirs, seems clearly representative of the myriad hardships suffered by Creoles of color in the aftermath of the 1877 Democratic reacquisition of political power.

Four of Thomas Tio's five children participated in the sale of his share of the plantation. The notarial document

34. Ibid.

35. Sale of Property, Tio heirs to Thompson, Amedée Ducatel, n.p., 2 March 1886, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives; Mortgage, Mrs. Widow Louis Marcos Tio, Amedée Ducatel, n.p., 23 January 1871, Orleans Parish Notarial Archives.

shows that Joseph Marcos Tio, the oldest child, had left New Orleans by 1884. According to his family's statement, Joseph traveled to Mexico City, where he died intestate and unmarried on 16 January 1884. Three of his personal friends (one of whom was a musician, string bassist Paul Dominguez, Sr.) attended the 1886 sale and swore to the veracity of the statement.³⁶ Joseph Marcos Tio appears to have remained in New Orleans until late 1883, as he is listed as a cigar maker at 301 North Roman Street in the 1884 city directory. According to the Tio family oral history, Joseph had never become acclimated to social conditions in New Orleans, and intended to resettle permanently in Mexico.³⁷

A landmark event in the postbellum history of New Orleans was the opening in December 1884 (eleven months after the death of Joseph Marcos Tio) of the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition (commemorating the first shipment of cotton from the United States in 1784). Open to the public until June 1885, the exposition occupied a 254-acre tract of land in what is now Audubon Park (about

36. Act of Sale, Tio heirs to Thompson. The other witnesses were Mrs. Joseph N. Martinez and Victor Hubert. The 1881 city directory lists Hubert as a grocer at the corner of Roman and Laharpe Streets, near the Tio residence. That of 1887 shows him to be a cigar maker, living at 320 N. Roman.

37. Louis R. Tio, interview; City directories, 1882-84. The family's two directory entries for each of these years read "Tio, Joseph M., cigarmaker, 301 N. Roman," and "Tio, Antoine L., cigarmaker, 301 N. Roman."

four-and-one-half miles upriver from Canal Street). It housed a wide variety of attractions in four principal buildings, the largest of which itself covered 33 acres. The facility included an 11,000-seat Music Hall with a stage large enough for 600 performers.³⁸

A number of musical ensembles performed at the exposition, including several bands, such as Currier's Band of Cincinnati, Ohio, and the 60-piece band of the 8th Mexican Cavalry, which proved especially popular. The Excelsior Brass Band, which according to William Schafer was "already widely known as the finest black brass band in the city,"³⁹ performed at the exposition on 23 February 1885, for the opening of a special Colored People's Exhibit. After a short ceremony at the site of the new exhibit, the band led a procession to the Music Hall. A full program of music and speeches ensued, before an audience of from two to three thousand people. A subsequent report in the *New Orleans Daily Picayune* names but one band piece, a medley entitled "The Rapid Transit Around the World."⁴⁰

38. Kendall, 1:457-67; Mary Cable, *Lost New Orleans* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980; repr. New York: American Legacy Press, 1984), 199-202. See also Donald Clive Hardy, *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition* (New Orleans: The Historic New Orleans Collection, 1978).

39. Schafer, 9.

40. *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, 24 February 1885.

The Excelsior band at this time seems to have remained under the direction of Théogène Baquet. With information drawn primarily from interviews, two modern researchers have specifically placed Louis and Lorenzo Tio on the roster of the mid-1880s Excelsior band. In his 1978 book, *In Search of Buddy Bolden: First Man of Jazz*, Donald Marquis writes that "the Tio brothers, Lorenzo, Sr., and Louis, were playing with the Excelsior band when it was a great hit at the 1885 Cotton Exposition,"⁴¹ such a contention is in accordance with Samuel Charters's 1958 statement that either or both of the Tios performed regularly with the Excelsior band from 1885 until the turn of the century.⁴²

The activities of the Excelsior Brass Band during the years 1887 and 1889 are well documented in the pages of the short-lived black newspaper, the *Weekly Pelican* (a total of 22 brass or string bands are named in this source). A partial

41. Marquis, 36.

42. Charters, 9. Due to the knowledge that Louis and Lorenzo Tio were born in Mexico, and to confusion over the date of the family's reentry into the U.S., a contention that the Tios came to New Orleans with the band of the 8th Mexican Cavalry and performed at the World's Cotton Exposition with that group has arisen and persisted in many jazz history circles. However, this idea, often voiced but never actually consigned to print, is not supported by any available primary-source evidence. The Tio family oral history is indirectly in conformance with Marquis's placement of the brothers at the Exposition with the Excelsior band. Louis R. Tio, upon direct question, stated flatly that none of his relatives were in the Mexican band. However, Rose Tio Winn, also upon direct question, responded that she felt assured her grandfather and great-uncle did perform in some capacity at the Exposition.

engagement calendar compiled from references in the *Pelican* appears in Figure 3:

DATE	FUNCTION
2.24.87	birthday party, Stackhouse home (Excelsior String Band)
3.4.87	Fireman's Day parade, New Orleans ⁴³
4.3.87	Easter rally and service, Central Church
6.20.87	picnic (Friends of Hope), Magnolia Garden
7.4.87	picnic (Odd Fellows), Orange Grove Park
7.11.87	picnic (Friends of Louisiana), Magnolia Garden
8.18.87	party (Young Men's Hope Benevolent Association), Planter's Hotel
8.22.87	picnic (Ladies of Louisiana), Loeper's Park
10.2.87	serenade (Crescent Lodge), St. Peter's African Methodist Episcopal Church
6.3.89	picnic (Young Men's Vidalia Benevolent Association), Loeper's Park
8.19.89	picnic (Ladies of Louisiana), Loeper's Park
9.1.89	birthday party, Economy Hall
10.7.89	ball (Ladies Vidalia Benevolent Association), location not given
10.21.89	dance (Young Men's Vidalia Benevolent Association), Globe Hall
10.28.89	private soirée, Sinceres' Hall
11.11.89	ball (Friends of Louisiana), Hope's Hall

Figure 3. Performances of the Excelsior Brass Band, as reported in the *Weekly Pelican*, December 1886 to November 1887 and December 1888 to November 1889.⁴⁴

43. The Excelsior band is not specifically named in the article about the Fireman's Day parade (*WP*, 3.12.87), but as the reporter noted that "ten colored bands were on hand," it seems most probable that the Excelsior participated in the event.

44. Picnics were especially well covered by this paper. Although there also occurred a great many balls and soirées, these events generally received less detailed coverage, and band names were seldom given.

One unusual band performance took place on 3 April 1887 at the Easter Sunday Grand Rally of the Central Church:

The Excelsior band furnished the music for the service, rendering the following choice selections: Mass, by Millard, "Rock of Ages," and closing with the famous "Old Hundred." . . . The band deserves great credit for the wonderful ability and capacity it displayed (WP, 4.9.87).

The popularity of the band is attested to by an announcement for the 1887 Independence Day picnic of the black Odd Fellows, which stated that "the celebrated Excelsior Brass Band has been engaged for the occasion, and an enjoyable time is anticipated" (WP, 7.2.87).

In the spring of 1887 the Excelsior band made preliminary arrangements to tour the Northeast United States, with performances in such cities as Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston (WP, 4.30.87). The proposed six-month journey was to begin in May 1887, but it does not seem to have materialized, since references to local performances continued to appear in the *Pelican* throughout that summer and the remainder of the year.⁴⁵

Among all the performances mentioned in both the *Weekly Pelican* and the *Weekly Louisianian*, twenty, including all the picnics, were for functions of various

45. Schafer (p. 29) quotes the announcement in its entirety and writes that the "bandsmen left the city for a protracted tour." However, the announcement itself states that an out-of-town manager had yet to "close the contract," and the continual newspaper references to the Excelsior band throughout the remainder of 1887 indicate clearly that the plans never came to fruition.

black fraternal societies. Two announcements from August 1887 illustrate further the close relationship between the Excelsior Brass Band and the societies:

The Young Men's Hope B[enevolent] A[ssociation] held a meeting to elect officers last Tuesday. . . . [After the meeting,] about 65 members, headed by the Excelsior brass band, marched to the Planter's Hotel and had a royal time (WP, 8.20.87).

[On] Monday, [22 August 1887], the Ladies of Louisiana Benevolent Association will give a picnic at Loeper's Park for the benefit of their relief fund. . . . Music by the Excelsior band. This organization is very popular and never fails to draw attraction (WP, 8.20.87).

Beyond that of leader Théogène Baquet, the references in the *Weekly Pelican* include the names of only two musicians associated with the Excelsior band: George Washington and William J. Nickerson. On 2 July 1887, the editor of the personal column noted that the newspaper staff was "sorry to learn that our young friend George Washington, a member of the Excelsior band is seriously ill. He has been confined to his bed for over seven weeks." Unfortunately, no further news of Washington appeared.⁴⁶ In November 1889, only weeks after having mentioned Baquet as leader, the newspaper noted that the music at a recent soirée had been provided by the Excelsior band under "Prof. Wm. Nickerson." Although William J. Nickerson (1865-1928), a performer/

46. Background information for Washington has proven elusive, due primarily to the commonness of the name. The city directories generally show several listings (none carrying a profession of musician) under the name George Washington.

conductor/educator, has been recognized by modern scholars for his leading role in the black musical community of New Orleans,⁴⁷ he is not generally known for an involvement in the city's brass-band tradition. He did play string instruments and conducted orchestras for stage productions; thus it seems likely that he may have served for a time as leader or substitute leader for the string-ensemble companion to the Excelsior Brass Band.⁴⁸

Interviews and secondary sources add the following musicians (as well as Louis and Lorenzo Tio) to the Excelsior roster:⁴⁹

Dédé Chandler (c1866-1925), drums
 Aaron W. Clark (1858-1894), baritone horn, tuba
 "Lee," drums
 Anthony Page (1867-1900), valve trombone
 Fice Quire, cornet

In addition to his work with the Excelsior Brass Band, drummer Dédé Chandler performed with the John Robichaux dance orchestra of the late 1890s, and is reputed to have been the first to assemble several drums into a trap set with a kick

47. Eileen Southern, *Biographical Dictionary of Afro-American and African Musicians* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982), 93.

48. No source pertaining to brass bands in New Orleans contains indication of the simultaneous existence of more than one Excelsior brass band. Given that by 1889 Baquet's group had been established for over ten years, and was the most prominent band in the city, the possibility that Nickerson led a rival group under the same name seems quite unlikely.

49. Charters, 14; Schafer, 98; Rose and Souchon, 194.

pedal for the bass drum. Chandler retired from music after military service in the Spanish-American War.⁵⁰ Aaron Clark, a non-Creole black man, was born in Kentucky and migrated to New Orleans sometime before 1878. He married a New Orleans woman and supported a young family through music and odd menial jobs. The Clarks resided in the uptown neighborhood just above Canal Street throughout the 1880s.⁵¹ Anthony Page was a Creole of color who lived in the Faubourg Tremé and worked in a cigar factory when not playing valve trombone for the Excelsior band. Like Baquet and Boisseau, he later became involved with orchestral and concert-band projects.⁵²

50. Charters, 5-6; Rose and Souchon, 26.

51. Federal Census, 1880, 459:496; City directory, 1879-95; Rose and Souchon, 27.

52. Federal Census, 1880, 461:266; City directory, 1879-1900; Marriage Certificate, Anthony L. Page and Florestine Xavier, 20 May 1887, New Orleans Department of Health Register of Marriages, 12:520; Death Certificate, Anthony L. Page, 11 February 1900, New Orleans Department of Health. Page is not to be confused with an older Creole-of-color musician named Antoine Pageaud (b. c1856) since both appear listed in the 1880 Census: Page as a mulatto school-boy living with his mother, Louise Bernard Page, at 196 St. Philip Street, and Pageaud as a mulatto musician living with his mother, Julie Voisin, at 121 St. Ann Street (Federal Census, 1880, 461:217). Pageaud, who disappears from city records by 1887, however, may also have been connected with the Excelsior band; he married Josephine Herrero in October 1884 (Certificate in Register of Marriages, 10:867), and one of the witnesses to the ceremony was Théogène Baquet (the author gratefully acknowledges the guidance of Lawrence Gushee on this point).

No background information has surfaced for either Fice Quire or "Lee." Personnel changes were common and often frequent among New Orleans brass bands, and some of the men involved seem to have come and gone freely. Such patterns may be attributed in part to fluctuations in the day-to-day employment scene of postbellum New Orleans. Occasionally, musicians joined rival bands. For instance, in the spring of 1889, the *Weekly Pelican* announced the formation of a new group, the Pelican Brass Band, whose initial roster included three Excelsiorites: Sylvester Decker, James Hoggatt, and Aaron Clark (WP, 3.2.89). How long these men remained with the Pelican band is unknown; Clark, at least, is said to have performed with the Excelsior in the early 1890s.⁵³

Although no definite time frame seems to have been established, Louis Tio is usually included in secondary-source rosters of the Onward Brass Band, which during the late 1880s closely rivalled the Excelsior group in popularity and in the scope of its activities.⁵⁴ Led by cornetist James Othello Lainez (c1833-1904), the Onward band seems to

53. Charters, 6. Clark's son, Joseph "Red" Clark, played low brass for many years with the Eureka Brass Band; Charters incorrectly refers to the older musician as "Joseph, Sr."

54. Rose and Souchon, 195-96; Schafer, 98-99. Both of these "collective" (i.e., all the musicians ever known to have performed with the group) rosters of the Onward band list three clarinetists; Louis Tio, Lorenzo Tio, Jr. (b. 1893), and George Baquet (b. 1883). Of these, only Louis Tio (b. 1862) would have been old enough to perform in the 1880s.

have been organized by c1885.⁵⁵ News items in the *Weekly Pelican* of 1887 indicate that the Onward band enjoyed a close association with the Good Intent Fire Company of nearby Gretna, Louisiana, as it provided entertainment for the firemen and their benevolent association on several occasions (WP, 3.19.87; 8.7.87; 11.20.87). The report of one such engagement illustrates the nature of the "train excursion," a popular activity for which the Excelsior band seldom performed:

The excursion of the Good Intent Fire Co. of Gretna, La., to Plaquemine, La. [a small town about fifteen miles below Baton Rouge on the Mississippi river], and return last Sunday, was in every respect an excellent and highly creditable affair. A squad of the Larendon Rifles accompanied the excursionists. At Plaquemines [sic] the Blue Bucket Fire Co., of that place met the train and took the guests in charge. Headed by the Onward Brass Band of this city they paraded the principal streets, thence to the Odd Fellows Hall where addresses were given, dancing following (WP, 11.26.87).

As the most prominent local bands of the 1880s, the Excelsior and Onward bands helped to establish several norms of the New Orleans brass-band tradition. For instance, in a typical New Orleans band the leader usually played cornet, the brass sound was augmented by clarinets and drums, the size of the ensemble hovered around a dozen players, and the

55. Rose and Souchon, 195-96; Death Certificate, James Othello Lainez, 22 August 1904, New Orleans Department of Health. The earliest reference to the Onward band appears in the *Weekly Pelican* of 10 September 1887. Nothing in the context of the article, a description of a benevolent society parade, suggests that the band had not been established for some time.

roster was subject to frequent substitutions and turnover.⁵⁶ Although complete rosters of these bands specific to the late 1880s have yet to be satisfactorily established, the ensembles seem to have been structured along lines now considered typical of New Orleans brass bands: two or three cornets, one or two clarinets (the E-flat clarinet was common), one or two alto horns, one or two trombones, baritone horn, bass drum and snare drum. Piccolo and tuba were used less frequently.⁵⁷

The extant newspaper reports show that the repertoires of the Excelsior and Onward bands included marches and patriotic music, waltzes and other dance forms, arrangements of popular operatic pieces, and sacred music. Besides the waltz, some of the dance forms most popular in late-nineteenth century New Orleans were the mazurka, polka, two-step, schottische, and quadrille.⁵⁸ The perennial popularity of the two bands indicates that their musicians must have been well-versed in the execution of pieces representative of these genres. Although the newspapers rarely covered them, the brass bands of New Orleans also performed for funerals (an engagement of a singular nature, usually involving a lengthy procession to the gravesite),

56. Schafer, 21-37 passim.

57. Ibid., 22; Rose and Souchon, 193-97.

58. Ibid., 42-43.

during which they played dirges drawn from a repertory of slow marches and hymns.⁵⁹

By 1887, Louis and Lorenzo Tio seem to have attained some degree of prominence as individual musicians in the Creole-of-color society, probably due in part to their association with the leading brass bands of the day. The first evidence that Louis Tio had begun to make a reputation for himself comes from July 1887, when the paper announced that he had been hired to perform with the nationally-touring Georgia Minstrels:

Mr. William Nickerson, who is connected with the famous [Richards and Pringle's] Georgia Minstrel Troupe, leaves for Chicago on 22nd inst. He will be accompanied by Messrs. Louis Tio and Therance [sic], who have been engaged for the season. Billy Kersands, who has been spending the summer with his family in Ascension parish, will be one of the party. The troupe will make a tour of the United States (WP, 7.16.87).

William Nickerson had conducted the orchestra of the Georgia Minstrels on the previous season's tour. Louis Therence, a veteran minstrel, had performed with several regional troupes and continued to entertain in New Orleans through the end of the decade. One of the foremost of all black vaudeville entertainers, Billy Kersands (1842-1915) was born in Baton Rouge and later maintained an off-season home in

59. Ibid., 30; New Orleans Daily Picayune, 22 February 1890. Schafer writes that this news item, a report of a funeral with brass band music (Wolf's Military Band), records the continuation "of a very old tradition of funeral processions with music," and that the event described is "prototypical of the funerals later closely associated with brass-band jazz."

Donaldsonville, Louisiana (about 55 miles above New Orleans on the Mississippi river). He had joined the then Hicks's Original Georgia Minstrels in 1865, and by 1887 he was a star attraction, known especially for his ballad singing and soft-shoe dancing.⁶⁰

The Georgia Minstrels tour came to New Orleans twice in the autumn of 1887. On 26 September the show, including "boss laugh-maker Billy Kersands and a host of vocal and instrumental talent," opened a successful week-long engagement at the Avenue theater on St. Charles Street.⁶¹ New Orleans audiences had a second chance to see the "refined and brilliant" minstrels in November, when they performed at Faranta's, a popular French-quarter theater. Doubtless,

60. Nickerson's previous tour with the Richards and Pringle's Georgia Minstrels (a later version of Hicks's troupe) is mentioned in the *Weekly Pelican* of 26 February 1887 and 30 April 1887. Therence worked with the Therence and Devezin Minstrels, Reed and Therence New Orleans Minstrels, and the Climax Colored Minstrel Company (WP, 12.25.87; 4.23.87; 7.27.89). See also Henry T. Sampson, "Billy Kersands," *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock and Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1986), 2:627.

61. *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, 1 October 1887. The *Picayune* of 2 October 1887 noted that "the Genuine Georgia Minstrels, who have been doing finely, close their engagement tonight." The *Weekly Pelican* of 1 October 1887 announced to the black community that "Messrs. W. A. [sic] Nickerson, Louis J. Therence, and Louis Tio, New Orleans boys, are with Kersands' minstrel troupe at the Avenue." The Avenue theater, under the management of R. J. Lowden, was located at the corner of St. Charles and Calliope Streets, about a dozen blocks upriver from Canal Street.

Louis Tio and William Nickerson took pride in the review of the return engagement that appeared in the *Daily Picayune*:

FARANTA'S THEATER.--An immense audience assembled at Faranta's theater last night. The attraction was the Richards and Pringle's Georgia Minstrels, colored and genuine, headed by Billy Kersands and backed up by George Jackson, a good orchestra, some fair singers, and clever specialty performers. The troupe has been strengthened and is much better than when it was here before, and the men seem to work better. . . . During and for this engagement Sig. Faranta has made special arrangements for the convenience of colored people. They have one side of the house, with a dress circle, and all seats were filled (emphasis added).⁶²

During his hiatus from the Excelsior band and other local pursuits, Louis Tio gained first-hand familiarity with the performance of musical styles beyond his previous realm of experience; e.g., the dramatic ballad and the so-called "plantation" songs and dance numbers. No aspect of his family or professional background suggests that these genres, with their musical content designed to reflect the music of slaves in the agrarian antebellum South, should have been anything but foreign to him. However, in its sum total, Tio's prior musical training and experience (stemming from established Creole-of-color customs) most probably suited him well for work with the Georgia Minstrels, particularly since this troupe was known for its capacity to perform "serious" classical pieces as well as the typical minstrel fare.⁶³

62. New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, 22 November 1887.

63. Eileen Southern, "The Georgia Minstrels: The Early Years," *Inter-American Music Review* 10/2 (1989): 163.

At about the same time Louis Tio began to play clarinet with a major black vaudeville troupe, Lorenzo Tio tried his hand at leading a small dance orchestra (the extent of Louis Tio's eventual involvement in this activity is unclear). In partnership with his distant cousin, cornetist Charles Doublet, he assumed leadership of an extant ensemble, the Big Four String Band. The two subsequently changed the band's name to the Tio and Doublet String Band. The first reference to the group is a newspaper announcement of 22 October 1887:

Butler Lodge, 1336 [Grand Union Order of the Odd Fellows] will give a dancing entertainment at the Young Veterans Hall, on Marais street, Monday evening, November the 14th. Admission 25 cents. Music by the Big Four String Band (WP, 10.22.87).⁶⁴

This band name is first connected to the Tios in a similar announcement from September 1889, which states that "Prof. A. L. Tio's string band (Big Four) furnished the music" for the birthday party of young August Hugont (WP, 9.21.89).⁶⁵

64. The name of the band may derive from one of New Orleans's black social clubs, the Big Four Social Circle (see WP, 2.12.87), or it may have been inspired by the name of a Democratic political ring (the Big Four) which dominated Louisiana politics in the 1880s (see Kendall, 1:469). In addition, the nickname "Big Four" applied for many years to Dan Emmett's Virginia Minstrels (est. 1843). This is thought to have been the earliest of the blackface (white) minstrel troupes (Carl Wittke, *Tambo and Bones, a History of the American Minstrel Stage* [Durham: Duke University Press, 1930], 210-15).

65. The boy's mother gave the party at her home, 436 Barracks Street. The Tios seem to have known the Hugonts personally; see below, p. 165. The name A. L. Tio could, of course, refer to either or both Antoine Louis or Augustin Lorenzo Tio.

The group seems to have soon thereafter dropped the Big Four appellation, as indicated in the following announcement:

The Ladies Veterans Aid Circle will give another one of their enjoyable dancing festivals at the Young Veterans' Hall on the 18th inst. Professors A. L. Tio's and C. Doublet's famous string band has been engaged for the occasion. Admission 15 cents (WP, 10.5.89).

The band also advertised under the new name:

The Tio and Doublet string band, composed of learned scholars, will furnish music for all occasions moderate prices. Address communications to G. V. Watts, manager, Lapeyrouse and Galvez Streets, or either to A. L. Tio, 217 Kerlerec St., or Prof. Doublet, 110 Orleans. Give them a trial (WP, 10.26.89).

On 26 October 1889, the Tio and Doublet string band performed for a dance at Congregation Hall, on Claiborne Street:

The festival given by the Friends of Fraternity . . . was in every respect a grand success. Mr. A. C. Glapion and his able assistants deserve much praise for the able management of the whole affair. The committee desires to return thanks to Profs. A. L. Tio and Charles Doublet for the excellent music rendered by their band (WP, 11.2.89).

The ensemble continued in existence at least through 1890, as news of a similar engagement in October of that year appeared in the *Indianapolis Freeman*, a black newspaper of national scope:

The soir  e dansante of the [P]opular [C]lo-operators Aid Circle took place at the Globe Hall, N[ew] O[rleans]. Judging from the amount of pains taken by the committee it must have been quite a sociable affair. The Trio [sic] and Doublet orchestra furnished music on the occasion.⁶⁶

66. *Indianapolis Freeman*, 1 November 1890.

There does not seem to have been any conventional instrumentation among the New Orleans string bands of the late nineteenth century. As noted above, the ensembles apparently ranged in size from four to eight musicians, and each comprised some combination of violin, mandolin, guitar, bass, cornet, clarinet, trombone, and drums.⁶⁷ Instrumentations may have varied from time to time as band personnel fluctuated, perhaps even from engagement to engagement, depending on such factors as the financial circumstances of the employer or bandleader.

The number of musicians associated with the Tio and Doublet string band (according to various sources) totals eight, and these names may be combined to produce a possible roster: Lorenzo Tio, clarinet, and Charles Doublet, cornet, leaders; Anthony Doublet, violin; William Nickerson, viola; Paul Dominguez, Sr., bass; Louis Tio, clarinet; Anthony Page, trombone; Dédé Chandler, drums.⁶⁸ The likelihood that

67. Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History* (New York: Norton, 1971), 356-57.

68. The *Weekly Pelican* refers only to A. L. Tio and Charles Doublet (also to G. V. Watts, manager). Louis R. Tio recalls that "Tony" Doublet and his father (Lorenzo, Sr.) organized the Tio and Doublet band (Louis R. Tio, interview).

Rose and Souchon (p. 159) contains two relevant rosters. Under the heading "Tio-Doublet Orchestra (1888-1890)" are listed Charles Doublet, cornet; Anthony Doublet, violin; Anthony Page, trombone; Lorenzo Tio, Sr., clarinet; Louis Tio, clarinet; Dédé Chandler, drums. Under the heading "Tio-Doublet string band (1889)" are listed A. L. Tio, violin; Anthony Doublet, violin; William J. Nickerson,

this combination may have at some time composed the Tio and Doublet string band is supported by a number of interpersonal connections. Dominguez had been a personal friend of the Tio family since the early 1880s. Page (another personal friend; see below, p. 166) and Chandler performed with the Excelsior brass band. Nickerson and Louis Tio had worked together during the 1887 tour of the Georgia Minstrels.

The Tio and Doublet string band performed for dances, parties, and club functions at such locations as the Globe Hall, Young Veteran's Hall, Congregation Hall, Francs Amis Hall, and private residences. The band's repertory included the fashionable dance forms of the day, such as waltzes, schottisches, two-steps, mazurkas, and quadrilles.⁶⁹

In addition to becoming known for their musical talents, the Tio brothers gained a degree of prominence in Creole-of-color social circles. In 1889 the Tio name

viola; Paul Dominguez, Sr., bass. The instrumentation of the second roster conforms to that of a string quartet; however, although Rose and Souchon were apparently unable to identify "A. L. Tio," no member of the family is known to have played violin. It seems that these two rosters derive from separate sources, but that they probably were meant to refer to same group; the divergence may simply indicate that the personnel of the Tio and Doublet string band was not fixed.

Charters (pp. 7-9) names Charles Doublet (cornet), Anthony Doublet (violin), and Anthony Page (valve trombone), as members.

69. Charters (p. 9) states that "they played regularly for dancing at Francs Amis Hall in 1888 and 1889." See also Louis R. Tio, interview; and the locations given in the above references to the *Weekly Pelican*.

appeared in three items from the social column of the *Weekly Pelican*:

Mrs. A. Hugont's residence, 436 Barracks, was the scene of quite a social gathering. . . . [Guests included] Messieurs Blache, Tio, Tournade, U. Dubois, Duplessis, Zuezerque, and many others (WP, 1.5.89).

A King and Queen soirée will be given tomorrow (Sunday) evening at the Amis Sinceres Hall, on Claiborne, near Kerlerrec street. The committee of arrangements is as follows, viz: L. A. Tio, chairman; G. V. Watts, secretary; A. Bloche, U. Dubois, A. Hugont, A. O. Duplessis, A. Querzoque [sic] (WP, 2.16.89).

Mrs. V. Bono, one of the oldest residents of the Second District, gave a sumptuous dinner at her residence . . . last Sunday. Among those present were . . . Messieurs A. L. Tio and G. V. Watts, . . . (WP, 8.31.89)⁷⁰

Several important family events occurred in the late 1880s and early 1890s. On 10 October 1888, Antoine Louis Tio married Mary Taylor (1861-1943) in the office of Judge T. C. Ellis. He adopted Mary's three-year-old daughter, Edna. Witnesses to the marriage included Mary's father, William Taylor, and musician Anthony L. Page. Louis moved his new family into the house at 301 North Roman Street, where his mother, aunt, and siblings continued to reside. Although the couple never had other children, they remained married for 34 years, until Louis's death in 1922.⁷¹

70. These references seem to involve one general circle of friends. Since Louis Tio was by this time married, and G. V. Watts was also associated with Lorenzo Tio through the Tio and Doublet string band, all of these news items may well refer to Lorenzo Tio.

71. Marriage Certificate, Antoine Louis Tio and Mary Taylor, 10 October 1888, New Orleans Department of Health; City directory, 1889. Other witnesses to the marriage were

The entire Tio family (Louis and Lorenzo Tio, their mother Athénaïs, their aunt Antoinette, their sisters Josephine and Genéviève, and Louis's wife Mary and daughter Edna) moved from 301 North Roman Street around the corner to 217 Kerlerec Street (between Derbigny and Roman Streets) in 1889. Except for a few months in 1893, when they temporarily occupied quarters at 106 Union (now Touro) Street, the Tios resided at this location throughout the next decade.⁷²

On 31 January 1893, Augustin Lorenzo Tio married Alice Majeau (1869-1956), a Creole-of-color native of New Orleans. Among the witnesses were Louis Tio and Charles Doublet, who signed the couple's marriage certificate.⁷³ Lorenzo and his new bride took up residency with his family, bringing the number of people in the Tio household to nine. This figure rose again in April of that year when Alice gave birth to her first child, a boy christened Lorenzo Anselmo Tio. The couple had two more children over the course of the decade: a son, Louis Raphael, born in October 1895, and a daughter, Francesca, born in September 1897.⁷⁴

Alexander Zeno and H. Missionier. According to the Tio family oral history, Edna Tio (1885-c1925) was not the natural daughter of Louis Tio (Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990).

72. City directory, 1890-1900.

73. Marriage Certificate, Augustin L. Tio and Alice Majeau, 1 February 1893, New Orleans Department of Health.

74. Federal Census, 1900, 572: ED 59, sheet 9.

Antoinette Tio, sister of Thomas Tio, died of anemia on 31 May 1894. She had never married, and had lived with the family of Thomas and Athénaïs Tio since the late 1850s. Descendants recall that Antoinette (who wrote the memoir of the family's years in Mexico) was a devoutly religious woman who enjoyed playing the guitar. She was listed in the New Orleans city directory only once, in 1888, as a teacher.⁷⁵

During these years, Louis and Lorenzo Tio supported their family only partly through music. Like most active black musicians, they worked regularly at skilled trades. Louis continued as a cigar maker, and Lorenzo worked as a brickmason.⁷⁶ Although both men did experience periods of earning a living solely as musicians, they remained active in these trades throughout their lives.

75. Death Certificate, Antoinette Tio, 31 May 1894, New Orleans Department of Health. Rose Tio Winn, interview by the author, 9 March 1991; Louis R. Tio, interview; City directory, 1888.

76. City directories, 1889-1901; Louis R. Tio, interview.

CHAPTER 5

LOUIS AND LORENZO TIO AFTER 1890

Louis and Lorenzo Tio continued to perform in the brass bands, dance bands, and chamber ensembles of black New Orleans throughout the last decade of the nineteenth century. With time the scope of such activity expanded, as they toured with stage shows, organized concert orchestras, arranged music for brass bands, and taught young students (see Chapter 8). The musical community of New Orleans underwent fundamental changes in this period, and the Creole-of-color musicians faced increased competition for employment, both from whites and non-Creole blacks. The Tio brothers, however, made the most of their varied talents and managed to remain at the forefront of the local music scene.

In October 1889 Louis and Lorenzo Tio participated in the formation of a music club:

Last Sunday [10.27.89] at the residence of Mr. O[ctave] Piron, 463 N. Claiborne St., the Lyre Musical Society was organized with the following officers: O. D. Pavageaux, president; August Pageau, vice-president; V. P. Thornhill, corresponding secretary; G. V. Watts, financial secretary; C. Guyber, assistant secretary; O. Piron, treasurer; R. St. Cyr, first warden; Lino de la Rose, second warden; Mr. Lucien Augustin, musical director. The object of the society is to encourage and perpetuate the art of music among its members. Among the prominent musicians present were Profs. Louis

and Lorenzo Tio, Cague, Messrs. R[~~a~~oul] Tournade, A[~~n~~thony] Page and F. LeClerc. After the meeting several classic pieces was skilfully [sic] executed. The society bids fair for the future (WP, 11.2.89).

The Lyre Club soon established a schedule of bimonthly meetings to be held at Piron's home.¹ It survived and remained active through the late 1890s, when its members established the Lyre Club Symphony Orchestra, under the musical direction of Louis Tio and Théogène Baquet.² Violinist/conductor Charles Elgar (b. 1879) performed with the group:

We had in those days an organization known as the Club Lyre, that was composed of a symphonic orchestra--people who played just for the love of music. It was a non-profit organization. The sole purpose was to sponsor young people. We used to give two concerts a year, and whenever we found a talented person, we would sponsor them. I remember we sent one boy [identity unknown] to Europe, a pianist. . . .

It was through that organization that I got my first training in conducting under Louis Tio. . . . When he found out that I was interested [in conducting], then he used to let me take some of the smaller things that he felt I could handle.³

Although a complete roster for the orchestra of the Lyre Club has not been established, partial information about its makeup comes from three sources. According to Elgar, Louis Tio conducted, and both the Tio brothers played clarinet.

1. An announcement of the meeting schedule appears in the *Weekly Pelican*, 16 November 1889. Of the musicians named in the original article, Lucien Augustin (b. 1861), Raoul Tournade (b. 1865), and Anthony Page worked as cigar makers (City directories, 1888-1900).

2. Charters, 9-10, 49-50; Charles Elgar, interview, 27 May 1958, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University.

3. Elgar, interview.

Another New Orleans musician, Paul Beaulieu (1888-1967), places Anthony Page on trombone, Octave Piron (b. 1851) on string bass, and Octave's son Albert Piron (b. 1875) on violin.⁴ Historian Samuel Charters writes that in 1897 the clarinet section of the 25-to-30 member orchestra included the Tios on the first part and two of their students, Alphonse Picou (1880-1961) and George Baquet (1883-1949), on the second part.⁵ His research also indicates that violinist John Robichaux (1866-1939) played a role in the management of the group and that Théogène Baquet conducted.⁶ Whether the founding musicians (other than Piron, Page, and the Tios) performed with the orchestra, or if so, what instruments they played, remains unknown. Furthermore, no information regarding the repertory of this group has surfaced, although it probably consisted of popular symphonic and operatic selections.

4. Paul Beaulieu, interview, 11 June 1960, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University. Octave Piron is consistently listed as a shoemaker in the city directories of the 1890s.

5. Charters, 14. Charters also places the then nine-year-old Paul Beaulieu and the four-year-old Lorenzo Tio, Jr., in the clarinet section of the Lyre Club Symphony. Such a contention, however, appears unfounded, as Beaulieu states clearly in his interview that the Lyre Club was "before my time," and Lorenzo Tio, Jr.'s brother Louis states that Lorenzo, Jr.'s first performances date from c1903.

6. Ibid. Charters, perhaps unaware of the information in the *Weekly Pelican*, writes that Robichaux organized the orchestra outright in 1897. This statement seems unlikely, as the club had existed since 1889 and neither Elgar nor Beaulieu mentions Robichaux in connection with the founding of the orchestra.

As the decade progressed, the Tio brothers also became further involved in black vaudeville. Louis Tio had toured with the Richards and Pringle's Georgia Minstrels in 1887, and Lorenzo seems to have performed with the same troupe as early as 1894, perhaps attaining the position with the help of his brother or musical associate William Nickerson.⁷ In July 1897, while Louis remained in New Orleans, Lorenzo once more journeyed to tour with the "Georgias." The Indianapolis *Freeman*, a black weekly of national scope, devoted regular space to the activities of a number of minstrel companies, and its pages provide clear documentation for Tio's experience in this capacity.

After a short period of rehearsals (probably in Chicago or Indianapolis), the company opened its 41-week tour in Racine, Wisconsin, on 24 July 1897. The first leg took the minstrels through Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Performing about five nights per week, the company reached Richmond and Norfolk, Virginia, early in November. From there it began a southwesterly swing (through the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi) that culminated

7. The Hazeur family papers include a photograph of Lorenzo Tio, wearing a tuxedo and holding a clarinet, marked with a date of 1894. Tio's granddaughter, Rose Tio Winn, has stated that this photo was taken while Tio was with the Georgia Minstrels (interview, 9 March 1991). In addition, Lawrence Gushee recalls having seen Lorenzo Tio's name on an 1894 roster of the Richards and Pringle's troupe, which appeared that year in a Los Angeles newspaper (Gushee, interview by the author, 15 May 1990).

with Christmastime shows in New Orleans. The winter months were spent in Texas and Kansas; the company passed through Colorado and Utah before closing in Tacoma, Washington, early in May 1898.^a

By the late 1890s, minstrel shows had reached a zenith in terms of elaborate and grandiose production; accordingly, the 1897 Richards and Pringle's Georgias boasted a 20-piece marching band, under the direction of James S. Lacy. The roster and instrumentation of the group (IF, 12.18.97) are shown in Figure 4:

<u>Cornets</u>	<u>Clarinet</u>
S. B. Foster	Robert Leach
J. Ed. Green	Lorenzo Tio
Buddie Robinson, soloist	
Albert Stokes	<u>Piccolo</u>
	Allie Brown
<u>Alto Horn</u>	<u>Baritone Horn</u>
W. A. Dean, soloist	J. E. Jackson
Charles Carrington	P. A. Woods
I. N. Smith	
<u>Trombone</u>	<u>Tuba</u>
Sam Burns	John Eason (E-flat)
George B. Rhone	Joe Ravisee (B-flat)
W. O. Terry, soloist	
<u>Percussion</u>	
Henry Carter, bass drum	
William Dixon, cymbals	

Figure 4. Roster of the Band of Richards and Pringle's Georgia Minstrels, 1897.

8. Indianapolis Freeman, 17 July 1897 to 28 May 1898. Further references to this source appear parenthetically in the text, with the abbreviation IF

Most of the bandsmen came from southern or midwestern states; other than Tio, none seems to have had any significant involvement in the music scene of New Orleans.⁹ The above roster of the marching band, which paraded to advertise the theater production, represents an augmentation of the troupe's regular orchestra. At night, some of the marching musicians acted and/or sang on stage; for example, William Dixon and I. N. Smith formed half of the Diamond (vocal) Quartette, and J. Ed. Green served as Interlocutor for the first part of the show. Indeed, the regular stage "wind orchestra" seems to have consisted of about a dozen pieces, including cornets, clarinets, low brass, and one percussionist, with some of the bandsmen no doubt doubling on such "typical" plantation instruments as fiddles and banjos.¹⁰

In general, when the Richards and Pringle's Pullman cars arrived in each new town, the entire company would participate in a large-scale parade through the city streets, in order to

followed by the date (e.g., *IF*, 7.17.97). The southern tour included performances in Wilmington, NC, Columbia, SC, Augusta and Savannah, GA, Birmingham and Mobile, AL, and Vicksburg, MS, among other locations.

9. For example, James Lacy resided in Clinton, MO, and W. O. Terry in Charleston, WV; Charles Carrington was from Vicksburg, MS, and George Rhone from Galveston, TX (*IF*, 12.18.97, 1.6.98, 5.28.98).

10. *IF*, 12.11.97, 12.25.97. No specific roster of the orchestra is given in the newspaper, although a number of news items do contain information about it. For instance, for orchestral duty the bass drummer of the marching band, Henry Carter, doubled on trombone (*IF*, 2.5.98).

attract a sizable paying audience for its evening show. This function, analogous to a circus parade, involved the full uniformed marching band, and the music consisted primarily of popular songs and marches. The band would reassemble shortly before the the evening show to play a few numbers in front of the theater.¹¹

The evening show followed the same rigid formula that had already characterized the minstrel industry for decades; that is, it was organized into three sections: the "first part," featuring the Interlocutor and a semi-circle of comic dandies; the "olio," a series of variety acts in front of a dropped curtain; and the finale or "afterpiece," a grandiose production-number involving the entire company. The band generally sat on an elevated platform behind the actors, or in an orchestra pit.¹²

The music of the Richards and Pringle's Georgia Minstrels seems to have been typical minstrel show fare, including comic songs, ballads, spirituals, and instrumental overtures, solos, and dance music. A few of the company's

11. Robert C. Toll, *Blacking Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 135, 146; Carl Wittke, *Tambo and Bones: A History of the American Minstrel Stage* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1930), 145-47; Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 259-64; Southern, "The Georgia Minstrels," 163.

12. Toll, 52-57; Wittke, 142-52; Southern, *Music of Black Americans*, 262-63. News items in the *Indianapolis Freeman* offer no evidence that the Richards and Pringle's show of 1897-98 deviated significantly from this formula.

most successful numbers received attention in the theatrical column of the Indianapolis *Freeman*. For example, among the more popular comic songs were "De Cullud People's Day," sung by comedian James White, and "Mr. Johnson, Turn Me Aloose," a duet number featuring singers Buddie Glenn and Dick Thomas (*IF*, 9.25.97, 1.1.98).¹³ The Diamond Quartette "scored" nightly with their ballad, "The Girl That I Would Wed," composed by Interlocutor/cornetist/vocalist J. Ed. Green (*IF*, 7.31.97). In addition to the songs, the newspaper found the cake walk number, featuring the dancing of George Titchner [sic], particularly entertaining (*IF*, 11.27.97).

The company experienced personnel changes from time to time during the tour. Lorenzo Tio's section-mate, clarinetist Robert Leach, missed several weeks of the fall schedule due to illness, returning in mid-November (*IF*, 11.27.97). Tio himself decided to cut his tour short, and he left the company after the show played in New Orleans, where it ran from 22 December through 25 December 1897. The *Freeman* noted that in New Orleans, the "Georgias" had been "highly entertained by Messrs. Perkins and Nickerson [probably William Nickerson], and Mesdames Bachelor and Carter"; it also reported that W. A. Dean, L. Tio, Henry Troy (a singer), and J. E. Jackson had each "closed" his term with the troupe (*IF*, 1.6.98).

13. "Mr. Johnson, Turn Me Loose," composed by Benjamin Harney (1871-1938) and published in 1896, is considered one of the earliest of ragtime songs. See Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America* (New York: Norton, 1979), 318.

The following summer, both Lorenzo and Louis Tio embarked on full-season tours with minstrel companies. Due to a general policy of one-season contracting, the rosters of the seven or eight principal black minstrel shows underwent substantial changes during the vacation period. Lorenzo joined several former Richards and Pringle's performers who cast their lots with another company, Oliver P. Scott's Refined Colored Minstrels (IF, 8.13.98). Louis Tio assumed the clarinet chair in the band and orchestra of John W. Vogel's Afro-American Mastodon Minstrels, whose show was billed as "Darkest America" (IF, 9.10.98). These two companies closely rivalled the Richards and Pringle's Georgia Minstrels in the length and scope of their tours; news correspondents for each of all three shows continually claimed top rank in the industry.¹⁴

The Oliver P. Scott Refined Colored Minstrel company rehearsed its 1898 show for two weeks in July at the Grand Opera House of Columbus, Ohio. On 15 July 1898, it opened a 40-week tour, beginning in Manistee, Michigan. The show circulated through the midwest (Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois) for four months, swung briefly into Tennessee and

14. The theatrical page of the *Freeman* featured expanded coverage for the 1898-99 season. The Oliver P. Scott company had toured for several previous seasons as the Al G. Field Colored Minstrels, and in 1898, they frequently followed the same route as the Al G. Field Big (white) Minstrels company. Vogel's company had also been active for several seasons.

Kentucky, and spent most of December in Indiana. In January and February of the new year it circled Lake Erie, touring through northwestern Pennsylvania, western New York, and southern Ontario. The last two months of the season were spent in Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio. The tour closed on 3 May 1899 in Marion, Ohio. Like the other black minstrel shows, the Scott company only rarely performed in large urban areas. For example, its northern Illinois route included the cities of La Salle, Dixon, Belvidere, Elgin, Aurora, and Joliet, but not Chicago. The largest city on the entire tour was Memphis, Tennessee (IF, 7.16.98 to 5.6.99).

The Oliver P. Scott Refined Colored Minstrels organized their show in the traditional three parts, but apparently attempted to avoid an overt reliance on "plantation humor" for content; the company's news correspondent, musician Fred Simpson, wrote that "we are considered by many to have the cleanest and best minstrel company that travels today. We carry only 40 performers and no plantation coons" (IF, 8.20.98).

The company employed a 17-piece parade band under the direction of Robert N. Thompson (IF, 11.19.98). Its roster and instrumentation, along with those of the troupe's stage orchestra, appear in Figure 5. The principal band soloists were Lorenzo Tio, Joe Dobbins, Joe Ricks, and Fred Simpson (Simpson doubled on trombone).

Band:

Cornet

Robert N. Thompson
Joe Dobbins
Frank M. Hailstock

Alto Horn

W. N. P. Spiller, soloist
Marsh Craig
James White
A. L. Stevenson

Baritone Horn

Fred W. Simpson

Trombone

Ralph Devine
John C. Pittman

Clarinet

Lorenzo Tio

Piccolo and Flute

Joe Ricks

Saxophone

Allie Brown

Tuba

John H. Grant

Percussion

Harry Waters, snare drum
Peter Stanley, bass drum
Harry Hart, cymbals

Orchestra:

Frank M. Hailstock, 1st violin
Robert N. Thompson, 2nd violin
John C. Pittman, viola
John H. Grant, bass
{Joe Ricks}, flute¹⁵
Lorenzo Tio, clarinet
Joe Dobbins, cornet
Fred W. Simpson, trombone
Peter Stanley, trap drums

Figure 5. Rosters of the Band and Orchestra of Oliver P. Scott's Refined Colored Minstrels, 1898.

The stage orchestra provided music for the nightly minstrel shows. This group was conducted by Frank M.

15. The *Freeman* of 13 August 1898 lists Allie Brown as flutist, but Joseph Ricks joined the company in Mason City, IA, on 19 August 1898, and subsequent newspaper references make it clear that he assumed the flute chair in the orchestra. As in the Richards and Pringle's troupe of 1897, several of the stage performers, such as principal comedians James White and Harry Hart, served in the parade band.

Hailstock, who exchanged his cornet for a violin (IF, 8.13.98). Three other musicians in the company played both brass and string instruments, as indicated by comparison of the band and orchestra rosters in Figure 5.

The nightly show of the Oliver P. Scott company consisted of comic songs, ballads, skits, stump speeches, and dance numbers. In addition, it featured two less typical acts, the slack-wire acrobatics of Allie Brown and the contortions of Marsh Craig, the "India Rubber Man" (IF, 7.16.98). Both acts incorporated stirring climaxes: Brown, dressed in a top hat and knickers, performed a tenor saxophone solo while balancing on the wire (IF, 9.10.98), and Craig turned 23 rapid flips, "so fast that one cannot distinguish his head from his feet" (IF, 12.17.98).

Occasionally, the band and orchestra of the Oliver P. Scott company gave special performances of their own, removed from the requirements of the minstrel show. The programs from two orchestra concerts in the autumn of 1898 indicate that these black musicians were not limited to performing the standard "plantation" repertoire:

Frank M. Hailstock's concert orchestra, with the Oliver Scott Colored Minstrels, will render the following program at the monthly concert . . . [in Oskaloosa, IA, 29 September 1898]: 1. "Hunter and Hermit," Daulby; 2. "Trocha," (Cuban dance), Tyers; 3. Waltz "La Carmelia," Whitmark; 4. "Sonambula" [sic], (clarionet solo), Lorenzo Tio; 5. "Pousee Café," (selection), Boettger; 6. "22nd Regiment March," Victor Herbert (IF, 9.24.98; punctuation follows the source).

The third monthly concert given by Frank M. Hailstock's concert orchestra with Oliver Scott's Minstrels will occur Nov. 29. The following is the program: 1--Overture, "Bohemian Girl," Balfe; 2--"Hocus-Pocus Dance," Miller; 3--Temptation Waltzes, Herman; 4--Piccolo solo, "Birdie's Favorite," Cox, Jos. Ricks; 5--Jollities, selected, Bucholz; 6--The Honkey-Tonk Promenade, Hailstock (*IF*, 11.26.98).¹⁶

The concerts were well received, and Lorenzo Tio earned special commendation for his solo work:

The concert given by Prof. F.M. Hailstock's concert orchestra, of the Oliver Scott Minstrels, was largely attended in Oskaloosa, Ia. Each number on the program was rendered, and the audience showed their appreciation by applauding vigorously. Prof. Hailstock was complimented on the efficiency of his orchestra. Lorenzo Tio's clarionet solo was the hit of the afternoon, he being obliged to respond to an encore (*IF*, 10.8.98).

On 20 December 1898, the Oliver Scott minstrels passed through Indianapolis, Indiana, en route to an engagement in a nearby town. While stopped, the company visited the offices of the Indianapolis *Freeman*, and the band played a short program consisting of the "Chicago Tribune March," the "Minnehaha Polka," the "Poet and Peasant" overture (Von Suppé, 1846), and a trombone feature entitled "On the Levee" (*IF*, 12.24.98). The "Minnehaha Polka" was a showy duet-feature for Lorenzo Tio and piccoloist Joe Ricks, and it seems to have been one of the most popular numbers in the repertory of the band. Tio and his brother had developed the

16. Note that the sixth selection was composed by Hailstock. Any or all of the music on these concert programs may have been extracted from the minstrel show repertory.

arrangement for the piece before the season, while both were in New Orleans.¹⁷

The repertory of the Oliver Scott musicians included at least a few numbers in the popular ragtime style. Robert N. Thompson (b. 1861 in Nashville, Tennessee) had composed a rag for military band, entitled "The Black K. of P." (Knights of Pythias), and the orchestra closed each evening's minstrel show with "Harlem Rag," composed by Thomas Turpin and published in 1897. News correspondent Simpson wrote that the latter piece "never fails to hold the crowd" (IF, 10.8.98).

The band and orchestra of the Oliver Scott company underwent an important personnel change in the winter of 1898. Frank M. Hailstock, the 23-year-old conductor/composer/violinist/cornetist, died of pneumonia on 20 February 1898, after having left the company to convalesce at home in Akron, Ohio. Thompson led the orchestra for a few weeks until "Professor" Addison Cromwell arrived to take Hailstock's place (IF, 2.11.98 to 4.8.98).¹⁸

17. Louis R. Tio, interview. The popularity of the duet, for a time a regular number in the minstrel show, is also mentioned in IF, 9.17.98.

18. The Freeman of 4 March 1898 contains a memorial article and photograph. Hailstock studied violin and cornet at the Dana Musical Institute of Warren, Ohio, and was the only black member of the school's symphony orchestra. His minstrel career began in 1894 with the South Before the War show. The Oliver P. Scott orchestra regularly performed Hailstock's "My Lancaster Belle," march and two-step, published in 1898.

Some seven months before his death, Hailstock had negotiated with a phonograph company to record his group:

Frank M. Hailstock has completed arrangements with the Hall Phonographic Co. of Sioux City, Iowa, to insert among their records the Cuban dance "Trocha;" Mr. Simpson's trombone solo, "Battle Cry of Freedom;" Mr. Lorenzo Tio's clarionet solo, "Somnambula;" and sketches of Victor Herbert's comic opera, "The Wizard of the Nile" (IF, 8.20.98; punctuation follows the source).

Unfortunately, there is no indication that Hailstock's plans were ever carried out; the company's tour route did not include Sioux City, and the no further news of the project appeared.¹⁹

While Lorenzo Tio furthered his career by becoming a featured soloist with one major minstrel company, his older brother Louis pursued a similar course with another. The John W. Vogel Afro-American Mastodon Minstrels and Darkest America Show opened its tour on 23 August 1898 in Maryville, Ohio, after having rehearsed for a month in Columbus. Leaving Ohio, the Vogel company spent four months in the East, performing primarily in Pennsylvania and New York. After the turn of the new year it traveled west to tour the states of Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri. The show closed in Lima, Ohio, on 5 June 1899. The largest cities on the tour were Indianapolis, Indiana, and St. Louis, Missouri (IF, 8.13.98 to 6.17.99).

19. Lawrence Gushee has carried out preliminary research on this issue, but has been unable to verify the existence of a Hall Phonographic Company in Sioux City, IA (Gushee, interview).

The Vogel company made no pretense about the nature of its show, advertising "two acts [and an olio] of southern darkey life" with plenty of "singing and buck and wing dancing" (IF, 4.15.99). Highlights included a tightrope act, a baton-twirling exhibition, a female impersonator, and the "Grand 400 Cakewalk," a contest involving up to 100 local competitors under the direction of the company's "Coonville Guards" (IF, 9.10.98, 4.8.99).

Like his brother, Louis Tio played clarinet in a parade band and a smaller stage orchestra. The organization of the band, under the direction of Prof. Henderson Smith, is shown in Figure 6 (IF, 1.14.99):

<u>Cornet</u>	<u>Clarinet</u>
Henderson Smith	Louis Tio
George W. Housely	
Frank Patrick	<u>Piccolo and Flute</u>
	Clarence P. Jones
<u>Alto Horn</u>	<u>Saxophone</u>
Matt Housely	James A. Osborne
U. S. G. Patterson	
<u>Euphonium</u>	<u>Tuba</u>
Angelo Housely	Lloyd Cooper
<u>Trombone</u>	<u>Percussion</u>
George Bailey	Beverly Housely, snare drum
Nettie Goff	Charles B. Tyler, bass drum
W. A. Porter	Clifford D. Brooks, cymbals

Figure 6. Roster of the Band of John W. Vogel's Afro-American Mastodon Minstrels and Darkest America Show, 1898.

The stage orchestra was led by Prof. W. L. Jackson (probably a violinist) until mid-November, when he left the troupe. George Housely, a cornetist who doubled on violin, took over for the remainder of the tour. The orchestra included, among others, Louis Tio (clarinet), Clarence Jones (flute), and Beverly Housely (trap drums). Although no complete roster for the orchestra has surfaced, it seems to have been similar in size, instrumentation and function to that of the Oliver Scott company (IF, 9.17.98). Most of its members undoubtedly also served in the parade band.²⁰

Like that of the Oliver P. Scott company, the band of the Vogel minstrels, labelled "Henderson Smith's \$5,000 (or \$10,000) Challenge Band," cultivated a reputation for itself, independent of the stage show. The band played a number of special "serenade" performances along its route, in such locations as Erie, Pennsylvania, and Rome, New York:

Prof. Henderson [Smith], with his \$5,000 Challenge Band, was highly complimented while playing at Rome, N.Y., the people were very much surprised to see a band of 16 pieces handle such pieces as Maritana, Faust, Jubel, and other difficult overtures in such a masterly manner (IF, 12.10.98).²¹

20. As in the Oliver Scott troupe, several of the Vogel bandmen performed onstage in the evening show (and thus would not have served in the orchestra): U. S. G. Patterson sang, Charles Tyler sang and gave humorous monologues, and the show's comedians included Matt Housely, George Bailey, W. A. Porter, and Clifford Brooks.

21. Overture to *Maritana*, 1845, composed by Vincent Wallace (1812-1865); probably Overture to *Faust*, 1859, Charles-François Gounod (1818-1893).

At a hotel in Cincinnati, Smith's band serenaded the passing Richards and Pringle's minstrels, and when the Vogel tour reached Indianapolis, the band serenaded the news offices of the *Freeman*. (IF, 8.27.98, 3.11.99). For such performances, bandleader Smith depended upon the talents of four principal soloists: Nettie Goff ("the only female trombonist" on the minstrel circuit); Angelo Housely (euphonium), Clarence Jones (flute, piccolo), and Louis Tio. Tio and Jones also performed a feature duet as a regular number in the evening show. As for repertory, Smith seems to have been particularly fond of opera overtures; in addition to those listed above, the band frequently played an arrangement of the overture to Rossini's *Barber of Seville* (IF, 10.22.98).²²

As prominent soloists with two of the top-rank black minstrel companies whose personnel included some of the foremost black musicians of the day, the Tio brothers received individual attention from the theatrical news correspondents:

Lorenzo Tio, clarionetist, of the Oliver Scott's Colored Minstrels is astonishing his hearers with the clarionet solos he renders at each evening concert (IF, 9.10.98).

Lewis Tio, clarionetist with John W. Vogel's combined shows, is highly spoken of as a clarionet soloist. Mr. Tio is from New Orleans (IF, 9.24.98).

22. *Il barbiere de Siviglia*, 1816, Gioacchino Rossini (1792-1868). Band activities are also described in IF, 8.20.98, 1.15.98). The repertory of Jackson's stage orchestra included music by De Beriot, Rode, and Spohr.

Many of the performers on the minstrel circuits communicated with one another by placing personal messages in the columns of the *Freeman*. For example, early in the season Lorenzo Tio exchanged "regards" with Robert Leach and W. O. Terry, two musicians of the Richards and Pringle's company with whom he had toured in 1897 (IF, 7.16.98, 9.17.98). Similarly, Louis Tio sent "regards" to Lorenzo after the latter had published an open letter crediting Louis as his teacher (IF, 10.8.98, 10.15.98, letter quoted above, p. 121). In April 1899, Lorenzo wrote a second, more extensive, letter:

Lorenzo Tio . . . wishes to state to all friends in the profession that he would be pleased to hear from them, and that the [Oliver P. Scott] company is undoubtedly composed of the finest and most gentlemanly set of musicians and performers he has ever had the pleasure of traveling with. They have all treated me as a brother and as a gentleman. Regards to all friends--professional and non-professional, with no exceptions as I have so many it would take too long to mention their names. Regards and success to my brother, Louis Tio, clarinet virtuoso with of Prof. Henderson Smith's Famous Concert Band. Hello Billy Kersands. I will meet you soon in Donaldsonville, La., regards to you, and kindest respects to your wife, and wishing success (IF, 4.1.99).

After the season closed, Lorenzo and Louis Tio returned to New Orleans, where their family had recently moved into a house at 1722 Ursulines Street, between Claiborne and Derbigny streets, in the Faubourg Tremé.²³

In New Orleans, both brothers resumed their previous activities in the local music scene. Lorenzo Tio, however,

23. City directory, 1899-1901. For maps showing this and other locations within the city, see Appendix A.

soon became frustrated with what he and many others perceived to be a distinct deterioration in local race relations. Such problems stemmed primarily from the state government's recent passage of a series of measures designed to institutionalize racial segregation and to disfranchise almost 90 per cent of Louisiana's black population.²⁴ The prevailing tension came to a head in late-July 1900, when the shooting of three New Orleans police officers by a black man, Robert Charles, touched off several days of riots. Most of the mob violence was carried out by whites; seven blacks were killed, many were beaten, and a black grade school was burned.²⁵ Lorenzo Tio's wife, Alice, had given birth to their fourth child, a girl named Josephine, in March 1900, just months before the Robert Charles incident.²⁶ Partly in order to provide a better environment for his children and partly to further his musical career, Lorenzo Tio began to consider moving his family out of New Orleans.²⁷

24. Charles E. O'Neill, foreward to McCants, xv; Kendall, 2:538; Wingfield, 189. The United States Supreme Court upheld racial segregation in 1896. In 1898, the Louisiana constitutional convention adopted a literacy requirement for voter registration. In a state where illiteracy was prevalent among both races, many whites were exempt from the statute by virtue of the so-called "grandfather clause," which allowed any adult male to register to vote if he, his father, or his grandfather had been a registered voter in 1867, one year before the Reconstruction government was installed (Taylor, 144).

25. Kendall, 2:538-40.

26. Federal Census, 1900, 572: ED 59, sheet 9.

27. Louis R. Tio, interview.

The increased racial tension in New Orleans also extended into the city's music scene. Many of the Creole-of-color musicians (who prided themselves on a refined, European manner of musical proficiency and professionalism) had traditionally found ready employment performing at the social functions of wealthy, upper-class whites. As the decade progressed, the opportunities for such work diminished, as white employers (under various pressures) increasingly adopted an exclusive convention of hiring all-white musical ensembles.²⁸

The Creole-of-color musicians also faced new competition for certain types of engagements from non-Creole black musicians, many of whom were descended from the former slaves. Most of these relatively unschooled musicians lived in the "uptown" area, upriver from Canal Street. They had formed bands and orchestras which by the 1890s were proving popular, especially for dances and outdoor parties.²⁹ For example, the most prominent Creole-of-color dance orchestra, that led by John Robichaux (1866-1939), former bass drummer of the Excelsior Brass Band, in the mid-to-late 1890s competed with the "uptown" bands of Charlie Galloway (c1864-1916) and Charles "Buddy" Bolden (1877-1931) for dance work at the (black) Odd Fellows and Masonic Hall, located at the corner of

28. Marquis, 75-76.

29. Charters, 3-4; Southern, *Music of Black Americans*, 357-59.

Rampart and Perdido Streets.³⁰ The uptown groups played in a slightly (but significantly) different manner than the Creole bands; their blues-oriented interpretation and reworking of the prevailing dance music laid the groundwork for the eventual emergence of the jazz style³¹ (discussed below, see Chapter 6).

Sometime in 1901, Lorenzo Tio moved his wife, mother, sisters, and children to Bay St. Louis, Mississippi, leaving Louis Tio and Louis's wife and daughter in New Orleans. Bay St. Louis, a small beachfront town about 50 miles northeast of New Orleans, served as a second-home resort area for many prominent families, and as such seems to have supported an active musical community in close touch with the larger city. Lorenzo and Alice Tio settled into a house on Main Street, near the present location of the Hancock County Courthouse.³²

Lorenzo Tio continued all of his various musical activities after the move to Bay St. Louis. In addition to teaching private music lessons (discussed below, see Chapter 8), Tio performed with dance orchestras and brass

30. Marquis, 63-64.

31. *Ibid.*, 40-42, 99-111 passim; *Southern, Music of Black Americans*, 359-60.

32. Louis R. Tio, interview; Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990; City directory, 1900-1902. The Tio family is listed as living on Main Street in Hancock County, MS, "Enumeration of Educable Children, 1906" (Hancock County Courthouse, Bay St. Louis, MS), 146.

bands. He also began to depend more heavily on his skill as a music arranger, eventually becoming well known as a "band writer".³³

Once settled, Tio joined the Promote Brass Band. One of at least two local brass bands similar in structure to those of New Orleans, the Promote band had in the late 1880s been affiliated with the Promote Benevolent Association of Bay St. Louis, a black social club, itself established in 1878. Tio seems to have arranged much of the music in the early-1900s repertory of this band, and he is said to have served as its leader and manager.³⁴ During Tio's involvement, the band marched in parades in Bay St. Louis and occasionally also in New Orleans, where their performances were favorably received. It was with the Promote band that Tio's son, Lorenzo, Jr., first gained performing experience, beginning sometime around 1903.³⁵

Lorenzo Tio [Sr.] also organized dance orchestras, in which context he worked with at least two other Creole-of-color musicians who had moved from New Orleans, violinist

33. Louis R. Tio, interview.

34. Ibid.; Ricard Alexis, interview, 16 January 1959, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University; *Weekly Pelican*, 20 August 1887, 8 June 1889.

35. Ibid. Alexis also mentions the Supreme band of Bay St. Louis. He recalls that the strong performance of the Promote band "caused a big stir" among the New Orleans musicians.

Peter Alexis and cornetist John Collins. Collins, father of jazz trumpeter Lee Collins (1901-1960), lived in Gulfport, Mississippi, about 20 miles east of Bay St. Louis. Along the beachfront, from Bay St. Louis east beyond Gulfport to Biloxi, stood a number of large resort homes belonging to wealthy whites, many of whom were from New Orleans. Although no longer able to find ready employment at white functions in the city, Tio and his Creole-of-color associates found such lucrative work plentiful along the coast.³⁶ Lee Collins visited the area in 1953 and recalled his father's activities:

This is one of the most beautiful sights you could hope to see . . . the highway [U.S. 190] runs along the gulf all the way to Biloxi.

Far back among the beautiful shade pines and cedars are big, white antebellum homes that seem to speak of all the grandeur and splendor of days long gone by. I pictured my father and Mr. Lorenzo Tio, Sr., playing in the ballroom of one of those stately old homes, and I could almost see the fine ladies and gentlemen dancing the quadrille.³⁷

On occasion, Lorenzo Tio returned to New Orleans for musical work. Louis Tio had rented a house at 1477 North Derbigny Street (between Kerlerec and Columbus streets), and

36. Alexis, interview; Lee Collins, as told to Mary Collins, *Oh, Didn't He Ramble*, eds. Frank J. Gillis and John W. Miner, *Music in American Life* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974), 3-5. In addition to the musical association, Collins knew Lorenzo Tio, Sr., personally. He writes, "how well do I remember Mr. Tio and his long goatee. He was a great friend of the family and he used to carry me around on his shoulders (p. 3)."

37. Collins, 106. The quadrille was somewhat outdated by the early 1900s, but it seems to have remained fashionable longest among this most affluent class.

at such times Lorenzo boarded there, or with the family of a student, Louis Nelson Delisle (1885-1949), on Laharpe Street.³⁸ In 1898, Lorenzo temporarily joined John Robichaux's orchestra, after some of Robichaux's regular sidemen left for military service in the Spanish-American War. He seems to have also performed occasionally with Robichaux after the turn of the century, as his name appears in a newspaper announcement for a Robichaux engagement in Mobile, Alabama, dating from August 1901.³⁹

According to Louis R. Tio, both his father (Lorenzo) and his uncle (Louis) supplemented their incomes significantly by arranging and copying music, particularly during this period. In addition to supplying music to the Promote Brass Band, Lorenzo Tio most probably arranged pieces for his dance orchestras and he reportedly sold arrangements to New Orleans bandleaders, such as Robichaux. As Louis Tio became progressively more involved with symphony-orchestra projects, it is possible that either he or his brother may have written for larger groups.⁴⁰

In about 1903 Louis Tio became the conductor of the Bloom Symphony, a Creole-of-color ensemble named for its founder, flutist Joseph Bloom. Bloom's residence at 1923 St.

38. Louis R. Tio, interview; Charters, 9.

39. Marquis, 79-80; IF, 8.3.01.

40. Louis R. Tio, interview; Charles Elgar, interview.

Ann Street (in the Faubourg Tremé) served as a rehearsal hall. This ensemble consisted of about 25 musicians, whose names, as recalled by Paul Beaulieu, appear in Figure 7:

<u>Violin</u>	<u>Flute</u>
Charles Elgar	Joseph Bloom
Dee Dee Brooks	
[Georgel] LeClair	<u>Clarinet</u>
Armand Piron	Alphonse Picou
Vincent Roberts	Willie E. Humphrey
Ferdinand Valteau	
Anatole Victor	<u>Trumpet</u>
	George Moret
<u>Viola</u>	[Joseph] Nelson
Etienne Nicholas	
	<u>Horn</u>
<u>Cello</u>	Alcibiades Jeanjacques
Paul Beaulieu	Barnet Stewart
<u>Bass</u>	<u>Trombone</u>
[Paul] Dominguez	Vic Gaspard
[Lillian] Humphrey	Benny Raphael
<u>Piano</u>	<u>Baritone Horn</u>
Ida Rose	[Joseph] Boisseau
<u>Percussion</u>	
Louis Cottrell, Sr.	

Figure 7. Roster and instrumentation of the Bloom Symphony Orchestra, c1903.⁴¹

Although able to name only seven violinists, Beaulieu remembers that the section was composed of ten, six on first part and four on second part. Clarinetist Alphonse Picou (1880-1961) also discussed the Bloom Symphony with an interviewer; his recollection of its personnel corresponds

41. Paul Beaulieu, interview.

closely to that of Beaulieu, with the additions of Henry Nickerson and Anthony Doublet on violin (bringing the number of identified violinists to nine), James B. Humphrey on trumpet, and Tom "Oke" Gaspard on bass.⁴²

The Bloom Symphony developed a repertory similar to that of the earlier Lyre Club orchestra, consisting of opera overtures, instrumental solos, and arrangements of popular songs and dances. Picou states that the group played "old French music," and Beaulieu specifies one such selection, the overture to *Les Huguenots* (Giacomo Meyerbeer, Paris premiere 1836, New Orleans premiere 1839).⁴³ The limited instrumental resources of the ensemble frequently necessitated substitutions in orchestration; for example, Joseph Boisseau played the bassoon parts on baritone horn, and Louis Cottrell played tympani parts on bass drums normally used for marching. Louis Tio conducted the Bloom Symphony in four public concerts in 1903: one at the First Street Church, one at the Fourth African Baptist Church, and two at Francs Amis Hall.⁴⁴

42. Peter R. Haby, "Alphonse Picou: New Orleans Creole," *Footnote* 11/5 (1980): 4-7. It should be noted that although both Beaulieu and Picou place Charles Elgar in the Bloom Symphony (Beaulieu even states that Elgar served as concertmaster), Elgar himself makes no mention of the group, and asserts that he left New Orleans permanently for Chicago in November 1902 (Charles Elgar, interview). Elgar's recollection of the date of his move seems to be borne out by the city directories; his name last appears in that of 1903, which was compiled late in 1902.

43. *Ibid.*; Paul Beaulieu, interview.

44. Paul Beaulieu, interview.

Beaulieu also recalls a concert-band project from this period (c1904) involving both Louis and Lorenzo Tio. The band was organized by John Robichaux, the violinist/dance-band leader who played bass drum with the Excelsior brass band, and the Excelsior musicians seem to have formed the core of its personnel. Théogène Baquet conducted. The trumpet section included Arnold Metoyer (c1876-1935), George Moret (c1870-1924), and Alcibiades Jeanjacques (c1870-1913). The clarinetists were George Baquet, E-flat; Louis and Lorenzo Tio, Charles McCurdy (1866-1933), and Alphonse Picou, all on first part; Paul Beaulieu and Lorenzo Tio, Jr., on second part.⁴⁵ The presence of Lorenzo Tio and his young son, who then resided in Bay St. Louis, may indicate that this band rehearsed or performed only occasionally; it probably served as an avocational activity for musicians primarily involved in dance work.

In his interview, Beaulieu speaks of the high standards of musicianship expected by the older musicians, and illustrates the point with an anecdote concerning a rehearsal of Robichaux's concert band. The rehearsal took place in a hall above a barroom on the corner of St. Philip Street and

45. Paul Beaulieu, interview. Metoyer and Moret marched with the Excelsior band (Moret led that group from 1904 to 1920); Metoyer and Jeanjacques traveled with circuses and shows in the early 1900s. George Baquet and Charles McCurdy, also veterans of the Excelsior band, had each by this time (c1904) toured with minstrel shows (Charters, 7, 20-21, 40-41).

Claiborne Avenue. Beaulieu and Lorenzo Tio, Jr., were struggling with a difficult passage in Von Suppé's *Light Cavalry*. After several attempts, the boys decided the part was beyond their capabilities; whereupon Lorenzo Tio, Sr., turned to his son and sternly said, "You've got to play it." With such expectation thus made unequivocal, Tio, Jr., and Beaulieu quickly summoned the musical resources to master the notes.⁴⁶

Despite accompanying his father into New Orleans for a few musical activities, Lorenzo Tio, Jr., spent most of his time in Bay St. Louis, where he, his brother Louis, and two sisters, Francesca and Josephine, attended school.⁴⁷ Athénaïs Hazeur Tio, mother of Lorenzo, Sr., had moved with the family to Bay St. Louis, and she died there on 30 May 1903. She was buried in New Orleans, and the undertaker registered her death with the city health department. The cause of her death was listed as heart disease.⁴⁸ Two other

46. Ibid.; Charters, 9, 49-50. Although Beaulieu clearly states that this episode occurred during a rehearsal of Robichaux's concert band, Charters incorrectly places it in a rehearsal of the earlier Lyre Club orchestra. Beaulieu also recalls that as a conductor, Théogène Baquet was "very good and very strict."

47. Hancock County, MS, "Enumeration of Educable Children, 1906"; Rose Tio Winn, interview, 9 March 1991; Ricard Alexis, interview. In the enumeration of educable children, a census-style listing, Lorenzo Anselmo Tio's name is incorrectly recorded as "Ansella," and Francesca's name appears as "Frank."

48. Death Certificate, Athénaïs Tio, 31 May 1903, New Orleans Department of Health. Like many Creoles of color

important family events occurred during the Bay St. Louis years. In 1905 Lorenzo Tio's older sister Genéviève married Charles Majeau (1873-c1930), the younger brother of Lorenzo's wife, Alice Majeau Tio. On 21 January 1906, Alice Tio gave birth to a girl, her fifth child, whom she and Lorenzo named Alice.⁴⁹

As the years progressed, and as Lorenzo Tio passed the age of 40, he became increasingly embittered over the class rigidity of American society and the economic, professional, and artistic plight of blacks in general and Creoles of color in particular. Like his father, Thomas, and older brother Joseph Marcos had before him, Tio began to feel that his family might have a better chance at long-term success (particularly in areas dependent on social acceptance) in the more ethnically polyglot, latinate culture of Mexico.⁵⁰

of her generation, Athénaïs Tio had never learned to speak English. Even into the 1900s, the Tio family's primary language was French, although most family members were also fluent in Spanish.

49. Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990; Louis R. Tio, interview; Federal Census, 1910, 521: ED 117, visitation nos. 18 and 154.

50. Specific incidents from which this feeling may have stemmed are unknown, but there is some possibility that a certain passage in Rodolphe Desdunes, *Our People and Our History* (pp. 87-89) may refer to Lorenzo (or Louis) Tio. Desdunes relates the story of an unnamed Creole of color musician, "one of the only two saxophonists then living in New Orleans," who was particularly talented as a performer, conductor, and composer. Certainly the Tios knew first-hand the frustrations Desdunes describes when he writes, "the public always relied upon him heavily, but it seems that his solos were never perfect enough to make them forget the color

Eventually, sometime about 1907, he wrote to the Mexican consul in New Orleans requesting permission for the family to immigrate back to the country of his birth. In 1908, the family moved into New Orleans, anticipating a subsequent voyage to Mexico. However, Lorenzo fell ill before word came from Mexican authorities, and his condition quickly developed into pneumonia. On 10 June 1908, with wife Alice at his bedside, Lorenzo died. A letter granting permission to immigrate to Mexico did arrive soon thereafter, but Alice and her children decided to remain in their home city of New Orleans.⁵¹

At the time of his brother's death, Louis Tio resided with his wife, Mary, and daughter, Edna, at 1634 North Claiborne Avenue, between Laharpe and Lapeyrouse Streets, in

of his skin." Desdunes goes on to describe prejudices encountered by the young man surrounding the composition of a ballet and its submission for review by a prominent musician in New York.

Lorenzo Tio did play the saxophone, but since neither he nor Louis was generally known as a composer of extended works, and since neither was known to have made a special trip to New York, it does not seem highly likely that the story refers to them. Perhaps a better candidate is Laurent Dubuclet (1866-1909), a prolific composer who played piano and saxophone (see Sullivan, "Composers of Color," 71).

51. Death Certificate, Lorenzo Tio, 15 June 1908, New Orleans Department of Health. Louis R. Tio, interview; Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990. On Tio's death certificate, his address is illegible; however, Rose Winn states that the family had moved near Corpus Christi Church, in the Faubourg Tremé, possibly onto Onzaga Street. The family of Alice Tio is not represented in the city directory until 1910.

the Faubourg Tremé.⁵² Approaching the age of 50 himself, Louis Tio had attained a position of eminence among the Creole-of-color musicians of New Orleans. It was during this period that many of the younger generation began referring to him as "Papa" Tio, a sobriquet that connoted respect and admiration.⁵³ Despite a continued association with the Creole-of-color brass bands, notably the Onward brass band then under the leadership of cornetist Manuel Perez (1879-1946), Louis Tio seems to have gradually turned away from earning his living through music, depending more upon his trade, cigar making, for steady income. In his leisure time, however, he continued to teach private music lessons, compose, and engage in conducting projects.⁵⁴

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, a new kind of dance music, jazz, had taken hold as the most popular style on the New Orleans music scene. Jazz had theretofore been developed primarily by relatively untrained, non-Creole black musicians, and with its characteristic elements of improvisation and driving rhythmic energy it represented a highly Africanized approach to the materials of

52. City directories, 1906-15; Federal Census, 1910, 521: ED 112, visitation no. 114.

53. Louis R. Tio, interview; Albert Nicholas, interview, 26 June 1972; Peter Bocage, interview, 29 January 1959; all held at Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University.

54. Ibid.; Charters, 9-10.

Western music.⁵⁵ Like many of the older Creole-of-color musicians, whose tastes and aspirations followed a more strictly European ideal, Louis Tio was slow to appreciate (and adapt to) the new music. One of the younger musicians, cornetist Anatie "Natty" Dominique (b. 1896), recalls how "Papa" Tio demonstrated his displeasure with the incorporation of jazz into the brass-band repertoire:

Papa Tio was the old man. Well, that's a man that never liked jazz at all. . . . He'd hear jazz and [would] run in your house, under the bed: "Let me get under the bed! Listen to that, those fools, just messing up good music." [If he heard jazz] anywhere in the street, he'd run in your house. He didn't like that.⁵⁶

Although he was never considered a "jazz clarinetist," Louis Tio did eventually become reconciled to the prevalence of the style. As early as 1910, he joined the dance band of pianist Manuel Manetta (1889-1969), which performed syncopated music at nightclubs.⁵⁷ In 1912 this band began a steady engagement at the newly opened Tuxedo Dance Hall. The Tuxedo stood at 225 North Franklin Street, in the heart of Storyville,

55. An excellent discussion of the African current in early jazz appears in Gunther Schuller, *Early Jazz: Its Roots and Musical Development* (New York; Oxford University Press, 1968), 1-62.

56. Natty Dominique, interview, 31 May 1958, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University. Louis Tio's nephew remembers his uncle often saying "I don't see why they allow that [jazz]" (Louis R. Tio, interview).

57. Manuel Manetta, interview, 21 March 1957, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University.

the city's notorious red-light district.⁵⁸ At the time, Manetta's group featured an entertainer named Nooky Johnson and its musical personnel included Peter Bocage (1887-1967), violin; Gilbert "Bab" Frank (c1870-1933), piccolo; Arnold Metoyer, cornet; and George Filhe (1872-1954), trombone. At some point after the band had become established at the Tuxedo Dance Hall, Metoyer left and was replaced by Oscar "Papa" Celestin (1884-1954). Drummer Louis Cottrell (c1879-1927) joined the band at about the same time.⁵⁹

According to Manetta, the engagement at the Tuxedo Dance Hall lasted through March 1913, when the bar was closed following the death of its proprietor in an early-morning gunfight.⁶⁰ A detailed account of the fatal incident in the *New Orleans Daily Picayune* contains a description of the regular musical entertainment at the club:

[On the stage] a negro band holds forth and from about 8 o'clock at night until 4 o'clock in the morning plays varied rags, conspicuous for being the latest in

58. Ibid. In 1897, city alderman Sidney Story proposed that prostitution be outlawed everywhere in New Orleans except the 38-block area bounded by N. Basin, N. Robertson, Custom-house (now Iberville) and St. Louis Streets (part of the Faubourg Tremé). The exempted area functioned as a quasi-official red-light district until 1917, when it was shut down at the behest of the United States Navy (see Al Rose, *Storyville, New Orleans* [University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1974]).

59. Ibid.

60. Rose, *Storyville*, 67-68; Manetta, interview.

popular music, interspersed with compositions by the musicians themselves. The band has a leader who grotesquely prompts the various pieces, which generally constitute several brass pieces, a violin, guitar, piccalo [sic] and a piano.⁶¹

On some nights, the size of the band seems to have been reduced to a quartet, consisting of piano (Manetta), violin (Bocage), clarinet (Tio), and drums (Cottrell).⁶² According to both Manetta and Bocage, the Tuxedo Dance Hall band(s) read music in performance, playing primarily if not entirely from published "stock" arrangements. The band's repertory included current dances such as the two-step, waltz, and ragtime one-step; in particular, Manetta recalls using the so-called "Red Back Book," a collection of fifteen popular piano rags arranged for small orchestra.⁶³ Over the course of his

61. New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, 25 March 1913. The instrumentation described here corresponds closely that recalled by Manetta, particularly in the inclusion of an comic entertainer (the "leader") and a piccolloist. Frank was the only well known piccolloist among the black musicians of New Orleans in this period.

62. Manuel Manetta, interview. Like most New Orleans dance bands of this period, the personnel of the Tuxedo Dance Hall band seems to have varied from time to time. In a separate interview, violinist Peter Bocage also mentions the quartet (in connection with the gunfight incident), but omits Manetta from its number, placing in his stead Narcisse "Buddy" Christian (c1885-c1948), a pianist and guitarist (Peter Bocage, interview, 6 February 1962, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University). Christian may have been the guitarist mentioned in the news report above. It should be noted that both the Manetta and Bocage interviews took place more than 40 years after the fact, and the recollections of both men may be understandably vague or incomplete.

63. Ibid. The "Red Back Book" is the vernacular name for *Fifteen Standard High Class Rags* (St. Louis; John Stark and Sons, c1905), a collection of arrangements by John Stark

interview (which centers primarily on people and events), he also mentions that this band played an arrangement of the Gilbert and Sullivan song, "The Flowers that Bloom in the Spring" (*The Mikado* [1885], Act 2, No. 9).

Louis Tio seems to have virtually retired from dance-band work after the Tuxedo Dance Hall closed in 1913. He did continue to make cigars, however, and during this period was employed in a small cigar factory owned by Ulysses Bigard.⁶⁴ The factory stood behind the Bigard family home at 1726 North Villere Street, in the Faubourg Marigny. In about 1918, the six-man work force was joined by Ulysses' young nephew, Albany Leon "Barney" Bigard (1906-1980), a Tio protégé who later became a renowned jazz stylist on clarinet. Barney Bigard's autobiography includes a description of the cigarmaking operation:

or D. S. DeLisle for a combination of eleven instruments: flute, clarinet, cornet, trombone, violin (two parts), viola, cello, string bass, drums, and piano. The contents are: "The Cascades" (Scott Joplin), "African Pas" (M. Kirwin), "Maple Leaf Rag" (Joplin), "The Entertainer" (Joplin), "The Rag Time Dance" (Joplin), "Sensation" (Joseph E. Lamb and Joplin), "Grace and Beauty" (James Scott), "The Easy Winners" (Joplin), "Sun Flower Slow Drag" (Joplin and Scott Hayden), "Kinklets" (Arthur Marshall), "Ophelia Rag" (James Scott), "The Chrysanthemum" (Joplin), "The Minstrel Man" (J. Russell Robinson), and "Frog Legs Rag" (Hayden). An unbound set of the Red Back Book arrangements is held at the Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University.

64. Barney Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke: The Autobiography of a Jazz Clarinetist*, ed. Barry Martyn (London: Macmillan, 1985), 9.

I started out sifting tobacco on the floor. I'd get the dust out of the tobacco and [my uncle] gave me 50 cents a week. This was pretty good because I was only about twelve at the time. Soon I started rolling bunches, and then I began rolling tobacco so good the next thing you knew I was a cigar maker.

When I began making cigars the factory got \$8 a thousand but if you got to be good at it you'd go on to a better cigar. The price would go up the better you got until you reached the pure Havana cigars. They got \$50 a thousand for them. But they had to be made just so. You were not even supposed to see where the wrapper turned around, and the head, it'd better be just perfect. Then there was what they called "pin tails" with the small end that had to be perfectly put together, otherwise they couldn't pass it. . . . After three or four years I got tired of making cigars, the way they would keep the factory all closed up with no ventilation. On top of this all the cigar makers smoked all day and I was getting sick, so I just gave it up.⁶⁵

Bigard's own interest in music developed partly through his workplace association with Louis Tio; after quitting the cigar business, he took private clarinet lessons, first from Lorenzo Tio, Jr., and then from Louis. In the late 1910s he had ample opportunity to hear his mentors play, and he recalls that

Louis "Papa" Tio was a hell of a clarinetist. Just like Lorenzo [Jr.], he played a thirteen-hole clarinet, but on the side he had some of the holes stopped up. And he used rubber bands all over it. Never mind the springs, rubber bands. And if you heard that old man play . . . it was fantastic.⁶⁶

65. Ibid., 9.

66. Barney Bigard, interview by Barry Martyn, [c1973], transcript of tape recording, photostat in author's possession. The Bigard autobiography was compiled from a series of interviews (tape recordings now held at Rutgers Jazz Institute, Rutgers University), and editor Martyn has graciously allowed the use of his original transcripts (containing material not subsequently published) for this study.

Natty Dominique recalls that Louis Tio had a "beautiful, round tone," and could play so softly that "if he stood alongside you and blew that clarinet in the low register, you'd think he was at the corner of Cottage Grove" [i.e., several city blocks away].⁶⁷

Louis Tio's interest in conducting never waned. In the late 1910s he again led a large ensemble, what Bigard termed a "symphony band."⁶⁸ This organization rehearsed at St. Katharine's (dance) Hall (1509 Tulane Avenue) and many of its members were veterans of the earlier Creole-of-color bands and orchestras. According to Tio's nephew, Louis Raphael Tio, who witnessed several rehearsals, some of the personnel were: Ferdinand Valteau and Henry Nickerson, violin; Tom "Oke" Gaspard, string bass; Vic Gaspard, trombone; and Camille Nickerson (b. 1887), piano. Lorenzo Tio, Jr., played in the clarinet section. Louis Raphael Tio, younger brother of Lorenzo, Jr., had taken music lessons as a child and was himself asked to play one of the clarinet parts; however, his interests lay in other directions, and he admits to "playing hooky."⁶⁹ The St. Katharine's Hall orchestra may or may not be the same Tio-led ensemble that Natty Dominique recalls

67. Natty Dominique, interview.

68. Ibid.

69. Louis R. Tio, interview. In addition, Tio recalls that a "Professor" McDonald shared piano duties with Camille Nickerson.

hearing sometime before his own move to Chicago in 1918. Among the personnel of this group he places Gilbert Frank, flute; Armand Piron and Peter Bocage, violin; Manuel Perez, George Moret, and Paul Chaligny, cornets; Vic Gaspard and George Filhe, trombone; Louis Cottrell, percussion. He also remembers that the ensemble performed concerts at such places as Artisan Hall and Francs Amis Hall.⁷⁰

Barney Bigard knew many of the musicians involved in the orchestral projects, and he recalls that Louis "Papa" Tio was known a demanding conductor:

He [occasionally] made some enemies, because they would have some violinists that was making some bad notes, and he was strictly a perfectionist as far as the drill was concerned, and he'd say to the guy, "What's the matter? You keep making the same damn bad note. Can't you see it?" Then they would have an argument.⁷¹

70. Natty Dominique, interview. Like those of most musical groups in this society, the rosters of these ensembles probably changed frequently. However, Dominique does not mention St. Katharine's Hall, and such an omission suggests that he may have heard a different group altogether from that described by Louis R. Tio.

71. Barney Bigard, interview. The corresponding passage in the published autobiography contains a faulty assertion that this ensemble was the orchestra of the (much earlier) Lyre club. The section of the transcribed interview preceding the above excerpt reads as follows:

Bigard: "Papa, he had, like, a little symphony band in a club they [he and Lorenzo, Jr.] belonged to, and he was the director."

Interviewer: "That wasn't called the Lyre Club Symphony Orchestra, was it?"

Bigard: "No, it was . . . I can't think of the name off hand. I'll think of it. Any way, he was the director, and he [occasionally] . . ."

Towards the end of his life, Louis Tio retired from most activities, continuing only to teach a few private lessons and to dabble with composing, for which hobby he made use of a piano belonging to his daughter, Edna.⁷² Bigard reports that Tio worked increasingly less at the cigar factory: "He would just quit work when he felt like it. Like, work half a day or something."⁷³ In the summer of 1922, Louis Tio's health deteriorated, and he died at his home (1704 Laharpe Street, where he had resided since 1916) on 10 July of that year. The cause of his death was recorded as cardiovascular and kidney failure. Tio was survived by his wife Mary, who lived until 1943, and adopted daughter, Edna.⁷⁴

72. Louis R. Tio, interview. Unfortunately, none of Louis Tio's compositions has survived.

73. Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke*, 18.

74. Death Certificate, Louis A. Tio, 11 July 1922, New Orleans Department of Health; Louis R. Tio, interview; City directory, 1916-23.

THE TIO FAMILY: FOUR GENERATIONS
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CHAPTER 6
LORENZO TIO, JR., AND HIS
EARLY CAREER, 1893-1918

Lorenzo Anselmo Tio was born on 21 April 1893 in New Orleans, the first child of Augustin Lorenzo and Alice Majeau Tio.¹ Over the following seven years, Alice gave birth to three more children: Louis Raphael (October 1895), Francesca Michaela (September 1897), and Josephine Marguerite (March 1900).² The family resided in the Faubourg Tremé throughout the period, renting wood-frame houses first at 1723 Kerlerec Street and later (1899) at 1722 Ursulines Street.³

As befitting the children of one of the city's most prominent black musicians (and veteran of the national black vaudeville circuit), the home life of Lorenzo Tio, Jr.,⁴ and

1. Birth Certificate, [Lorenzo] Anselmo Tio, 21 April 1893 [date of birth], City of New Orleans Register of Births 97:814, Louisiana State Archives.

2. Federal Census, 1900, 572: ED 59, sheet 9.

3. City directories, 1893-1901. For maps showing these and other locations within the city, see Appendix A.

4. Perhaps because his full name was not a duplicate of his father's, Lorenzo Anselmo Tio never used the title "Junior." However, in order to maintain consistency with

his siblings included rudimentary training in music. In a 1960 interview with William Russell of Tulane University, Lorenzo's younger brother, Louis R. Tio, explained that the family always kept a piano in their home, and that his father often gathered the children together ("he would line us up on the edge of the bed") for "classes" in singing and ear-training.⁵ Each child was expected to develop proficiency in singing with correct pitch, using traditional European solfège syllables. Only when this was accomplished to his satisfaction would Lorenzo, Sr., allow the study of an instrument.

The boys in the family were strongly encouraged to play the clarinet, since that instrument had been the traditional calling of so many of their male ancestors. Louis R. Tio reports that he "was forced to play" the instrument by the age of five (c1900); if his experience serves as an indication, it thus seems that older brother Lorenzo, Jr., probably began his own clarinet lessons by about 1898. The two sisters, Francesca and Josephine, each learned to play the piano and the guitar.⁶ Francesca Tio

modern secondary sources and to avoid confusion, I have chosen to employ the label, and shall thus refer to him throughout this text as "Lorenzo Tio, Jr."

5. Louis R. Tio, interview; Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990.

6. Louis R. Tio, interview. This, too, seems to have run according to family custom. Antoinette Marcos Tio, the

showed a particular talent for the piano, and in later years studied privately with Camille Nickerson (b. 1887), a veteran of Louis "Papa" Tio's orchestral projects and the daughter of William Nickerson. Although Lorenzo Tio, Jr., was the only child to choose music as a professional career, Louis R. Tio remembers that the family home was often the scene of informal music-making, as he and his sisters would perform popular songs from sheet music singly and in ensembles (typically guitar, piano, and clarinet) for recreation.⁷

As an integral part of their professional careers, Lorenzo Tio, Sr., and Louis "Papa" Tio taught formal music lessons at home (see Chapter 8). Once each of Lorenzo's children began to study an instrument, he or she received private lessons in the same manner as the other students.⁸ Louis R. Tio recalls that when he took clarinet lessons from his father or uncle, he was required to perform each assignment "perfectly" before progressing to the next, and that consequently he was sometimes made to repeat assignments from one lesson to the next. Lorenzo, Sr., also had his sons play duets with him and with each other as a means of teaching intonation and ensemble precision. From the start, it was

great-aunt of these children, played the guitar, and Louis "Papa" Tio's adopted daughter, Edna (their cousin), played the piano, both at a relatively high level of proficiency.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

clear that Lorenzo, Jr., possessed a natural affinity for music; his brother asserts that "music came to him as easily as drinking a glass of water." With the encouragement of his father and uncle, Lorenzo Tio, Jr., developed diligent practice habits and he progressed rapidly towards becoming a performing clarinetist.

In 1901, Lorenzo Tio, Sr., moved his wife and children to the small beachfront community of Bay St. Louis, Mississippi. The Tios rented a home on Main Street, near the present location of the Hancock County Courthouse and within several hundred yards of the Gulf of Mexico.⁹ In Bay St. Louis, Lorenzo Tio, Jr., like many Catholic children, seems to have attended St. Rose Catholic elementary school before entering (c1904) the black public school.¹⁰ Ricard Alexis (1896-1960), who grew up in Bay St. Louis and later became a successful jazz trumpeter in New Orleans, remembers attending school with Lorenzo, Jr., and two other future

9. Hancock County, MS, "Enumeration of Educable Children, 1906," 146; Rose Tio Winn, interview, 9 March 1991; Ricard Alexis, interview.

10. Alexis, interview; Rose Tio Winn, interview by Barry Martyn, 27 July 1969, transcript of tape recording, photostat in author's possession. Alexis, who grew up in Bay St. Louis, reports that typically, Catholic children attended the parochial school until the age of eleven, then finished at the public school. He specifically remembers Tio from the public school. Although she does not mention a school by name, Tio's daughter Rose states that as a child he was instructed in French by a Catholic priest.

musicians, Johnny Dodds (1892-1940) and his brother Warren "Baby" Dodds (1896-1959).¹¹ Although Lorenzo, Jr., most probably knew Johnny Dodds (the two were only one year apart in age), this early association does not appear to have been musical, as Dodds, later the clarinetist for Louis Armstrong's Hot Five and Hot Seven, did not begin his own musical training until 1907, about the time the Tios returned to New Orleans.¹²

During this period Lorenzo Tio, Jr., helped support his family by fishing, a pursuit which became a life-long hobby.

As his daughter, Rose Tio Winn, recalls:

He was a great fisherman. Oh, he loved to fish! He often told us about dredging oysters in the bay, Bay St. Louis, and how they would use the two tongs to pull them off the side of the boat. Well, he learned to make nets. He would buy the twine, and use a particular knot to make his nets.¹³

In the 1920s, Tio and banjoist Charlie Bocage (1900-1963) would often leave the bandstand after an engagement to spend the remainder of the night fishing on Lake Pontchartrain.¹⁴

In the early 1900s Bay St. Louis was home to two prominent New Orleans-style brass bands, the Supreme band and the Promote band. Lorenzo Tio, Sr., performed with and arranged music for the latter. Sometime in 1903, when he was

11. Alexis, interview.

12. Gene Anderson, "Johnny Dodds in New Orleans," *American Music* 8 (1990): 413.

13. Rose Tio Winn, interview by Martyn, 27 July 1969.

14. *Ibid.*; Rose Tio Winn, interview, 9 March 1991.

about ten years old, Lorenzo, Jr., joined his father's band for a municipal parade, an occasion that marked his first performance with an established musical group.¹⁵

As his proficiency on the clarinet continued to develop, Lorenzo, Jr., began occasionally to accompany his father to New Orleans for musical activities. He assumed a chair alongside his father and uncle in the clarinet section of Théogène Baquet's concert band, the personnel of which was drawn primarily from the Excelsior Brass Band (see above, p. 196). His stand partner, Paul Beaulieu, recalls that the young Tio's performance in this ensemble fulfilled the high expectations of his elders. Beaulieu himself also admired what he regarded as Lorenzo, Jr.'s natural gifts for sightreading and musical phrasing.¹⁶

By 1908, the family of Lorenzo Tio, Jr., had moved from Bay St. Louis back to the city of New Orleans. Lorenzo Tio, Sr., ultimately hoped to be able to take his wife and children on to Mexico, where he felt they would find greater social and economic opportunity than what was available in the United States. Before bringing the plan to fruition, however, he contracted a debilitating case of pneumonia. He died on 10 June 1908, survived (in the immediate household) by his wife, Alice, his unmarried sister Josephine, two teenaged sons, and

15. Louis R. Tio, interview; Ricard Alexis, interview.

16. Paul Beaulieu, interview.

three daughters, the youngest of whom, also named Alice, had been born but two years before in Bay St. Louis. Despite receiving official permission to relocate in Mexico, Alice Tio and her sons decided to remain permanently in New Orleans.¹⁷ They continued to rent lodgings in the Faubourg Tremé, and settled by late 1910 into a home at 1632 North Claiborne, next door to that of Louis "Papa" Tio. According to the 1910 census report, both Alice and her sister-in-law, Josephine Tio, took jobs as seamstresses in a clothing factory. The boys also helped to support the family; Louis R. Tio, then about fifteen years old, worked for a grocery store, and Lorenzo, Jr., seventeen, began to play music professionally.¹⁸

Lorenzo Tio, Jr., probably found his first regular musical employment working with members of the Excelsior Brass Band, as one of a pool of clarinetists used for both the brass band itself and for a variety of subsidiary dance-music

17. Louis R. Tio, interview.

18. Federal Census, 1910, 521: ED 117, visitation no. 154. The (Lorenzo) Tio family does not appear in the city directories of 1908-09. However, an entry in the 1910 directory, information for which was gathered in late 1909, includes an address of 1717 Laharpe Street. The census report, dating from July 1910, shows that the family had by then moved to 1816 Columbus Street. The Tios moved again shortly thereafter, as the 1911 directory (data current as of autumn 1910) shows an address of 1632 North Claiborne. The family resided at this location for the next five years. Lorenzo Tio, Jr., seems to have considered himself a professional musician by about 1909, as the listing in the 1910 directory reads, "Tio, Lorenzo A., musician, 1717 Laharpe."

ensembles. Cornetist George Moret had taken over leadership of the Excelsior band after Théogène Baquet retired from the position in about 1904. Among the core personnel of the band during the early 1900s were Adolph Alexander, Sr., cornet; Eddie Vinson and Buddy Johnson, trombones; Vic Gaspard, baritone horn; and Louis Cottrell, Sr., drums. Besides Louis "Papa" Tio, who gradually withdrew from marching activities, the clarinet duties of the Excelsior band seem to have been split among George Baquet, Alphonse Picou, and Charles McCurdy.¹⁹ Each of these three had experience in nationally-touring stage shows, and along with the Tios they constituted the front rank of black woodwind players in New Orleans.²⁰ Acceptance into this circle of musicians, even if at first simply as a reliable substitute, was for Lorenzo Tio, Jr., an acknowledgment of his outstanding talent and potential to join the others as a leading performer.

Among the dance groups comprising Excelsior musicians, that of John Robichaux, who had played bass drum with the brass band in the 1890s, was easily the most prominent (others included the Peerless and the Imperial orchestras). Although none of the Tios is commonly remembered as holding the regular clarinet chair in Robichaux's orchestra, Lorenzo, Sr.,

19. Charters, 54; Rose and Souchon, 194.

20. Charters, 20-21; Alphonse Picou, interview, 4 April 1958, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University; Indianapolis Freeman, 19 April 1902 (mentions McCurdy).

played with the group occasionally before his death in 1908, and Louis "Papa" Tio seems to have done likewise throughout his later career.²¹ By about 1911 Robichaux began to employ Lorenzo, Jr., on the same basis, sometimes alongside another clarinetist such as his uncle or George Baquet. Edmond Souchon, who as a dancer and listener witnessed a number of Robichaux engagements in the early 1910s, recalls that Lorenzo, Jr., played both clarinet and saxophone with this ensemble.²² In his new role as a dance-band musician, Lorenzo Tio, Jr., encountered squarely the popular musical styles of ragtime, blues, and their hybrid, jazz:

This band, in spite of using scored arrangements, really "swang"! . . . Robichaux often played with an "augmented" orchestra. Instead of the usual seven-piece band, the group sometimes went all the way up to 12 pieces. Usually he specialized in "smooth," society style music, but every now and then his band got hotter than a firecracker. Sometimes they even "stooped" to downright gutbucket archaic New Orleans jazz.²³

It was probably through his experience with the Robichaux orchestra that Lorenzo Tio, Jr., first came into

21. Louis R. Tio, interview; Charters, 7-8; Rose and Souchon, 155.

22. Edmond Souchon, "Long-Gone But Not Forgotten: A Memoir of George McCullum," *Second Line* 15/5-6 (1964): 13-16.

23. *Ibid.*, 13. The colloquial term "gutbucket" refers to music derived in structure from the blues, and a manner of instrumental performance involving the inflections of pitch and rhythm characteristic of the vocal style of blues singers. Souchon, who was a high-school student at the time, also recalls that Robichaux's orchestra performed annually for the school dance, held at the Grunewald Hotel (later the Roosevelt, now the Fairmont Hotel, on Canal Street).

contact with cornetist Freddie Keppard (1889-1933), a protégé of Excelsior veteran Adolph Alexander, Sr. Souchon recalls that around 1911 "Freddie Keppard was a frequent holder of the 'first chair' in [Robichaux's] horn section."²⁴ Although only about 22 years old, Keppard had already established himself as leader of his own Olympia Orchestra and was generally acknowledged to be among the leading cornetists in New Orleans. About the young Keppard, Souchon writes,

His style was direct and powerful . . . but he seldom "took off . . ." Rarely did he ever hit a sour note, and most of the time Robichaux had to insist that he mute his horn, lest he blast the dancers off the floor.²⁵

Keppard had organized his Olympia Orchestra in about 1906 and, like Robichaux's band, this group performed primarily for the so-called "society" functions, i.e., privately contracted parties and dances, as opposed to employment in cabarets or barrooms.²⁶ Originally Alphonse Picou played clarinet in the Olympia Orchestra, but a number of other men filled the duty on an occasional basis, including Charles McCurdy and Louis Nelson Delisle. As time progressed, probably around 1910, Keppard began also to employ Lorenzo Tio, Jr.²⁷ It is uncertain whether Tio became a regular member of the

24. Ibid., 15; Charters, 36.

25. Ibid. Punctuation follows the source.

26. Charters, 36.

27. Rose and Souchon, 151.

ensemble, and if so, for how long, but the experience with the Olympia Orchestra did afford him an important personal contact with Keppard's violinist, Armand J. Piron. Some years later, in 1919, Piron called upon Tio to play clarinet in his own dance orchestra, beginning a musical association that lasted nearly a decade (see below, Chapter 7).

By 1910 Lorenzo Tio, Jr., had also become a full-time member of a brass band, the Tuxedo Brass Band. The newly formed Tuxedo band was co-managed by cornetist Oscar Celestin (1884-1954) and trombonist William "Bébé" Ridgley (1892-1961), both of whom had just quit the Allen Brass Band of Algiers, Louisiana (directly across the Mississippi River from New Orleans). According to an interview with Ridgley, other charter members of the Tuxedo Brass Band included Peter Bocage, cornet; Adolph Alexander, Sr., and Isidore Barbarin, alto horn; Eddie Jackson, tuba; Ernest Trepagnier and Henry Zeno, drums.²⁸ Although the Tuxedo band continued in existence for some fifteen years (it flourished in the late 1910s), Tio and some of the other musicians (Bocage, Barbarin, and Jackson) left after a short time to join an older, better-established group, the Onward Brass Band, then led by the prominent Creole-of-color cornetist Manuel Perez (1879-1946).²⁹

28. William Ridgley, interview, 2 June 1959, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University.

29. Peter Bocage, interview, 6 February 1962; Louis R. Tio, interview; Charters, 50; Rose and Souchon, 207.

Lorenzo Tio, Jr., may have been introduced to the Onward Brass Band by his uncle, Louis Tio, who had marched with the organization from time to time since its inception in the mid-1880s. The personnel of the Onward band seems to have fluctuated over the years, but it generally drew musicians from the same Creole-of-color community that fed the Excelsior Brass Band. In instrumentation the Onward band was structured like most New Orleans bands of the period;³⁰ the band roster shown in Figure 8 derives from a surviving photograph, dated c1913, of the band in full parade uniform.³¹

Under Manuel Perez the ensemble developed a reputation among musicians as the finest brass band in the city. Jazz clarinetist Sidney Bechet (1897-1959) recalled as a child following the Onward brass band on its parade routes (a popular practice, known as "second lining") and he, like many other young boys, clearly idolized the older musicians. Describing the so-called "bucking contests," in which two brass bands would vie for audience approval by alternating numbers or playing simultaneously, Bechet stated that other bands "trembled to face" Manuel Perez and the Onward

30. Schafer, William J., "Onward Brass Band," *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz* (London: MacMillan, 1989), 2:270; Isidore Barbarin, interview, 7 January 1959, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University. Schafer writes that New Orleans brass bands of the first two decades of the twentieth century typically consisted of about a dozen musicians: 3 cornets, 1 or 2 clarinets, 2 trombones, 1 or 2 alto horns, baritone horn, tuba, snare drum, and bass drum.

31. Rose and Souchon, 207 (includes indentifications).

<u>Cornet</u>	<u>E-flat Clarinet</u>
Manuel Perez	Lorenzo Tio, Jr.
Andrew Kimball	
Peter Bocage	<u>Alto horn</u>
	Adolph Alexander, Sr.
<u>Trombone</u>	Isidore Barbarin
Buddy Johnson	
Vic Gaspard ³²	<u>Snare drum</u>
	Nathaniel "Bébé" Matthews
<u>Baritone horn</u>	
Eddie Atkins	<u>Bass drum</u>
	Dandy Lewis
<u>Tuba</u>	
Eddie Atkins	

Figure 8. Roster and Instrumentation of the Onward Brass Band, c1913.

band.³³ Louis Armstrong (1899-1971) was another young admirer of Perez; he later wrote that the Onward brass band of the mid-1910s "was the finest I had ever heard."³⁴

The Onward brass band undertook many of the same types of engagements as had the earlier brass bands of the 1880s and 1890s, although indoor dance work had by this time become the domain of the smaller dance bands (e.g., the

32. In addition to Johnson and Gaspard, George Filhe is known to have played trombone with the Onward brass band of this period. He seems to have already emigrated to Chicago by the time of the photograph (Charters, 29).

33. Sidney Bechet, *Treat It Gentle* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1960), 67-68.

34. Louis Armstrong, *Satchmo: My Life in New Orleans* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1954), 90. Armstrong describes a funeral for which the Onward band, by that time with Joe "King" Oliver (1885-1938) on second cornet, provided music. Armstrong notes in particular the outstanding musicianship of Eddie Jackson (tuba) and Bébé Matthews (snare drum).

Olympia Orchestra) that had proliferated in the intervening years. Isidore Barbarin (1872-1960) recalled that the Onward band performed regularly for parades, picnics, and sporting events, and contracted with a number of black benevolent societies to provide music for wakes and funerals. He stated that the societies "had funerals every day. Our band played for the Odd Fellows, Liberty Society, Perseverance, Hobgoblins, Bulls, Friends of Orders, and many others."³⁵

Although as a unit the Onward brass band did not generally perform for ballroom dancing, its repertory, like that of many newer New Orleans brass bands, became progressively more imbued with dance music. As syncopated music gained in popularity,

the old tradition of strict reading bands, rigorously schooled to play "legitimate" concert music and highly proper dance tunes, gave way to the influx of a younger generation of musicians who were essentially dance-band oriented and for whom street-band playing was secondary.³⁶

That such trends did take place is supported by Sidney Bechet's recollection of particularly representative dance titles from the book of the Onward brass band: "Have You Seen My Lovin' Henry?," "Fiddle Up On Your Violin," "I'm Gonna See My Sweetie Tonight," "Maple Leaf Rag," "High Society," "Black Smoke," "Pineapple Rag," "Canadian Capers," and "Lightnin' Bug."³⁷

35. Isidore Barbarin, interview.

36. Schafer, *Brass Bands and New Orleans Jazz*, 50.

37. Bechet, 63-64.

Two other numbers from the Onward repertory are known, the dirge-march "Fallen Heroes" and the hymn "Nearer My God to Thee," both of which were used primarily for funerals.³⁸

Lorenzo Tio, Jr., played prominent parts on both "High Society" and "Nearer My God to Thee." On the former he was responsible for performing the famous clarinet obbligato solo developed some years earlier by Alphonse Picou from the printed piccolo part. Like all front-rank New Orleans clarinetists of the period, Tio had committed to memory his own version of Picou's highly ornamented line.³⁹ As for his playing on "Nearer My God to Thee," Lorenzo's brother recalled that upon one occasion, a funeral at the St. Louis Cemetery, a broken spring on the clarinet forced him to improvise a series of high trills (thus avoiding the sticking key); he thereafter retained the ornaments and listeners often declared his rendition of the tune the best they had heard.⁴⁰

38. Armstrong, 90; Charters, 44; Schafer, *Brass Bands and New Orleans Jazz*, 49. Complete parts for "Fallen Heroes," (George Southwell, composer and publisher, 1894), are reprinted in facsimile in Schafer, *Brass Bands*, 106-24.

39. Ridgley, interview, 7 April 1961; Collins, 36. Ridgley states flatly that Picou, George Baquet, and Tio were the only clarinetists who could play the passage properly. Collins writes that Tio taught him to play the obbligato on cornet in the early 1920s: "with Tio's help, I got so I could play every note." Although the solo is generally credited to Picou (Rose and Souchon, 100; Collins, 36; Beaulieu, interview; Ridgley, interview), Samuel Charters writes that its development and adaptation to clarinet were carried out by Bab Frank (piccolo) and George Baquet (clarinet), who performed together in the dance orchestra of John Robichaux (Charters, 30).

40. Louis R. Tio, interview.

Lorenzo Tio, Jr. seems to have first achieved real prominence among New Orleans musicians during this period, from 1910 to c1914. In addition to establishing himself as the leading brass-band clarinetist of the day,⁴¹ he continued to free-lance with dance bands and performed in theater orchestras, as attested to by Sidney Bechet:

Lorenzo Tio, he was real good to me. Once I remember I went in for one of those "Amateur Talent" contests at the theatre. I went on and did a song and dance act, but I can't have done very well, because the master of ceremonies, he asked me if there was anything else I could do. Well, I said yes, I could play the clarinet, but I hadn't brought mine with me. Lorenzo Tio, he was playing in the pit orchestra, so I walked over and asked him if I could borrow his. So he said yes, and I won the contest and the first prize of \$25.00⁴²

Tio also continued to form friendships that influenced his subsequent career. By c1911 he had gained valuable experience beyond the Creole-of-color musical community as a member of the Eagle Band, a jazz-oriented dance group led by

41. Such status is clearly manifest in the recollections of a number of younger musicians, who at this time followed closely the activities of the brass bands, and who uniformly name Tio as foremost among their childhood heroes. See the interviews of Albert Nicholas, Barney Bigard, Albert Burbank (18 March 1959), Charlie Bocage (18 July 1960), and Omer Simeon (18 August 1955), Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University. Moreover, Sidney Bechet lists Tio among a handful of great Creole ragtime players whose playing he remembers as "damn' fine" (Bechet, 91).

42. Bechet, 79-80. Bechet, who was born in 1897, later indicates that he was about twelve years old at the time (p. 81). Although Bechet's discussion immediately prior to this anecdote makes it clear that the Tio he knew was Lorenzo, Jr., Bechet's biographer, John Chilton, incorrectly assumes that it is Lorenzo Tio, Sr. (John Chilton, *Sidney Bechet: The Wizard of Jazz*, [New York: Oxford University Press, 1987], 7).

cornetist Willie Geary "Bunk" Johnson (1879-1949).⁴³ To some extent a continuation of Buddy Bolden's seminal band, the Eagle Band was primarily comprised of non-Creole blacks such as Frank Dusen (1881-1936, trombone), Willie Warner (1877-cl920, clarinet), and Jefferson "Brock" Mumford (cl870-cl914, guitar).⁴⁴ These older musicians played without sheet music, and performing in such a context doubtless forced Tio to hone his own improvisational skills in short order. When Tio left the Eagle Band, probably sometime late in 1912, he was replaced by his young friend Sidney Bechet. Bechet recalls that the most distinctive feature of the Eagle band was its ability to play the blues in an effectively earthy (gutbucket) manner.⁴⁵

In about November 1912 Lorenzo Tio, Jr., joined a new dance band, one built around cornetist Freddie Keppard and assembled specifically to perform at the 102 Ranch, a well-known saloon and dance hall located at 206 North Franklin Street, in the heart of the city's red-light district,

43. Louis R. Tio (stated by interviewer William Russell and confirmed by the interviewee); Chilton, 15.

44. Marquis, 111, 136-37; Rose and Souchon, 143; Charters, 28.

45. Chilton (p. 15) reports that Bechet replaced Tio in the Eagle band. Bechet recalled doing so in 1911, but Chilton suggests that the change may have come as late as 1913. Pianist Frank Amacker places Tio in another band (with Keppard, discussed below) by about November 1912.

Storyville.⁴⁶ "102 Ranch" was the new name for an establishment that had opened in 1910 as the "101 Ranch," under the management of Harry Parker and William Phillips. The name was changed after Parker left the partnership to become proprietor of a new saloon, the Tuxedo Dance Hall, which went into business in the autumn of 1912 at a nearby address, 225 North Franklin Street. The two businesses competed directly, and feelings of ill will festered between Phillips and Parker, who had parted on poor terms.⁴⁷

Upon opening the Tuxedo Dance Hall, Parker employed a dance orchestra led by pianist Manuel Manetta, which featured Louis "Papa" Tio on clarinet (discussed above, pp. 201-204). Phillips seems to have countered by hiring the Keppard group. Besides Keppard and Lorenzo Tio, Jr., the personnel of this band included William "Bébé" Ridgley, trombone; Frank Amacker (1890-1976), piano; Billy Marrero (c1874-c1920), string bass; and James Palao (c1880-c1925), violin.⁴⁸ Four

46. Frank Amacker, interview, 1 July 1960, Hogan Jazz Archive. Material from this interview also appears in Alan Ward, "Hot Tuxedoes," Footnote 18/5 (1987):4.

47. "Dance Hall Feud Ends in Death of Two Rivals," *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, 25 March 1913 (facsimile reprint in *Rose, Storyville*, 213-215). In the 1911 city directory (reflecting the situation as of autumn 1910), the "Parker brothers" (Harry Parker and his brother Charles, a bartender) are listed at 206 North Franklin Street, site of the 101 Ranch. Home addresses for each also appear. The directory of 1913 lists Harry Parker at 225 North Franklin (the Tuxedo Dance Hall) and William J. Philips [sic] at 206 North Franklin.

48. Amacker, interview.

of the six musicians were Creoles of color (Keppard, Tio, Ridgley, and Palao), but the playing style of the ensemble nonetheless reflected a substantial jazz influence.⁴⁹

Keppard, Tio, and Palao were each known as reading musicians who could also improvise. The basis of this group's repertory was probably the same as that of the Manetta band, i.e., syncopated dance arrangements intended for the popular dance steps of the day (such as those found in the "Red Back Book"), but its performance of the written material probably involved a looser interpretation and more improvisation.

The Storyville dance halls typically featured music for dancing six nights per week (every night except Sunday), and bands were required to play from about 8:00 P.M. to 4:00 A.M. Although the musicians depended upon tips from the dancers for their wages, the dance hall jobs were considered among the most lucrative in New Orleans.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, Lorenzo Tio, Jr.'s steady engagement at the 102 Ranch lasted only a few months. On the night of Sunday, 23 March 1913, the long-standing enmity between the rival saloon owners erupted into a gunfight that resulted in the deaths of both and precipitated a year-long forced closing of all the dance halls in the Storyville district.⁵¹ Because the fracas occurred

49. Ibid.

50. "Dance Hall Feud," *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, 25 March 1913.

51. Ibid.; Rose, *Storyville*, 68.

at a time when the bands would normally have been off duty, it is doubtful whether either Lorenzo Tio, Jr., or Louis "Papa" Tio could have witnessed it.⁵²

After the Storyville dance halls were closed, the musicians from the Tuxedo and the 102 Ranch seem to have gone separate ways. Manuel Manetta and George Filhe, of the band at the Tuxedo, traveled to Chicago, Filhe to stay and Manetta to return after a few weeks to free-lance in New Orleans.⁵³ Louis "Papa" Tio withdrew from dance-band work. From the band of the 102 Ranch, Freddie Keppard and James Palao continued working together and were soon to leave for California, where they formed the Original Creole Band with clarinetist George Baquet and bassist Bill Johnson.⁵⁴

Some of the other musicians, including Lorenzo Tio, Jr., eventually joined forces to organize another dance orchestra. William Ridgley (trombonist at the 102 Ranch) and Oscar Celestin (cornetist at the Tuxedo) had collaborated in various brass bands for several years, and, upon finding themselves unemployed as dance musicians, they decided to co-lead a new group that originally included Tio on clarinet, Peter Bocage

52. A number of musicians later claimed to have witnessed the shooting, including Manuel Manetta (Manetta, interview); however, author Al Rose contends that most such claims are apocryphal.

53. Manetta, interview; Charters, 39.

54. Lawrence Gushee, "How the Creole Band Came to Be," *Black Music Research Journal* 8 (1988): 71-86.

(from the Tuxedo Dance Hall band), violin; Johnny Lindsey (1894-1950), string bass; and Ernest Trepagnier (c1885-1968), drums.⁵⁵ Celestin and Ridgley managed to keep the group busy with single engagements such as private parties, picnics, excursions, and society dances.

The Storyville dance halls began to reopen early in 1914.⁵⁶ The Celestin/Ridgley dance band soon landed an extended engagement at the 102 Ranch, ownership of which had been assumed by the father of the deceased Billy Phillips.⁵⁷ The band personnel seems to have shifted somewhat, perhaps primarily because a house-band arrangement at a dance hall allowed for the regular inclusion of a pianist. Ridgley, Celestin, and Tio were now joined by Louis Cottrell, Sr., drums, and Jean Vigne (b. c1885), piano. Although in his interview Ridgley mentions only these five, the band may well have also included Peter Bocage on violin; Ridgley does place Bocage in the band both immediately before and after this tenure at the 102 Ranch, and the dance bands of the day typically included the instrument.⁵⁸ The engagement, the

55. Ridgley, interview, 11 April 1961.

56. Rose, *Storyville*, 69.

57. Ibid.; Ridgley, interview, 11 April 1961. Ridgley consistently refers to the dance hall as the 101 Ranch, although he pinpoints the time period as 1914, after the Parker/Phillips incident and before the hurricane of October 1815.

58. Ridgley, interview, 11 April 1961. Ridgley, whose enumeration of personnel is subject to interruptions

requirements and nature of which appear to have been identical to Tio's earlier Storyville experience, lasted through 1914 into the following year.⁵⁹

By 1914 Lorenzo Tio, Jr., had established a close friendship with Peter Bocage, one that would last throughout the remainder of his life.⁶⁰ Bocage was originally from Algiers, Louisiana, where he belonged to a large Creole-of-color family. His paternal grandfather, Octave, and father, Paul, operated a boat-building enterprise on the riverfront and Paul Bocage earned a supplemental income by making string instruments and playing string bass in various music ensembles. Born in 1887, Peter Bocage was the oldest child of Paul and Elizabeth La Mothe Bocage; the couple also had two sons, Henry (b. 1894) and Charles (b. 1900), and two daughters, Bertha (b. 1891) and Lillian (b. 1895).⁶¹

Among New Orleans musicians, Peter Bocage represented many of the same musical values and traditions as Lorenzo

from interviewer Richard Allen (the latter striving to identify Vigne), subsequently states that at this time the band had no bass, banjo, or guitar (he does not mention violin at all), nor did it have any particular name.

59. Ibid.

60. Peter Bocage, interview by Barry Martyn, n.d., tape recording, copy held by the author; Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990.

61. Ibid.; Charles Bocage, interview, 18 July 1960, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University; City directories, 1880-1915; Federal Census, 1900, 573: ED 136, sheet 14.

Tio, Jr. Trained from childhood in the rudiments of European music, he read music notation but could also improvise on the trumpet and violin, both of which he played professionally. In addition, Bocage composed and arranged dance music, and he was responsible for much of the material performed by the Armand Piron orchestra throughout the 1920s (see below, Chapter 7).⁶² It is quite probable that the Bocage/Tio friendship and partnership grew out of a shared musical background, one adhering to the old-line Creole-of-color standards of high proficiency and versatility.

During this time Lorenzo Tio, Jr., also became acquainted with the entire Bocage family, and he took a particular interest in Peter's younger sister Lillian. The interest was mutual, and soon developed into a courtship. The young couple married on 10 June 1914, and immediately settled into the Tio family household at 1632 North Claiborne Avenue.⁶³

Musically, Lorenzo Tio, Jr., continued to work primarily with the Celestin/Ridgley dance band and the Onward Brass Band through 1915. According to William Ridgley, the long engagement at the 102 Ranch ended before

62. Peter Bocage, interview, 29 January 1959, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University.

63. Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990; Marriage Certificate, Lorenzo Tio, Jr., and Lillie Bocage, 10 July 1914, New Orleans Department of Health. The marriage ceremony was performed by the Honorable T. F. Maher and the certificate was witnessed by Francesca Tio, Peter Bocage, Henry Bocage, and Louis A. Cottrell.

autumn of 1915.⁶⁴ About the time that job ended, Oscar Celestin left the band, and his place was taken by Amos Riley (c1879-1925), a cornetist who had previous experience as a bandleader.⁶⁵ With Riley, the Ridgley group stayed busy on a free-lance basis, playing in dance halls and for private functions. Personnel was always subject to change among New Orleans bands, and before long Celestin had returned, reassuming his position as cornetist and co-leader with Ridgley. For a period probably of some months in late 1915 and early 1916, the revamped Celestin/Ridgley dance band comprised Celestin, cornet; Lorenzo Tio, Jr., clarinet; Ridgley, trombone; Peter Bocage, violin; Johnny St. Cyr (1899-1966), banjo; and Louis Cottrell, drums.⁶⁶ The presence of banjo instead of piano reflects the nature of free-lance work, with its requisite ease of mobility.

By this point in his career Lorenzo Tio, Jr., had become the leading clarinetist on the New Orleans music

64. Ridgley, interview, 11 April 1961. Ridgley states that the engagement began in 1914 and had run its course before the hurricane of October 1915. The termination may well have coincided with a change in ownership of the dance hall. Philip J. Phillips, father of Billy Phillips, is listed in the 1915 city directory as saloon owner at 206 N. Franklin Street, but does not appear in the directory of the following year (or any subsequent volume), information for which was gathered in about November 1915.

65. Ibid.; Rose and Souchon, 108. Celestin joined a bass player/comedian, George Jones, for an engagement at a club on Lake Pontchartrain.

66. Ridgley, interview, 11 April 1961.

scene. Louis "Papa" Tio and Charles McCurdy were aging and no longer particularly active, and George Baquet had left town to tour with Keppard's Creole Orchestra. Alphonse Picou seems to have been in the city, but although he was a consummate brass-band musician, he never reached the stature that Tio already held among jazz musicians. Conversely, proficient jazz improvisers such as "Big Eye" Louis Nelson Delisle and Tio's contemporary Johnny Dodds lacked the ability to read music notation, and thus were considered unsuitable for employment by many bandleaders. Two younger musicians, Sidney Bechet and Jimmie Noone (1895-1944), were eventually to join Dodds as jazz stylists of the first rank, but in 1915-16 neither possessed the musical maturity or the established reputation of Lorenzo Tio, Jr.⁶⁷

Tio had spent most of his career performing in ensembles made up of Creole-of-color musicians (e.g., Freddie Keppard, Peter Bocage, Oscar Celestin, Manuel Perez) who were among the best trained and most highly proficient of the earliest jazz players. The top Creole dance bands performed often for white audiences,⁶⁸ and these were audiences of a wide range in affluence, from the working-class denizens of the Storyville dance halls on one hand to

67. Charters, 1-52 passim; Anderson, 415; Louis R. Tio, interview; Ridgley, interview, 11 April 1961.

68. Charters, 18-19; 46-47; Rose, Storyville, 103-24 passim; Marquis, 74-76.

the wealthy socialites who patronized the Robichaux and Olympia Orchestras on the other. However, the 22-year-old clarinetist had also made a reputation and developed abilities that extended beyond the usual Creole realm. Specifically, performing with Bunk Johnson's Eagle Band, the foremost non-Creole black jazz band of the day, established him as an improvising musician whose talents in the jazz idiom were recognized across the cultural boundaries of downtown and uptown New Orleans. Having achieved such a level of prominence in his home city, Tio felt prepared to pursue musical opportunities on a national level. He and his wife soon (c1916) moved north to Chicago, where he enjoyed further professional success before returning to New Orleans in mid-1918.

Between 1915 and 1920 southern blacks migrated northward in numbers far greater than ever before, and in conjunction with such national trends,⁶⁹ many of the most ambitious young black and Creole musicians in New Orleans began to seek careers away from home. Particularly popular as a destination was Chicago, a booming economic center which had already proven hospitable to several Creole-of-color musicians, such as

69. Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922), 79-105 passim.

hospitable to several Creole-of-color musicians, such as Charles Elgar and George Filhe.⁷⁰ These men actively recruited friends from home, a practice John Steiner has described:

In their letters back home to New Orleans . . . George Smith, drummer in the band at the Grand Theater, and Charlie Elgar, leader at the Fountain Inn, related that conditions were good. They imported friends as needed in their bands

The rapidly mounting popularity of jazz meant importing men because the South Side, largely a new [black] community of porters and special-service people, had not yet developed its own talent resources.⁷¹

Elgar had lived in Chicago since about 1903, and Filhe, who had marched alongside Lorenzo Tio, Jr., in the Onward Brass Band, moved there in 1913. By that time Elgar was firmly established as leader of a refined, semi-classical dance orchestra, and he had begun acting as booking agent for other musicians, especially those recently arrived from New Orleans. Filhe knew first hand which of the New Orleans Creole-of-color musicians had adapted to the jazz style, and he advised Elgar accordingly in about 1916 when prominent white club-owner Mike Fritzel put in a call for a band of such performers:

Mike Fritzel is said to have approached [Bill] Johnson to take the Creoles [the Original Creole Orchestra, or Keppard, Baquet, et al.] into Fritzel's Arsonia Cafe at Madison and Paulina. When Fritzel found Johnson

70. Charles Elgar; interview; Manuel Manetta, interview; City directories, 1900-15.

71. John Steiner, "Chicago," in *Jazz*, Nat Hentoff and Albert J. McCarthy, eds. (New York: Rinehart, 1959), 144.

for him intermittently, and Elgar . . . to import a New Orleans band.⁷²

Elgar, who by this time was himself working at the Washington Theater (at the corner of 31st and State streets), immediately sent word of the opportunity to a select quintet of New Orleans musicians: Manuel Perez, cornet; Lorenzo Tio, Jr., clarinet; Eddie Atkins, trombone; Frank Ahaynou (b. c1888), piano; and Louis Cottrell, drums.⁷³ Although this group did not at the time constitute an existing dance orchestra, all of the men except Ahaynou marched with the Onward Brass Band. Each decided to pursue the venture, and within what was probably a matter of a few weeks the men were ready to journey to Chicago as a band.⁷⁴

The date of the Perez band's arrival in Chicago has been given as 1915 in many secondary sources, a contention probably stemming from Charles Elgar's statement in his 1958 interview that it happened "in the vicinity of 1915."⁷⁵ However, most

72. Steiner, 145. See also Leroy Ostransky, *Jazz City* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1978), 64.

73. Charles Elgar, interview. The spelling of "Ahaynou" is taken from a marginal note in the transcript of the Elgar interview, and corresponds to that found in the city directory. This surname has appeared in secondary sources as "Ahanya," "Haynie," and "Haynte."

74. Louis R. Tio, interview. Some amount of time seems to have passed between Elgar's offer and the band's arrival in Chicago, as Tio states that after Lorenzo, Jr., had been invited to go to Chicago he began to practice more diligently.

75. Elgar, interview. Lawrence Gushee has suggested that this date may be as much as two years too early (Gushee, letter to the author, 21 June 1991).

other primary-source evidence points to a date no earlier than the following year. As for information contained in the body of taped interviews held at the Hogan Jazz Archive of Tulane University, Louis R. Tio reports that Lorenzo, Jr., went to Chicago with Perez "during the time of World War I" and Louis Cottrell, Jr., remembers his father making the journey in 1917.⁷⁶ William "Bébé" Ridgley includes Tio in the rosters for all of his groups from 1914 until the time he and Celestin landed a long-term engagement at the Suburban Gardens, a Metairie saloon owned by one John "Jack" Sheehan. This development could not have occurred before 1916, because Sheehan is listed in the 1916 city directory as a bartender at Rice's Cafe (1501 Iberville Street) in Storyville.⁷⁷

Lorenzo Tio, Jr., appears in the New Orleans city directory of 1916 listed as a painter (this is the only directory entry ever to show him with a profession other than music). His family had just that year moved from 1632 North Claiborne Avenue to 1621 St. Bernard Avenue, and it is at the

76. Louis R. Tio, interview; Louis Cottrell, Jr., interview, 25 August 1961, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University.

77. Ridgley, interview; City directories, 1912-19. Sheehan is listed as a bartender for J. T. Rice at 1501 Iberville Street in the directories of 1915 and 1916, reflecting situations at the end of 1914 and 1915, respectively. He disappears from the directory after 1916, which is to be expected, since addresses in Metairie, a suburb in a neighboring parish where his new saloon was located, are not included in the scope of the directory.

latter address that both he and his brother, Louis R. Tio, are listed. Lorenzo, Jr., whose wife accompanied him to Chicago, does not appear in the directories of 1917 or 1918. Directory entries for the other bandmembers yield inconclusive data; for example, trombonist Eddie Atkins is not listed at all in the directories of 1912-19, but there is an entry each year for drummer Louis Cottrell, presumably because his family stayed behind in New Orleans.⁷⁸ Both Ahaynou and Perez (who also left relatives in New Orleans) are listed in the 1917 directory but not that of 1918.

One further bit of evidence also suggests a 1916 departure. Omer Simeon (1902-1959) studied clarinet privately with Lorenzo Tio, Jr., in Chicago. In a 1955 interview, Simeon remembers taking lessons for "two years or more," beginning shortly after Tio arrived and ending before he returned to New Orleans.⁷⁹ Lorenzo Tio, Jr., and his wife made the move to New Orleans in the summer of 1918 (discussed below);⁸⁰ if Simeon's recollection is accurate, the Perez band must have been in Chicago by mid-1916.

Lorenzo Tio, Jr., practiced diligently before moving north. His uncle, Louis "Papa" Tio was a veteran of the

78. Cottrell, interview.

79. Omer Simeon, interview, 18 August 1955, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University.

80. Rose Tio Winn, interview, 26 February 1991.

national minstrel circuit, and he advised the young musician to expect stiff competition in Chicago. According to Louis R. Tio, Lorenzo, Jr., took all the sheet music available in the family home into a room, locked the door, and did nothing but practice, sometimes working scale exercises alone for an hour and a half.⁸¹

Once arrived in Chicago, the new band became the resident entertainment at Mike Fritzell's Arsonia Cafe, which stood at 1654 West Madison Street, west of the upscale lakefront business district known as The Loop. Although its immediate neighborhood was relatively well integrated, the Arsonia catered to a white clientele. Characterized as a "tough place," the saloon seems to have cultivated an atmosphere not unlike that of a Storyville dance hall.⁸² Charles Elgar recalls that Perez, Tio, Atkins, Ahanyou, and Cottrell enjoyed immediate success in the new venue, stating that

[when] I put them in the Arsonia for Mike [Fritzell], I had intended, as my orchestra [at the Washington Theater] developed, to take them over with me, but they were doing so very well at the Arsonia, and Mike was so very pleased with them, that they decided to stay there.⁸³

81. Louis R. Tio, interview.

82. Elgar, interview; Chicago Committee on Race Relations, 136; Lawrence Gushee, letter to the author, 12 December 1991; idem, letter to the author, 7 February 1992; Richard Wang, "Researching the New Orleans-Chicago Jazz Connection: Tools and Methods," *Black Music Research Journal* 8 (1988): 109.

83. Elgar, interview.

An extant photograph of the Perez band, published in *A Pictorial History of Jazz*, shows the five musicians dressed in tuxedos, seated in front of a curtain. Lorenzo Tio, Jr., appears at extreme right, holding a clarinet in the crook of his left arm.⁸⁴

The repertory of the Perez band in Chicago was almost assuredly identical in style to what these musicians had been performing for several years in New Orleans, i.e., syncopated dance music imbued with various formal, harmonic, and melodic elements of the blues, and including some amount of improvisation in performance; in a word, jazz.⁸⁵ Lorenzo Tio, Jr., was probably the most accomplished improviser of the ensemble. Perez was never to become known for the practice, and the role of the clarinetist as provider of high, florid counterlines to the primary cornet melody at once allowed and required Tio to use the skills he had developed in such earlier groups as Bunk Johnson's Eagle Band. John Steiner has offered a description of Tio's playing style of this period based on the influence he cast on subsequent generations of Chicago musicians:

The Tio manner was smooth, round-toned, gliding with classical grace through the instrument's whole range--

84. Orrin Keepnews and Bill Grauer, Jr., compilers, *A Pictorial History of Jazz* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1955), 13 (Photo donated by George Hoefer). Keepnews gives a date of 1915 for this band, but this is probably based on the information in Steiner, 145.

85. Gushee, "Creole Band," 85.

a style requiring knowledge of harmony and high technical proficiency.⁸⁶

The 1916 Perez band was the second black or Creole jazz ensemble made up of New Orleans musicians to perform in Chicago (the Original Creole Band had passed through intermittently since 1914), and seems to have been the first to fill an extended engagement at one location.⁸⁷ According to Steiner, the job at the Arsonia Cafe lasted about a year and a half. These were wartime years, and like other young men across the country, Tio registered for military conscription on 5 June 1917. He seems to have still been with Perez at the Arsonia on that date, as his draft card lists Michael Fritzell as employer and gives "Madison and Paulina Sts." (location of the Arsonia) as place of employment.⁸⁸

In Chicago, Lorenzo and Lillian Tio lived in the heart of what was called the South Side's "black belt," at 3521 Wabash Avenue (near the corner of 35th Street). This block of Wabash Avenue consisted of a row of brick and stone-front

86. Steiner, 156. Such terms are consistent with other descriptions of Tio's style, with the later recordings (discussed below), and with what is known of his musical training and family values in music.

87. Steiner, 145; Keepnews, 13; Wang, 108-9.

88. Draft Registration Card, Lorenzo Tio, 5 June 1917, Precinct 51, Ward 2, Chicago, Illinois (Federal Archives and Records Center, Atlanta, Georgia), photostat supplied to author by Lawrence Gushee (letter to the author, 14 April 1992).

houses and apartment buildings.⁸⁹ Tio probably rented an apartment, as the draft card of fellow bandmember Eddie Atkins shows the same address for his residence.⁹⁰

Once the engagement at the Arsonia terminated, probably sometime around the turn of 1918, Perez booked his group into dance halls on the South Side, notably the De Luxe Cafe, which had just begun to hire bands.⁹¹ Opened in the early 1910s, the De Luxe stood at 3503 South State Street, just one block west of Tio's residence. Nearby on State Street were several establishments offering steady work to jazz musicians, including the Pekin Cabaret, the Dreamland Ballroom, and the Elite Cafe No. 2. The activity at these clubs was almost continuous; for example, the De Luxe featured music seven nights weekly, and, in addition to its regular evening entertainment, the Pekin Cabaret featured a band from 1:00 to 6:00 A.M. five nights per week.⁹²

89. Ibid.; Chicago Commission on Race Relations, 108-9, 184-85. The black belt was the area bounded by Twelfth Street, Wentworth Avenue, Thirty-ninth Street, and Lake Michigan. It was home to about 90 percent of Chicago's black population in 1920.

90. Gushee, letter to the author, 7 February 1992.

91. Steiner, 147. The De Luxe Cafe had previously featured a piano duo.

92. Ibid., 143; Ostransky, 104-05. New Orleans native Ferdinand "Jelly Roll" Morton (1890-1941) had led an orchestra at the De Luxe Cafe in November-December 1914, and had played solo piano and managed the Elite No. 2 in 1915. See Lawrence Gushee, "A Preliminary Chronology of the Early Career of Ferd 'Jelly Roll' Morton," *American Music* 3 (1985): 404.

The Perez band underwent several personnel changes before ceasing to perform as a unit. Eddie Atkins had been drafted into the Army in the autumn of 1917, and his place was assumed by George Filhe.⁹³ Louis Cottrell reportedly made at least two lengthy trips home to New Orleans between 1917 and 1919.⁹⁴ Tio himself began to pursue free-lance work before the Perez group disbanded entirely, which seems to have occurred early in 1918. Perhaps the final reference to Tio's presence in this band comes from Edward "Montudie" Garland (1895-1980), a New Orleans-born bassist who had come to Chicago in about 1917 and who the following year was himself free-lancing on the South Side. He recalls working at the Pekin Cabaret in a band including Manuel Perez, Lorenzo Tio, Jr., and Frank Ahaynou.⁹⁵ According to John Steiner, when Tio did leave Perez he was replaced for a time by another New Orleanian, Alphonse Picou.⁹⁶

93. Charters, 20; Steiner, 147.

94. Cottrell, interview.

95. Anderson, 423; Steiner, 146-47; Jempi De Donder, "Emanuel Perez," Footnote 17/6 (1986): 4. Although Steiner places Garland in Chicago by 1914, recent research by Gene Anderson indicates that he remained in New Orleans with the band of Edward "Kid" Ory until into 1916. Garland (quoted by De Donder) also mentions Eddie Atkins as a member of this group; however, this inclusion seems questionable in view of the reports of Atkins's departure and the time frame established by such primary sources as the draft cards and the Cottrell interview.

96. Steiner, 145.

Lorenzo Tio, Jr., performed with several other groups in Chicago before returning with his wife to New Orleans in the summer of 1918. Robert Edward "Juice" Wilson (b. 1904), a pianist/clarinetist on the South Side, remembers seeing Tio perform at the De Luxe Cafe.⁹⁷ The band he saw included Freddie Keppard (the by-then famous cornetist seems to have returned to Chicago frequently between tours) and Tony Jackson (1876-1921), the prototypical jazz pianist who had worked singly for some time at the club. Like many Chicago musicians, Wilson thought highly of the Creole clarinetist:

Tio was good. Tio came up from New Orleans and cut Bechet to strips. And he was one of the first men I knew who could read; he could play anything.⁹⁸

A similar (but problematic) reference comes from Lee Collins, who traveled to Chicago briefly in the early part of 1918 and sought out his New Orleans mentors. He claims to have once been denied entrance to the Pekin Cabaret due to his young age (he was about seventeen), but at the same time glimpsed Tio working there with Tony Jackson and Joe

97. Alec Boswell, "Juice Wilson," *Storyville* 75 (1978): 90.

98. Robert "Juice" Wilson, as quoted in Boswell, 90. Wilson also states that the band included Wellman Braud (1891-1967) on bass and "Baby" Hall [probably Minor "Ram" Hall, 1897-1963] on drums. Wilson's remark that Tio had outdone Bechet seems to indicate that Wilson heard Bechet first, although Tio had in fact arrived in Chicago long before the younger clarinetist. Bechet came to Chicago in December 1917 with the Bruce and Bruce Stock Company, which featured a three-piece jazz group (*Chicago Defender*, 15 December 1917). Wilson's remark may lend credence to the notion that Tio did not begin to perform on the South Side until 1918.

Oliver. Collins's recollection, recorded in a 1950s interview, may, however, be less than precise, as Oliver is not known to have left New Orleans until after Tio had returned there in late 1918.⁹⁹

When not performing, Lorenzo Tio, Jr., socialized with the other New Orleans expatriates. According to his daughter, Rose Tio Winn, he particularly enjoyed the company of his old friend Freddie Keppard:

My father and Freddie Keppard were bosom friends. They played a lot of cards. Daddy loved cards, but he was never as good at it as Freddie Keppard. My mother used to talk about the time they spent in Chicago in the 1910s, and she would become exasperated and say, "Your father and Freddie Keppard were always out together. Freddie Keppard got Lorenzo in a lot of trouble!"¹⁰⁰

During World War I, Chicago was home to a prominent black military unit, the Eighth Army Regiment, whose armory stood at the corner of Thirty-fifth Street and Forest Avenue (four blocks east of Tio's residence).¹⁰¹ The Eighth Regiment supported a full military band and several of its

99. Collins, 20. Oliver is known to have been in New Orleans as late as 19 June 1918, on which date he was arrested with an entire band at the Winter Garden, 1015 Gravier Street (Anderson, 439). In a letter to the author of 7 March 1992, Gene Anderson states that further evidence he has encountered in an attempt to trace the origin of Oliver's Creole Jazz Band indicates that the cornetist may not have arrived in Chicago until March 1919.

100. Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990.

101. Chicago *Defender*, 27 February 1915. See also scattered issues of the *Defender* throughout the war years, where news of the Eighth Regiment appeared almost daily.

members were from New Orleans. These included the bandmaster, James V. Tucker, and trombonist Eddie Atkins, Tio's former bandmate with Perez.¹⁰² In the spring of 1918, Lorenzo Tio, Jr., was invited to attend a rehearsal of the military band. As Louis R. Tio recalls, Lorenzo took only his B-flat clarinet, part in a coat pocket and part wrapped in newspaper. During the rehearsal he sight-read and sight-transposed several difficult numbers, and his flawless performance surprised many of the military men. Tucker quickly complimented his musicianship, asking, "What conservatory did you go to?" Tio responded, "None, I just learned it that way." Before the clarinetist left, Tucker brought up the possibility of his accepting a position in the band with performing and arranging duties, but Tio declined, saying that he and his then-pregnant wife had already decided to return to New Orleans.¹⁰³

Lillian Bocage Tio received word of a family crisis by May 1918. Her older sister, Bertha Bocage, had fallen ill and was not expected to live.¹⁰⁴ Lorenzo and Lillian had been considering a return to New Orleans already, due to a concern that his brother might be conscripted, leaving the entire Tio

102. Charters, 20.

103. Louis R. Tio, interview.

104. Rose Tio Winn, interview, 26 February 1992.

family dependent on funds sent from Chicago.¹⁰⁵ The illness of Lillian's sister precipitated the return home; unfortunately, the couple was unable to make the trip before Bertha died on 14 May 1918.¹⁰⁶

How soon after that date Lorenzo Tio, Jr., left Chicago is uncertain, but sometime during the summer months of 1918 he and his wife did travel by train home to New Orleans. They settled into the family residence, a house at 1715 Columbus Street (in the Faubourg Tremé), which his mother, Alice, had rented the previous year. By this point Lillian was in the final weeks of her pregnancy, and on 30 August 1918 she gave birth to a baby girl, christened Rose.¹⁰⁷

105. Louis R. Tio, interview.

106. Rose Tio Winn, interview, 26 February 1992; Death Certificate, Bertha Bocage, 14 May 1918, New Orleans Department of Health.

107. Rose Tio Winn, interview, 26 February 1992; City directory, 1918-19. Mrs. Winn states in her interview that she was born in the house on Columbus Street.

CHAPTER 7
THE LATER CAREER OF
LORENZO TIO, JR., 1918-1933

Upon his summer 1918 return to New Orleans, Lorenzo Tio, Jr., sought out former bandmates, such as Peter Bocage and William Bébé Ridgley, hoping to reassume his leading position among the city's professional clarinetists. The complexion of the local music scene had changed markedly during Tio's absence. Storyville, the legally sanctioned red-light district that for years had offered regular dance-hall employment to the best black and Creole-of-color musicians, had been shut down in the fall of 1917.¹ Some of the men who previously earned a secure living there had departed for Chicago or the west coast, or had joined traveling vaudeville shows.² Those who remained in the city were scattered about, pursuing various other musical opportunities.

1. Rose, *Storyville*, 166-69. For maps showing this and other locations within the city, see Appendix A.

2. Such trends are illustrated by the activities of several New Orleans clarinetists. During this general period Sidney Bechet and Alphonse Picou were in Chicago (Steiner, 147), Johnny Dodds performed on the Streckfus riverboats and then toured the midwest with the Mack and Mack stage show (Anderson, 428-32), and Wade Whaley (b. 1895) joined Jelly Roll Morton's band in Los Angeles (Rose and Souchon, 126).

Peter Bocage, Tio's brother-in-law, was playing cornet in the dance orchestra of the riverboat *Sidney*, which featured pianist Fate Marable (1890-1947) as leader.³ Part of the Streckfus riverboat line, the *Sidney* traveled the Mississippi river as far north as St. Paul, Minnesota, from May through September. The remainder of each year was devoted to local excursions out of New Orleans. Louis Cottrell, who, like Lorenzo Tio, Jr., had recently returned to New Orleans from Chicago, joined Bocage and the *Sidney* orchestra briefly in the latter part of 1918. However, no such opportunity was available to Tio, as Sam Dutrey (1888-1941) had for some time been firmly ensconced in the ensemble's clarinet position.⁴

Two of Lorenzo Tio, Jr.'s former associates, William Ridgley and Oscar Celestin, still performed together. In the late summer of 1918, this pair led a quintet at Jack Sheehan's Suburban Gardens, a saloon and dance hall in Metairie, several miles west of downtown New Orleans. According to Ridgley, the personnel of the band included himself on trombone; Celestin, cornet; Emma Barrett (b. 1898), piano; Willie Bontemps

3. Pops Foster, as told to Tom Stoddard, *The Autobiography of Pops Foster: New Orleans Jazzman* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1971), 105.

4. *Ibid.*, 106-9. Bocage seems to have joined the *Sidney* in the summer of 1918. Neither Bocage nor Cottrell is listed in a roster of the *Sidney* orchestra appearing in the *Chicago Defender*, 9 March 1918, but Cottrell, who joined after Bocage and Pops Foster, had already left and been replaced by Baby Dodds by the end of 1918 (Baby Dodds, as told to Larry Gara, *The Baby Dodds Story* [Los Angeles: Contemporary Press, 1959], 21).

(c1893-1958), guitar; and Warren "Baby" Dodds (1896-1959), drums. Tom Benton (c1890-1945) occasionally played piano or guitar.⁵ This band apparently lacked clarinet, and Lorenzo Tio, Jr., seems to have assumed the position soon after his return to New Orleans. In his autobiography, Baby Dodds discusses the 1918 Celestin/Ridgley band in some detail:

It was mostly a reading band. Only two didn't read music. And we had a girl piano player. She was a very good-looking, light colored girl named Emma Barrett. She had big eyes; we used to call her "Eyes." She was a very thin girl but oh my God, she could play nice piano. She played like any man.

They were all good musicians. Celestin played very sweet horn. He never was much of a jazz man on horn. He played mostly straight. Still, with everybody else jazzing [i.e., improvising] and him playing straight, it sounded awfully good. Bébé Ridgley was also a very nice guy who played nice trombone. His playing wasn't rough but sweet, more like Honoré Dutrey's. Willie Bontemps was a very big fellow who weighed two hundred pounds or more. He suffered from asthma and had to use an atomizer. Lorenzo Tio was more of a Mexican type fellow. He was Creole, very tall with very straight black hair.⁶

Dodds also describes the club and discusses the repertoire of the band:

[Sheehan's] was a cabaret style place. They'd sell setups and glasses, and people could either bring their own whiskey or buy it there. It was prohibition but they sold whiskey anyway because it was on the outskirts of New Orleans. They also had roulette wheels for gambling and some card games. We played only for dancing. . . .

We played . . . pop numbers, though we called them classical numbers. That is, not the rowdy type, such as blues, nothing like that. The customers at Jack Sheehan's

5. Ridgley, interview, 11 April 1961.

6. Dodds, 19. Honoré Dutrey (1894-1937) achieved fame as a member of Louis Armstrong's bands.

were all white and the blues would not have been appreciated. It wouldn't be any use to play them. One of the main numbers which we played was "Liza Jane." I used to sing that and Sonny [Celestin] would put his horn in his lap and start clapping in time.⁷

The following anecdote illustrates the social interaction between the bandmembers and offers a glimpse of Lorenzo Tio, Jr.'s sense of humor:

[Tio] was a very easy-going fellow and he used to love to play. He had a cute little joke which he liked to play on Sonny. Celestin was very sleepy; we used to say he was lazy, but he was just a sleepyhead. After playing he'd put his horn down in his lap and go to sleep. Then for a trick Tio would take some newspaper, tie it to the back of Sonny's chair, and set fire to it. One night Celestin jumped up and almost ran out of the place. He was very angry with Lorenzo, and Tio had to hide from him for about half an hour while he got his temper down. It's the only time I've ever seen Celestin really mad. He was pretty sore but later he took it as a joke, too.⁸

Baby Dodds left the Celestin/Ridgley band at the end of 1918.⁹ The band's engagement at Sheehan's, however, continued through the spring of 1919. During this period, Lorenzo Tio, Jr., not only played clarinet in Celestin and Ridgley's dance band, but also performed with their marching outfit, the Tuxedo Brass Band.¹⁰ Ricard Alexis remembers

7. Ibid., 19-20. Oscar Celestin was known by the nickname "Sonny" in the early stages of his long career; by the 1940s, however, when enjoyed his greatest fame, he was universally called "Papa" Celestin.

8. Ibid., 19.

9. Ibid., 21. At that time Dodds joined Marable's orchestra on the Sidney, which was operating around New Orleans for the winter.

10. Ricard Alexis, interview.

parade work with personnel including himself, Celestin and Louis Armstrong on cornets, Ridgley and Charles "Sunny" Henry (1885-1960) on trombones, Tio on E-flat clarinet, Eddie Jackson on tuba, and Ernest Trepagnier on bass drum. Armstrong, who was soon to succeed Peter Bocage as cornetist on board the *Sidney*, has also reminisced about his experience with the Tuxedo Brass Band, lauding Celestin's benevolent leadership in particular.¹¹

Developments on the riverboat *Sidney* may well have precipitated the end of Lorenzo Tio, Jr.'s employment at the Suburban Gardens. Some time during the spring of 1919 William Ridgley was asked to join Marable's orchestra (replacing trombonist Frank Dusen, who could not read written parts), which he subsequently did, leaving his partnership with Celestin.¹² At about the same time, Tio left Celestin to take the clarinet chair in a new dance orchestra organized by Vic Gaspard (1875-1957), an older Creole-of-color trombonist who had performed with the Excelsior Brass Band and several of Louis "Papa" Tio's concert ensembles.¹³

11. Armstrong, 179-80.

12. Ridgley, interview, 11 April 1961. Ridgley joined the *Sidney* orchestra in time to have his photo made with the group at the beginning of May 1919 (photo and a discussion of its date appear in Anderson, 428-29; see also Foster, 108-9). Ridgley states in his interview that he stayed with the *Sidney* for only one month, leaving the boat in St. Louis (June 1919) to return to New Orleans and rejoin Celestin.

13. Charters, 31-32, 50; Rose Tio Winn, interview, 26 February 1992.

Vic Gaspard and his brother Octave (c1872-c1940), a string bass player, had both spent most of the decade with John Robichaux's popular orchestra. In 1919, at a time when Robichaux was ill, the Gaspards responded on their own to a lucrative offer of summer dance work at the Hotel Youree in Shreveport, Louisiana. They quickly assembled a seven-piece dance ensemble, naming it the Maple Leaf Orchestra. The group was made up entirely of Creoles of color: Emile Bigard (c1890-1935), violin; Lorenzo Tio, Jr., clarinet; Hyppolite Charles (1891-c1985), cornet; Vic Gaspard, trombone; Octave Gaspard, bass; Camille Todd, (c1888-1969), piano; and Louis Cottrell, drums.¹⁴

The recently-built Hotel Youree stood at 406 Market Street (at the corner of Travis Street) in downtown Shreveport. An imposing seven-story brick structure, it housed a restaurant, coffee shop, and roof garden.¹⁵ For the summer of 1919 the hotel sponsored a series of twice-weekly dances on its roof, which attracted the most affluent of the white citizenry.¹⁶ The repertory of the Maple Leaf

14. Ibid.; Hyppolite Charles, interview, 13 April 1963, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University.

15. *Brueggerhoff's Shreveport City Directory, 1921* (Dallas: R. L. Polk, 1921), 79.

16. Examination of the Shreveport city directories and newspapers shows that the north Louisiana city was home to a number of wealthy families connected to the burgeoning oil trade.

Orchestra presumably was carefully tailored to meet the tastes of such audiences; if so, it must have consisted of standard dances and arrangements of popular (and patriotic, due to the recent end of World War I) songs. The ensemble is said to have performed its arrangements essentially as written, with little reliance on improvisation, and it surely avoided material that could have been construed to extend too directly from the music found in the dance halls and barrooms of black New Orleans.¹⁷

The dance series opened on Saturday, 7 June 1919. Dinner-dances were held on Saturdays and Wednesdays from 7:30 to 11:30 P.M., and the orchestra may have performed in the restaurant on other weeknights. The events quickly gained favor among the upper crust of Shreveport society:

Wednesday evening [11 June 1919] on the roof garden of the Hotel Youree, was very gala with music; lights and blooming flowers and a brilliant guest company dining under the stars and moonlight and brilliant electrics, dancing between the delicious courses and afterwards enjoying the festivities until 11:30 o'clock; the hours not taxing the business man, who needs relaxation from the steady grind of every day life, and the business men were there in large numbers for the business men are beginning to learn to play as well as work.¹⁸

On Wednesday evening [10 July 1919] the usual attractive setting, cool breezes, good dinner, good music, and good dancing floor of the Youree roof combined to make perfect the pleasure of the diners. . . .¹⁹

17. Charters, 31; Charles, interview.

18. Mrs. Robert Hume Lindsay, untitled article, *Shreveport Journal*, 12 June 1919.

19. Mrs. Edith Browne Bailey, "Just As It Happens," *Shreveport Times*, 11 July 1919. This report goes on to

The final dance of the season took place on Saturday, 27 September 1919, and the Maple Leaf Orchestra returned to New Orleans shortly thereafter.²⁰ Lorenzo Tio, Jr.'s wife, Lillian, and infant daughter, Rose, did not accompany him to Shreveport; rather, they spent the summer at the Bocage family home in Algiers. Rose Tio Winn recalls that her father did not enjoy his experience in the north Louisiana city; the only comment she heard him make about it was a disparaging one concerning the prevalence of dilapidated wooden sidewalks.²¹

Tio and his longtime friend Louis Cottrell quit the Maple Leaf Orchestra once the Shreveport engagement ended. Back in New Orleans, they joined forces with Peter Bocage in a fledgling Creole-of-color dance orchestra led by violinist Armand J. Piron. Piron and Bocage, founders of the group,

list over one hundred prominent guests by name. The newspaper accounts, however, never include the name of the orchestra, which is perhaps to be expected in light of prevailing racial attitudes and the fact that the band was composed of musicians of color. Although Samuel Charters writes that the Maple Leaf Orchestra began work at the "Eurey" Hotel in July 1919, no available interview source is specific as to the month. The news accounts of the dances offer no indication that one orchestra did not perform for the entire season. Ridgley's late spring departure from the Celestin band combines with the tone of the Shreveport newspaper reports to make it seem most likely that the Maple Leaf Orchestra began work in June.

20. Shreveport Times, 21 September 1919 (contains a schedule of upcoming social events, including "Roof Garden Dinner Dance, Hotel Youree, Sat., Sept. 27").

21. Rose Tio Winn, interview, 26 February 1992. See also City directory, 1920, which contains an entry for Mrs. Lillian Bocage at 617 Slidell avenue, the Algiers home of her father.

acted together to assemble what proved to be a remarkably stable personnel, and, over the course of the following decade, their orchestra became one of the most successful and influential of all New Orleans dance bands. Tio remained with the Piron orchestra from 1919 until it broke up in 1928.

According to Peter Bocage, the beginnings of the Piron orchestra extended back to about 1915, when he and the violinist first began a regular nightly engagement, performing for wealthy socialites at Tranchina's Lake Pontchartrain Restaurant.²² A massive structure built on pilings over the water, Tranchina's formed the centerpiece of the fashionable resort area known as Spanish Fort.²³ Until 1918, Piron and Bocage generally worked there with three other musicians: Arthur Campbell (c1890-c1941), piano; Tom Benton, guitar; and George "Pops" Foster (1892-1969), string bass.²⁴ The partnership underwent a hiatus of a few months in the winter of 1918-19, as Bocage (along with Foster) left to join the

22. Peter Bocage, interview by Martyn.

23. Rose and Souchon, 241; Cable, 178-79; John McGill, appearance in *The Mystery of the Purple Rose: The Saga of Creole Jazz Pioneers*, television documentary on the Piron Orchestra, produced for WYES TV (New Orleans) by Peggy Scott Laborde (initial broadcast, 17 November 1989).

24. Foster, 105. Benton later (1918-19) substituted with the Celestin/Ridgley band at the Suburban Gardens. Campbell had previously worked in Storyville, both as a solo pianist and as a member of Joe Oliver's dance hall band.

orchestra of the Streckfus steamer *Sidney*, which was then based in New Orleans for its off season.²⁵

Peter Bocage returned to working with Piron in the spring of 1919. The violinist had retained the engagement at Tranchina's, and it offered a financially and musically secure framework within which the partners could set about the task of assembling a new, first-rate orchestra.²⁶ One of the first recruits was pianist Steve Lewis (1896-1939), a talented young veteran of Storyville who in 1919 had just come home to New Orleans from a six-month tour of the midwest with the Mack and Mack stage company.²⁷ Piron, Bocage, and Lewis formed a strong musical nucleus; besides performing, all

25. Ibid. Despite stating that he was with Piron and Bocage from "about 1915 to 1917," Foster clearly places his departure from that band within a week of his entry into the *Sidney* orchestra: "About a week after I quit at Tranchina's, Captain Johnny Streckfus and Peter Bocage came for me to go on the boats" (Foster, 105). This *Sidney* orchestra, in which Louis Armstrong eventually replaced Bocage, was initially assembled in the fall of 1918 (David Chevan, "Riverboat Music From St. Louis," *Black Music Research Journal* 9 [1989]: 161). Lawrence Gushee has written that many of the dates given by Foster in his autobiography appear to be in fact a year or two early; see Gushee, "New Orleans-Area Musicians on the West Coast, 1908-1925," *Black Music Research Journal* 9 (1989): 11.

26. Bocage, interview, 6 February 1962; idem, interview by Martyn; Armstrong, 181-84; Dodds, 21; Charters, 23. Louis Armstrong replaced Bocage with the *Sidney* orchestra in 1919. As noted above, a photo of that group, with Armstrong and without Bocage, was made before the ship left New Orleans that spring (see Anderson, 429).

27. Charters, 82. Charters mistakenly writes that the tour took place in 1917, but notices from the *Chicago Defender* show that it extended from July 1918 into the early part of 1919 (Anderson, 430-31).

three composed music and their collaborations in this area contributed in no small measure to the ultimate popularity and success of the orchestra (see below).

As noted above, Lorenzo Tio, Jr., and Louis Cottrell both joined Piron shortly after returning to New Orleans from Shreveport in October 1919. The orchestra continued to expand over the following year, as banjoist John Marrero (c1895-c1945) and trombonist Johnny Lindsey (1894-1950) were hired in the summer and autumn of 1920, respectively.²⁸ The band's characteristic instrumentation, which it retained through the early 1920s, crystallized with the addition of Louis Warnick (b. 1889), whose alto saxophone helped impart a sound distinctive among New Orleans dance orchestras.²⁹

The only fluctuation in personnel between 1920 and 1923 occurred in the banjo chair. When not employed on riverboats,

28. Charters, 23, 47, 83. For a time before the addition of Marrero and Lindsey, Peter Bocage relinquished the cornet duties to a promising young musician named Willie Edwards (c1895-c1920), and began himself to play banjo and trombone. Unfortunately, Edwards died after only a few months; at that point Bocage resumed playing cornet (Charters, 47; Charlie Bocage, interview). No information has been found as to the nature or date of Edwards's death. Charlie Bocage does not specify a date for the young cornetist's tenure with the Piron band. Charters offers conflicting information, at one point (p. 23) placing it in 1919, and at another (p. 47) in 1920. Charters's dates for the addition of Marrero and Lindsey, however, seem reasonable and have been used here in the absence of conflicting evidence.

29. Peter Bocage, interview by Martyn; Rose and Souchon, 153; Charters, 47. Few New Orleans bands of this period included saxophone; according to Louis Cottrell, Jr., the clarinet remained the preferred reed instrument in the city until the late 1930s (Cottrell, interview).

Johnny St. Cyr substituted for and alternated with John Marrero. Marrero eventually left the Piron band altogether, joining that of Oscar Celestin and William Ridgley, which after 1922 was known as the Tuxedo Orchestra.³⁰ By the autumn of 1923, Charlie Bocage (1900-1963), youngest brother of Peter Bocage, had become the regular banjoist and featured singer for the Piron Orchestra. He remained with the group until its dissolution in 1928.³¹

Once assembled and entrenched in its nightly engagement at Tranchina's Restaurant, the Armand J. Piron New Orleans Orchestra quickly gained favor among wealthy white socialites. To such an audience, black musicians in general represented the forefront of "hot jazz," the exciting new syncopated music that was to characterize the decade on a national level. However, as Creoles of color, with their own understood (if understated) claim to a cultured European heritage, the musicians of the Piron Orchestra could be counted upon to present their music in a manner consistent with the tastes of the upper class, avoiding association with

30. William Ridgley, interview, 11 April 1961; City directory, 1923; Rose and Souchon, 136, 153, 262; Charters, 83. Rose and Souchon contains two photographs of Marrero with the Tuxedo Orchestra, dated 1923 (p. 262) and 1924 (p. 136), respectively. Ridgley states that he named the group the Tuxedo Orchestra during the time that he ran a pressing shop on Howard Avenue. The only city directory to show a Howard Avenue address for Ridgley (who otherwise resided on Burdette Avenue) is that of 1923.

31. Charlie Bocage, interview; Peter Bocage, interview by Martyn.

the common dance halls and barrooms.³² The orchestra occasionally, however, performed for black or Creole-of-color audiences, and it was highly regarded in these communities, as well. Moreover, the Piron musicians enjoyed the utmost respect from other musicians in New Orleans, who looked up to the orchestra as a "cultured" band with abundant capacity to "jazz it up."³³

The distinct Creole-of-color character of the Piron Orchestra was a product of the musical and cultural backgrounds of its members. Like Lorenzo Tio, Jr., and Peter Bocage, Armand Piron grew up in a musical family. Trained in music by his father and older brothers, he gained valuable early experience in Louis "Papa" Tio's Bloom Symphony (1903). He performed with numerous dance orchestras in the 1910s and in 1915 joined pianist Clarence Williams (1893-1965) in opening a music publishing company. After Williams moved to New York (1916), Piron continued the enterprise on his own, eventually expanding to include a dance hall management and booking agency. By publishing for piano the original compositions his orchestra performed, Piron helped enhance their popularity and bettered his chances for musical success.³⁴

32. Charters, 47, 58; Edmond Souchon, "Libretto: Armand J. Piron," *The Second Line* 3/1 (1952): 4-7.

33. Cottrell, interview, Charlie Bocage, interview; Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke*, 21-26.

34. Souchon, 4-5; Charters, 47.

Steve Lewis worked closely with Piron as a staff writer for the publishing company. Not considered a proficient sight-reader, Lewis, who nevertheless had received some training in music, was widely known for his ability to improvise and "fake" popular songs without sheet music.³⁵ Lewis's talent particularly impressed Al Rose (b. 1916), who recalls as a child listening to the Piron Orchestra at Tranchina's:

He was in a class with Jelly Roll. And I can't say that about very many. I don't think Piron was ever happy with any other piano player in his band, because Steve was a magnificent piano player. He was one in a million.³⁶

Louis Cottrell was the most respected drummer among Creole-of-color musicians. In addition to dance-band work, he played snare drum throughout the first two decades of the century with the Excelsior, Onward, and Tuxedo brass bands. After 1910, his career ran virtually parallel to that of Lorenzo Tio, Jr. The two friends performed together in at least three separate dance bands before joining Piron: the Celestin/Ridgley band (1914-15), the Manuel Perez band (Chicago, c1916 through 1917), and the Maple Leaf Orchestra (Shreveport, 1919). By the time of his permanent return from Chicago (early 1919), Cottrell's hair had turned completely

35. Charlie Bocage, interview; Louis R. Tio, interview. The 1922 city directory contains the following entry: "Lewis, Stephen J.; writer, A. J. Piron Co., 1135 Gravier."

36. Al Rose, appearance in *Mystery of the Purple Rose*, author's transcription.

gray; after that point he was affectionately known as "Old Man" Cottrell.³⁷

The remaining members of the Piron Orchestra also personified the Creole-of-color ideals of musical proficiency, versatility, and professionalism. Charlie Bocage learned his craft performing for casual gatherings in a family violin trio which consisted of his father, Paul, and brother Henry. By 1919 he had embarked upon a career as a professional musician and entertainer; his first job was a solo act at Tom Anderson's saloon (located in the former Storyville area).³⁸

Johnny Lindsey also came from a musical family. His father, a guitarist, trained Johnny and his brothers Herbert (b. c1888) and Joseph (b. 1899) to play string bass, violin, and drums, respectively. Among the highlights of Johnny Lindsey's later career were stints with Joe Oliver, Jelly Roll Morton, and tours with Louis Armstrong.³⁹

Louis Warnick, the only child of a Creole-of-color shoemaker, was a longtime veteran of New Orleans brass bands. Throughout his tenure with the Piron Orchestra, Warnick also worked in the New Orleans office of the Eugene Dietzgen

37. Charters, 25-26; Louis Cottrell, Jr., interview; Peter Bocage, interview, 6 February 1962; Rose Tio Winn, interview by Martyn.

38. Charlie Bocage, interview. Tom Anderson gained notoriety in the mid-1910s as the unofficial mayor of Storyville; his saloon stood at the corner of Iberville and Basin Streets.

39. Rose and Souchon, 75; Charters, 83.

drafting firm; he seems to have been the only orchestra member to have consistently maintained a non-musical job.⁴⁰

The Piron Orchestra made its initial reputation at Tranchina's restaurant. There it performed a repertory ranging from arrangements of popular romantic melodies such as the Liszt "Liebestraum" (No. 3, 1850), upon which Lorenzo Tio, Jr., was featured,⁴¹ to a number of original compositions, including two mentioned by Al Rose in the following recollection:

How I wish I could recreate this scene for you and the feelings of this nine year old, as he sat on the bank of Lake Pontchartrain in the light of the full moon, watching the flickering bulbs of the amusement rides of Spanish Fort . . . and listened while A. J. Piron and his orchestra played for dancing at the end of Tranchina's Restaurant Pier. The strains of "Purple Rose of Cairo" [composed by Piron and Lewis, pub. 1920] or "Dreamy Blues" [Tio, c1923, unpublished, discussed below] seemed to take on an added dimension by drifting languidly across the easy ripples of the lake. . . . Piron's Orchestra was a New Orleans institution. In those years, the band was at its musical peak with the legendary Lorenzo Tio, Jr., playing the clarinet. . . .⁴²

Although clarinet was his principal solo instrument with Piron, Tio also played tenor saxophone, as shown in a photograph taken at Tranchina's in 1922.⁴³ In addition, he is

40. Federal Census 1910, 521: ED 27, visitation no. 349; Rose and Souchon, 125, 309; Charlie Bocage, interview.

41. Al Rose, *I Remember Jazz* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 111.

42. *Ibid.*, 109.

43. The photograph is reproduced in Frank Driggs and Harris Lewine, *Black Beauty and White Heat: A Pictorial*

said to have occasionally played a bassoon supplied by the restaurant owner, Felix Tranchina, who enjoyed the sound of that instrument.⁴⁴ Tio was not the only band member to double; Peter Bocage played cornet, xylophone, and violin, and Johnny Lindsey at times performed on string bass instead of trombone.⁴⁵

The hours of the restaurant engagement left little time for outside work, but on Saturday and Sunday afternoons, from 4:00 to 7:00 P.M., the Piron Orchestra performed for fashionable tea dances, or dansantes, at the New Orleans Country Club, located on Metairie Road.⁴⁶ The events were largely attended by prominent couples and young people, as one dancer recalls:

History of Classic Jazz, 1920-1950 (New York: William Morrow, 1982), 24. Dated "1922," it shows a personnel of Bocage, Lindsey, Cottrell, Warnick, Tio, Lewis, Marrero, and Piron with instruments on Tranchina's band stand. What appears to be a companion photograph is published in Rose and Souchon, p. 188. Although the editors date this second photo "about 1925," it shows the same personnel, without instruments or jackets, but with identical shirts, ties, and even hairstyles, in a casual pose on the restaurant's grounds. Examination of the two photographs suggests that they were part of the same photo session, and the presence of Marrero instead of Charlie Bocage indicates a date prior to 1923.

44. Louis R. Tio, interview.

45. Charlie Bocage, interview.

46. *Ibid.*; Souchon, 7; Rose Tio Winn, interview by Martyn. The New Orleans Country Club stood adjacent to the former site of the Hazeur family plantation.

All the high school students went, members and their friends. It was a very dressy occasion . . . it was fun! And the people danced with everybody . . . I don't know anybody who didn't like it. "The Purple Rose of Cairo" was beautiful. [Piron] would start with it and he would end [with] it. And when he'd start to play it, you'd know the dance was over.⁴⁷

Armand Piron continually integrated new numbers into his repertory, and although the orchestra could sight-read new stock arrangements on the bandstand, he did occasionally schedule rehearsals. According to Rose Tio Winn, the rehearsals afforded friends and families of the musicians an opportunity to hear them play in a casual atmosphere:

When they would rehearse, usually, they would get someone who had a large home, and it was in the afternoon, and a few close guests were invited. It was quite a social function. And it wasn't [like] a rehearsal, they were on top of their music so much. They would sightread it, and they knew each other so they could anticipate it. I remember going to one, and sitting out on the front porch hearing it. And Piron stopped very seldom. Rarely, throughout the rehearsal, would he stop the number, to iron out anything. Very few things. . . . As years went on I remember seeing Daddy's portfolio. It was stock parts. I would go through his music, so I became acquainted with that. And many times they played from it.⁴⁸

According to banjoist Charlie Bocage, as each new piece was added to the repertory, the musicians usually read from sheet music for a few performances and then committed the parts to memory.⁴⁹

47. Mrs. Albert J. Flettrich, appearance in *The Mystery of the Purple Rose*.

48. Rose Tio Winn, interview by Martyn.

49. Charlie Bocage, interview.

Like Rose Tio Winn, Armand Piron's son Alvin (b. c1917) remembers social gatherings at his home and the interaction among orchestra members:

Without rehearsals, or without some [other reason], they would come and visit. They would bring their families. They would bring their children and we would play with them and the older people would sit down and talk and what not. They would have breakfast and everything. They were friends.⁵⁰

By the mid-1920s the Piron Orchestra had become the preeminent dance band in New Orleans. In the summer of 1923, the city's largest music store, the Philip Werlein Company (for whom drummer Louis Cottrell worked as a promoter and field salesman) made arrangements for the ensemble to travel to New York City in order to record some of its original music. The first of two trips, during which the orchestra recorded for the Victor, Columbia, and Okeh labels, took place from November 1923 through February 1924. The group also performed at several New York nightclubs, successfully enough to warrant a return trip, which it made in June 1924.⁵¹

While planning the first trip to New York, Piron and his musicians decided to augment the sound of the orchestra by adding a tuba. Initially, the position was offered to Lorenzo Tio's brother, Louis R. Tio, who played a variety of instruments on an amateur basis. The younger Tio declined,

50. Alvin Piron, appearance in *The Mystery of the Purple Rose*.

51. Louis Cottrell, Jr., interview; Charlie Bocage, interview; Peter Bocage, interview by Martyn.

however, as he did not own a tuba or wish to purchase one.⁵² Eventually the orchestra hired Clarence Ysaguerre (c1895-c1960), a Caribbean Creole of color who had recently immigrated to New Orleans from Belize (British Honduras). Ysaguerre seems to have fit the Piron Orchestra mold nicely; Charlie Bocage recalls that he was "an A-1 musician, and a pleasant, wonderful person."⁵³

In September 1923, perhaps in preparation for the trip north, where his orchestra would perform for black and racially mixed nightclub audiences, Armand Piron made efforts to gain wider exposure among blacks and Creoles of color in New Orleans. An extant handbill from this period advertises a "Grand Soiree Dansante" to be held on Monday, 24 September 1923, at the Parisian Roof Garden, a popular black dance hall later operated by the Knights of Pythias and located at the corner of Saratoga (now Loyola) and Gravier Streets. The dance may have been underwritten by the orchestra as a means of raising funds, a possibility suggested by the fact that the bill contains an unusually detailed introduction to the musicians:

52. Louis R. Tio, interview.

53. Ibid.; Peter Bocage, interview, 29 January 1959; Charlie Bocage, interview. Ysaguerre, whose first name appears as Robert or Bob in some secondary sources, seems to have arrived in New Orleans in about 1922. He is listed only once in the city directory, that of 1923, as follows: "Ysagurre [sic], Clarence; musician; 1554 Conti."

A. J. Piron and his Non-Pareil Orchestra cordially invite you to be present . . . this being their first appearance before the New Orleans public after seven consecutive years at Spanish Fort and the New Orleans Country Club. Having spent many years perfecting his aggregation Mr. Piron brings to you the following artists: Steve J. Lewis, Pianist; Chas Bocage, Banjoist-Entertainer; Johnny Lindsey, Trombonist; Lorenzo Tio, Clarinet and Tenor Saxophone; Lewis [sic] E. Warnicke, Alto Saxophone Soloist; Peter Bocage, Cornet & Xylophonist; Lewis [sic] A. Cottrell, Trap Drummer; Clarence Ysaguerre, Bass Soussaphone [sic]; Armand J. Piron, Violinist-Conductor.⁵⁴

According to Charlie Bocage, the Piron band did not alter their style when performing for black audiences. They did, however, add to their repertory a type of vocal number he characterizes as "stomptdown blues." Such wholesale appropriation of the dance hall style was generally avoided at white functions.⁵⁵

Within two months the Piron Orchestra had reached New York. Piron's former partner, Clarence Williams, who had moved to New York in 1916 and by 1923 operated a music publishing company at 1547 Broadway, helped arrange an extended engagement at the Club DeLuxe (soon to be renamed the Cotton Club) in Harlem.⁵⁶ Several bandmembers, including Lorenzo Tio, Jr., brought wives and children along for the

54. Handbill, reproduced in Driggs and Lewine, 24. According to the photo credits (p. 359), the original bill is the property of William Russell.

55. Charlie Bocage, interview.

56. Peter Bocage, interview by Martyn.

journey.⁵⁷ Charlie Bocage recalls that Clarence Ysaguerre's wife had been ill and stayed behind in New Orleans. About the time the musicians reached Pittsburgh, word was sent that she had died. Ysaguerre had no further ties to New Orleans, and by December 1923 (after a month during which the orchestra established itself in New York and had a series of publicity photographs made) he decided to leave the group and settled permanently in New York.⁵⁸ As a recording schedule with the Victor company had already been established (Ysaguerre was present for a test pressing in their studio on 24 November 1923), the orchestra members quickly arranged for Henry Bocage, brother of Peter and Charlie, to come from New Orleans as a replacement on tuba.⁵⁹

Intermittently during its first stay in New York the Piron Orchestra recorded thirteen 78-rpm sides for the Victor,

57. Rose Tio Winn, interview by Martyn. Rose Winn states that she and her mother accompanied Lorenzo on the trips to New York, although she was too young to remember details as an adult.

58. Charlie Bocage, interview. At least four surviving photographs of the Piron band were made at the Strand studios, under the auspices of the Victor recording company. All seem to date from November 1923, as each shows the personnel of that time, including Ysaguerre. Copies of all four are held at the Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University. One is published in Rose and Souchon, p. 173.

59. Charlie Bocage, interview; Rose Tio Winn, interview by Martyn; Walter Bruyninckx, *Sixty Years of Recorded Jazz, 1917-1977* (Mechelen, Belgium: the author, [1979]), 10:P271-72. According to Bruyninckx, the most extensive and authoritative source for discographical information, Henry Bocage appears as brass bassist on all Piron recordings after the 24 November Victor test pressing.

OKeh, and Columbia labels. The complete recorded output of the orchestra includes but two additional sides, consistent with the others in style and quality, recorded for Victor in New Orleans on 25 March 1925 (discographical information appears below, p. 340-42). As a whole, the Piron recordings provide clear documentation of the nature of the orchestra's repertory and of the kind of dance music popular in New Orleans throughout the 1920s.

In general, each of the fifteen recordings of the Piron Orchestra constitutes a dance number in the prevailing popular style, containing ragtime and jazz elements, with duple metric structure, and with a duration of approximately three minutes. In terms of syncopated rhythm, polyphonic texture, and multi-strain form, these numbers are similar to the music recorded by other early jazz groups associated with New Orleans, notably the Original Dixieland Jazz Band (first recorded in 1917) and Joe "King" Oliver's Creole Band (first recorded in 1923).⁶⁰ However, perhaps owing to the longtime role of the ensemble as provider of music for social functions of the conservative white upper class, the recordings of the

60. The Original Dixieland Jazz Band, a quintet of white New Orleans-born musicians led by cornetist Nick LaRocca (1889-1961), was the first jazz band to record (New York, Victor, 1917). The seven-piece King Oliver Creole Band included six New Orleans-born contemporaries of the Piron musicians and was the first black group associated with the New Orleans style to record (Chicago, Gennett, 1923). At present, the recordings of both bands remain widely available.

Piron Orchestra include somewhat less improvisation than those of the leading jazz bands of the day.⁶¹

The essential features of the Piron Orchestra's repertory and performing style may be illustrated by an examination of two representative but contrasting examples from its body of recordings (see transcriptions in Appendix B, pp. 357-74).

"Bouncing Around," composed by Peter Bocage and Armand Piron, was recorded in the first week of December 1923 and formed one side of the orchestra's first issued record. Subtitled a "Negro classic" in a published piano arrangement (1924), it closely approximates a traditional ragtime piece in both its form and its evenly-subdivided rhythmic structure. "Red Man Blues" was composed by Peter Bocage and recorded by the orchestra in its final session, on 3 March 1925. Bocage derived the form of this piece from a typical twelve-bar blues harmonic progression, and its rhythmic structure exhibits the uneven (triple) subdivision of the beat generally termed the "swing" of jazz. Lorenzo Tio, Jr.'s clarinet work forms a conspicuous part of both recordings.

Scored for the entire ensemble, "Bouncing Around" comprises three sixteen-measure strains bounded by a short introduction and coda, with the following arrangement:

61. Lorenzo Tio, Jr., seems to have been the only member of the Piron Orchestra to improvise solos on a routine basis. In comparison, the Oliver band included at least three musicians known for ability as improvising soloists: Oliver and Louis Armstrong, cornets, and Johnny Dodds, clarinet.

A-A-B-B-A-C-C-C'. The A strain is pitched in D minor, the B strain in the relative, F major, and the C strain in the submediant, B flat major. Harmonies in the A and B strains are generally restricted to tonic and dominant, but the more varied C strain contains the subdominant triad and a secondary (applied) dominant, V7/ii (see transcription, mm. 68, 83).

The cornet carries the principal melody throughout, except for the first four measures of the first theme, which are played by the alto saxophone. Tio's clarinet is heard together with violin in a high-register obbligato accompaniment. The trombone (and often also alto saxophone) play rhythmic figures in support of the steady two-beat pulse (alternating strong and weak beats) established by the tuba, banjo, and piano. The percussion enters with a woodblock at the initial C strain, adding rhythmic activity and excitement to the latter part of the piece.

The melodic material of "Bouncing Around" is largely diatonic, though with the addition of numerous chromatic lower neighboring tones (see accompaniment figures, mm. 5-8). The chromatic scale also appears; the melody of the B strain opens with a chromatic descent from e" to b-flat' (mm. 22-23).⁶² Rhythms are generally characteristic of the ragtime style. Short-long-short syncopations appear prominently at the

62. In this text, middle C shall be denoted as c', that occurring one octave above as c", and that occurring two octaves above as c"', in conformance with the Helmholtz system of pitch names.

quarter note level in the A strain (mm. 9-10, 17-18) and at the eighth note level in the C strain (mm. 76-58, 74-76). The tempo is approximately $\text{♩} = 100$.

Like "Bouncing Around," "Red Man Blues" is constructed of three strains. However, the strains in "Red Man Blues" are of differing lengths--sixteen, twelve, and eight measures respectively. The formal arrangement of the piece also departs from the typical in that the A strain returns in non-literal repeats after the contrasting material is sounded, as follows: Introduction, A-A'-B-B'-C-C'-A"-A"', coda. The A and B strains are pitched in C major with the flatted-seventh tonal coloring of the blues. Harmonically, the sixteen-measure A strain is constructed as a twelve-bar blues with a four-measure extension of the dominant harmony (see transcription, mm. 13-18) wherein repetition of a two-measure figure in the clarinet produces the effect of a purposely delayed resolution. The B strain (mm. 37-48) conforms to the standard twelve-bar blues harmonic form. Contrast is provided in the C strain (mm. 61-68), as Lorenzo Tio, Jr.'s eight-measure clarinet solo sounds over tonic and dominant harmonies in C minor.

Although the cornet part in first two strains of "Red Man Blues" constitutes a principal melody (it is loosely doubled at the octave by the violin [the violin part is omitted from transcription]), the clarinet and alto saxophone parts function as nearly equal voices in the polyphonic

setting. The general character of these strains is one of a collective blues improvisation with steady accompaniment from the rhythm section. The non-literal repeats may be regarded as improvised variations of the initial thematic statements; the pitches and rhythms of the individual parts in mm. 21-26, for instance, differ slightly from those in mm. 5-10, but each part accomplishes the same voice-leading function in both strains.

The pitch content of "Red Man Blues" includes the notes of the diatonic major (or minor, in the C strain) scale, with the significant addition of the flatted third and seventh degrees, the so-called blue notes, which in combination with diatonic harmonies create the tensions in pitch characteristic of the blues style (for example, see the anticipation of the downbeat of m. 6, clarinet and cornet parts). Rhythmically, the association with traditional blues is heightened by the uneven subdivision of the quarter-note pulse and relatively relaxed tempo of about ♩ = 126. Legato phrasing and the use of expressive nuances in pitch, such as attacking a note flat before bringing it to pitch (i.e., "scooping"; see mm. 9-10, clarinet) lend a vocal quality to the lines.

The construction of both "Red Man Blues" and "Bouncing Around" shows that as composers Peter Bocage and Armand J. Piron were well versed in the tonal materials of early twentieth-century American popular music. Obviously, like others of the jazz era, they had also identified certain

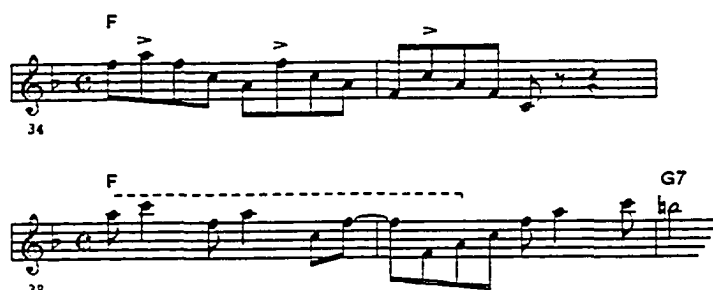
characteristic elements of the blues, historically itself an aurally transmitted art form, and had integrated these elements into a conception of dance music stemming primarily from ragtime and colored by the heavily European-influenced traditions of the Creoles of color on New Orleans.

In addition to the compositional aspects of the music, the recordings of the Piron Orchestra illustrate well the performance style of both the ensemble and the individual musicians. In particular, the recordings show Lorenzo Tio, Jr., to be an accomplished clarinetist with ample technique to play fast-moving arpeggiated lines in every register. He plays a number of two-measure breaks and several longer obligato or solo passages, always displaying the clear sound and fast vibrato typical of the early jazz style. "Bouncing Around" and "Red Man Blues" provide excellent examples of Tio's playing; his work is further illustrated in transcriptions of excerpts from two other recordings, "Bright Star Blues" and "Lou'siana Swing" (see Appendix B, p. 375-80).

Tio plays a high-register obligato accompaniment line throughout the arrangement of "Bouncing Around." Except for two solo breaks, his part appears not to have been improvised, as it generally sounds in unison with the violin (at times the two instruments double the cornet melody at the octave; see mm. 22-23). Most of the obligato figures consist of running eighth notes, and many function as answers to the cornet (mm. 7-8, 44-45). In the C strain of the piece, the clarinet and

and violin arpeggiate chords in a ragtime fashion, mixing short-long-short (eighth-quarter-eighth) syncopations into a largely eighth-note texture (mm. 58-61). In executing their parts, Tio and violinist Piron consistently match articulations, intonation and rhythmic placement.

Tio may well have improvised the solo breaks in "Bouncing Around." In both instances (shown in Example 1) he arpeggiates the tonic chord, the first involving a descending pattern of eighth notes with accents immediately following strong beats, and the second extending an eighth-quarter syncopation over the space of six beats:



Example 1. "Bouncing Around," mm. 34-35, 38-39, clarinet.

The clarinet functions independently throughout "Red Man Blues," at times carrying the principal melody as soloist and at other times providing one voice in an overall polyphonic texture. Tio plays a short solo during the A strain of the tune in which he repeats a syncopated figure three times, delaying resolution of the dominant harmony. Shown in Example 2, the figure involves the same syncopation as that of the

second break in "Bouncing Around," beginning here two beats later in the bar:



Example 2. "Red Man Blues," mm. 13-14, clarinet.

It is conceivable that this figure may initially have been improvised by Tio himself and then retained as a permanent feature of the band's arrangement.⁶³ Tio's deft handling of it some twelve times during the course of the recording of "Red Man Blues" exemplifies his fine technical control of the instrument.⁶⁴

Much of Lorenzo Tio, Jr.'s part on "Red Man Blues" does appear to be improvised. In the non-literal repeats of the A and B strains Tio preserves the contour and function of his initial line, but makes variations in ornamental detail. To

63. Although Peter Bocage is credited as composer of "Red Man Blues," the only known sheet music for the tune is a transcription of a tape of him performing the cornet part for an interviewer (transcription by Clive Wilson, held at the Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University), which does not include this passage. According to the transcription, Bocage plays the same background notes that appear in the cornet part at this point on the 1925 record. It may well be that, although he composed the basic framework of the tune, the other musicians designed their own parts.

64. In his performance of this passage in the second A strain, Tio makes a minor variation which can only be regarded as a mistake (and from which he quickly recovers), beginning the chromatic rise from a' to b' one beat early (see transcription, mm. 31-32).

illustrate, Example 3 shows three statements of the first six measures of the A strain:



Example 3. "Red Man Blues," mm. 5-10, 21-26, 77-82, clarinet.

The contour of the line in each case is clearly the same, beginning with e", extending down to g', sounding the blue seventh, b-flat', by the fourth measure (subsequently resolving it down one-half step as the harmony moves), and reaching the e-flat" (blue third) near the downbeat of the sixth measure. Tio's ideas for varying his part on "Red Man Blues" probably had evolved into a finite repertory of phrases by the time the tune was recorded, but no evidence suggests that he followed a conscious plan or order in performing them; rather, he probably made his selections spontaneously and subconsciously within the relaxed, improvisatory musical atmosphere of the piece.

Tio plays a high, singing obbligato line in the final 32-measure strain of "Bright Star Blues," another Peter Bocage

composition (like many early jazz numbers with the word "blues" in the title, this piece does not involve the 12-bar blues form; see précis, Appendix B, p. 375). As in "Red Man Blues," Tio's work here displays an improvised character, although again in reality it probably represents a single point in an evolutionary process towards crystallization of content. Answering the cornet's statements of the principal melody, Tio uses quarter-note syncopations and offbeat accents to create a sense of forward motion throughout. The line consists primarily of clear arpeggiations of the underlying harmonies, as shown below:



Example 4. "Bright Star Blues," mm. 11-14, clarinet.

To his arpeggiations of the tonic chord Tio persistently adds the flatted-third blue note, using it as a lower neighbor, resolved upward by half-step (notated as C-sharp, see mm. 1, 4, 9, and passim). The entire obbligato is played with Tio's characteristic full-toned legato phrasing, imparting liquidity and brilliance to the sound.

Tio is cast in a contrasting light during the C strain of "Lou'siana Swing," as he executes a chalumeau-register obbligato beneath the principal violin melody (see

digital facility, that he played with a full, resonant tone and used vibrato, and that he was capable of precisely matching intonation and rhythmic placement with other members of the ensemble. It is not possible to determine the exact degree to which he may have been improvising on these recordings, but his lines clearly evidence the thorough knowledge of the harmonic, melodic, and rhythmic principles of the early jazz style attributed to him by such peers as Peter Bocage:

He was all musician. . . . He could play jazz, too, and he could play anything you put up there in front of him. . . . He was gifted; he could fake, and he knowed the chords and everything. You see, that's what it takes.⁶⁵

In addition to recording sessions, the Piron Orchestra maintained a steady schedule of nightclub and theater performances while in New York. During most of the first trip (late 1923 to mid-February 1924) the ensemble worked at the Cotton Club, a well known jazz venue (of white clientele) located in Harlem, at the corner of Lenox Avenue and West 142nd Street. When the Cotton Club closed one week for remodeling, the orchestra performed for vaudeville shows at the Lafayette Theater (Seventh Avenue at West 131st Street).⁶⁶

65. Peter Bocage, interview, 29 January 1959. For similar assessments, see the interviews of Charlie Bocage, William Ridgley, Omer Simeon, Charles Elgar, and Louis Cottrell, Jr.

66. Charlie Bocage, interview; Peter Bocage, interview by Martyn; Charters, 47.

The New York audiences reacted enthusiastically to the music of the New Orleans Creoles of color, and the orchestra received several offers of further employment, among them the possibility of a summer-long resort engagement in Connecticut and an opportunity to tour on the Orpheum-Keith vaudeville circuit.⁶⁷ As Charlie Bocage recalls, the leader, Piron, aspired to national fame and consequently attempted to persuade his musicians to stay permanently in the north. However, the others felt secure with their professional status in New Orleans and had no desire to extend what they had originally understood to be a sojourn of only a few months. After some deliberation, the orchestra decided to spend the spring at home in New Orleans (where the steady Tranchina's engagement awaited them) and make a return trip to New York during the summer.⁶⁸

By June 1924 Clarence Williams had arranged for the Piron Orchestra to perform at another well-known New York location, the Roseland Ballroom (at the corner of Broadway and West 51st Street), and it opened there that month, sharing the bill with the white "society" dance orchestra of Sam Lanin.⁶⁹ Despite resentment from the white musicians, who did not

67. Charlie Bocage, interview.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.; Samuel B. Charters and Leonard Kunstadt, *Jazz: A History of the New York Scene* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1962), 153.

welcome the competition, the Piron Orchestra again proved popular with the audiences. Louis Cottrell wrote to his family during this engagement and explained that although the band's success was gratifying, the musicians generally still felt that it did not warrant leaving New Orleans on a more-than-occasional basis.⁷⁰ Charlie Bocage reports that some of the personnel received individual invitations to stay in New York; he recalls that a group of (unnamed) white musicians approached Peter Bocage, Lorenzo Tio, Jr., and himself about joining with them, but the Creoles remained loyal to Piron.⁷¹

The Roseland engagement seems to have lasted through the end of the summer, as the next band to perform there took over (opposite Lanin) in September 1924. This was no less than the seminal jazz orchestra of Fletcher Henderson (1898-1952), which soon included Louis Armstrong on cornet.⁷² The Piron musicians returned home to resume their regular jobs at Tranchina's Restaurant and the New Orleans Country Club. In addition, they continued to garner lucrative occasional jobs, working for the most prominent of white New Orleans socialites in such private settings as carnival (Mardi Gras) balls and debutante parties.⁷³ Lorenzo Tio, Jr., also returned to

70. Cottrell, interview.

71. Charlie Bocage, interview.

72. Frank Tirro, *Jazz: A History* (New York: Norton, 1977), 185.

73. Charlie Bocage, interview.

frequent work with the Creole-of-color brass bands (primarily the Onward and Excelsior, the latter of which during this period was led by Peter Bocage) and to his second profession, that of teaching private music lessons.⁷⁴

For Lorenzo Tio, Jr., and his family the mid-1920s were prosperous years. Rose Tio Winn recalls that her father, always an able provider, amassed significant savings during this time. He had purchased a Nash automobile near the beginning of the decade, and in June 1927 bought a recently-built house at 2408 Havana Street, in an upper-middle class neighborhood immediately northeast of the Faubourg Tremé.⁷⁵ Tio pursued as many offers of employment as he could, and it seemed to his young daughter as if he worked constantly:

He worked every night. And I used to say, "Daddy, when are you going to have a night off?" I remember only once he had a night off, and that time he took me, and bought me an ice cream soda. It was really something to have my daddy home!⁷⁶

Unfortunately, sometime in 1926 or possibly early in 1927 (but well prior to the move to Havana Street), Tio

74. Peter Bocage, interview; Rose Tio Winn, interview by Martyn.

75. Sale of Property, Crump to Tio, 2 June 1927, Gabriel Fernandez, Jr., n.p., Orleans Parish Notarial Archives; Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990; Louis R. Tio, interview. Tio paid \$1175 for the house. During the early 1920s he and his family (consisting of his wife and child, his mother, and two sisters) rented homes at the following addresses, all in the Faubourg Tremé: 1713 St. Bernard Avenue (1920-21), 1722 Columbus Street (1922-24), 2216 St. Philip Street (1925), and 2205 St. Peter Street (1926-27); see City directories, 1920-28.

76. Rose Tio Winn, interview by Martyn.

suffered a slight paralytic stroke, temporarily losing feeling on his right side. The stroke also left him unable to play the clarinet for a period of some months.⁷⁷ As Rose Tio Winn recalls:

He was stricken on the music stand. They were playing at Tranchina's, and he said, "Gee, it feels like somebody's throwing sand in my eyes. My eyes are burning." And they said, "What's the matter?" because as they played, he just became numb.

He was treated at home, on St. Peter Street; I don't remember him ever being hospitalized. He had a very fine doctor, and it didn't take him too long to recover. From then on, though, he would drag his right foot slightly. But he got so he could play and play quite well.⁷⁸

During his convalescence Tio supported his family by teaching private clarinet lessons. His position with the Piron Orchestra was held open until he could return, which seems to have been around the beginning of 1927.⁷⁹ Although the taciturn clarinetist never complained of consequent difficulty, his former student Barney Bigard has suggested the stroke did impair his technical facility, saying that afterward Tio "couldn't execute his horn like he used to."⁸⁰

77. Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990; Cottrell, interview. Although unable to supply the precise date of Tio's stroke, Rose Tio Winn's recollection (below) that her father convalesced at the family's St. Peter Street residence places the incident in 1926 or early 1927.

78. Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990.

79. Ibid. It is not known whether a substitute was engaged during Tio's absence. Louis Warnick played clarinet, and it is possible that he filled in on some of Tio's parts.

80. Bigard, interview by Martyn.

In October 1927 Tio's old friend and orchestra mate Louis Cottrell died suddenly, succumbing to a heart attack just hours after finishing a Piron dance engagement at the Pythian (formerly Parisian) Roof Garden. Cottrell's death saddened Tio and many others in the Creole-of-color musical community. His position in the Piron Orchestra was taken by Paul Barbarin (1901-1969), son of brass-band musician Isidore Barbarin, who occasionally alternated with Josiah "Cié" Frazier (1904-1985).⁸¹

The Piron Orchestra disbanded in 1928. By this time the engagement at Tranchina's had terminated, and the orchestra, whose repertory had remained stylistically the same for nearly ten years, no longer seemed to hold the vanguard among popular dance-music ensembles in New Orleans. For three months during the final stages, Piron booked the orchestra into the Roosevelt Hotel at the corner of Canal Street and St. Charles Avenue.⁸² The last extended engagement took place in Metairie at an establishment known as the Victory Inn, where wealthy New Orleans residents could freely participate in such illegal pastimes as gambling and drinking hard liquor.⁸³ Work was also to be had out of town, and in 1928 Piron took the group as far as Florida and

81. Cottrell, interview; Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990; Charlie Bocage, interview; Charters, 25, 47.

82. Charlie Bocage, interview; Charters, 47.

83. Peter Bocage, interview with Martyn.

Texas for short stays. However, as had been the case with the earlier trips to New York, not all of the bandmembers liked the travel and an atmosphere of dissension developed. Soon the arguments focused on the orchestra's musical style, with Tio and some of the other musicians bringing pressure on the leader to modernize in the manner of the swing bands they had encountered in the north. Piron, whose principal talent lay in his ability as a showman and organizer, decided instead to dissolve the orchestra, or at least dissociate himself from it. By the end of the year he had contracted to lead a new, younger band for the Streckfus riverboat line.⁸⁴

The remainder of the orchestra stayed together under a new name, the Creole Serenaders. Peter Bocage acted as musical director and Louis Warnick handled bookings. At some point in the transition, pianist Steve Lewis (who had become alcoholic) was replaced by Dwight Newman (1902-c1942), and Henry Martin (c1895-c1932) became the regular drummer. Peter Bocage played both cornet and violin, and despite Lorenzo Tio, Jr.'s desire for change, the characteristic sound and style of the new group continued in the same vein as that developed under the leadership of Piron. The Creole Serenaders soon landed a nightly engagement at the Old Absinthe House (a restaurant/nightclub located at the corner

84. Ibid.; Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990; Souchon, "Libretto," 7; Charters, 47.

of Bourbon and Bienville streets in the French Quarter), where they enjoyed consistent success for about ten years.⁸⁵

In time, however, Lorenzo Tio, Jr., became frustrated with what he regarded a musically stagnant situation, and began to seek new opportunities. A number of younger musicians had begun to find success in New York, including Barney Bigard and Paul Barbarin, who in 1928 had performed there together as members of Luis Russell's popular dance band.⁸⁶ Barbarin frequently returned to New Orleans to visit family and friends; during one such trip he spoke with Tio about conditions in New York, suggesting that someone with Tio's abilities to read, improvise, and double on various instruments might find himself a valuable commodity in the city's musical marketplace.⁸⁷ New York was a hotbed of musical and economic activity for top rank black musicians in the early 1930s, as evidenced by the statement of Bigard that he and his associates with the Duke Ellington Orchestra "worked clean through the Depression without ever knowing there was one."⁸⁸

85. Charlie Bocage, interview; Peter Bocage, interview, 29 January 1959; Charters, 23-24, 82; Rose and Souchon, 137.

86. Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke*, 40-43. The Panamanian-born Russell (1902-1962) immigrated to New Orleans in his teens and led his first band by 1920. During the latter part of the decade his New York groups rivalled those of Duke Ellington and Jimmie Lunceford in popularity.

87. Charlie Bocage, interview.

88. Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke*, 52.

Although the chronological details of the last five years of Lorenzo Tio, Jr.'s life are not well documented, it is clear that by 1930 he had decided to move to New York. Rose Tio Winn recalls that her father spent much of that year in the northern city attempting to gain a foothold in its music scene. Late in 1931, after having returned to New Orleans for what was apparently a period of several months,⁸⁹ Tio rented out his Havana Street house and took his wife and daughter back to New York, establishing a residence on 132nd Street, in Harlem.⁹⁰ Tio carefully maintained membership in the American Federation of Musicians during the relocation process: A long-time member of New Orleans local 496, he was twice issued transfer cards by the New York local 802, in both October 1930 and December 1931.⁹¹

In New York Tio relied upon friends to help him find work. Upon arrival in 1930, he went to the Cotton Club to hear Barney Bigard with the Duke Ellington band, and Bigard

89. Tio was present in the New Orleans office of Allen R. Beary, notary public, on 13 July 1931. At that time he placed a mortgage in the sum of \$1500 on his Havana Street house.

90. Rose Tio Winn, interview by Martyn; idem, interview, 11 May 1990; idem, interview, 8 October 1991.

91. A union card dated 1 October 1930, stamped "transfer," and bearing Lorenzo Tio, Jr.'s signature is reproduced in Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke*, p. iii. Notice of the second issuance of a transfer appears in the union newspaper, *International Musician*, of December 1931 (reference supplied by Lawrence Gushee, letter to the author, 14 April 1992).

arranged on the spot for Tio to take a position with a theater orchestra in which he alternated weekly with another clarinetist.⁹² In order to handle the doublings most often required of New York reed players, Tio during this stay traded the tenor saxophone he had used with the Piron Orchestra for a new Beuscher alto saxophone.⁹³

One of the most prominent New Orleans natives active at the time in New York was the flamboyant Creole-of-color pianist/bandleader, Ferdinand Joseph "Jelly Roll" Morton (1885-1941). As Lorenzo Tio, Jr., sought work he made contact and became associated to some degree with Morton; he may possibly have performed with Morton on one or more Victor recording dates in 1930. The clarinetist on each of five recording sessions between 5 March 1930 and 9 October 1930 (producing a total of twenty issued sides) remains unidentified by researchers, but Laurie Wright, in his definitive discography *Mr. Jelly Lord*, has suggested that the position may have (on at least one occasion) belonged to Tio.⁹⁴

92. Bigard, interview by Martyn. Bigard, who worked with Ellington at the Cotton Club from 1928 to 1931, states that the incident took place when Tio first came to New York, but does not supply a specific date. Nor does he name the theater where Tio worked; however, he does explain that the other clarinetist was Buster Bailey (1902-1962), who also performed with the bands of Fletcher Henderson and Noble Sissle during the period.

93. Rose Tio Winn, interview by Martyn. This instrument remains in the possession of Tio's descendants.

94. Wright, *Mr. Jelly Lord* (Chigwell, Essex: Storyville Publications, 1980), 74-82.

Wright bases his proposal upon knowledge of Tio's presence in New York and the recollection of Rose Tio Winn that she once heard her father mention an upcoming recording date with Morton. He also notes that one of the titles recorded on 19 March 1930, "Little Lawrence," might easily be regarded as a reference to Lorenzo Tio, Jr.⁹⁵ His notion is further supported by an anecdote appearing in the autobiography of cornetist Lee Collins, who spent part of 1930 in New York, and was himself invited by Morton to record:

He wanted to talk to me about making some records with him and wanted Lorenzo Tio, Jr., and me on them. I said I would, but to tell the truth, I was still mad at Jelly Roll [over a prior incident] and when the day came for the recording session I hid in my room and didn't make the date--and I am sorry now that I did not.⁹⁶

Unfortunately, without further information it remains impossible to determine whether the unknown clarinetist on any of the 1930 Morton recordings could in fact be Lorenzo Tio, Jr. It should be noted in this regard that any analysis of the aural evidence contained therein (perhaps in comparison to that of the earlier Piron recordings) would necessarily depend upon a subjective assessment of the effect of Tio's c1926 stroke on his performing capabilities.⁹⁷

95. Ibid., 75-76. Wright's reference to Rose Tio Winn seems to be from the interview by Barry Martyn, by whose courtesy he also reproduces Tio's 1930 union card.

96. Collins, 65-66.

97. Upon study, the author has failed to find striking similarities in tone, phrasing, rhythmic placement, or

In addition to performing, Lorenzo Tio, Jr., turned to his music-writing skills to help make ends meet in New York, selling arrangements and a few compositions for small sums of cash.⁹⁸ He had remained in occasional contact with Barney Bigard, who introduced him to the circle of musicians, entertainers, and managerial agents surrounding his bandleader, Duke Ellington. Ellington's sidemen and associates often contributed ideas, such as a fragment of melody or an interesting harmonic progression, to his compositions without expecting or receiving credit at time of publication.⁹⁹ Bigard recalls that such a process, involving material originally supplied by Lorenzo Tio, Jr., took place in the composing of "Mood Indigo," one of Ellington's most popular and enduring numbers:

Duke and I had gotten together on *Mood Indigo*. I'll tell you what happened, just to set the record straight. My old teacher Lorenzo Tio had come to New York and he had a little slip of paper with some tunes and parts of tunes he had written. There was one I liked and I asked him if I could borrow it. He was trying to interest me in recording one or two maybe. Anyway, I took it home and kept fooling around with it. It was just the second strain. There was no front part on what Tio gave me. I changed some of it around, for instance the bridge on second strain, and got something together that was mostly my own but partly Tio's [a sketch of the piece, with appropriate passages labeled, appears in Appendix B, p. 381].

Duke had a date for a small group recording . . . I brought what I had of the number to the date and we tried

idiomatic figurations between the clarinet work on the Piron recordings and that on the 1930 Morton recordings.

98. Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990.

99. Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke*, 64.

to work it out. . . . Duke figured out a first strain and I gave him some ideas for that too.¹⁰⁰

"Mood Indigo" (pub. Mills Music, 1931) was recorded for the Brunswick label on 17 October 1930; some early issues bore the title "Dreamy Blues," which Al Rose recalls as the name of Tio's melody when it constituted a dance tune in the repertory of the Piron Orchestra.¹⁰¹ Publication rights were reserved by Ellington and his manager, Irving Mills (1884-1985), who owned Mills Music, Inc., a publishing house that frequently bought music outright (for cash) from black musicians. As Bigard, who eventually saw his rights as co-composer restored, recalls:

I missed the boat twenty-eight years on royalties. I didn't get a dime. It was all under Ellington and Mills's name. You see in those days--just to show you how stupid we were--we would write a number and sell it to Mills for twenty-five or fifty dollars. If we had kept numbers with our names on we would have had royalties for years and years.¹⁰²

According to members of his family, Lorenzo Tio, Jr., sold several compositions (or sketches of compositions) either directly to Ellington or to Mills Music, including the basic material of two other popular pieces, "Sophisticated Lady" (Mills Music, 1933) and "Moonglow" (Mills Music, 1934).

100. Ibid.

101. Brian Rust, compiler, *Jazz Records: 1897-1942*, 5th rev. and enl. ed. (Chigwell, Essex: Storyville Publications, 1982), 482-83; Rose, *I Remember Jazz*, 109. Rose writes that despite the attribution to Ellington, "all of us in New Orleans knew that tune, and we knew it was Tio's."

102. Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke*, 64-65.

Corroboration of such contentions, however, has proven impracticable, as no manuscripts or sheet music belonging to Tio have survived.¹⁰³

Tio's principal income continued to come from performing, and by about 1932 he landed a position in the house orchestra at The Nest, a spacious nightclub and dance hall located at 169 West 133rd Street. During that year Sidney Bechet, Tio's old friend and fellow Creole-of-color clarinetist, returned to the United States from an extended stay in Paris, and he also settled in Harlem. Bechet reports that before long he joined Tio in The Nest orchestra, and the two men subsequently worked together "for about five or six months."¹⁰⁴ At some point Tio seems to have assumed leadership of the ensemble, which, according to Bechet, included a trombonist named Harry White and featured guest appearances by trumpeter Roy Eldridge (1911-c1985), then a rising star as an improvising soloist. The steady engagement made for a

103. Rose Tio Winn, interview by Martyn; idem, interview, 11 May 1990; Louis R. Tio, interview. The idea that Tio did supply further material to Mills Music is supported by such musicians as longtime Ellington bassist Wellman Braud (interview, 30 May 1957, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University) and Barney Bigard, and by researcher/interviewer William Russell (Louis R. Tio interview).

Upon publication, "Sophisticated Lady" was credited to Ellington, Mills, and lyricist Mitchell Parish. "Moonglow" was credited to Will Hudson (a staff arranger at Mills Music), Mills, and lyricist Eddie De Lange.

104. Bechet, 158-59.

measure of financial stability, and Tio was able to maintain the comfortable lodgings for his family on 132nd Street.¹⁰⁵

Lorenzo Tio, Jr., eventually began to experience a considerable decline in health. The house engagement at The Nest seems to have ended sometime in 1933, as the club changed hands and was renamed Dickie Wells's Shim Sham Club.¹⁰⁶ As Sidney Bechet remembers, the job at The Nest

wasn't the last time he [Tio] played in New York, because after we had finished our engagement, he went on and played some place else; then he disappeared. I saw him one time more. . . . I got word from his wife . . . that Lorenzo was very ill. . . . It wasn't long after that he died right there in New York.¹⁰⁷

By the final weeks of 1933, the forty-year-old Tio had become seriously ill, and was no longer able to breathe properly. His wife had him taken to Harlem Hospital, but he succumbed to heart disease on 24 December. He was buried in New Orleans on 31 December in St. Louis Cemetery No. 3, on Esplanade Avenue. The following is excerpted from an obituary in the *Louisiana Weekly* of 13 January 1934:

The death of Lorenzo Tio, Jr., which occurred in New York City on Sunday, Dec. 24th, marked the passing of another of New Orleans' popular musicians who have contributed to the gaiety of "America's Most Interesting City" and its reputation as a musical center for more than half a century.

Although he suffered a slight paralytic stroke here several years ago friends here were shocked to learn of

105. Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990.

106. Driggs and Lewine, 133.

107. Bechet, 159.

his death after two weeks of illness, the result of a paralyzed heart.

The body was brought here for burial with the funeral taking place on Sunday, December 31, from the residence of his mother in 2221 Lafitte street. Church services were conducted at Corpus Christi Catholic church, Father Kane officiating, with interment in the Esplanade street cemetery.

The deceased is survived by his wife, Mrs. Lillie Bocage Tio, one daughter, Miss Rose Tio, mother, Mrs. Lorenzo Tio, Sr., one brother, Mr. Louis Tio, a sister Mrs. Alice Tio (Long), and a host of other relatives and friends.

CHAPTER 8
THE TIOS AS TEACHERS AND THEIR
INFLUENCE UPON THE MUSICIANS OF NEW ORLEANS

Throughout their careers as performers, the musicians of the Tio family earned supplemental income by teaching private music students. Lorenzo Tio, Jr., his father, and his uncle were directly responsible for training a sizable number of early jazz clarinetists, and their work in this area contributed to the development of a distinct performing style associated with Creole-of-color musical ideals. John Steiner has delineated a stylistic school of clarinet performance emanating from the Tios and extending via either instruction or imitation through the work of pupils Barney Bigard and Jimmie Noone to that of white musicians Irving Fazola (1912-1949) and Pete Fountain (b. 1930).² By extension backward to the antebellum activities of Thomas Tio and Louis Hazeur, it becomes possible to view the Tio family as prime structural agents of a century-long continuum in the transmission of a characteristic manner of music-making on the clarinet.

1. Steiner, 156. Such an idea is further developed by Floyd Levin in his article, "Louisiana Swing: The Dynasty of New Orleans Clarinetists Established by Lorenzo Tio, Jr.," *The Second Line* 38/2 (1986): 19-25.

The flowering of the Tios' work as music teachers came in the early years of the twentieth century, simultaneously with the development of the jazz style and its creation of ready venues for a large number of active performers at both the professional and amateur levels. The role of the clarinet in early jazz bands (and to a lesser degree in brass bands) as provider of ornamented melodies and obligato counterlines called for a relatively high degree of technical facility on the instrument, and this demand alone seems to have made some amount of individual training normative to the development of the typical performer.² As the teaching of music had already been part of their family heritage for generations, Louis, Lorenzo, and Lorenzo, Jr., were particularly well qualified to serve the emerging needs of the musical community in New Orleans, needs they did much to define through their own performing styles.³

2. Of all the prominent New Orleans clarinetists active in the 1920s, by far the majority at some point undertook private lessons. Even such an individual jazz stylist as Sidney Bechet studied briefly with George Baquet, Louis Tio, and Lorenzo Tio, Jr. (Chilton, 6; Bechet, 79). Johnny Dodds perhaps came the closest to being entirely self-trained, as his playing style seems to have been already formulated by the mid-1910s, when he studied music-reading with Charles McCurdy (Anderson, 415).

3. What is known of the pedagogical activities of Louis Hazeur and Thomas Tio is discussed above in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, respectively. Hazeur's rank as Senior Musician in a military unit indicates some responsibility for the training of musicians, and Thomas Tio is said to have taught private music lessons as a means of earning money in both New Orleans and Mexico.

Following the example set by their father, Thomas, in Mexico, Louis and Lorenzo Tio taught private music lessons at home. Not all of the their pupils simply aspired to play the clarinet; in addition to the fundamentals of performance on that instrument the brothers taught music-reading, solfège (sight-singing), conducting, and tonal harmony, subjects they offered in combination or separately, depending upon the talents and desires of the individual. Students attended lessons on a regular basis, usually once or twice per week.⁴

According to Louis R. Tio, who as a child took clarinet lessons from both his father and his uncle, each of their students underwent training in solfège and music-reading (a process he labels the "catechism of music") before being allowed to make sounds on an instrument. The traditional Creole-of-color musical values surface clearly in Tio's explanation of the need for such preliminary study: he contends that solfège excercises help develop the "wonderful hearing" a good musician must possess, and he emphasizes the importance of reading skills by stating that "when they stick

4. Charles Elgar, interview; Paul Beaulieu, interview; Louis R. Tio, interview. The duration of an individual lesson and the fee charged for the service are not defined; Louis R. Tio recalls that Lorenzo [Sr.] charged "maybe 75 cents or a dollar" per lesson near the turn of the century, but this figure seems somewhat questionable in light of Samuel Charters's contention that New Orleans musicians still considered 75 cents a high price in about 1920 (Charters, 45). It would also appear at odds with Barney Bigard's statement that Lorenzo, Jr., in the 1910s charged 50 cents (Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke*, 15).

that piece of music in front of your face, you got to know what you're doing!"⁵

The Tios were known as demanding mentors. Louis R. Tio's recollections also provide a fleeting glimpse of their teaching styles. He remembers that Lorenzo often had students sightread difficult duets, either with him or with other students, and that if he felt that a student had not practiced sufficiently, he would terminate a session and refuse to accept payment. A perfectionist for detail, Louis Tio generally listened to students perform exercises or pieces without stopping them, and then had them verbally recount their mistakes and explain to him why the mistakes had occurred. His nephew recalls that not the slightest miscue escaped his notice.⁶

At times Louis and Lorenzo Tio seem to have organized group lessons and even small classes in the fundamentals of music theory. The newspaper obituary of Lorenzo Tio, Jr., referred to a "music conservatory" operated by his father, at which the Creole-of-color flutist Joseph Bloom had studied.⁷

Like Bloom, who in 1903 helped organize a small symphony orchestra (see Chapter 5, pp. 193-95), a number of the students

5. Louis R. Tio, interview.

6. Ibid.

7. *Louisiana Weekly*, 13 January 1934. Bloom had died one week before Tio, and thus received timely mention in the latter's obituary article.

of Louis and Lorenzo Tio went on to become prominent musicians in their own right. The following biographical sketches give some evidence of the significance of the pedagogical activity of the Tio brothers and their influence in the musical community of New Orleans in the early 1900s.

According to his nephew, two of Louis Tio's best students were George and Achille Baquet, sons of Théogène Baquet, the cornetist and longtime leader of the Excelsior Brass Band.⁸ Born in 1881 and 1885 respectively, George and Achille probably studied with Tio in the 1890s. The careers and lives of these two Creole-of-color musicians could hardly have developed in a more divergent fashion: while George performed always with Creole and black musicians, the lighter skinned Achille passed into the considerably separate white society and its distinct musical community.⁹

George Baquet followed his mentor into several Creole-of-color music ensembles by the turn of the century, including the Onward Brass Band and the Lyre Club Symphony Orchestra. In 1902-03 he toured the north and midwest with P. T. Wright's

8. Louis R. Tio, interview. Natty Dominique and Charles Elgar also contend that George Baquet was trained by Louis Tio (see Dominique, Elgar interviews).

9. The Baquet brothers are listed together in their father's household in Federal Census, 1900, 571: ED 37, Sheet 5. They appear at separate residences in the 1910 census; in this source the enumerators listed George Baquet as black and Achille Baquet as white (Federal Census, 1910, 521: ED 83, visitation no. 231 [George]; ED 74, visitation no. 229 [Achille]).

Georgia Minstrels. Returning to New Orleans, he spent the next decade performing with the dance bands of John Robichaux, Manuel Perez, Freddie Keppard, and others. In 1914 Baquet and Keppard left for Los Angeles to tour with Bill Johnson's newly formed Creole Band, which soon established a base in Chicago. Eventually Baquet settled in Philadelphia, where he performed for the remainder of his career in the pit orchestra of the Earle Theater. He was recorded only once, in 1929 with Jelly Roll Morton in New York. He died in Philadelphia in 1949.¹⁰

Achille Baquet crossed the color line in the New Orleans music scene when he was hired to play with the Reliance Brass Band led by Jack "Papa" Laine (1873-1966). He played with a number of white dance orchestras in the early 1900s, including those of Happy Schilling and Frank Christian. In about 1918 he migrated to New York with Christian as a member of the New Orleans Jazz Band, which soon hired comedian Jimmy Durante as pianist. By 1920 Baquet was in Los Angeles, where he settled permanently. In 1925 he spent about four months at the Rose Room Ballroom of Los Angeles with the New Orleans band of cornetist Johnny Bayersdorffer. Although he lived until 1955, Baquet performed infrequently and eventually retired from music due to an arthritic condition.¹¹

10. Rose and Souchon, 8; Charters, 20-21.

11. Rose and Souchon, 8; Lawrence Gushee, "New Orleans-Area Musicians on the West Coast, 1908-1925," *Black Music Research Journal* 9 (1989): 5, 8.

Paul Beaulieu (1888-1967) began studying clarinet and the principles of harmony with Louis Tio in the late 1890s. He recalls that Louis and Lorenzo Tio could each play all the standard reed instruments, including saxophone, oboe, and bassoon. Beaulieu himself became known for versatility, having also received training on piano and cello. He played clarinet in the Bloom Symphony Orchestra (c1903) and in several later concert bands. During the first decade of the century Beaulieu marched regularly with the Melrose Brass Band, led by Joe Oliver. In the mid-1910s he began playing piano in John Robichaux's second dance orchestra (Robichaux managed several groups simultaneously), and gradually ceased performing on clarinet. From 1906 until retirement in 1952 he worked for the postal service; in later life he concentrated on playing jazz piano and arranging and composing various types of music for an informal chamber group.¹²

Perhaps the most illustrious musician to have studied with the Tios was Sidney Bechet (1897-1959), who took a few lessons first from Louis and then from Lorenzo, Jr. A staunch individualist from the very beginning, Bechet by his own admission never grew accustomed to directed study. In about 1907, after having already received instruction from George Baquet and Louis Nelson Delisle, Bechet acted upon the

12. Beaulieu, interview; Charters, 21.

suggestion of Lorenzo Tio that he undertake study with Tio's older brother, Louis:

Years later, Sidney, his eyes twinkling, used to recall Papa Tio's roar of disapproval: "No! No! No! We do not bark like a dog or meow like a cat!"¹³

As he had under the previous teachers, Bechet soon discontinued study. He seems to have absorbed a more substantial musical influence from Tio's nephew (and his own near-contemporary) Lorenzo, Jr.; Bechet explains in his autobiography that in addition to a brief teacher-pupil relationship, the two became fast friends: "I hung around his house a lot. We used to talk a lot together, and we'd play [music] to all hours."¹⁴

Bechet's career as a professional musician began in earnest in the early 1910s when he succeeded Lorenzo Tio, Jr., in Bunk Johnson's Eagle Band. After freelancing in New Orleans with such leaders as A. J. Piron (Olympia Orchestra, c1914) and Joe Oliver, Bechet migrated to Chicago, and thence to Europe, where in 1919-20 he toured with Will Marion Cook's Southern Syncopated Orchestra. He spent much of the 1920s in Europe (primarily London and Paris) before returning to the United States in 1932 and settling in New York (see above, Chapter 7, p. 294). By the mid-1930s Bechet was firmly established as a front-rank jazz soloist on both clarinet and (more often)

13. Chilton, 7;

14. Bechet, 79-80.

soprano saxophone. In addition to leading his own groups, he enjoyed associations with Noble Sissle, Duke Ellington, Jelly Roll Morton, and others. Bechet left New York in 1951 for Paris, where he died in 1959. He recorded prolifically throughout the latter part of his career.¹⁵

Louis "Big Eye" Nelson Delisle (1885-1949) studied with Lorenzo Tio (Sr.), who first persuaded him to purchase a clarinet at about the turn of the century.¹⁶ As soon as he reached a suitable level of proficiency, Delisle began performing dance music in the saloons of Storyville. Never known as a brass band musician, he honed his skills in Manuel Perez's Imperial Orchestra (c1907) and the Superior Orchestra (c1910; Peter Bocage, leader), developing a reputation as one of the city's best improvising soloists. Nelson continued working in Storyville until the district shut down in 1917. In that year he briefly replaced George Baquet with the touring Creole Band, but soon returned to the dance halls of New Orleans, where he spent the remainder of his career. Delisle recorded only very late in life, once in 1940 as a

15. Bechet's life and career are well documented. His autobiography, *Treat It Gentle* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1960), is clarified and supplemented by John Chilton, *Sidney Bechet: The Wizard of Jazz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

16. Charters, 41; Chilton, 6; Delisle, interview by Alan Lomax, [c1940], published in Lomax, *Mister Jelly Roll* 2d ed., (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1973), 90.

sideman with cornetist Henry "Kid" Rena (1898-1949) and a second time, with his own band, in 1949.¹⁷

Born and reared in the French Quarter, on Burgundy Street, Charles Elgar (1879-1973) had studied violin with a member of the French Opera orchestra before beginning clarinet lessons with Louis Tio. With Tio Elgar developed lifelong interests in performing dance music and conducting concert bands and orchestras. By about 1897 he had become a conducting protégé of Tio, who allowed him to practice the craft with the Lyre Club Symphony (see above, Chapter 5, p. 170). Like George Baquet, Elgar followed in the footsteps of the Tios by entering the national minstrel-show circuit (c1900). In 1903 he settled in Chicago, where he eventually became a respected bandleader and paved the way for a number of New Orleans musicians, including Lorenzo Tio, Jr., to find ready employment (see above, Chapter 6, p. 235). He led a twelve-piece dance orchestra at the Dreamland Ballroom in 1921, and until 1930 kept his groups steadily booked at nightclubs, theaters, and ballrooms in Chicago and Milwaukee. In 1930 he retired from performing, embarking at that point on a lifelong career as an official of the Chicago Local 208 of the American Federation of Musicians.¹⁸

17. Rose and Souchon, 91, 106; Charters, 41; Lomax, 87-94; Louis R. Tio, interview.

18. Elgar, interview; Driggs and Lewine, 54.

Considered together, the above musicians constitute a majority of the prominent Creole-of-color clarinetists active in New Orleans around the the turn of the century.¹⁹ George Baquet and Louis Nelson Delisle are two of the earliest Creoles known to have played in the emergent jazz style (i.e., a style involving a mixture of ragtime and blues elements with some degree of improvisation in performance),²⁰ and Sidney Bechet is universally recognized as a jazz improviser of extraordinary stature.

The Creole-of-color community included but two other clarinetists commonly held on a level with those of this group, Alphonse Picou (1879-1961) and Charles McCurdy (c1865-1933), and both of these have also been named as one-time Tio pupils, although the evidence is less conclusive than in the above cases. Louis R. Tio contends that Picou studied with his uncle, and Charles Elgar states that McCurdy was "a product of those Tio brothers."²¹ Still another respected

19. Such a conclusion may be determined by surveying the number of clarinetists listed in such directory-style secondary sources as *Charters, Jazz: New Orleans, 1885-1963*, and *Rose and Souchon, New Orleans Jazz: A Family Album*.

20. The jazz style was first developed by musicians identified with the uptown (generally non-Creole) black musical community. The seminal jazz band of cornetist Charles "Buddy" Bolden included two clarinetists, William Warner (c1865-c1915), and Frank Lewis (c1870-1924). Neither is known to have associated with the Tios, and both represent a tradition of self-taught, non-reading musicians oriented towards the blues style. See Marquis, 42-44.

21. Louis R. Tio, interview; Elgar, interview. Picou was interviewed by several jazz researchers, but, while saying

clarinetist known to have taken occasional lessons from Lorenzo Tio is Emile Barnes (1892-1972), who enjoyed a long, consistently successful career on a local level.²² Through this distinguished group of students, the Tio influence may be seen to have touched in various degrees most of the clarinetists active in the Creole music scene of the early 1900s. Moreover, it should be noted that many early Tio students who did not attain any special prominence have undoubtedly remained unnamed in the extant body of interviews and writings on the history of music in New Orleans.

Lorenzo Tio, Jr., followed his father and uncle into the business of teaching private music lessons as a matter of course. For the most part, he seems to have adopted their procedures and techniques: for example, he met with students in his home once each week.²³ Barney Bigard recalls that in about 1920 Tio charged 50 cents per lesson. As to the duration of a given session, Tio operated with some flexibility, according to the ability of the student and the

that Lorenzo Tio was "a great teacher," he does not clearly state whether he ever studied with him (Alphonse Picou, interview, 4 April 1958, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University). He did tell Alan Lomax in the 1940s that he received early instruction from "a flute player at the French Opera House" (Lomax, 72).

22. Emile Barnes, interview, 18 August 1958, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University.

23. Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke*, 15; Omer Simeon, interview, 18 August 1955; Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990.

amount of material assigned. Bigard's first session lasted only long enough for Tio to show him fingerings for "about three notes," but once the younger musician had shown an interest in performing and developed some technical proficiency, the sessions began to extend

for as long as he [Tio] wanted. Not for as long as I wanted, but he wanted. Sometimes I'd be there for two hours or until he got tired. There was no set time, see. If I finished my lesson [assignment], he would go right into the next one.²⁴

Among the teaching materials Lorenzo Tio, Jr., used was a family heirloom, a thick French clarinet tutor so old its pages and staves had turned brown. Omer Simeon, who studied with Tio in Chicago in 1917-18, remembers sightreading from the book, as does Louis R. Tio, who reports further that it had been passed along to Lorenzo, Jr., by his uncle. The book appears to have contained exercises transposed to various keys, as indicated by Louis R. Tio's labeling of it as "a big book of transpositions." Unfortunately, it disappeared from the family belongings some years after Lorenzo, Jr.'s death.²⁵

Lorenzo Tio, Jr., also made use of several standard clarinet method books easily available in New Orleans at such stores as Werlein's Music on Canal Street. For instance,

24. Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke*, 15.

25. Simeon, interview; Louis R. Tio, interview; Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990. A number of clarinet tutors were published in Paris in the early nineteenth century; see Thomas Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction Books, 1600-1830*, *Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography* 11 (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1967).

Barney Bigard recalls progressing page by page through the Henry Lazarus method (first published in 1881).²⁶ Other students played from similar works by Otto Langey and Hyacinthe Klosé.²⁷ Typically, these tutors were designed for instruction at all levels and included material ranging from fingering charts and the fundamentals of music-reading to virtuosic etudes and transcriptions of operatic melodies.

Like his elders, Lorenzo Tio, Jr., developed a reputation as a demanding teacher. The following recollection from Bigard offers an exceptional glimpse of Tio's teaching style:

First I had to learn the scales, then the fingerings. Then he would explain intonation and have me hold a note without varying it. He didn't want me to vary it at all. It had to be one sharp or flat on strictly an even keel. We ran that stuff down a long while.

When we got to the chromatic scale, that was my toughest part. I had to start slow, then increase the tempo all the time, but I could never play it too fast. At last I got it together, but he still kept me at it so

26. Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke*, 15. See Henry Lazarus, *Method For Clarinet* rev. Simeon Bellison (New York: Carl Fischer, 1946).

27. Despite leaving New Orleans for New York before he could begin teaching Albert Burbank (1902-1976), Tio instructed the young clarinetist to buy a copy of the *Otto Langey Method* (Albert Burbank, interview, 18 March 1959, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University). Adolph Alexander, Jr., did study with Tio and he used the Langey book as well (Jempi De Donder, "The Second Hundred Years," *Footnote* 19/6 [1988]: 27). See *Otto Langey's New and Revised Edition of Celebrated Tutors [for] Clarinet* (New York: Carl Fischer, 1890).

Louis Cottrell Jr. studied with Tio in the 1920s and used the Klosé method (Cottrell, interview). See Hyacinthe Klosé, *Celebrated Method for the Clarinet* (New York: Carl Fischer, 1898).

I asked him, "Why must I keep on doing this?" He said, "That gives your fingers the feel of all the keys of the instrument so when you begin to play your more difficult exercises, they won't be strangers to you."

Sometimes I thought I was doing pretty good and a couple of times I felt that I did great at his lessons, but he'd just say, "Fair." He did tell my folks though that I was doing pretty good and making progress. I think he kept after me more than his other students because he liked me so much and he didn't want me to get a "swelled head" like a lot of the guys. Sometimes his pupils would learn to play two or three tunes and they'd never come back to him any more. That made him disgusted so he was all set to give me holy hell before anything like that would ever happen. He taught me a whole lot even for free, but, like I said, he would never admit to me that I was doing well. He would just nod and tell me, "It was pretty fair, but work harder at it. You can always do better."²⁸

Rose Tio Winn remembers that her father taught in the front room of their home, near the family piano. He usually sat in a rocking chair several feet from the student, and often from another room Rose could hear students repeating exercises, punctuated only by her father's voice saying, "Again!"²⁹ Omer Simeon reports that when he studied with Tio he felt obliged to practice assignments for an hour to an hour-and-a-half each day.³⁰

Tio often demonstrated techniques for students on his thirteen-key Albert system clarinet. Although he performed on instruments pitched in either B-flat or E-flat (the latter for brass-band work only), Tio owned clarinets pitched in C and D

28. Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke*, 15.

29. Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990.

30. Simeon, interview.

as well, and sometimes allowed young students to begin their training on these.³¹ He advocated a single-lip embouchure (i.e., placing the upper teeth directly on the top of the mouthpiece and drawing the lower lip over the lower teeth to provide a cushion against the reed) with a minimum of upward pressure from the lower jaw, and stressed good breath control. Such a procedure facilitated the production of the "big, clear" tone that characterized his own playing.³² Like most woodwind players of the day, Tio often made reeds and pads for his instrument, and for this purpose he always carried scissors, knives, cane, and scraps of leather in his coat pockets.³³ As the ability to repair an instrument was expected of a professional clarinetist, Tio's advanced students also found it a compulsory part of their training.³⁴

31. Louis R. Tio, interview; Cottrell, interview. Rose Tio Winn has kept parts of two Albert system clarinets that her father used, one a Buffet and the other a Premier (an American make marketed by J.W. Pepper of Chicago). She also retains a mouthpiece labelled "Mahillon." In the mid-1940s Al Rose purchased two of Tio's clarinets from his sister, Alice Tio Long. He subsequently resold the instruments to Tom Sancton, an amateur clarinetist active at the time in New Orleans (Al Rose, interview by the author, 2 August 1989).

32. Ibid. Cottrell himself used a double-lip embouchure (both lips covering the teeth), but he states that virtually all of Tio's other students adopted the method espoused by their teacher.

33. Louis R. Tio, interview; Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990.

34. Louis R. Tio, interview, Cottrell, interview.

Before joining the the Piron Orchestra in late 1919, Lorenzo Tio, Jr., spent two extended periods away from New Orleans, one in Chicago (from c1916 to mid-1918) and the other in Shreveport (summer 1919). Prior to both instances he suggested to several of his promising students that they continue their study with his uncle, Louis "Papa" Tio.³⁵ Two such students were Barney Bigard and Albert Nicholas, and their recollections provide a first-hand account of the elder Tio's teaching style in the final stages of his career. Nicholas credits Louis Tio with teaching him the music-reading technique of constantly casting one's eyes ahead, as much as eight measures in advance of the time. Speaking for the general community of respected Creole-of-color clarinetists, Tio told the young Nicholas, "We all do that."³⁶ Bigard also learned an important technique from Louis Tio, that of assigning a metrical pulse of 2/2 to a piece carrying a 4/4

35. Barney Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke*, 17-18; Albert Nicholas, interview, 26 June 1972, Hogan jazz Archive, Tulane University. Nicholas had begun study with Lorenzo, Jr., some years before the Chicago trip, at which time he transferred to Louis "Papa" Tio. Bigard made a similar transfer, apparently before Lorenzo, Jr.'s Shreveport trip. He states in his book that he switched teachers because Lorenzo, Jr., was preparing to go to New York with Piron; however, this recollection must be inaccurate, because Louis "Papa" Tio had been deceased for well over a year by autumn 1923, the time of the New York trip. The more likely date appears to be 1919, as Bigard plainly states that after making the transfer to "Papa" Tio, he continued to study with him for several years, and such a chronology would allow for that amount of time before the elder Tio's death in 1922.

36. Nicholas, interview.

time signature, i.e., playing in cut time, which he terms "split time":

You feel it as half the beats to the measure. It's not a time signature but just a feel. I had more trouble with that than with anything else since I began to play the horn. . . . I just couldn't play . . . with a "cut" feel to give the music the swing and bounce you need for jazz. But "Papa" Tio showed me how to do it. "When you get to playing in a jazz band, kind of think in two-four all the way, then you'll have it," he told me. "C'mon, let's practice it together," he would say. It took me forever, but I finally got it down.³⁷

Bigard's reminiscence also reveals much of Louis Tio's personality, and the extra-musical encouragement he reserved for good students:

L[ouis] "Papa" Tio was a more patient teacher in a way than his nephew Lorenzo. . . .

Just like Lorenzo, he played a thirteen-hole clarinet, but he had rubber bands all over it. Never mind the springs, I mean all over it. He even had some of the side holes stuffed up. But he could play all right. . . . I wish you could have heard old "Papa" play. I mean, he was fantastic!

When he took me on, he didn't really want to teach anymore, to tell the truth. He had been teaching a couple of guys that he had got disgusted with. He was the type of man that if he thought there was no possibility of your becoming a clarinetist, he would tell you right off the bat. "Son," he would say, "I'm sorry, but you will never make it as a clarinetist, so why don't you try some other instrument. Try trumpet, or anything." That's the way he was. Just socked it to you.

By luck he must have taken a liking to me, because he told me I could go to him anytime I wanted. I would go there and just sit down and he would be talking of lots of things, for free. In fact, he knew I had no day job and when I couldn't afford to buy reeds he would make them for me for nothing from old cane he would cut down.³⁸

37. Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke*, 18-19.

38. *Ibid.*, 18.

Bigard indeed enjoyed a close relationship with Louis Tio. His admiration for his mentor is plain in the statement that "when he died in New Orleans the world lost a great clarinetist."³⁹

While in Chicago, Lorenzo Tio, Jr., continued to earn a portion of his livelihood by teaching music lessons. There Omer Simeon learned "the legitimate aspects of clarinet playing" from Tio, attending lessons every Sunday morning for a period of "two years or more."⁴⁰ Simeon's family had moved from New Orleans to Chicago several years earlier, and his father, a cigar maker by trade, had known the Tio family for some time. As the elder Simeon was a personal friend, Lorenzo, Jr., refused to charge a fee for teaching Omer, accepting instead frequent gifts of cigars.

Simeon proved to be an exceptional student. Tio later told Louis Cottrell, Jr., that Simeon showed a remarkable desire to learn and was the only student he remembered who never had to be assigned an exercise twice.⁴¹ Once he felt that Simeon had reached an appropriate level of proficiency, Tio took him along to a brass band performance on Chicago's West Side. Simeon subsequently joined the band, which marked the beginning of his performing career (discussed below).⁴²

39. Ibid., 19.

40. Simeon, interview.

41. Cottrell, interview.

42. Simeon, interview.

At least one other musician later prominent as a jazz clarinetist in Chicago was taught by Lorenzo Tio, Jr. Darnell Howard (c1900-1966), who in the 1930s was associated with Earl Hines and Fletcher Henderson, told an interviewer that he studied clarinet with Tio for about a year while playing violin and saxophone with Charles Elgar's Creole Orchestra.⁴³ In addition, Elgar, in his own interview with William Russell, lists several Tio students and asserts that Buster Bailey (1902-1967) was "a product of the Tio school." It is unclear, however, whether Elgar meant that Bailey, later a member of Louis Armstrong's Allstars, actually studied with Tio or was in some other way influenced by him.⁴⁴

Throughout the 1920s, during which time his career was unusually stable, Lorenzo Tio, Jr., taught a great number of

43. Floyd Levin, "Louisiana Swing: The Dynasty of New Orleans Clarinetists Established by Lorenzo Tio, Jr.," *The Second Line* 38/2 (1986): 21, 24. According to Levin, Howard places the date of his study in 1924. However, Tio is not known to have been in Chicago after his late-1910s sojourn there. Although Levin does not indicate when it was that he spoke with Howard, the interview clearly took place decades after the period in question, and Howard's memory for precise dates may have understandably become clouded. Howard is known to have become active as a violinist by 1918, and to have been a regular in Elgar's orchestra in the early 1920s (Lawrence Koch, "Darnell Howard," *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, ed. Barry Kernfeld [London: Macmillan, 1988], 1:541).

44. Elgar, interview. Originally from Memphis, Bailey settled in Chicago in the late 1910s. He performed with Fletcher Henderson intermittently from 1924 to 1937. Elgar's interview seems to be the only extant reference to the possibility that he studied with Lorenzo Tio, Jr. See John Chilton, "Buster Bailey," *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, ed. Barry Kernfeld (London: Macmillan, 1988), 1:51.

promising young students, such as Louis Cottrell, Jr. (1911-1978), son of the Piron Orchestra drummer. Cottrell remembers that Tio, who taught every afternoon, also found time to indulge in another musical activity, that of composing (see above, Chapter 7, p. 292). Often Cottrell would arrive for his lesson to find Tio working out original melodies on a clarinet before notating them on manuscript paper.⁴⁵ Tio's uncle Louis had also enjoyed composing; his method, however, was different from that of Lorenzo, Jr., in that he worked at the piano, designing melodies and accompaniments. According to Louis R. Tio, Lorenzo, Jr., knew by ear which harmonies would best fit his melodies, and usually notated chords (probably by symbol) without having previously sounded them on the piano.⁴⁶

Louis "Papa" Tio, to whom Lorenzo, Jr., had sent pupils when leaving for Chicago, died in July 1922, a little more than a year before the Piron Orchestra began to plan the first of its two extended trips to New York. Consequently, when the time came in the autumn of 1923 for Lorenzo, Jr., again to leave New Orleans, he encouraged his students to continue lessons with two of his former students who had by then become professionals in their own right, Albert Nicholas and Barney Bigard. Both Nicholas and Bigard, however, were busily

45. Cottrell, interview.

46. Louis R. Tio, interview.

pursuing their own performing careers and were less interested in teaching than Tio. One Tio student, Harold Dejan (b. 1909), who himself went on to a long career in brass bands, arranged for lessons with Albert Nicholas, but before the first scheduled meeting could take place, Nicholas received an invitation to join Joe Oliver's band in Chicago and immediately left New Orleans.⁴⁷ Louis Cottrell, Jr., had better luck with Bigard, who was not to leave the city for another year. Despite being unaccustomed to his new role as teacher, Bigard felt honored that Tio had sent him such an adept pupil, and as he recalls, "I showed him everything I could."⁴⁸

Lorenzo Tio, Jr., did not teach private music lessons in New York, even after moving there permanently in about 1931. Rose Tio Winn recalls that her father concentrated entirely on his performing career, playing in theater-pit orchestras and at the Nest Club, and simply never made the kind of neighborhood-oriented social contacts that had helped him maintain a thriving studio in New Orleans.⁴⁹

At least fourteen of the students Tio is said to have taught in New Orleans eventually became active professional

47. Harold Dejan, interview, 14 October 1960, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University.

48. Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke*, 19; Cottrell, interview.

49. Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990.

musicians themselves; these are listed in Figure 9, with approximate dates of study:

Don Albert (1920s)	Lawrence Duhé (1910)
Adolphe Alexander, Jr. (1920s)	Tony Giardina (1910s)
Sidney Bechet (c1910)	Albert Nicholas (1910s)
Barney Bigard (c1919)	Jimmie Noone (c1910)
Louis Cottrell, Jr. (1920s)	Sidney Vigne (c1920)
Harold Dejan (1920s)	Louis Warnick (c1920)
Peter DuConge (c1920)	Wade Whaley (1910s)

Figure 9. New Orleans Musicians known to have studied with Lorenzo Tio, Jr.⁵⁰

Don Albert (1909-1980), a cornetist, led a jazz band in San Antonio, Texas, during the 1930s. He is one of what seems to have been a handful of brass-instrument players who studied

49. Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990.

50. This list is based on a survey of secondary sources and a number of interviews held at the Hogan Jazz Archive. It is not to be taken as a complete list of Tio's students, as further investigation of the Hogan archive's holdings may reveal additional names. See Rose and Souchon, 2, 14, 31, 39, 92, 94, 124, 126; De Donder, 27; Adolphe Alexander, Jr., interview, 27 March 1957, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University; Cottrell, interview; Dejan, interview; Louis R. Tio, interview; Peter Bocage, interview, 29 January 1959.

Rose and Souchon also indicate that Albert Burbank and Johnny Dodds studied with Lorenzo Tio, Jr., but other sources appear to refute such contentions. Burbank states clearly in an interview held at the Hogan Jazz Archive that despite arranging to take lessons from Tio, he never did, as Tio was soon to leave for New York (Burbank, interview). Although Warren "Baby" Dodds states that his brother took lessons from "Papa" Tio, Johnny Dodds's most recent and authoritative biographer, Gene Anderson, notes that the clarinetist himself never acknowledged having done so (Anderson, 414; Dodds, 14 [Warren Dodds goes on to say that "Papa" Tio was "the old man Lorenzo," but his reference would necessarily involve Louis "Papa" Tio, as Lorenzo Tio, Sr., had died before Dodds began to play clarinet]).

music fundamentals with members of the Tio family.⁵¹ Adolphe Alexander, Jr. (1898-c1985), played clarinet, saxophone, and baritone horn. He marched with the Tuxedo Brass Band in the 1920s and spent many later years with the jazz band of Oscar "Papa" Celestin before retiring from music in the 1950s.⁵² Although Harold Dejan (b.1909) studied clarinet as a teenager, he ultimately made his reputation on the saxophone, playing in rhythm-and-blues groups and brass bands. He remains active in such context as of 1993, co-leading the popular New Olympia Brass Band with cornetist Milton Batiste.⁵³ Peter Duconge (b. c1900), a particularly gifted young clarinetist, performed on riverboats before leaving New Orleans in the mid-1920s:

Peter came from a family of musicians. His brothers all played music. Peter did very well with Tio and in later years he went to Europe and married an American girl called "Bricktop" who was into all the nightclub stuff with Josephine Baker. He also played on some of those early records with Marlene Dietrich, so you know he was pretty good.⁵⁴

According to Louis R. Tio, Lorenzo, Jr., taught a number of white pupils, among whom the most prominent was Tony

51. Cottrell, interview; Dejan, interview.

52. Adolphe Alexander, Jr., interview.

53. Dejan, interview. Dejan has recorded frequently in recent years; see *Best of New Orleans Jazz! Dejan's Olympia Brass Band*, Mardi Gras Records 1004 (1984); and *Dixieland Jazz! Dejan's Olympia Brass Band*, Mardi Gras Records 5001 (1991).

54. Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke*, 16. See also Rose and Souchon, 39; Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990.

Giardina (1897-1956). Giardina grew up in the Faubourg Tremé and split time between music and a day-to-day job as a barber. He performed with Jack Laine's Reliance Brass Band in the 1910s and was later associated with George Brunies and Emile Christian. Louis R. Tio recalls that in appreciation of his tutelage, Giardina presented Lorenzo, Jr., with a matched set of clarinets (probably three instruments, pitched in A, B-flat, and E-flat respectively).⁵⁵

Sidney Vigne (c1903-1925), studied with Lorenzo Tio, Jr., at about the same time as Barney Bigard. He played clarinet with Vic Gaspard's Maple Leaf Orchestra in the early 1920s, but his promising career was cut short on Christmas Eve, 1925, when he was hit and killed by a truck on Claiborne Avenue.⁵⁶ Louis Warnick, already an accomplished saxophonist by the time he joined the Piron Orchestra, learned to double on the clarinet under the instruction of his bandmate, Lorenzo Tio, Jr.⁵⁷ Like Louis Nelson DeLisle, Wade Whaley (b. 1895) performed with both Creole and non-Creole black bands. In about 1918 he left New Orleans for California with a band assembled by Jelly Roll Morton. Settling within a few

55. Louis R. Tio, interview; Rose and Souchon, 48. Tio probably taught white students only infrequently, as neither Barney Bigard nor Rose Tio Winn recall knowing of any.

56. Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke*, 16-17; Rose and Souchon, 124.

57. Peter Bocage, interview, 29 January 1959.

years in the San Francisco Bay area, Whaley pursued a successful career in music through the 1930s.⁵⁸

Lorenzo Tio, Jr.'s reputation as an influential pedagogue in the musical community of New Orleans derives primarily from the accomplishments of four outstanding students: Jimmie Noone, Albert Nicholas, Omer Simeon, and Barney Bigard. Each achieved international fame as a jazz recording artist. In addition, Tio's influence continued to be directly felt within the city of New Orleans through the playing of Louis Cottrell, Jr., eminent among latter-generation exponents of the traditional jazz style. The careers of these five musicians reflect most positively upon the kind of training and inspiration they received from Lorenzo Tio, Jr.

The playing of Jimmie Noone (1895-1944) has been said to provide a "link between the older [New Orleans] style and the Swing Era clarinet of Benny Goodman."⁵⁹ Noone began study with Tio in about 1910, and may have taken some additional lessons from Sidney Bechet. According to Omer Simeon, Noone's style resembled closely that of Lorenzo Tio, Jr., particularly

58. Rose and Souchon, 126; Gushee, "New Orleans-Area Musicians on the West Coast," 16.

59. Gunther Schuller, *Early Jazz: Its Roots and Musical Development* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 203. Schuller also contends that Noone's playing style directly influenced that of Bigard, Simeon, Buster Bailey, and the prominent white Chicagoan, Frank Teschemacher (p. 204).

in terms of a relaxed rhythmic feel, broad tone, and the ability to execute fast arpeggios and runs in a smooth, effortless manner.⁶⁰

Jimmie Noone replaced Sidney Bechet in Freddie Keppard's Olympia Orchestra in about 1913, and remained with the group (led after 1914 by Armand Piron) for several years. He freelanced with such leaders as Joe Oliver, Kid Ory, and Papa Celestin throughout the mid-1910s, and by 1916 he had assumed co-leadership with cornetist Buddy Petit (1887-1931) of a new band, the Young Olympia Orchestra. Noone left New Orleans in 1918, settling in Chicago, where he eventually resumed his association with Joe Oliver (1919-20; Royal Gardens). From 1926 to 1928, after six years with the large dance orchestra of Doc Cooke, Noone led his own band at the Apex Club and established himself firmly as a front-rank jazz soloist. He remained a popular bandleader in Chicago through the 1930s. Noone spent the last years of his life on the West Coast, touring and recording with Kid Ory's band. After his death in Los Angeles on 19 April 1944, Ory hired Wade Whaley as a replacement.⁶¹

60. Simeon, interview. Interviewer William Russell agrees with Simeon's assessment, and the same contention may be found in Steiner, 156.

61. Richard Wang, "Jimmie Noone," *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, ed. Barry Kernfeld (London: Macmillan, 1988), 2:249.

Born in 1900, Albert Nicholas began performing professionally in his early teens, before the outbreak of the First World War. By 1916, when he joined the United States Navy, he had gained experience in several bands, including those of Buddy Petit and Billy Marrero. Nicholas returned to New Orleans after his military duty, working briefly with the Maple Leaf Orchestra (c1920) and a group led by Manuel Perez (1922). He developed a reputation as a fluent jazz improviser while performing regularly at Tom Anderson's saloon. His group there included Paul Barbarin, Luis Russell, and Barney Bigard. Bigard and Nicholas both doubled on saxophone and clarinet. In 1924, Nicholas was invited to join Joe Oliver's Creole Band in Chicago, and he left New Orleans permanently. In his subsequent career, he traveled widely (making an extended tour of the Middle and Far East, 1927), and performed with such prominent bandleaders as Oliver, Louis Armstrong, and Jelly Roll Morton. After spending the 1930s and 1940s in New York, he settled in Paris, where he died in 1973. Nicholas recorded extensively; his playing style as thus represented was rooted in the blues. Lawrence Koch has noted that Nicholas's tone was particularly rich in the lower register and that in the upper register, he frequently employed a growling technique, producing "dirty whiskey-toned inflections."⁶²

62. Lawrence Koch, "Albert Nicholas," *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, ed. Barry Kernfeld (London: Macmillan, 1988) 2:173; Rose and Souchon, 92-93; Charters, 92.

Omer Simeon (1902-1959) was born in New Orleans and experienced first hand many of the city's musical traditions before 1914, the year in which he and his family moved to Chicago. Simeon studied clarinet with Lorenzo Tio, Jr., from 1916 to mid-1918 and debuted as a professional musician with a dance band led by his own brother, Al Simeon, in 1920. Over the next decade he rose to prominence as a soloist, performing as such in the orchestras of Charles Elgar, Joe Oliver, Erskine Tate, and Jelly Roll Morton. Simeon played the role of featured sideman throughout his long career, which was marked by associations with Earl "Fatha" Hines (1931-37), Jimmie Lunceford (1942-50), and Wilbur de Paris (1951-58).⁶³ His "fluent and imaginative" solo style is well documented on recordings, most notably those he made under the leadership of Jelly Roll Morton.⁶⁴

Although he had studied clarinet with the Tios, Barney Bigard (1906-1980) began his professional career playing saxophone in the bands of Amos White and Albert Nicholas. He left New Orleans for Chicago in December 1924 to join Albert

63. Simeon, interview; Rose and Souchon, 117.

64. William Russell, "Omer Simeon," *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, ed. Barry Kernfeld (London: Macmillan, 1988) 2:451. Among Simeon's later recordings is a tribute to his teacher entitled "Blues For Lorenzo" (composer unknown). Recorded informally by Harold Drob (date unknown), the piece is performed by Simeon's trio (himself; Pops Foster, bass; James P. Johnson, piano) and appears in the anthology, *Jazz: Volume 1, The South* (Moses Asch, compiler, Folkways Records FJ 2801, 1950).

Nicholas and Darnell Howard in the reed section of Joe Oliver's new band, the Dixie Syncopators. Nicholas and Howard left the group in 1926 and primary responsibility for clarinet solos fell to Bigard, who soon established himself as an improviser of formidable talents. Bigard migrated to New York in 1927, and within months began a fourteen-year stand as a soloist with the orchestra of Duke Ellington. Settling in Los Angeles in 1942, he led his own groups and freelanced until 1947, when he joined Louis Armstrong's Allstars. After six years with Armstrong, during which time he toured Europe and Africa, Bigard returned to the West Coast. Remaining active until the late 1970s, he enjoyed enormous popularity and spent much of his later career as a featured member of touring allstar bands.⁶⁵ Musically, Bigard's playing was rooted in the traditions of New Orleans, and he never felt inclined to adapt to the post-Swing jazz styles. Lewis Porter has written that his "highly personal" solo style was "characterized by a warm tone in all registers, sweeping chromatic runs, and long, continuous glissandos."⁶⁶

Lorenzo Tio, Jr.'s direct influence on the music scene of New Orleans is perhaps best reflected in the career of former pupil Louis Cottrell, Jr. (1911-1978), who performed

65. Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke*, passim; Albert Nicholas, interview; Rose and Souchon, 14.

66. Lewis Porter, "Barney Bigard," *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, ed. Barry Kernfeld (London: Macmillan, 1988), 1:107.

regularly there for over 50 years. Cottrell's first professional experience came in 1925, when he joined Lawrence Marrero's Golden Rule Band. During the late 1920s he also worked with the Young Tuxedo Orchestra and a number of pick-up groups. Throughout the time of the Great Depression Cottrell toured the western United States, Canada, and Mexico as a member of Don Albert's eleven-piece swing band. Leaving Albert's band in 1939, he spent about two years in one of Armand Piron's last riverboat orchestras. Swing music, characterized by large bands with choirs of saxophones, trombones, and trumpets, had by that time become the dominant popular style even in New Orleans, and Cottrell, who found the demand for clarinet dwindling, consequently made the tenor saxophone his principal instrument. During World War II Cottrell performed primarily with the locally-popular orchestra of trumpeter Sidney Desvigne (1893-1959). He became one of the city's most respected musicians, and worked regularly on saxophone throughout the 1950s.⁶⁷

Interest in traditional New Orleans jazz made a strong resurgence in the early 1960s, spurred by the city's emergence as a tourist attraction and the opening of the popular French Quarter venue, Preservation Hall. In 1961, Cottrell was invited to join the regular Preservation Hall band (then led

67. Cottrell, interview; Rose and Souchon, 31; Harlan Wood, "Louis Cottrell--The Man: The Son," *The Second Line* 28 (Spring 1976): 3-8.

by trombonist Jim Robinson), and he happily returned to the clarinet on a full-time basis. For the last fifteen years of his life he was regarded by many as the preeminent traditional-style clarinetist in New Orleans. He toured with several groups sponsored by Preservation Hall and led his own band, which featured trumpeter Teddy Riley and vocalist Blanche Thomas. Cottrell maintained an involvement with brass bands throughout his career, marching with the Young Tuxedo Brass Band and being named leader of the revived Onward Brass Band in the 1960s.⁶⁸

Lorenzo Tio, Jr., encouraged his students to develop their own stylistic concepts. It was matter of great pride to him that such a large number went on to musical careers, and that of those who became noted improvisers each played with a distinctively personal sound.⁶⁹

As for their inspiration, Tio's students uniformly admired the playing style of their mentor. Cottrell and Simeon both recalled that Tio set an ideal example for them by playing in lessons.⁶⁹ Darnell Howard listed Tio first among clarinetists he had admired as a young player; Nicholas termed Tio his "idol."⁷¹ Perhaps Barney Bigard sums up best what

68. Ibid.

69. Rose Tio Winn, interview, 11 May 1990; Nicholas, interview; Levin, 20; Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke*, 16.

70. Cottrell, interview; Simeon, interview.

71. Howard, interview; Nicholas, interview.

appears to have been the prevailing assessment of Tio's abilities:

But Tio, now, that was a whole different ball game. He could transpose. He was a great reader even by today's standards. He had real fast execution and he could improvise--play jazz in other words--on top of all the rest. He would even make his own reeds out of some kind of old cane. Yes, Lorenzo Tio was the man in those days in the city of New Orleans.⁷¹

Certainly, whatever influence Lorenzo Tio, Jr., may be said to have exercised upon the art of jazz improvisation as practiced by clarinetists during the first third of the century stems at least as much from his example as a performer as it does from his pedagogical practices. Evidence suggests that, despite routinely instructing students in the fundamentals of tonal harmony, Tio did not teach improvisation as a discrete topic. Omer Simeon probably echoes Tio's own ideas when he states that a student should first learn to manipulate the instrument and read music notation; once he has done so the ability to improvise will follow of its own accord.⁷²

Much of Tio's influence (and that of his father and uncle) extends from his function as early mentor (in both a musical and non-musical sense) to a large number of mostly Creole-of-color music pupils, a remarkable percentage of whom pursued successful careers of their own in music. To them he

71. Bigard, *With Louis and the Duke*, 17.

72. Simeon, interview.

passed on the traditional Creole music-doctrine, with its prime values on technical fluency, proficiency in music-reading, and the production of a broad, singing tone. Such characteristic elements shine through the solo styles of Tio's most prominent students, as consistently reflected in their numerous recordings. His leading role in the transmission of traditional concepts and ideals within a context of the newly popular jazz style itself marks Tio as an influential figure in the development of music in and beyond New Orleans.

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Between 1923 and 1925, Lorenzo Tio, Jr., made a series of recordings as a member of the Armand J. Piron Orchestra. All appear on *A. J. Piron: The Complete Recordings, 1923-1925*, New Orleans Rarities Records, LP no. 9, a copy of which is held in the Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University. The fifteen dance tunes are listed below, chronologically, with original recording labels and numbers. The following abbreviations are used for instrumentations: vl (violin), c (cornet), cl (clarinet), as (alto saxophone), ts (tenor saxophone), tb (trombone), tu (tuba), bj (banjo), p (piano), d (drums), v (vocal).

- "Bouncing Around," composed by Peter Bocage and A. J. Piron.
Recorded ca. 3 December 1923, New York; released on Okeh
40021, Odeon 03204.
Instrumentation: vn c cl as tb tu bj p d.
- "Kiss Me Sweet," composed by A. J. Piron and Steve Lewis.
Recorded ca. 3 December 1923, New York; released on Okeh
40021, Odeon 03204
Instrumentation: vn c cl as tb tu bj p v.
- "New Orleans Wiggle," composed by Peter Bocage and A. J. Piron.
Recorded 11 December 1923, New York; released on Victor
19233.
Instrumentation: vn c cl as tb tu bj p d.

- "Mama's Gone, Goodbye," composed by Peter Bocage and A. J. Piron. Recorded 11 December 1923; released on Victor 19233.
Instrumentation: vn c cl as tb bj p d.
- "West Indies Blues" (vocal), composed by Edgar Dowell, Spencer Williams, and Clarence Williams. Recorded ca. 14 December 1923; released on Okeh 8118.
Instrumentation: vn c cl as tb tu bj p d v.
- "Sud Bustin' Blues," composed by Steve Lewis, Peter Bocage, and A. J. Piron. Recorded 21 December 1923; released on Columbia 14007-D.
Instrumentation: vn c cl as tb tu bj p.
- "West Indies Blues" (instrumental), composed by Dowell, Williams, and Williams. Recorded 21 December 1923; released on Columbia 14007-D.
Instrumentation: c cl as tb tu bj p.
- "Do Doodle Oom," composer unknown. Recorded 8 January 1924; released on Victor 19255.
Instrumentation: vn c as ts tb bj p d.
- "West Indies Blues" (second instrumental arrangement), composed by Dowell, Williams, and Williams. Recorded 8 January 1924; released on Victor 19255.
Instrumentation: vn c as ts tb tu bj p d.
- "Ghost of the Blues," composer unknown. Recorded 15 February 1924; released on Columbia 99-D.
Instrumentation: c as ts tb bb bj p d.
- "Bright Star Blues," composed by Peter Bocage. Recorded 15 February 1924; released Columbia 99-D.
Instrumentation: vn c cl as ts tb tu bj p.
- "Lou'siana Swing," composed by Peter Bocage and A. J. Piron. Recorded ca. 18 February 1924; released on Okeh 40189, Odeon 13132.
Instrumentation: vn c cl tb tu bj p d.
- "Sittin' on the Curbstone Blues," composer unknown. Recorded ca. 18 February 1924; released on Okeh 40189, Odeon 13132.
Instrumentation: vn c cl as ts tb tu bj p.
- "Red Man Blues," composed by Peter Bocage. Recorded 25 March 1925; released on Victor 19646.
Instrumentation: vn c cl as tu bj p d.

"Do Just As I Say," composer unknown. Recorded 25 March 1925; released on Victor 19646.

Instrumentation: vn c cl as tu bj p.

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THESES and DISSERTATIONS

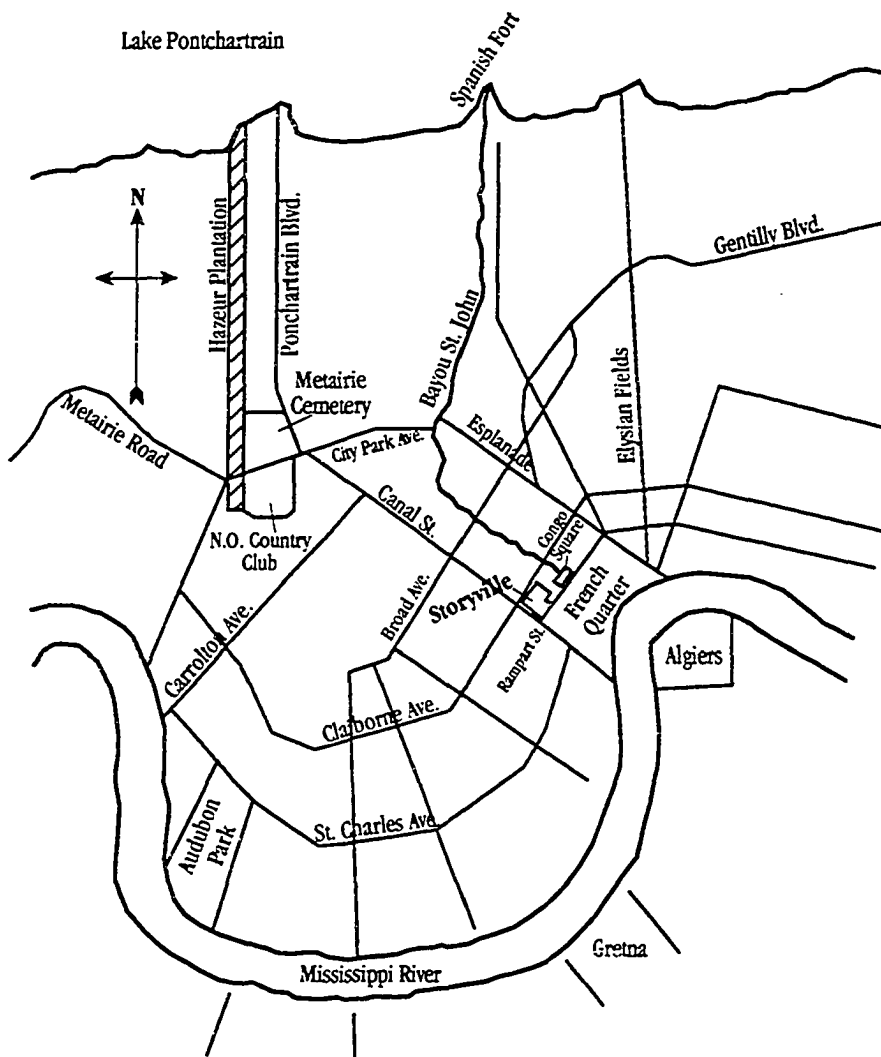
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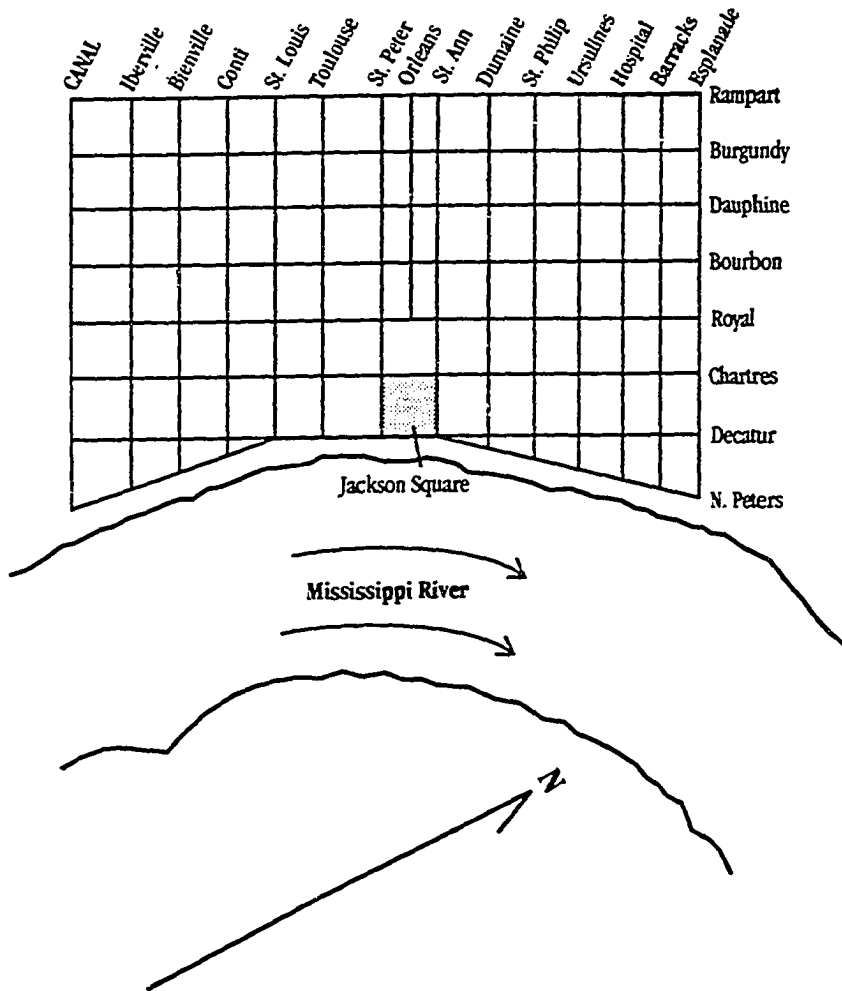
APPENDIX A

MAPS

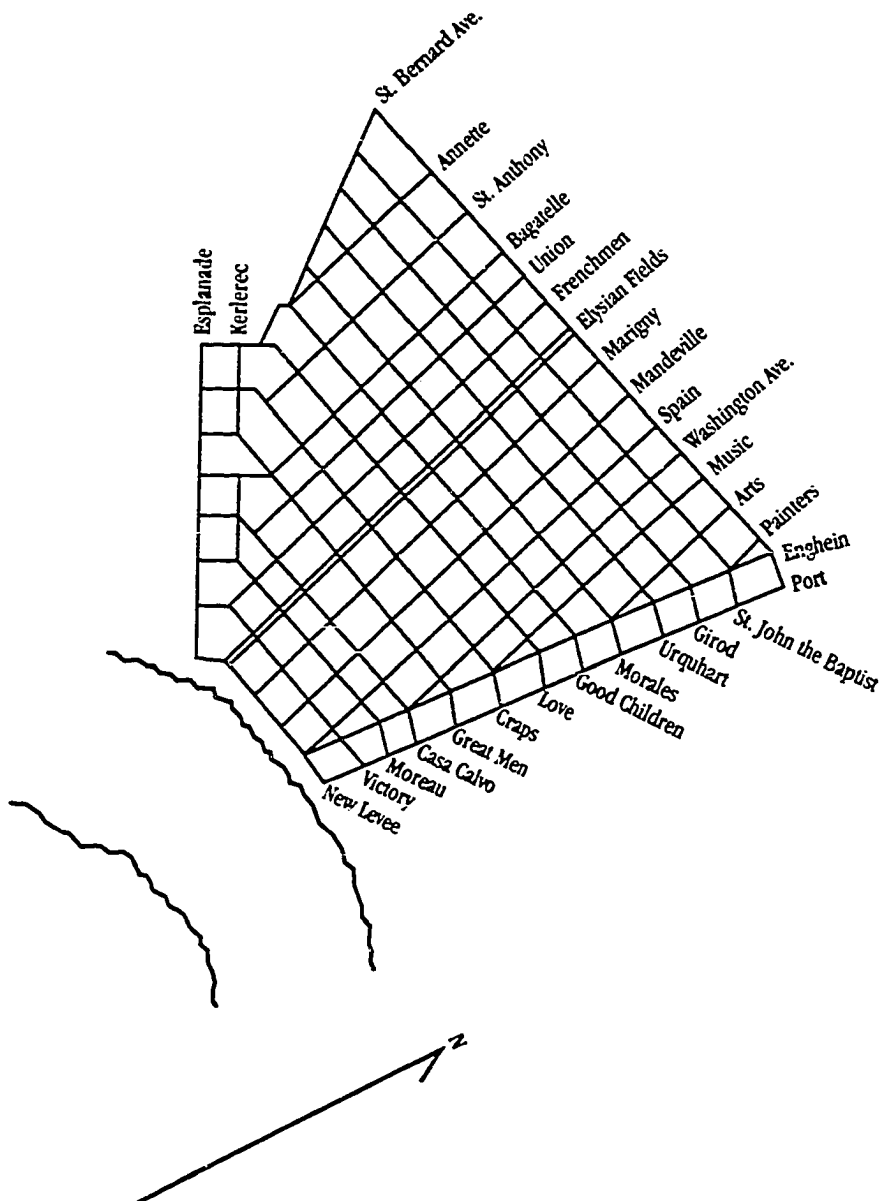
Map 1. Composite Map of New Orleans, c1875-1900.



Map 2. The French Quarter (Vieux Carre), c1900.



Map 3. The Faubourg Marigny, c1850.



APPENDIX B
TRANSCRIPTIONS

The following transcriptions are intended to serve as sketch scores for purposes of formal analysis and study of the clarinet part in structural relation to its surroundings. Expressive stylistic nuances, including slight deviations in pitch and rhythmic placement, have largely been omitted in favor of notational clarity. Parts extraneous to the discussion in Chapter 7, above, are not shown.

Transcription 1: "Bouncing Around," composed by Peter Bocage and A. J. Piron. Recorded ca. 3 December 1923, New York; released on Okeh 40021, Odeon 03204. Clarinet, cornet, and tuba. Transcribed by Charles E. Kinzer.

Total Instrumentation: vn c cl as tb tu bj p d.

Form: Introduction, A, A, B, B, A, C, C', C'', coda.

Keys: D minor (A strain), F major (B), B-flat major (C).

Tempo: ♩ = 100.

Précis:

- Mm. 1-4: Introduction. Clarinet carries melody.
- Mm. 5-20/21: Sixteen-measure A strain, repeated with second ending. Pulse subdivides into even eighths. Piano, banjo, tuba provide steady rhythm, with clear alternation of strong, weak beats.
- Mm. 22-37/41: Sixteen-measure B strain, repeated with second ending. Eighth notes become less even, evidencing an underlying triplet subdivision. Cornet carries melody. Mm. 34-35, 38-39 are clarinet solo breaks.
- Mm. 42-57: Repeat of A strain, new ending.
- Mm. 58-73: Sixteen-measure C strain. Cornet carries melody. Clarinet, violin provide high, arpeggiated obbligato. Woodblock enters.
- Mm. 74-89: Almost-literal repeat of C strain (C'). Stop-time effect on beat 4 of mm. 74-75, 84-85.
- Mm. 90-105: Non-literal repeat of C strain with new ending. Increased activity from rhythm section.
- Mm. 106-07: Coda.

Transcription 1. "Bouncing Around."

CLARINET Dmin A7

CORNET

TUBA

1

A Dmin

4

as/tb

cu

A7 D7

8

Dmin

12

as/tb

16 A7 Dmin A7

20 A7 C7

24 F C7

28 F C7

32 F C+ F SOLO BREAK

C7 F C7 F 2 SOLO BREAK
 36
 G7 C7 F A7 A Dmin
 40
 A7
 44
 Dmin A7 Dmin
 48
 Bb7 B° E C D7
 52

Gmin C7 F C Bb Eb

56 wood|block

Bb F7 simile

60

Bb F7 Bb Eb

64

D7 G7 Cmin F7 C Bb Eb

68

Cmin F7 Bb F7 C Bb Eb

72

wb

76 $B\flat$ F7

80 $B\flat$ $E\flat$

84 D7 G7 Cmin F7

Cmin F7 $B\flat$ F7 $C\flat$ $B\flat$ $E\flat$

88 $B\flat$ F7

92 simile

96

97

98

99

100

101

102

103

104

105

106

Chords: Bb, F7, Bb, Eb, D7, G7, Cm In Eb, Bb, F7, Bb, fine

Annotations: (cont.), aa, tb

The musical score consists of three systems of three staves each (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The key signature has two flats (Bb and Eb). The first system (measures 96-99) features a melody in the treble staff with various ornaments and a bass line. The second system (measures 100-103) includes a triplet in measure 100 and a 'Cm In Eb' chord. The third system (measures 104-106) ends with a 'fine' marking and includes 'aa' and 'tb' annotations in measure 105.

Transcription 2: "Red Man Blues," composed by Peter Bocage.
 Recorded 25 March 1925, New Orleans; released on Victor
 19646. Clarinet, cornet, alto saxophone, rhythm, and tuba.
 Transcribed by Charles E. Kinzer.

Total instrumentation: vl c cl as tu bj p d.

Form: Introduction, A, A', B, B', C, C', A", A"', coda.
 Keys: C major (A & B), C minor (C).

Tempo: ♩ = 126; eighth notes sound in a swing manner,
 conforming to underlying triplet subdivision of the
 quarter note.

Précis:

- Mm. 1-4: Introduction. Establishes blues "dominant seventh" tonality.
- Mm. 5-20: Sixteen measure A strain. Harmonic scheme of a twelve-bar blues chord progression, with a four-measure extension of the V7 harmony. Cornet carries principal melody, mm. 5-10, doubled at octave by violin (not shown in transcription). Clarinet solo, mm. 13-18, consists of a two-measure "ragtime" figure repeated twice. Ensemble cadences in mm. 19-20.
- Mm. 21-36: Non-literal repeat of A strain. Pitches and rhythms in individual parts in mm. 21-26 vary from those in mm. 5-10, but each part retains its function.
- Mm. 37-48: Twelve measure B strain, conforms to typical twelve-bar blues chord progression. Cornet carries principal melody in mm. 37-42, with violin doubling and clarinet obbligato (texture similar to that of mm. 5-10). A break appears in mm. 43-44, cornet is answered by clarinet and alto saxophone. Ensemble cadences in m. 47.
- Mm. 49-60: Non-literal repeat of B strain.
- Mm. 61-68: Eight-measure C strain in tonic minor key. Solo clarinet employs pitch scoop of approximately one whole step in the whole-note g', m. 61, reaching pitch on beat 4 of the measure. Piano provides rhythmic accompaniment.
- Mm. 69-76: Repeat of C strain, with ensemble second-ending. Prepares return to blues tonality.
- Mm. 77-92: Non-literal repeat of A strain in tonic key.
- Mm. 93-108: Non-literal repeat of A strain.
- Mm. 109-12: Coda. Two-measure piano break answered by ensemble cadence and cymbal crash.

Transcription 2. "Red Man Blues."

3

CLARINET

CORNET

ALTO SAXOPHONE

RHYTHM

TUBA

C

C°7

G7

G°7

pn/bj

1

G7

A

C

cymbal

pn/bj

4

F F7 E° Eb° D° C

8

E° Eb° D° C G7

12

C

16

A' C

pn/bj simile

20

F F7 E° E♭° D° C

24

E° E♭° D° C G7

pn bj

28

32

C

pn/bj

36

B C F C C

pn simile bj, vrb

40

F F7 F# G

pn/bj

44

G7 C

simile

48

G7 B⁷ C7 E⁷ A C

simile bj. evb

52

F F7 F⁷ C/G

pn/bj

56

G7 C

Measures 56-59. The score is in 4/4 time. The melody in the treble clef starts with a quarter rest, followed by eighth and sixteenth notes. The bass line consists of quarter notes. Chords G7 and C are indicated above the staff.

60

SOLO C Cmin

PIANO

Measures 60-63. The score is in 4/4 time. The melody in the treble clef starts with a quarter rest, followed by eighth and sixteenth notes. The bass line consists of quarter notes. Chords C and Cmin are indicated above the staff. The word 'SOLO' is written above the first measure, and 'PIANO' is written below the bass line.

64

B^o_F G7 Cmin

Measures 64-67. The score is in 4/4 time. The melody in the treble clef starts with a quarter rest, followed by eighth and sixteenth notes. The bass line consists of quarter notes. Chords B^o_F, G7, and Cmin are indicated above the staff.

68

C⁺ Cmin

72

G D7 D° Dmin

pa/bj

tu

76

G7

A⁺ C

smile

F F7 E° Eb° D° C

80

E° Eb° D° C G7

84

C

88

A^{***} C

92

F F7 E° E♭° D° C

96

E° E♭° D° C G7

100

C

Musical score for measures 104-107. The score is written for five staves (treble and bass clefs). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The time signature is common time (C). The music features a melody in the upper staves and a bass line in the lower staves. Measure 104 starts with a treble clef and a key signature change to one flat. Measure 107 ends with a common time signature.

104

Musical score for measures 108-111. The score is written for five staves (treble and bass clefs). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The time signature is common time (C). The music features a melody in the upper staves and a bass line in the lower staves. Measure 108 starts with a treble clef and a key signature change to one flat. Measure 111 ends with a common time signature. The word "PIANO" is written below the bass staff in measure 109, and the word "tu" is written below the bass staff in measure 111.

108

fine

Musical score for measures 112-115. The score is written for five staves (treble and bass clefs). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The time signature is common time (C). The music features a melody in the upper staves and a bass line in the lower staves. Measure 112 starts with a treble clef and a key signature change to one flat. Measure 115 ends with a common time signature. The word "cymbal" is written above the fourth staff in measure 113.

112

Transcription 3: Excerpt from "Bright Star Blues," composed by Peter Bocage. Recorded 15 February 1924, New York; released on Columbia 99-D. Clarinet, cornet, tuba. Transcribed by Charles E. Kinzer.

Total instrumentation: vn c cl as ts tb tu bj p.

Form: Introduction, A, B, B', B".

Keys: G minor (A), B-flat major (B, B"), G major (B').

Tempo: ♩ = 100; eighth notes sound in a swing manner, conforming to underlying triplet subdivision of the quarter note.

Précis:

Excerpt: mm. 94-125 of "Bright Star Blues," its final strain (B"), containing a restatement of B theme in B-flat major. Cornet carries melody in a fragmented style (excerpt, mm. 1-14), then plays it complete (mm. 17-32). Piano, banjo, and tuba provide steady rhythmic accompaniment. Clarinet plays high-register obbligato solo with two-measure break (mm. 14-15). Solo exhibits a rhythmic texture of flowing eighth notes and its phrases serve to answer the melodic statements of the cornet.

Transcription 3. "Bright Star Blues," excerpt.

CLARINET

CORNET

TUBA

3 B \flat

1

pa/bj

simile

3

7

7

G7 Gmin C7

11

Detailed description: This is a musical score for an excerpt from "Bright Star Blues". It features three staves: Clarinet (top), Cornet (middle), and Tuba (bottom). The key signature is B-flat major (two flats). The time signature is 4/4. The score is divided into four systems. The first system (measures 1-2) shows the Clarinet playing a triplet of eighth notes (B-flat, A, G) followed by a quarter note (F), then a half note (E) and a quarter note (D). The Cornet and Tuba are silent. The second system (measures 3-4) shows the Clarinet playing a quarter note (F), then a half note (E), then a quarter note (D). The Cornet and Tuba are silent. The third system (measures 5-6) shows the Clarinet playing a quarter note (F), then a half note (E), then a quarter note (D). The Cornet and Tuba are silent. The fourth system (measures 7-8) shows the Clarinet playing a quarter note (F), then a half note (E), then a quarter note (D). The Cornet and Tuba are silent. The Tuba part is marked with "pa/bj" and "simile" in measures 3 and 4 respectively. Chord symbols G7, Gmin, and C7 are indicated above the staff in measures 7, 8, and 9 respectively. Measure numbers 1, 3, 7, and 11 are marked at the beginning of their respective systems.

F7 SOLO BREAK B \flat
 15
 F7
 19
 B \flat
 23
 G7 Gmin C7 F7
 27
 B \flat E \flat min B \flat
 31
 fine
 cymbal

Musical score for a solo break, measures 15 to 31. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. It features a piano solo on a melodic instrument (likely saxophone) and a bass line. The solo begins at measure 15 with a "SOLO BREAK" instruction. The key signature changes to E-flat major at measure 23. The piece ends at measure 31 with a "fine" instruction and a cymbal crash. Chord changes are indicated above the staff: F7, B \flat , F7, B \flat , G7, Gmin, C7, F7, B \flat , E \flat min, B \flat .

Transcription 4: Excerpt from "Lou'siana Swing," composed by Peter Bocage and A. J. Piron. Recorded ca. 18 February 1924, New York; released on Okeh 40189, Odeon 13132. Violin, clarinet, rhythm. Transcribed by Charles E. Kinzer.

Total instrumentation: vn c cl as tb tu bj p d.

Form: Introduction, A, B, B, C, C', C'', C'''.

Keys: G minor (A), B-flat major (B), E-flat major (C).

Tempo: $\text{♩} = 100$; eighth notes sound in a swing manner, conforming to underlying triplet subdivision of the quarter note.

Précis:

Excerpt: mm. 62-93 of "Lou'siana Swing," its initial C strain. Violin carries high-register melody. Piano and banjo provide steady rhythmic accompaniment. Clarinet plays chalumeau register obbligato, with a solo break (excerpt mm. 15-16). Clarinet provides bass line for this strain, generally in a constant eighth-note texture, and in phrases of two and four measures.

Transcription 4. "Lou'siana Swing," excerpt.

The musical score is arranged in three systems, each with three staves. The first system is labeled with instrument names on the left: VIOLIN, CLARINET, and RHYTHM. The RHYTHM staff includes a cymbal line and a bass drum line. The second system includes a 'simile' marking on the RHYTHM staff. The third system includes a 'vl/pn' marking above the Violin staff and a '(cont.)' marking on the Rhythmic staff. The score is written in 4/4 time and features various musical notations including triplets, slurs, and dynamic markings.

VIOLIN

CLARINET

RHYTHM

cymbal

bass drum

1

3

simile

7

8b7

vl/pn

(cont.)

11

SOLO BREAK

15

19

simile

23

27

C7 F7 Bb7

31

cornet

(cont.)

Transcription 5: Sketch of "Mood Indigo," composed by Edward Kennedy "Duke" Ellington, Irving Mills, and Albany "Barney" Bigard. Copyright Mills Music, Inc. Recorded 14 October 1931, New York; released on Brunswick 4952. Melody and chord symbols. Transcribed by Charles E. Kinzer.

FIRST STRAIN

Chord symbols: B \flat , C7, Cmin7, F+, B \flat

Measure numbers: 1, 5, 9, 13

SECOND STRAIN

Chord symbols: B \flat , G7, C7, Cmin7, F7, B \flat , F7, B \flat , G7, C7, G \flat 7, F7, B \flat 7, E \flat 7, G \flat 7, F7

Measure numbers: 17, 21, 25

Bridge, mm. 25-28

Chord symbols: B \flat , G7, C7, Cmin7, F7, B \flat

Measure numbers: 25, 29

The musical score is written in B-flat major (two flats) and 4/4 time. The First Strain consists of 13 measures, with a key signature change to B-flat major at measure 1. The Second Strain consists of 12 measures, with a key signature change to B-flat major at measure 17. The Bridge consists of 4 measures, with a key signature change to B-flat major at measure 25. Chord symbols are placed above the staff, and measure numbers are placed below the staff.

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VITA

Charles E. Kinzer was born in Charlottesville, Virginia, on 17 December 1959. The son of Earl and Mary Jane Kinzer, he grew up and attended public schools in Auburn, Alabama. Kinzer holds degrees in saxophone performance from Auburn University (B.Mus., 1983) and the University of Alabama (M.Mus., 1985). While in residence at Louisiana State University he performed in the jazz ensembles, the wind ensemble, and the Collegium Musicum. He has contributed articles to *American Music* and *The Second Line*. An article, "The Excelsior Brass Band of New Orleans, 1879-89: A Decade in the Development of a Vernacular Archetype," is forthcoming in *The Journal of Band Research*. Kinzer has presented papers at meetings of the Louisiana Historical Society, the Sonneck Society for American Music, and the Southern Chapter of the American Musicological Society. He is married to the former Lisa Ann Baker (M.Mus., piano, Louisiana State University, 1989) and currently teaches music history and woodwinds at Longwood College in Farmville, Virginia.

DOCTORAL EXAMINATION AND DISSERTATION REPORT

Candidate: Charles E. Kinzer

Major Field: Music

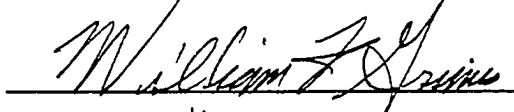
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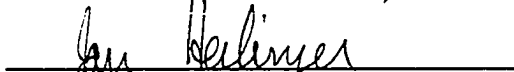
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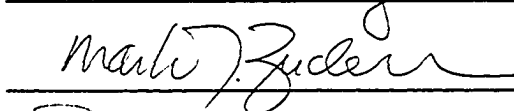

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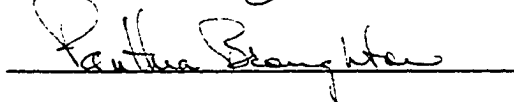
EXAMINING COMMITTEE:











Date of Examination:

March 5, 1993