

Black and White Scholarship Compared.

–Forkel on Bach’s Life and Works–

Research involves much that deals with generating ideas for historical pursuit. So these ideas are planted hoping to bear fruit at a later time.

Scholars and researchers must then devote their time, energies and finances in nourishing what may eventually become an *idea of merit*.¹

A subject that is often viewed below the “radar” pertains to recording the histories of “persons of color” – an issue of concept between “black vs. white” and less with “black vs. black” scholarship.

It is a well-established fact that scholarship (by white writers) often creates a situation and then studies its results.² Our particular concern is about music by musicians of color, whether free or slave.^{3 4} Black scholars have often sought but seldom received help such as funding, publication and therefore the “keepers of the keys” have curtailed dissemination of their productiveness.

Many examples of our subject matter could be brought to the attention of the reading public; however, we are confining our interest to one area, music, and particularly music in New Orleans where we have maintained a special interest.⁵

Prior History

¹ Since ideas cannot be copyrighted, only their results, less ambitious scholars simply rely on others to do the original spade work.

² The Frankenstein-effect!

³ See our musings in our publication *Black Music in a Slave State: Nineteenth Century New Orleans Before Storyville* (2000), p. 25f. For this effort we received no funding or free or paid publicity. The same with Maud Cuney-Hare, Delilah Beasley and many others using their own limited funds. Philanthropic individuals, organizations and the like limited their appropriations and often accepted only the recommendations from their often biased reviewers.

⁴ The *Michigan Music Research Center, Inc.*

⁵ Our interest involves three concerns: (1) our grandmother studied at Southern University in New Orleans and graduated in 1905 after studying piano with William Nickerson, the father of well-known Camille; (2) we taught for two years at Southern University (Baton Rouge) and (3) *to re-read from original sources* to ascertain whether there was unused supplementary material. In these instances we had opportunity to chart a new area of research as well as to learn from primary sources and living witnesses about places and events where music making of the nineteenth century had taken place.

The music of persons of color in New Orleans has undergone many changes during the centuries. The first period involved blacks who had been brought to the territory as slave, free or indentured persons. The third period involves a hybridization of first and second generation's "thought" which produced musicians who made significant contributions of international concerns.⁶

It is during this latter period that some became émigrés and left New Orleans in order to advance their talents. Because of their French connections they sought an atmosphere of *liberté et fraternité* with musicians of France.

Strangely, enough, most died away from their native country!

Among them was a musician of "unmixed" parentage who, more than any other American musician of color, made such an active contribution in France that one hardly believes it really happened! Because of his "unmixed" color he gained our attention.⁷ Unfortunately, the gathering of all materials relating to his entire life experience has never been attempted by any scholar. His name is Edmond Dédé.

In developing a biographical study on the life and works of Edmond Dédé there are only two major areas worthy of treatment – his activities in America vs. his activities abroad. Of the former our major sources have been books.

Dédé's employment was working in the cigar trade in some capacity while attempting to practice his art. In a much more congenial atmosphere he advanced his musical skills to the degree that he eventually became director of the orchestra of "L'Alcazar" theater in Bordeaux, France

This much was all Americans knew about Dédé for a few decades. Of his music Trotter hedged on the title of *Vaillant Belle Rose* Quadrille which he thought had been published under another name. The misspelling of *Le Sement de l'Arabe* was typographical and his birth year 1829 has proven to be faulty.⁸ Trotter did not mention other things such as the programs of 1865⁹ in which Dédé's music was performed because they had not been submitted to him. Nor was he informed about Dédé's early published work of 1862. Trotter's work was the only source by the end of the century.

⁶ See our *Black Music in a Slave State*: 442 pp. with illustrations.

⁷ We are among the many who agree that the definition "unmixed" does not admit a Creole ancestry. Maude Hare also concurred and refers to the prevalent "tendency, now evident, to describe these people as 'Negro Creole.' "

⁸ Trotter received his information from various informants.

⁹ *New Orleans Tribune*, August 3, 1865.

The third important challenge was Maud Cuney Hare's work of 1936 in which she detailed Dédé's return to America in 1893 having been shipwrecked while attempting to return to New Orleans.

A year later, Black New Orleans Charles Rousséve made his important contribution and took up the Dédé trail by having access to a scarce periodical *L'Artiste de Bordeaux*. [1886-87] 3, series 2 (30) It contained information that Dédé was born November 20, 1827 and that while in New Orleans fellow-citizens raised funds to complete his musical education in Europe. Especially revealing was an association with Charles Gounod. Rousséve also mentioned Dédé's setting of Rillieux's *Si j'étais lui* and included 7-bars of music (transposed) and the entire sonnet.¹⁰

Si j'étais lui, ravissante Créole,
 Ton souvenir emplirait tout mon coeur,
 Et ton amour serait mon auréole,
 Mon seule espoir et mon unique ardeur;
 Matin et soir ton nom dans ma prière
 Irait au ciel où mon bonheur a fui,
 Si j'étais lui.

Likewise he mentioned Desdunes' *Patriotisme* and gave 6-bars of music (possibly transposed).¹¹

At this point in time this was all that was known about this Black musician from American sources and subsequently his name was never really widely circulated among the common folk.

However, by the middle of the century, new researchers began to plow virgin territories and treasures of past Black musicians. As historian Leonard Ballou put it (*Tones and Overtones*,

¹⁰ Rousséve' prose translation: "If I were he, charming Creole, thy memory should fill all my heart, and thy love should be my aureole, my only hope, and my sole ardor morn and night thy name in my prayer should mount to the heaven where my happiness has fled, like the songs with which my mother rocked me, if I were he!" The song was not printed in French but English: "Should I be he, fair and charming Creole, Thy remembrance, in my faint heart, would shine, And thy fond love, my dark days, would console, Filling my soul with hope and faith divine! Morning and night, thy name in my prayer, Would in heaven reach my dear bless'd mother, Whose songs I would sing, my darling for thee, Should I be he."

¹¹ Not usually mentioned is the musical setting by Lawrence Dubuclet of Rillieux's *Le Timide* (1894); probably published in 1895.

1953) “only cursory and limited information had been put forth about New Orleans musicians who received training in Europe.”¹²

Our interest in this subject was developed while teaching at Southern University (1973–1975) and we decided it was a good time to investigate materials dealing with the New Orleans history since there was time, opportunity and energy. Armed only with these facts we sought the help of the *B Sharp Music Club*, Lillian Dunn Perry, president, and turned to its most knowledgeable people for help including Camille Nickerson (organizer) and Charles Barthelemy Roussève¹³ a member of the club.

Genealogy

¹² Leonard Ross Ballou, musician, historian; b. State Island, N.Y. May 19, 1921-April 23, 2004; S. John Jackson (his first teacher and a musician in his own right) and Edna Nelson (De Hart) Ballou; piano and theory Miss Madeleine Eddy (Brooklyn, N.Y.); studied band instruments, violin, clarinet, organ (Ernest Hayes, Hampton Institute); instrumental music Florida A. & M. U. (1947-49); B.A., Fisk University (1949), piano with Mrs. Wesley Howard, organ, Arthur Crowley, John Work, theory, John Ohl, music literature; Eastman School of Music (1949–), organ with Catherine Crozier, music literature, Harold Gleason; M.A. Virginia State University (1964); chairman music department St. Augustine’s College (Raleigh, N.C., 1949-51); Alabama State U. (1952-60); elected to “Who’s Who in Choral and Organ World” (1955); asst. prof. Virginia State (1960-61); teacher Overbrook High School, Philadelphia (1961-62); faculty Elizabeth City (N.C.) State University (1962); prof. of music (1963 to present); director instrumental research, archivist; memb. Pasquotank County (N.A.) Tricentennial Commission (1963); memb. N.C. Association Instrumental Research (charter member, past committee chairman), American Guild of Organists; Society for Ethnomusicology; American Musicological Society; Society for College and University Planning; Society of American Archivists; Albermarle Pan-Hellenic Council (chapter pres., 1960-70); Alpha Phi Alpha (past chapter pres., N.C. State, etc.); see further in *Who’s Who In The South and Southwest, 1980-81* and *Personalities of the South* (1980-81); tribute by Frederick H. Hall (*Tones and Overtones*, Vol. I (1953) published by the Department of Music Alabama State College, Montgomery, Alabama p.19); composer suite for piano, spiritual arrangements, choral work, text Psalm III. John J. Ballou, his father, was ex-band director at Hampton Institute, then directed music at Georgia State College. Mr. Ballou taught instrumental music at Virginia State School for the Deaf and Blind. At one time he directed the music department at Huntington High, Newport News. Ballou’s father, was the valedictorian of his class at Huntington High School, graduated with a B. S. from Wilberforce University and M. A. from Hampton Institute. He was an active member of the Music Education National Conference, Virginia Teachers Association, retiring president of the *Newport News Teachers Association*, president of the Music division of Virginia Teachers Association, member of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity and directed numerous choirs for churches and community groups.

¹³ Through the courtesy of the University librarian, Robert E. Skinner, a frayed but valuable an ex-libris copy of Roussève’s *The Negro in Louisiana: Aspects of His History and His Literature* (Xavier University Press), 1937, was received February 10, 1989 and a letter to this writer.

Our first step was to rediscover a family genealogy and fortunately the earliest mention of the surname *Dédé* occurred in the inventory of the estate of Sieur Jean Baptiste Prévost, deceased agent of the *Company of the Indies*, dated July 13, 1769: “François Dédé ecarisseur, age de trente ans estime deux mille livres cy” [transl.] François Dédé, nacker (Neger) aged 30 years appraised at 2,000 livres. Thus his birth year registers ca. 1739.¹⁴

Another mention in 1777 is the Dédé, the slave of one Mr. Hugon=Rugon. He and his brother, Malet, were hired out to Juan Baptiste Cezaire Lebreton (Jean Baptiste Cezaire Lebreton de Charmeaux, known as a black musketeer of the King’s Guard and was the son of Louis Cezaire Breton, Esq. counsellor of the Sovereign Court of Money of Paris).¹⁵ Missing were Malet, Dédé, Demba (Temba) and Juan Augustin. Upon inquiry it was discovered that Malet and Dédé had been present at the time of the fire and subsequent murder but had orders to take some female slaves to the plantation of Mr. Wiltz. Dédé’s father, Bazile (1804/8-1868) was born in New Orleans of unmixed parents,¹⁶ his surname appears in the municipal records beginning in 1810.¹⁷ Edmond confirms that Bazile was a musician and if true one cannot always know from extant notices which band or bands he performed between 183-1860. Little else surfaces which spell out the role the father played in early New Orleans music presentations. The death records of St. Louis Cathedral (Louisiana State Museum files) indicate that one Jean Baptiste Dédé born 1808-died 1833, was also the son of Louis Dédé and Antoinette Gravier, *négre libre* and brother to Basile. One easily presumes that Basile, the musician, was the elder of the sons.

Basile, Sr. died in 1868 and his will dated May 19, 1865 mentions Edmond, François and one Basile (became president of the *Société Bienfaisance de la Perseverance* - see directory of 1873) as heirs. François (b. 1833), died May, 1881 age 47; directory of 1890 notes Basile Dédé death and his widow, Mary resides at 272 Dumaine.

¹⁴ LHQ 9, 448. A similar word, Necker, appears on Edmond’s death notice, January 6, 1901! See p. 66.

¹⁵ LHQ 8, 515.

¹⁶ Son of Louis (whose name has heretofore never appeared in any published account) which relationship is documented in the testamentary of Pierre Perez, 7 May 1868 which reads: “Said balance [of estate] to be divided according to the will and Testament of the said deceased to his three sons and universal legatees to wit, Edmond Dédé, St. Florian Bazile Dédé and François Dédé. . .”¹⁶

¹⁷ Census Orleans Parish, F. Dédé (p. 262), Charles Dédé (p. 240), L. Dédé (p. 2898).

Finding Original Source Documents

The first information of substance about Edmond was found in the Creole newspaper of 1863, *L'Union* which admitted two French sources: *Le Journal de Bordeaux* and *La Guepe*.¹⁸

Edmond Dédé

Nous lisons dans un journal de Bordeaux les remarques suivantes sur un de nos compatriotes qui a su en France se créer d'un place distinguée dans le monde musical.

Tous nos lecteurs connaissent Edmond Dédé qui a encore a la Nouvelle-Orleans, toute sa famille. Ce jeune homme d'un talent precose n'avait pu (?) obtenir ici un leger encouragement. Aujourd'hui le voila devenu un homme remarquable, recherche dans les plus grand salons de Paris et de Bordeaux.

N'avons pas raison de traiter absurde de prejuge qui repousse la societe d'hommes de la valeur de M. Edmond Dédé.

The black press at New Orleans had still another opportunity in 1864 to mention him – his marriage.¹⁹ A year later New Orleanians heard his “great symphony” [*Le Palmier* was an overture] as noted in the *New Orleans Tribune* August 5, 1865. A curious reference in 1865 from the anti-slavery publication mentioned Dédé's presence in New Orleans.²⁰

It had been realized that a larger task remained than the few American press notices and a letter was sent to Bordeaux, France for advice on materials from their archives. There were many important questions connected with Dédé's efforts in France and elsewhere that needed documentation – his study at a conservatory; his role as chef d' orchestre; his

¹⁸ *L'Union*, April 16, 1863 and given in our lecture “Black Musicians of and In the New World: The Exodus to Europe (lecture for the Latin American Society meeting of the Musicological Society's 40th Meeting, November, 1974, Washington, D. C.” and subsequently published in our other writings.

¹⁹ His wife's name was Leflét often wrongly written “Leflat.

²⁰ Signaled in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* in August 12, 1865 and published in our lecture for the Latin American Society of the American Musicological Society's 40th meeting, November, 1974 at Washington, D. C. was titled: *Black Musicians of and in the New World: “The exodus to Europe”* included this information about Dédé. The abolitionist paper *Standard* would normally write material copied from another news source or received through some other communication. The question did Dédé really appear at one of Mme. Soulé soirees is enigmatic and New Orleans sources do not verify an appearance. His *Quasimodo* had been performed on a program May 11, 1865. We know on the other hand that on May 19, 1865, Dédé father made out his will and such news may have prompted Dédé to try to return home. Likewise, the question of how did his music arrive from Paris in time to be placed on programs during 1865?

orchestral members; his connections with his associates, friends, publishers and the like²¹ which could be best answered only from French sources. Fortunately, the records at Bordeaux partially lifted the veil that shrouded his activities in France.

Dédé's brothers, François died in 1881 and Basile ca. 1890. The news sources were alerted to this event and remarked "M. Dédé" est tres habile violinist et il piece de la guitar une rare virtuosity." [Hare's program does not mention a piece on guitar.]. Hare (237f.) recounted

Salle des Amis del'Esperance.

Grand soirée artistique pour les adieux, et au bénéfice du Professor Edmond Dédé donnée sous le patronage du Club Amis de l'Esperance avec le concours des amateurs et des artistes du Club Ida, et des distingués professeurs de la ville.

Dimanche 21 Janvier 1894.

1, *Concerto de violon*, Op. 64 Mendelsohn accompagné par Mme. Serge; *Rigoletto* de Verdi. D. Alard par Mlle. Lucie Barès et le Professeur E. Dédé.

2. *Trovatore*—Verdi—Fantasie pour violon, exécuté Ed. Dédé, accompagnement de quatuor par Mme. Nickerson, Mauret, E. Coin et P. Dominguez; *Si j'étais lui* (nocturne poésie de M. V. E. Rillieux, musique de Ed. Dédé chanté par M. H. Beaurepaire; L'orchestre sous la direction du Prof. Nickerson; le piano sera tenu par Mme. Serge et M. Basile Barès, professeurs.

Hare also noted that he had lost valuable music some of which was probably in manuscript form. She guessed at the death date (1903) but also made note that Dédé had also lost his valuable Cremona violin during the wreck.

Working independent of American scholarship the bibliographer Franz Pazdírek, *Universal-Handbuch der Musikliteratur* (1904-1910?) issued a concordance of supposed Dédé, fils published works a few of which are by his father.

Edmond's list of works did not appear in such efforts as Pazdírek or others. In 1921, the *Victor Genetz, Musical & Dramatic Copyright Office* 229, Broadway compiled its own list taken from records of the *Société de Auteurs, Compositeurs et Editeurs* and *Société de Auteurs et Compositeurs, dramatiques*. It included the names of his unpublished vocal works. It is the first source to validate his comprehensive œuvre.

²¹ Other such likely avenues of pursuit would be how he exploited his career; contrasting his career with other French operette writers and conductors and an evaluation of his career from both an American and French historical perspective.

Genez Catalogue

A vous je confie la chose	(chant)	
A quoi j' pense	(chant)	
A un papillon (rondo)		
A propos de comptes	(chansonnette)	
Accrobatin	(galop, orchestre)	
Adieu	(galop, orchestre)	
Ah! Patatra! quel changement	(chant)	
Aigle et Corissant	(chant)	
Amélida.....		Candolives
American	(schottisch)	
Amour t'appelle	(serenade)	
Amoureux, garde à vous	(chanson marche)	
Ange de la Paix	(chansonnette)	
Ange et Démon	(pantomime)	
Anna	(valse, orchestre)	
Arcadia, ouverture	(orchestre)	
Au bal des Foliés	(chansonnette)	
Au Tonkin	(divertissement)	
Augustine	(chansonnette)	
Bal des Foliés Bordelaises	(chanson)	
Bébé charmant	(chanson)	
Belle Adèle	(chanson)	
Belle Trène	(chanson)	
Belle Djelma	(chanson)	
Bibolo	(chansonnette)	
Bien fait n'est jamais perdu	(chanson)	
Biribi	(chanson)	
Bonne fête	(polka, orchestre)	
Bouquet rêve	(romance)	
Bouquetière et Pschutteux	(chansonnette)	
Brichet	(chanson)	
Brigantine romance	(chant)	
(chanson)		
Cabriole	(polka orchestra), Dédé (fils).....	Fromont
Capitaine Chalui	(chansonnette)	
Carlottina	(mazurka, piano et orchestre)	
Cascades de Follichette	(chansonnette)	
Catalane	(marche, orchestre)	
Ce que c'est que le Paradis	(chansonnette)	
Ce que j'aime	(chanson)	
Ce qui leur manque	(chansonnette)	
Céleste	(chanson)	
Channsonette	(chanson).....	Chatot
Chanteurs Espagnols (où Les Sevillanos) duo		
Chasse aux amoureux	(pantomine)	
Chasseurs fantastiques	(ouverture, orchestre)	
Chef de musique	(chansonnette)	
Chère Maitresse	(romance)	
Chiens savants	(chansonnette)	
Cocasse aventure	(chansonnette)	
Cocottes	(grand orchestre).....	Joubert
Commodore Sampson's	(polka marche, piano et orchestre)	
Constantinopolis	(quadrille, orchestre)	
Créole	(polka, orchestre)	

Créole	(quadrille, orchestre)
Cunégonde	(chanson)
Dangers du Pantage	(chansonette)
Dans la roue ou: Into the wheel	(polka, pfté. et orchestre)
Deesse de l'Espagne	(romance)
Déménageur	(chansonette)
Deux Cocottes	(chansonette)
Drapeau américain ou The American flag	(schottische, marche, piano and orchestre)
Echo	(quadrille, orchestre)
Echo de Paris	(valse)
Emilie.	(overture)
Emilie.	(overture)
En se mariant	(chant)
En Wagon	(quadrille, orchestre)
En express	(galop, orchestre)
En Tramway	(quadrille, orchestre)
Encore un jour	(chanson)
Enfant sauvé	(chanson)
England sauve	(chanson)
Exterminons	(chant).....Meynieu
Fa do ré la	(gavotte, orchestre)
Fantasie dur le Barbier	(orchestre)
Fantasie sur Lucie	(orchestre)
Femme de glace	(chansonette)
Femme au virtoil	(chansonette)
Femme tigrée	(chant)
Femme au fil de fer	(chansonette)
Fiancée d'Embourg	(orchestre)
Folie-Polka	(polka, orchestre)
Folle de la danse	(chansonette)
Français en Chine	(ballet, chant)
Franco-American	(galop, orchestre)
Gaïtes de Bacchus	(chanson)
Gamin dans le Bassin	(chanson)
Grand Cendrillon	(pantomime)
Herbed	(chant)
Il faut aimev la République	(chanson)
Il m'a lâchée pour une sauteuse	(chanson)
Inea	(chanson)
Inspection conjugale	(chansonette)
Ivresse et Oubli	(chanson)
J'aime bien ça	(chansonette)
J'aime la danse par des sous tout.....	Patsy
J'caris trop le lou garou	(chanson)(?)
J'crains trop le loup garou	
J'crois	(chansonette)
J'étais hirondelle	(romance)
J'n'aimeraique toi	(chansonette)
J'ons pas de soucis	(chansonette)
J'rigole	(chansonette)
J'suis trucqueur	(chansonette)
J'suis lacheuse	(chansonette)
Je suis folichonne	(chansonette).....Bassereau[Puigellier]
Je crois	(chansonette)
Je n'americanique toi	(chansonette)
Je dis tout	(chansonette)

Je voudrais savoir	(chansonette)
Je t'aimerai toujours	(chansonette)
Je t'aimais	(romance)
Je suis sincère	(romance)
Je voudrais bien savoir	(chansonette)
Je ne l'ai pas	(chansonette)
Joyeux matelot	(chansonette)
L' Angelus	(orchestre)
L'Aérien	(pas de deux)
L'Algerie	(hymne)
L'Amour est de garde	(chansonette)
L'Amour Michel	(chansonette).....Candolives
L'Amour, c'est-y-bon? (chant)	
L'Ariégeoise	(mazurka, piano et orch.)
L'Enigme	(duo)
L'Moyen de plavie à ma femme	(chanson)
La Princesse Roustoubi	(chansonette)
La Reine du Sérail	(chanson Egyptienne).....Candolives
La Sensitive 1877 April 27	
La Famille Indienne	(pantomime, chant)
La Bacchante	(valse,chantée).....Candolives
La Pomme avec les pépins	(chanson)
La Vipere	(chant)
La Valse des planètes	(chansonette)
La Brise de nuits	(chansonette)
La Voix des mers	(chant)
La Commerçante	(chanson)
La Belle Nana	(chansonette)
La Noce a Grand Pierre	(chansonette)
La Poire	(chanson)
La Pierre	(chanson)
La Valse des Echalias	(chansonette)
La Timbrée	(chanson)
La Gitana	(pantomime)
La Fête du progrès	(chansonette)
La Cantinière	(pantomime).....Lafleur
La Bikini	(conseil hygienique) Marchand (1881)
La Chanson du Simoun	(chanson) arabe
La Vachalade montmartroille	(quadrille burlesque, orchestre avec Piano).....Gaudet
La Fraternelle	(hymne)
Laïton de maman	(chansonette).....Meynieu
Lan la deri dera lan la	(chansonette)
Le Rêve	(pantomime)
Le Reste	(chant)
Le Grain	(chant)
Le Palmier	(ouverture)
Le Conspiration (=El pronunciamento) (march, orchestre).....Joubert	
Le Concours de laideur	(chansonette)
Le Naufrage du Béarn	(chant)
Le Reflet	(chansonette)
Le Bowelaise	(chanson)
Le Drapeau	(chansonette pant.)
Le Marin de la France	(chanson) (1865).....[Philibert]
Le Papillon bleu	(duo)
Le Erreur des Rêves	(chant)
Le jour de Pays	(Tayte?)

Le Vampire	(pantomime)	
Le Tête du progres	(chansonette)	
Le Lieut'nant débrouillard	(chansonette)	
Le Champion des Terognes	(chansonette)	
Le marin de la France	(chant)	
Le langage de la basse-cour	(chant)	
Le Palmier	(ouverture)	
Le Cardeur de matelas	(scene humoristique)	
Le Noyé	(opéra comique)	
Le Garde-chasse	(pas de deux, orchestre)	
Le Lanage de la basse-cour	(chanson)(?)	
Le reine du Copurchic	(chansonette cossaque?)	
Le Roi des Boudines	(chanson) (Dédé, fils)	
Le Joli chat	(chansonette)	
Le Femme (où C'est comme ca)	(chansonette)	
Lendemain de Terme	(Tyrol.).....Belloche	
Les Prussiens ne nous vaincront pas	(chanson)	
Les Sevillanos (où chanteurs Espagnols) (duo)		
Les Canotiers de Lorémont ou: Les Régates	(ballet divert. Music Dédé, February 22, 1880)	
Les Gommeux à la mode	(chanson)	
Les Bec-a-jus	(chanson)	
Les Canotiers de Lorémont ou: Les Régates	(ballet divert. Music Dédé, February 22, 1880)	
Les Cuirassiers a Longchamps	(chanson marche)	
Les Noces de Bacchus	(rondo)	
Les régates ou Canotiers de Loumont (divertissement)		
Les Fiances Normands	(duo)	
Les Duellistes	(duo comédie).....Puigellier	
Les Créoles	(mazurka, piano et orchestre)	
Les Travaux forcés	(chant).....Chatot	
Lieblings farben ziebrer	(valse, orchestre)	
Los Sévillanos	(où Les chanteurs espagnols) (duo)	
Louisiana (american)	(schottisch, orchestre)	
Lucia de Lammamoor	(fantasie, orchestre)	
M'aimerai-tu-toujours?	(chanson)	
Madelinette	(chanson)	
Mairca	(chanson)	
Mari de ma soeur	(chanson)	
Mazurka	(chansonette).....Meer de ma soeur	(chanson)
Mére de ma soeur	(chanson)	
Monsieur Jean	(chant)	
Myosotis	(chanson)	
N'allez plus au bois	(chanson)	
Naïda	(ouverture, orchestre)	
Napoleon III	(chant)	
Nasica la Pschutteuse	(chanson)	
Ne l'oubliez pas	(chanson)	
Nini	(quadrille).....Philbert	
Noces de Minette	(ballet)	
Noir et Blanc (avec Lamotte)	(pantomime)	
Nymphe et Roi	(pantomime).....Lafleur	
Ô ma belle Portugaise	(chant)	
O! Zénobie	(chansonette)	
Oh! les hommes ça n'est guère malin	(chant)	
Olga	(divertissement)	
Olinka	(pantomime)	

On a brise mon coeur	(chanson)
Papillon bleu	(grand valse, orchestre)
Papillon bleu	(grand valse, orchestre)
Paris	(valse, orchestre)
Parrain Michel	(overture, orchestre)
Pas d'soucis	(chansonette)
Pati! Pata! qui embrassera ça	(chansonette)
Paupillard	(chant)
Peti Zamibar	(overture, orchestre)
Petit troupeau	(chanson)
Petit page rose	(chanson)
Petits pois exquis	(chanson)
Petits voisins, petites voisines	(chansonette)
Phocéenne	(valse, orchestre)
Pierrot au bal	(quadrille, orchestre)
Place au progrès	(chansonette)
Première fraise des bois	(chanson)
Prends garde aud loup	(chanson)
Présent d'Amour	(menuet)
Prinds garde au loup	(chanson)
Printemps de la France	(chanson)
Printemps	(bluette).....Chaise, J.
Promenade militaire	(marche, orchestre)
Qu'est-ce donc qui le Paradis	(chant)
Qu'ils sont heureux	(chant)
Quadrille artistique	(quadrille, orchestre)
Quand je vais raconter ça	(chansonette)
Quasimodo	(chanson) (1865).....Tralin, J. B.[Philibert]
Quat'z-arts	(quaderille, piano et orchestre)
Quatorze (14) Juillet	(chant)
Que d'Oeuillades	(chansonette)
Quel régiment	(duo)
Rapin Childebrant	(chanson)
Reine des roses	(valse, orchestre)
Reine des pschutteuses	(chanson)
Réponse de Nana à un Turc	(chanson)
Retour de Printemps	(valse chansonette)
Retraite	(galop, pft. et orchestre)
Rev'nant de faire la noce	(chansonette)
Rêve de Pierrot	(pantomime)
Rêve de jeune fille	(valse chantée)
Réveil du laboureur	(chansonette)
Revenant de faire le tour de monde	(fantasie mazurka av. choeur)
Rêverie champêtre	(violin, violincello, piano and orchestre)
Rititin' et Ripiton	(chansonette)
Rocambole	(pantomime)
Roi de Thune	(ballet)
Rose et Jeanneton	(chansonette)
Rosita	(chanson)
Salut au 57e	(chanson)
Salut à la France	(chanson)
Secret d'une nuit d'automne	(chanson)
Si j'ôtais	(rondo)
Sirène.....Goudesone[Benoit]
Songe d'Amour	(menuet)
Souffleur melomane	(chanson)
Souffleur mélomane	(chanson)

Sous mon bonnet	(chanson)
Stanislas	(chanson)
Tarentelle Oméga	(tarentelle, orchestre)
Télémaque	(guadrille, orchestre)
Téléphoniste	(chansonette, orchestre)
The american flag (ou: Le drapeau américain)	(schottische marche piano et orchestre)
The rose's queen valtz (ou; Valse de la reine des roses)	(valse orchestre)
Thérésine	(chanson)
Titis, débardeurs et grisettes	(chansonette).....Benoit
Toc, toc, tîn, tîn	(chanson)
Tond les chiens, coupe leschats	(duo com.)...Puigellier
Tous artistes	(chansonette)
Tramways Bordelais	(chansonette)
Tyrolienne du merle	(chansonette)
Tyrolienne amoureuse	(chansonette)
Tziganes en goquette	(polka, piano et orchestre)
Un Seul basier	(romance bouffe)
Un Rêve sous les lilas	(chanson)
Une Fille timide	(chansonette)
Une Nuit d'amour à Venise	(barcarolle)
Une Femme bien trempée	(chanson)
Une Étoile qui file	(pantomime)
Vachalacade Montmartroise	orchestre.....Gaude
Venise	(overture, orchestre)
Vive l'amour	(chansonette)
Vive le chanteus excentrique	(chant)
Voisin de Thérèse	(opérette)
Vous n'vous attendiez pas à ça	(chansonette)
Voyage aux Étoiles	(couplets)
Voyage de Clara	(chansonette)
Voyons, Mimi, quant vindras-tes?	(chansonette)

The Dédé and other New Orleans musicians stories still remained in limbo until the prodding for more details were commenced by sheet music collectors and from personal archives (see further).

With the help of a rare colleague, Etienne Alphonse de la Rose Lacaux (1916-1993), a white collector of New Orleans music imprints but whose primary interest was jazz he was convinced to seek sheet music of these New Orleans composers (whether black or white) from extant publishers on his trip to Paris to compliment this vital segment of New Orleans' musical history.²² In 1977, Rose, Vaughn Glasco and Diana Rose got together a team of collectors, interested individuals and scholars and presented a sheet music display titled *Played With Immense Success* in cooperation with the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, D.

²² Rose had expressed his sentiments about New Orleans historical documents being transferred to institutions in Texas. He suspected that there might have been some music materials. Using his own limited funds he purchased a number of items while in France

C. The result was to be the publication of this material. It included Dédé earliest print *Mon pauvre coeur*, ostensibly the first published by a native gens de color in New Orleans.²³

Despite the efforts of John Kemp of the Louisiana Historical Center of the Louisiana State Museum and his staff the manuscript remained unpublished.

The music of “gens de couleur” was an integral part and those of us who had relevant material submitted it as well as documented information. For example a quote that Lucien Lambert’s presence in Paris was reported in *L’Illustration* (France) as early as 1854 had been submitted

In 1980, Josephine Wright, protégé of Eileen Southern, contacted us to present a paper in New Orleans. When writing to the editor of the *AmeriGrove* in 1982, H. Wiley Hitchcock, without a shred of evidence, pontifically dismissed Dédé [based on Hare as having been born in the West Indies [and later copied by Christian] Since 1974, only the writing of the now deceased Marcus Christian (d. 1976) embellished the Dédé biography [see Dédé in *The Dictionary of American Negro Biography*, Rayford Logan and Michael R. Winston, editors (W. W. Norton Press, 1982, p. 168-169)] but was unavailable at the time the *New Grove Dictionary of American Music* was published. In 1983, Eileen Southern in her second edition of *The Music of Black Americans* capriciously decided that these musicians “could not be counted among musicians of New Orleans [p. 249] because they worked outside the American shores and unwisely stripped them of their American citizenship.

During this interval a new biography was prepared and published in the *Afro-American Music Review* 1 No. 2 (January-June) 1984 included new materials.

It was discovered that Arthur Pougin editor of the Fétis supplement (1878) decided that Dédé should be included thus giving him international status.

DÉDÉ (Edmond), compositeur, à écrit la musique de deux ballets qui ont été représentés sûr le Grand-Théâtre de Bordeaux: Néhana, reide [sic] des Fées (un acte, vers 1862), et *la Sensitive* (3 actes, 1877). Cete artiste à donne aussi quelques operettes à l’Alcazar de bordeaux, dont il est le chef d’orchestre; Il fau passer le pont, Le voisin de Thérèse, etc.

Hippolite Minier and Jules Delpit published their *L’Théâtre à Bordeaux* (1883) which detailed productions in which Dédé composed the music.

²³ This item was unknown until it was presented at this event.

- 1860 *La Belle au Bois dormant*, bal., Biche-Latour (ancien dir. Grand Théâtre); musique Dédé et Lepage
 1863 *Nénaa* [sic], *reine des Fées*, bal., col. Ernest Goutie;²⁴ musique Dédé, Bord., Feret
 1875 *Le Voisin de Thérèse*, opér. Salomon Foy;²⁵ Musique Dédé
 1878 *Les Etourderies de Pouliga'n*, opér.; G. Faure;²⁶ musique Dédé
 1879 *Un première Cure*, opér.; G. Faure; musique Dédé
 1880 *L'Anneau du diable*, féerie; 10 tableaux; Alfred Gallay,²⁷ n. Chamb'ry, 10 avril 1845 and Pauper; musique Dédé
 1881 *L'Antropobage de La Souys*; [opérette] bouffon; Alfred Gallay; musique Dédé; January 19.
 1882 *Chic-Kang-Fo*, chinoiserie, Marcel Pouget-André; musique Dédé

*L'Artiste de Bordeaux*²⁸ (Troisième Année, 2^{me} série, Numero 30, 1886-87) mentioned that in 1848 at age 21, Dédé went to Mexico “où il recontre de grands artistes tels que Heri Herz et Mme. Sontag qui devait mourir quelque temps apres” returning some three years later. It also listed the following titles:

Ellis	
Nehanha (sic),	ballet divert.
Les faux mondains [mandarins]	
La Sensitive,	ballet (signalled in 1877)
Après le miel,	opéra comique
Le Noyé,	opera comique
Une aventure de Télémaque,	opérette
Chik-Kang-Fo,	opérette (Marcel-Andre Buget, 1882)
Le Griloon du foyer,	opérette
L'anneau de diable,	féerie (signalled in 1880)
L'aile de la chouette,	féerie
Diana et Acteon,	ballet divert.
Triomphe de Bacchus,	ballet divert. (signalled in 1880)
Les Canotiers de Lormont (sic),	ballet divert. (signalled in 1880)
Caryatis,	ballet divert.
Les Nymphes et le Chasseur,	ballet divert. (signalled in 1880)
Papillon bleu,	grand valse
Bordeaux,	grand valse
La Phocéenne,	grand valse
Paris,	grand valse
Arcadia,	overture
Le Palmier,	overture (signalled in 1863-1865)
Sylvia,	overture

²⁴ Any biography?

²⁵ Born Bordeaux 17 January 1852..

²⁶ This 1878 and 1879 items, by G. Faure, not Gabriel but Garson,

²⁷ Gallay biography?

²⁸ Secured from the Amistad Collection at Tulane University (courtesy Lester Sullivan, archivist). List first published in *Afro-American Music Review* 1 No. 2 (1984) and copied by Wyatt (1987 and 1988); see p. 49 asterisks.

In addition it mentioned “cent cinquante” *pas de danse*, fantasies, six quartets (unedited for string instruments) plus the usual other kinds of musical works of the period.²⁹

In 1979 the Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans published its *Louisiana's Black Heritage*, edited by Robert R. Macdonald, John R. Kemp and Edward F. Hass. Dédé may have spent some time in Algiers and Marseille but returned to Bordeaux.³⁰ Between pages 112-113, a picture of Dédé was inserted from the Archives Municipales de Bordeaux.

Anchored by black scholarship during the 20th century it was preceded by the writings of the black historian James Monroe Trotter who permitted his name to circulate in 1878. As “Frenchy” as New Orleans has been, the pens of its most eloquent white writers remained relatively silent.

Among those expressing interest was archivist Lester Sullivan at the Amsted Collection, Tulane University, who in 1987 had been approached by the director of the *Center for Black Music Research* (Chicago) to make a presentation on their behalf in conjunction with the proceedings of the *American Musicological Society* in New Orleans. Since this was an opportunity to witness two events of special interest we made a special attempt to attend and moreover to listen to the efforts of Sullivan since he had written for some of our findings on the life of Dédé.³¹ His material was later published by the *Center for Black Music Research* under the title “Composers of Color of Nineteenth-Century New Orleans: The History Behind the Music” (1988).

With Sullivan’s entry into this field of scholarship the work of independent Black scholars ceased. In his work Sullivan indicated that his survey drew upon three sources—James Monroe Trotter (1878), Rodolph Desdunes (1911) and Maud[e] Cuney-Hare (1936) all known to have had first hand information. He called these efforts “pioneering.” but then adds “new research from recent research by scholars in New Orleans black history, most of whom are not working directly on music [perhaps Dr. Roussève or Marcus Christian] . . . What emerges [from his perspective] is clearer biographical data about the handful of black

²⁹ Offered as an offprint titled: *Edmond Dédé: Biographie et vié et musica del’Afro-Américaine compositeur, né a Nouvelle Orleans, Louisiana, U.S.A* (1827-1901)

³⁰ O’Neill notes Dédé’s style is light and popular music with touches of local color of Spain and North Africa.

³¹ Off-print: “Edmond Dédé (dit Charentos), 1827-1901” taken from our *Afro-American Music Review* I (1984). This issue included part of his family genealogy, information about the concerts in 1865, musical activity in Bordeaux, a notice from *Le Ménestrel* in 1886, his 1894 program for the Club de Amis de l’esperance, his death year and 3 of his music publications.

composers who managed to get their music published.” He especially mentions Marcus Christian who had prepared articles on Basil Barès, Dédé and others for Logan’s *Dictionary of American Negro Biography* (1982 six years after his death in 1976) but had been preparing other materials dealing with the entire history of blacks in New Orleans history especially during and after the World War I period. Sullivan picked from existing materials what he needed for his summation and brushed off the remainder of materials about Dédé and made no special note of their import bearing on Dédé scholarship.

Especially omitted was a list of source material directly secured from the archivists at Bordeaux which enabled us to list performance dates of his major works from the 1870s to the early 1880’s and who also graciously sent copies of three of his Bordeaux publications including *Quasimodo* which were re-published in our publication off-print with additional verses not in Trotter.³² So we asked for a return of the Dédé item.

Although using selected items from our materials Sullivan did not extend the usual “courtesy of” footnote since we sent him materials gratis. For what purpose Sullivan suppressed the French sources connects with a problem often used by writers who pick and choose – a closeted biographical interpretation! Seemingly the French sources had no immediate interest for him.

Sullivan’s omission was unfortunate because Al Rose was presenting his *Créole Cameos* at this time illustrating the music of these black writers. Sullivan still decided to publish the undocumented year of Dédé’s death [1903 given in Hare and repeated in Southern] a date known to be in error³³ and tossed aside the accurate 1901 date which we thought would have been most useful for his presentation (and now conveniently graces his more recent publications).³⁴

Thus Sullivan’s report became accepted as the most accurate presentation of any article about the life of Dédé. Unlike Black scholars, however, that report denied him a genealogical

³² In his letter to the author he wrote: “You will note in my enclosed article that I did indeed cite anything that I used from your article that can be found only in your article” but hid the fact that there was more important information which he cared not to use – critical information derived directly from France!

³³ The Internet sources picked up the same error from Hare, Southern and since by Sullivan. But as most good readers know Internet sources must *always* [N. B.] be checked because people will print information rightly/wrongly without any sense of obligation to their historical correctness.

³⁴ We, too, had initially used Hare’s 1903 date (1974) but after discovering more authentic sources changed it to 1901.

ancestry!³⁵ To add further insult, he pontifically and unnecessarily wrote: “In many ways surpassing Dédé among black Orleanians who had musical careers abroad were the half-brothers Lucien and Sidney Lambert” thus disagreeing with the opposite view held by Desdunes.”³⁶

However, our sources were not the only ones to receive the “corrective” treatment even Marcus Christian’s unpublished manuscript “misidentified” the Creole Eugène Macarty (d. 1866) as Victor-Eugène (1817/21-1881), the musician.

In cases like Christian when a large amount of material amassed for possible publication is left unfinished some scholar or team of scholars should have edited his work and issued corrective tissue in subsequent footnotes. Anyone using his work should not slight him for *unpublished* inaccuracies. Then, too, of Rodolphe Desdunes’s work, Sullivan wrote that it was “more of a memoir than a history.” Puzzling, however, is the fact that both Desdunes and Roussève excluded any full discussion of the entire Lambert family of musicians!³⁷

Sullivan’s results were published and followed by an article by Lucius R. Wyatt, a Black writer. Both articles were then printed in the *Black Music Research Journal*, Sullivan 9, no. 1 (1988) and Wyatt 10 (1990) after researching the materials held at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Wyatt used the services of Sullivan (now former archivist Amistad Research Center) and especially Bernard Bardet music reference librarian of the Bibliothèque Nazionale.

³⁵ In the black community because of the vestiges of slavery, obituaries usually contain such genealogical facts. Sullivan surely should have furnished us with one or two names since the Dédé family was, as noted by Roussève, still in New Orleans in 1937.

³⁶ Sullivan acknowledged the help of professor Lawrence Gushee whose work on New Orleans jazz was well known but who was beginning to realize the music by these *gens de couleur* but was unaware of our article *One Hundred and Fifty Years With the Lambert Family of New Orleans (1792-1945)*. There was no need at effecting a comparison for a number of reasons: (1) these musicians worked in different musical venues – the Lamberts as writers of piano music vs. Dédé more connected with the theater, except the operatic works of Lucien (1865-d. 1945 at Oporto, Portugal) and (2) some of the Lamberts could “pass” for white as indicated in census reports. Did he not notice that Desdunes was not laudatory of the Lamberts and Roussève omitted any mention of the Lamberts for no logical reason.

³⁷ Born November, 1849-d. after 1927; writer, poet; wrote for the *Daily Crusader* (1890-1897); wrote *Nos Hommes et notre histoire* (Montreal, Arbor et Dupont, 1911) containing much information on musicians; his poem, "La Patriotisme" was set by Dédé ca. 1894; Desdunes also worked as a government clerk and was a writer for the short-lived Black press of New Orleans. Charles B. Rousseve, *The Negro In Louisiana* (Xavier U., 1937), p.156 contains the first six bars of the music by Dédé; Mrs. Matilda Desdunes still alive ca. 1935 in whose possession the score probably still existed.

In his article, he made a list of works of six composers –Basile Barès, 27 items, Edmond Dédé, 76 items, Lucien Lambert, 83 items, Sidney Lambert, 37 items, Èugene Victor Macarty, 2 items and Samuel Snaër, 13 items³⁸ who, except for Snaër, had studied in France.³⁹

Wyatt provided “An outline of Items That Differ in the Literature”[about Dédé] and under “date of death” he noted Desdunes, Hare, Southern as 1903 but only LaXXX had the correct year of 1901.

Wyatt’s appendix B contained the listing of the works of these authors. Thirty-nine published items by Dédé were listed from the card files in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Wyatt-Bibliothèque Nationale Published Works

- Manuscript 1865,
 1865 L’Ermitage ou l’hospice de St. Vincent de Paulà Pouy près Dax (Landes), Voice;
 romance religieuse, Philibert, 1855 [1865] (Bordeaux)
 1865 Le Marinde [sic] la France, Chansonnette de bord, Philibert, 1855 [1865]
 (Bordeaux)
 1865 Le Serent [sic] de l’Arabe, Chant dramatique, Philibert, 1865 (Bordeaux)
 1865 Quasimodo, Voice , Philibert,1865 (Bordeaux); 1869 (Bordeaux), 2nd edition
 1876 Mon beau Tyrolien, Tyrolienne comique, Philibert, 1876 (Bordeaux)
 1876 Mon sous off, Voice , Philibert, 1876 (Bordeaux)
 1876 Titis: débardeurs et grisettes, Voice , Smite,1876 (Paris)
 1877 *Françoise et Cortillard [sic], Voice, Philibert, 1877 (Bordeaux)
 1877 L’Amour! C’est-y-bon, E. Philibert, 1877 (Bordeaux)
 1877 *Mon sous off’cier, Quadrille brillant for orchestra, Philibert, 1877 (Bordeaux)
 1881 Bikina: Conseil hygiénique, Émile Marchand, 1881 (Bordeaux)
 1881 C’est la faute à colas, Chant=voice, L. Couderec, 1881 (Paris)
 1881 *Cora la Bordelaise, Voice , Philibert, 1881 (Bordeaux)
 1881 Cora la Bordelaise, Voice, 2nd edition, Vve Ghèluve, 1881 (Paris)
 1884 J’la connais!, Voice , Chez Duhem, 1884 (Paris)
 1886 *El Pronunciamento (la conspiration), Marche espagnole for piano, Bathlot et
 Hèraud, 1886 (Paris)
 1887 Comme une soeur, Voice , Guillemain, 1887 (Paris)
 1887 La Conspiration des amoureux: d’après le Pronunciamento, Voice , Marche
 espagnole, Bathlot et Hèraud, 1887 (Paris)
 1887 Le Garçon troquet, Voice , Raymond Viel et Masson, 1887 (Paris)

³⁸ Wyatt had never written to this writer for a copy of the off-print and a response revealed he received an unauthorized copy from Sullivan.

³⁹ He omitted Thomas J. Martin, Laurence Dubuclet and William Nickerson. Wyatt’s list in many instances contains repetitions and still confuses the works of the two Lamberts. Snaër’s list is also defective. Noting the materials in the Bibliothèque Nationale, however, was a major accomplishment, Of Dédé Wyatt remarks he was “a truly gifted musician” however he prefers to use the 1903 death date. Lucien and Sidney Lambert, however, have no death dates and Snaër’s death was ca. 1896. An un-recognized musician, Oscar M. Giovanni (mulatto), whose work was published in 1901 may have earlier writings and is a person who might otherwise be excluded only because the terminal date (1900) was selected. (See further in *International Dictionary of Musicians of Color* (forth coming).

- 1888 La Malgaise, Sequedille for voice, Fromont, 1888 (Paris)
 1888 Le Klephte, Chant dramatique oriental, Fromont (Paris)
 1888 Les Adieux du coursier, Chant dramatique oriental, Fromont, 1888 (Paris)
 1889 *Mèphisto masque, Polka fantastique for orchestra, Bathlot et Héraud, 1889 (Paris)
 1889 *Mèphisto masqué, Polka fantastique for piano, Bathlot et Héraud, 1889 (Paris)
 1889 Ous' qu'est mon torèador?, Voice , Bathlot et Héraud. 1889(Paris)
 1889 Une Noce en musique, Chansonnette comique, Bathlot et Héraud, 1889 (Paris)
 1890 La Journée Champête, Chorus , Fromont, 1890 (Paris)
 1890 Rosita, Cancion Sevillanne, Poulalion, 1890 (Paris)
 1891 Chicago, Ibid.; orchestra, Fromont, 1891 (Paris)
 1891 *En Chasse, Mazurka élégante; orchestra by Eugene Dédé edited by Edmond, n. p. 1891
 1891 Kiki Patchouli et Kakaoli, Duo chinois vocal duet, Ondet, 1891 (Paris)
 1891 *Mirliton fin de siècle, Polka originale for orchestra, Fromont, 1891 (Paris)
 1891 Mirliton fin de siècle, Polka originale for piano and mirliton, Fromont, 1898 (Paris)
 bassoon with piano accompaniment, Author, 1891 (Paris)
 1892 *Chicago, Grand valse à l'américaine (piano), Fromont, 1892 (Paris)
 1893 *Tond les chien, coup'les chats, Duo burlesque, Puigellier & Bassereau, 1893 (Paris)

Wyatt's List of Unpublished Music Edmond Dédé

- Ballet Ables, ballet
 Ballet* Ellis, ballet, n.p., n.d.
 Ballet* La sensitive, ballet in two acts, n.p., 1877
 Ballet* Les faux mandarins, ballet, n.p., n.d.
 Ballet Les nymphes et chasseurs, ballet in one act, n.p. 1880
 Ballet-divertissement*Caryatis, ballet-divertissement, n.p, n.d.
 Ballet-divertissement*Le triomphe de Bacchus, ballet divertissement, n.p., n.d.
 Ballet-divertissement*Les Canotiers de Lormet, ballet-divertissement, n.p., 1880
 Ballet-divertissement Spahis et Grisettes, ballet-divertissement in one act, n.p., 1880
 Ballet-divertissement*Diana et Actéon, ballet-divertissement, n.p., n.d.
 Féerie* L'Abile de la chouette; Féerie (dramatic piece)
 Grand valse* La phocéenne Grand valse, n.p., n.d.
 Grand valse* Papillon bleu: Grand valse, n.p., n.d.
 Grand valse* Paris: Grand valse, n.p., n.d.
 Opéra comique* Après le miel, opéra comique, n.p., 1880
 Opéra comique* Le Noye, opera comique, n.p., n.d.
 Opera* Une aventure de Télémaque, opera, n.p., n.d.
 Operetta* Le grillon du foyer, operetta, n.p., n.d.
 Operetta Les étudiants bordelais, operetta in one act, n.p. (1883)
 Orchestre Chant dramatique, for orchestra, n.p., n.d.
 Ouverture Arcadia ouverture, for orchestra, n.p., n.d.
 Ouverture Le Palmier ouverture, for orchestra, n.p.
 Quadrille Vaillant belle rose quadrille, n.p., n.d.

So by 1999, the *Center for Black Music Research, Inc.*, responsible for the *Black Music Research Newsletter* and the *Black Music Journal*, decided to prepare a large scale work which they entitled *International Dictionary of Black Composers* and employed a host of white writers eager to make a contribution. Sullivan who, like Wyatt, had also utilized the card files at the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) anchored the article on Dédé.⁴⁰ That article outlined the

⁴⁰ A microfilm copy of the Bibliothèque's holdings were also purchased by the Library of Congress, Washington D. C.

principal points of his biography and expanded into a larger and more detailed offering. The only mention of a Black author was that of LaXXX. Even Trotter and Wyatt had to wait entry under *references*.

In this version, as in his other article, Sullivan's only reference to a genealogy was they were "free Creoles of color who had migrated to New Orleans around 1809 from the French West Indies." One has already noted that Dédé has no real genealogy a point also not visible in many of the writings of some black but mostly white scholars – a No-No for *au courant* black historians.⁴¹ Other contemporaneous 19th century documentation also supports the fact that the family name Dédé was present before the supposed date 1809. His father, Basile, was born in New Orleans in 1804/8 (d 1868).⁴²

Intermixing the terms Creole and Black (although Trotter and Hare referred to an "unmixed" ancestry), Sullivan and others continued with sources dating from 1878. Then it was on to France where he may have studied at the Conservatoire. His 1864 marriage to Sylvie Leflét [Leflat in Sullivan's 1987, 1988 and 2000 reports] after moving to Bordeaux, France where he began to achieve fame writing light music for the *Théâtre de Alcazar* and the *Folies Bordelaises*. His success was such that musicians in New Orleans desired to hear some of his works. Dédé's continued success was noted during the 70s and 80s and he wrote many new works for the theater. Aided by family ties Galveston he was welcomed and induced to give concerts in order to replenish his coffers. *Mr. Dédé lost everything he had in the wreck except one violin and a silk hat*; that he died in 1903. It further lists *Quasimodo* as a symphony (Quasimodo; chanson; Bordeaux E. Philibert [1865]; Bibl. Naz.; Bibliothèque Municipale de Bordeaux and published in LaXXX (1982) with extra verses) and lists Dédé *Mephisto Masque* (186?) when the actual year is 1889.⁴³

In the liner notes from a recording by Richard Rosenberg, Naxos 8.55038 entitled Edmond Dédé (1827-1901) Eugène Arcade Dédé written by Sullivan there are new additions. Still no one suspected that there was a history behind Sullivan's history.

⁴¹ Information in the Marcus Christian collection attests to this fact and, of course, permeates the writings of such important historians as Carter Woodson, Lorenzo Greene, et al.

⁴² We are not disconcerted in stressing our observations because we have noted these things in the hundreds of obituaries we have had in our possession and some printed by us during our 15-year career as a typesetter. Sislin-Splane printers (Detroit, Michigan), Jack L. Splane, Gene Robertson, Lloyd Lanpher, Lawrence Splane and Herman Layne assisting for over 20 years.

⁴³ Under references it mentions William Zick's "Edmond Dédé (1827-1903)". AfriClassical.com. February 15, 2010 and Edmond Dédé, CD Naxos 8.559038 (2000). Liner Notes by Lester Sullivan, University Archivist, Xavier University, and Richard Rosenberg, Conductor, Hot Springs Musical Festival.

Sullivan has now admitted Edmond's death year as 1901 which information he refused to use in his earlier presentations but the liner notes again confounds the issue of Dédé's consort as Leflat! It accepts sans verification the notice of the shipwreck at Galveston (Hare) and reported that he gave tours before his arrival was noted in New Orleans. Sullivan's liner notes on this issue reads:

“For several months after arriving in New Orleans, Dédé concertized widely as a violinist.

Nickerson was listed as conductor of the orchestra that did not materialize and a quartet substituted. Dédé probably used other musicians on his tour which has yet to be documented.⁴⁴

Then, in the same year as the recording, a new publication entitled *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color* edited by Sybil Kein (Louisiana State Press, Baton Rouge, Louisiana).⁴⁵ A host of scholars presented their finding on certain subjects. Among them was a chapter (4) “Composers of Color of Nineteenth-Century New Orleans: The History Behind the Music” by Lester Sullivan. The original source had been changed [i. e. improved] and especially rearranged and introduced new or corrected content.⁴⁶

Although not immediately brought to public attention, another writer in the same work, *Creole*, Michel Fabre,⁴⁷ in his article “New Orleans Creole Expatriates in France: Romance and Reality” wrote on four outstanding expatriates, Norbert Rillieux, Camille Thierry, Victor Séjour and Edmond Dédé and referred to Sullivan's 1988 article (fn. 1). He made comments on Dédé (p. 188ff.) and noted more on Dédé's marriage (f. 9 but used the name Leflat.⁴⁸ But his last footnote 16 (p. 194) challenging Sullivan's 1988 publication read (quote): “The year 1903, often found in biographical notices and printed sources, is definitely inaccurate” and further adds “He [Dédé] was buried at the Bagneux cemetery January 7, 1901” but did not

⁴⁴ Identifying Dédé's accompanists, Sullivan should have mentioned the ladies: Mme. Serge, Mlle Lucie Barès (daughter of Basile) and especially Mme. Nickerson (Julia Ellen Lewis), Nickerson's second wife, cellist!

⁴⁵ For its readers the Detroit Public Library copies were purchased in 2007 and Wayne State University made no purchase for its students or faculty.

⁴⁶ Obviously typographical at footnote 7 was the date of *L'Artiste* 3, series 2 (30): 1186-7. The year 1186 would have placed this publication during the period of the Middle Ages, i. e., before such composers as Machaut-Palestrina-Mozart-Beethoven and the like.

⁴⁷ Fabre's credentials are president of the Centre d'Etudes Afro-Américaines in Paris and professor emeritus at the Université de le Sorbonne Nouvelle. Authored materials beginning 1970.

⁴⁸ Sylvie Anne Leflat was the daughter of Antoine Leflat and the deceased Catherine Claverie (Fabre fn. 9) whose full name was Anne CatherineAntoinette Sylvia Leflet.

give our January 4, 1901 taken from records of the *Society of Authors et Composers of Dramatic Works!*

In Michel Fabre's report his new material noted when Dédé was "called" to Bordeaux he was offered the appointment as *second chef de ballet* and later *répétiteur de ballet* at the Grand Théâtre. Fabre wrote that Dédé arranged orchestrations of such works as *The Barber of Seville* [Rossini] further noting that his short divertissements and dances were performed as interludes especially when the opera *Hernani* [Verdi] was staged in Bordeaux.

Titles of music performed were: *La Musique aux Lanternes*, *Chic-Kang-Fo*, *Une Femme qui bégaie*, *Inéa*, *Une Aventure de Télémaque*, *Le Roi des boudines*, *La Femme au vitriol or Femme de glace* and *Le Chef de music* (performed at the Gaité-Montparnasse, ca. 1889).⁴⁹

So what we know of this pioneer Black musician is but a thimble-full – birth and death dates, a partial list of his works by all writers.

But where is a detailed study of his operas and operettas, where and when were they produced, a possible chapter on how was the music viewed by the French and Parisian critics, who were the performers and how were the critic's reactions about the performers and especially Dédé's responses to his critics, if any. Sullivan, while noting Dédé's appearance in New Orleans in 1894 noted that a copy of his *Si j'étais lui* was photocopied with permission of William Nickerson's⁵⁰ daughter, Camille, he must have noted that Rousséve, too, had possession of a copy and published two transposed lines at page 152.

⁴⁹ Fabre errs by listing the year of Lucien Léon's opera *Prométhée enchaîné* as 1855 (three years before he was born) which should be 1885. Lucien was the conservatoire at the same time as Debussy. Then, too, the premiere of his opera *La Roussalka* [Hugues Le Roux et G. de Dubord] in 1910 was noted thusly:

De Monte-Carlo.—Las representation de la *Roussalka* de Dargomyzsky fût une tres belle soirée d'art, avec M^{me} Litvinne, MM. Chaliapine, Smirnoff et M^{me} Mati. On a de nouveau admire, dans les danses du second acte. Mlle Preobragenskaya et M. Kiakschut, dont la virtuosité a fait merveille. Et le succes à été vibrant pour cette œuvre originale et dramatique dont l'école russe s'honore. *La Roussalka*, c'est l'ondine, la nymphe des eaux. L'œuvre brillante de Dargomyzski, écrité sur un livret tire de Puschkin, fût représentée pour la premiere fois a Saint-Petersbourg le 4 mai 1856. (Le même sujet à donné lieu a un opera français en deux actes, la *Roussalka*, écrit par la baronne de Maistre, Bruxelles, 14 mars 1870, sur un livret de Bogros.)

Summary of Lucien Leon works with reviews and catalogue in *Afro-American Music Review* 1 No. 2 (January-June) 1984, pp. 51-75.

⁵⁰ Here it must be mentioned that Nickerson, who should have been included among the nineteenth-century writers, was born in 1865 not 1851. Biography reads: violin/orchestra leader/professor of music; b.

What disturbs serious and uncompromising Afro-American writers and historians most is that blacks who have made positive contributions to the musical histories of some countries are only given cursory summations of their life activities. Dédé lived nearly 73 years and for fifty-six years in France working with French writers and musicians, yet we are given no names of associates and no musical friends of merit and fragments of other particulars.

As a black writer, we have often felt it incumbent to attempt to complete such tasks of merit if humanly possible. Thus to our credit we have brought out documented studies of two important musicians of color: Francis B. Johnson (1794-1844) and Elizabeth T. Greenfield, the Black Swan (ca. 1819-1876). we still await complete biographies of New Orleans' musical expatriates, the Lambert and Dédé families, especially because one can better gauge how the sympathies of French savants worked in their favor at a time when events in America pursued an opposite course.

Right or wrong Sullivan and others may be applauded for their attempts in alerting others about events in the life of Dédé in New Orleans. When Dédé wrote for the various ballet companies we do not yet know the French reaction to his music settings nor how the various dancers mastered the musical designs for the various characters in the ballet story. All these ideas are intriguing and should have been included in any presentation of Dédé's musical history. This is a subject for those more interested in French theatrical literature and how the music helped in the dramatic presentations. For example for the drama *Le Klephthe*

November, 1865-1927; violinist/tenor/teacher of music; b. New Orleans November 1865, of Kentucky -born parents; took lessons at an early age which included study with a professor trained at the Paris Conservatory; secured work learning how to tune pianos; in early years was a member of Fayerweather's "Harmonics" (1881) and St. Philips Church choir (1882); became teacher at Southern University (part of 1886/7 season); joined the *Georgia Minstrels* for 1886/88 season and 1887/88 seasons; returned to New Orleans about 1889 and resumed teaching; joined the Southern University faculty 1891; organized youth orchestra; at times they were aided by more experienced adult players such as T. V. Baquet, George Baquet and C. Perez; teacher of many of the leading instrumental performers at New Orleans; organized a "Young Ladies Orchestra" which toured; first marriage to Aurelia Du Conge and had five children, Henry, Camille, William, Ernest and Eddie, the last two dying when babies; second marriage to Miss Julia Ellen Lewis; president of the group in 1911; opened a music studio giving many students their first band/orchestral experience; when Southern U. moved to Baton Rouge in 1915, he taught additional students in his private studio; his daughter, Camille, also taught there; aided Camille in establishing the still functioning *B Sharp Music Study Club*; died in 1927. His publications were: *New Era March*, Piano, Grunewald, ded. to Southern University with voice part, 1900; *My Lovely Lou*, Werlein, 1900; *Departure of the 9th U.S. V. Infantry*, 1898 Song for Soprano or tenor in B flat), copyrighted 25 January 1899, music W. J. Nickerson, claimant, w. Joseph Taylor, 120 N. Galvex St. New Orleans, Louisiana; Col. Crane's Colored Regiment; *Mathushek Polka March*, Werlein, 1890; *The Colored Soldier Boys of Uncle Sam We're Coming* L. Grunewald Co. Inc, 1918; *The Paragon March* (noted on cover of New Era).

(by Abraham Dreyfus, written in 1881) he wrote a “Le Klephte chansonette” for an 1888 production. The question now becomes did the continued productions still use his materials or could works of other music writers been substituted. Only by studying the original scores of the drama will we know.

It appears that Dédé contributed his songs to many French dramatic works, including his own. On the American side providing material relative to his ancestry and his appearances in America have been rather thoroughly researched. Lack of more French episodes now clouds the issue of writing a larger biography. Our immediate query is why does New Orleans now claim a “special” interest in a man whose “destiny” was to live far from “his native country?” New Orleans, on the whole, was a far cry behind the leading cities in France, England, and South America respecting the *belle arts*. For example if he had desired to play with the white symphonic orchestra in New Orleans that would have been impossible. One must remember that in 1893 Nickerson tried to organize an impromptu orchestra to possibly accompany Dédé in whatever manner he desired but was unsuccessful. There were excellent talents such as the Tio’s but on the whole superior talent was non-existent for the Dédé performance. The popular arts proved to be the best way for musical composers and musicians, professional and amateur, to earn a living. In spite of the musicality within the black community the musical taste had become infested with the money aspect and thus excellent talents were redirected in their music making efforts.

The white community was unwilling to give Dédé support and the Black community was impoverished. His only choice was to return to France and live out the remainder of his life.

The black community, too, has seemingly abandoned efforts at contributing to this effort by not combining its resources to contribute to such a visible project by presenting some of his music to the public in efforts to memorialize his musical genius.

The Dédé biographies have thus far stressed mostly his music compositions but not the man. We are proud of our efforts to help bring to fruition some of the musical efforts of the blacks or people of color which have been recognized by an *honorary citizenship* (Mayor Moon Landrieu) at New Orleans and the designation **Honorary Colonel** by Governor Edwin Edwards of New Orleans (1976) for helping prepare its Bicentennial tribute — a production of “Porgy and Bess” given at Southern University (1976) using the services of the New Orleans Philharmonic Orchestra.

Catalog Published and Unpublished Works

Published Vocal

Amelida	Candolives
*C'est la faute a Colas	Conderc (1881)
C'est mois qui suis soiffare	Candolives
C'est si bon l'amour	Meynieu (1877)
Chansonette	Chatot
Comme un soeur	Guillemain (1887)
*Cora le Bordelaiz[s]e	Bornemann (1881)
Exterminons	Meynieu
*Francoise et tortillard (optte)	Bornemann (1877)
If I Were He, Vocal/piano	Wehrlein, 1894
J'aime la danse par des sus tour	Patsy
Je suis folichonne	Bassereau
*Kiki Patchouly et Koikavly (duo)	Ondet (1891)
La Bacchante	Candolives
La Bikina (conseil hygienique)	Marchand (1881)
La Cantiniere	Lafleur
*La Conspiration des amoureux,	Joubert (1887)
*La Malagaise (1888)	
*La Marin de la France	Philibert (1865)
La Reine du Serail	Candolives
Laiton de mamam	Meynieu
*Le Garcon troquet (monologue)	Petit, Eugen(1887)
*Le Klephte	Fromont (1888) [Listed in Pazdirek under fils]
*Le Serment de l'arabe	Tralin (1865)
Ledemain de Terme	Belloche
*Les Adieux du Coursier	Fromont (1888)
Les Duetistes (duo comedie)	Puigellier
Les Travaux forces	Chatot
Mon beau Tyrolien	Bornemann (1876)
Nymphe et Roi	Lafleur
Ous' qu'est mon toreador	Joubert (1889)
*Quasimodo	Tralin, J. B. (1865)
Sirene	Goudesone
*Titis, debardeurs et grisettes	Benoit (1876)
*Tonds les chien, coup' les chats (1893)	
*Tonds les chien, coup' les chats	Puigellier++
*Une Noce en musique	Joubert (1889)

Published Orchestral Works Medium Publisher

Cabriole, polka	orchestra	Fromont
*En Chasse, mazurka	orchestra	Fromont
Fromont++		
Cocottes	grand orch.	Joubert
*Le Conspiration,	march	Joubert
Nini, quadrille		Philibert

El Pronunciamento, march orchestra Fromont
 [Listed in Pasdirek under fils] Joubert
 Vachalacade Montmartroise orchestra Gaude
 [Listed in Pasdirek under fils, quadrille burlesque]

***Mephisto masque; polka fantastique Paris: L. Bathlot et Heraud (1889)**

Unpublished Vocal Works

Medium

A propos de compts		chansonette
A quoi j'pense		chant
A vous je confie la chose		chant
Adventure de Télémaque		operette
quel changement	chant	
Aigle et Corissant		chant
Amour t'appelle		serenade
	chant	
Ange de la Paix		chansonette
Ange et Démon		pantomine
Au bal des Folies		chansonette
Au Tonkin		divertissement
Augustine		chansonette
Bal des Folies Bordelaises		chanson
Battez aux Champs:		
M. l'Empereur Napoleon III (manuscript, 1865)		
Bebe charmant		chanson
Belle Adele		chanson
Belle Djelma		chanson
Belle Tréne		chanson
Bibolo		chansonette
Bien fait n'est jamais perdu		chanson
Biribi		chanson
Bouquet rêvé		romance
Bouquetiere et Pschutteux		chansonette
Brichet		chanson
Brigantine		romance
Briochet		chanson
C'est comme ca (ou: La Femme)		chanson
C'est épatant		chanson
Ca m'empêchera-t-il d'être rossière?		chanson
Capitaine Chalui		chansonette
Cascades de Follichette		chansonette
Celeste		chanson
Ce que c'est que le Paradis		chansonette
Ce que j'aime		chanson
Ce que je voudrais savoir		chansonette
Ce qui leur manque		chansonette
Chanteurs Espagnols (ou Les Sevillanos)		duo
Chasse aux amoureux		pantomine
Chef de musique		chansonette
Chere Maitresse		romance
Chiens savants		chansonette
Cocasse aventure		chansonette

Cungégonde	chanson
Dangers du Patnage	chansonette
Deesse de l'Espagne	romance
Dein Cocottes	chansonette
Deménageur	chansonette
En se mariant	chanson
Encore un jour	chanson
Enfant sauve	chanson
Femme au fil de fer	chansonette
Femme au vitroil	chansonette
Femme de glace	chansonette
Femme tigrée	chanson
Folle de la danse	chansonette
Français en Chine	ballet
Gaites de Bacchus	chanson
Gamin dans le Bassin	chanson
Grand Cendrillon	pantomime
Herbe	chant
Il faut aimev la République	chanson
Il m'a lachée pour une sauteuse	chanson
Inspection conjugale	chansonette
Inéa	chanson
Ivresse et Oubli	chanson
J'aime bien ça	chansonette
J'crais trop le loup garou	chanson(?)
J'ons pas de soucis	chansonette
J'rigole	chansonette
J'suis lacheuse	chansonette
J'suis trucqueur	chansonette
Je crois	chansonette
Je dis tout	chansonette
Je n'aimerai que toi	chansonette
Je no l'ai pas	chansonette
Je suis sincere	romance
Je t'aimais	romance
Je t'aimerai toujours	chansonette
Je voudrais bien savoir	chansonette
Joyeux matelot	chansonette
L'Amour est de garde	chansonette
L'Enigme	duo
L'Moyen de plavie a ma femme	chanson
La Belle Nana	chansonette
La Bowelaise	chanson
La Brise de nuits	chansonette
La Chanson du Simoun	chanson arabe
La Commercante	chanson
La Famille Indienne	pantomime
La Femme (ou C'est comme ca)	chansonette
La Fete du progres	chansonette
La Fraternelle	hymns
La Gitanta	pantomime
La Noce a Grand Pierre	chansonette

La Pierre	chanson
La Poire	chanson
La Pomme avec les pepins	chanson
La Princesse Roustoubi	chansonette
La Reine du Copurchic	
La Timbree	chanson
La Valse des planetes	chansonette
La Valse des Echalas	chansonette
La Vipere	
La Voix des mere	
Lan le deri dera lan la	chansonette
Le Cardeur de matelas	scene humoristique
Le Champion des Terognes	chansonett
Le Concours de laideur	chansonette
Le Drapeau	chansonette pant.
Le Erreur des Reves	chanson
Le Grain	chant
Le Griloon du foyer,	opérette
Le Joli chat	chansonette
Le Jour de Pays	
Le Lanage de la basse-cour	chanson(?)
Le Lieut'nant debrouillard	chansonette
Le Marin de la France	chanson (1865)
Le Naufrage du Béarn	chanson
Le Papillon bleu	duo
Le Reflet	chansonette
Le Reste	
Le Reve	pantomime
Le Roi des Boudines	chanson
Le Vampire	pantomime
Les Bec-a-jus	chanson
Les Cuirassiers a Longchamps	chanson marche
Les Fiances Normands	duo
Les Gommeux a la mode	chanson
Les Noces de Bacchus	rondo
Les Prussiens ne nous vaincront pas	chanson
Les Sevillanos (ou Chanteurs Espagnols	duo
Los Sevillanos (ou Les chanteurs espagnols	chanson
M'aimeras-tu-toujours?	chanson
Madelinette	chanson
Mairca	chanson
Mari de ma soeur	chanson
Meer de ma soeur	chanson
Monsieur Jean	chanson
Myosotis	chanson
N'allez plus au bois	chanson
Napoleon III	chanson
Nasica la Pschutteuse	chanson
Ne l'oubliez pas	chanson
Noces de Minette	ballet
Noir et Blanc (avec Lamotte a	pantomine
les hommes ca n'est guere malin	

On a brise mon coeur	chanson
On n'peut pas conserver ca	parle
Pas d'soucis	chansonnette
qui embrassera ca	chansonnette
Paupillard	chanson
Pecheurs Napolitains (avec A., Pilati)	
Petit poage rose	chanson
Petit troupeau	chanson
Petits pois exquis	chanson
Petits voisins, petites voisines	chansonnette
Pititin et Ripiton	chansonnette
Place au progrees	chansonnette
Premiere fraise des bois	chanson
Prends garde au loup	chanson
Present d'Amour	menuet
Printemps de la France	chanson
14 Juillet	chant
Qu'est-ce donc qui le Paradis	chant
Qu'ils sont heureux	chant
Quant je vais raconter ca	chansonnette
Que d'Oeuillades	chansonnette
Rapin Childebrant	chanson
Reine des pschutteuses	chanson
Retour de Printemps	valse chansonnette
Rev'nant de faire le tour de monde	
Reve de jeune fille	Valse chansonnette
Reve de Pierrot	pantomime
Rocamboles	pantomime
Roi de Thune	ballet
Rose et Jeanneton	chansonnette
Rosita	chanson
Reeil du laboureur	chansonnette
Salut a la France	chanson
Salut au 57e	chanson
Secret d'une nuit d'automne	chanson
Si j'osais	rondo
Songe d'Amour	menuet
Souffleur melomane	chanson
Sous mon bonnet	chanson
Stanislas	chanson
Theresine	chanson
Toc, toc, tin, tin	chanson
Tous artistes	chanson
Tramways Bordelais	chansonnette
Tyrolienne amoureuse	chansonnette
Tyrolienne de merle	chansonnette
Un Reve sous le lilas	chanson
Un Seul basier	romance buffe
Une Etoile qui file	pantomime
Une Femme bien trempée	chanson
Une Fille timide	chansonnette
Vive l'amour	chansonnette

Vive le chanteuse excentrique	pantomime
Voisin de Therese	operette
Vous n'vous attendiez pas a ca	chansonette
Voyage aux Etoiles	couplets
Voyage de Clara	chansonette
Chansonette	

