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

\[
\text{Si j’étais lui, ravissante Créole,} \\
\text{Ton souvenir emplirait tout mon coeur,} \\
\text{Et ton amour serait mon auréole,} \\
\text{Mon seule spoir et mon unique ardeur;} \\
\text{Matin et soir ton nom dans ma prière} \\
\text{Irait au ciel où mon bonheur a fui,} \\
\text{Si j’étais lui.}
\]

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.”

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 Roussève 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 February10, 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: “Françoise Dédé ecarisseur, age
de trente aus estime deux mille livres cy” [transl.] Françoise Dédé, nacker (Neger) aged 30
years appraised at 2,000 livres. Thus his birth year registers ca. 1739.\footnote{LHQ 9, 448. A similar word, Necker, appears on Edmond’s death notice, January 6, 1901! See p. 66.}

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).\footnote{LHQ 8, 515.}
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,\footnote{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 . . .”\footnote{Census Orleans Parish, F. Dédé (p. 262), Charles Dédé (p. 240), L. Dédé (p. 2898.).}} his surname appears in the
municipal records beginning in 1810.\footnote{Census Orleans Parish, F. Dédé (p. 262), Charles Dédé (p. 240), L. Dédé (p. 2898.).}
Edmond confirms that Bazile was a musician and if
ture 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, Françoise and one
Basile (became president of the Société Bienfaisance de la Perseverance - see directory of 1873) as
heirs. Françoise (b. 1833), died May, 1881 age 47; directory of 1890 notes Basile Dédé death
and his widow, Mary resides at 272 Dumaine.
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-Orléans, toute sa famille. Ce jeune homme d’un talent precoce n’avait pu (?) obtenir ici un léger encouragement.

Aujourd’hui le voilà devenu un homme remarquable, recherche dans les plus grand salons de Paris et de Bordeaux.

N’avons pas raison de traiter absurde de préjugé qui repousse la société 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 like 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, Françoise 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 de l’Esperance.
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 Genez, 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 compts (chansonette)
Accrobatin (galop, orchestre)
Adieu (galop, orchestre)
Ah! Patatra! quel changement (chant)
Aigle et Corissant (chant)
Améïda.................................................................Candolives
American (schottisch)
Amour t’appelle (serenade)
Amoureux, garde à vous (chanson marche)
Ange de la Paix (chansonette)
Ange et Démon (pantomime)
Anna (valse, orchestre)
Arcadia, overture (orchestre)
Au bal des Foliés (chansonette)
Au Tonkin (divertissement)
Augustine (chansonette)
Bal des Foliés Bordelaises (chanson)
Bébé charmant (chanson)
Belle Adèle (chanson)
Belle Trêne (chanson)
Belle Djelma (chanson)
Bibolo (chansonette)
Bien fait n’est jamais perdu (chanson)
Biribi (chanson)
Bonne fête (polka, orchestre)
Bouquet rêve (romance)
Bouquetière et Pschutteux (chansonette)
Brichet (chanson)
Brigantine romance (chant)
(Candolives)
Cabriole (polka orchestra), Dédé (fils)............Fromont
Capitaine Chalui (chansonette)
Carlottina (mazurka, piano et orchestre)
Cascades de Follichette (chansonette)
Catalane (marche, orchestre)
Ce que c’est que le Paradis (chansonette)
Ce que j’aime (chanson)
Ce qui leur manque (chansonette)
Céleste (chanson)
Chanssonette (chanson).................................Chatot
Chanteurs Espagnols (où Les Sevillanos) duo
Chasse aux amoureux (pantomine)
Chasseurs fantastiques (overture, orchestre)
Chef de musique (chansonette)
Chère Maitresse (romance)
Chiens savants (chansonette)
Cocasse aventure (chansonette)
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 (chansonnette)
Dans la roue ou: Into the wheel (polka, pfte. et orchestre)
Deesse de l’Espagne (romance)
Déménageur   (chansonnette)
Deux Cocottes (chansonnette)
Drapeau américain ou The American flag  
(schottische, marche, piano andorchestre)
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 (chansonnette)
Femme au virtoil (chansonnette)
Femme tigrée  (chant)
Femme au fil de fer (chansonnette)
Fiancée d’Embourg (orchestre)
Folie-Polka    (polka, orchestre)
Folle de la danse (chansonnette)
Français en Chine (ballet, chant)
Franco-American (galop, orchestre)
Gaîtes de Bacchus   (chanson)
Gamin dans le Bassin (chanson)
Grand Cendrillon (pantomime)
Herbed    (chant)
Il faut aimer la République (chanson)
Il m’a lâchée pour une sauteuse (chanson)
Inea     (chanson)
Inspection conjugale (chansonnette)
Ivresse et Oubli (chanson)
J’aime bien ça (chansonnette)
J’aime la danse par des sous tout............................................Patsy
J’caris trop le lou garou (chanson)(?)
J’crains trop le loup garou
J’crois    (chansonnette)
J’étais hirondelle (romance)
J’n’aime raiq toi (chansonnette)
J’ons pas de soucis (chansonnette)
J’rigole    (chansonnette)
J’suis trucqueur (chansonnette)
J’suis lacheuse (chansonnette)
Je suis folichonne                           (chansonnette)..................……Bassereau[Puigellier]
Je crois    (chansonnette)
Je n’americanique toi (chansonnette)
Je dis tout (chansonnette)
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 (pantomine, 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 Echalas (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)
Laiton de maman (chansonette)...............................Meynieu
Lan la deri dera lan la (chansonette)
Le Rêve (pantomime)
Le Reste (chant)
Le Grain (chant)
Le Palmier (overture)
Le Conspiration (=El pronunciamento) (march, orchestre).........Joubert
Le Concours de laideur (chansonette)
Le Naufrage du Béarn (chant)
Le Reflet (chansonette)
Le Bowlaisse (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 progrès  (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  (overture)
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 Copurichic  (chansonette cossaque?)
Le ROI des Boudines  (chanson) (Dédé, fils)
Le Joli chat  (chansonette)
Le Femme (où C’est comme ça)  (chansonette)
Lendemain de Terme  (Tyrol.)...........................................Belloche
Les Prussiens ne nous vaincrons 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 comedie)............................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’aime-tu-toujours?  (chanson)
Madelinette  (chanson)
Mairca  (chanson)
Mari de ma soeur  (chanson)
Mazurka  (chansonette).................................Meer de ma soeur  (chanson)
Mère de ma soeur  (chanson)
Monsieur Jean  (chant)
Myosotis  (chanson)
N’allez plus au bois  (chanson)
Naïda  (overture, orchestre)
Napoléon 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  (pantomine)................................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 cœur (chanson)
Papillon bleu (grand valse, orchestre)
Papillon bleu (grand valse, orchestre)
Paris (valse, orchestre)
Parrain Michel (overture, orchestre)
Pas d' soucis (chansonette)
Pati! Pati! 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 au 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 (quadrille, 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, pfte. 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’autôme (chanson)
Si j’ôsais (rondo)
Sirène.................................................................................Goudesone[Benoit]
Songe d’Amour (menuet)
Souffleur melomane (chanson)
Souffleur mélomane (chanson)
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. 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 sur 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 *Nénée* [sic], reine des Fées, bal., col. Ernest Goutie; musique Dédé, Bord., Feret
1875 *Le Voisin de Thérèse*, opér. Salomon Foy; Musique Dédé
1878 *Les Etiourderies de Pouliga’n*, opér.; G. Faure; musique Dédé
1879 *Un premier Cure*, opér.; G. Faure; musique Dédé
1880 *L’Anneau du diable*, féerie; 10 tableaux; Alfred Gallay, n.
Chamb’ry, 10 avril 1845 and Pauper; musique Dédé
1881 *L’Antropophage de La Souys*; [operette] bouffon; Alfred Gallay; musique Dédé; January 19.
1882 *Chic-Kang-Fo*, chinoiserie, Marcel Pouget-André;

musicque Dédè

*L’Artiste de Bordeaux* (Troisième Année, 2ème serie, 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 après” returning some three years later. It also listed the following titles:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ellis</td>
<td>ballet divert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nehanha (sic)</td>
<td>ballet divert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les faux mondains [mandarins]</td>
<td>ballet (signalled in 1877)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Sensitive</td>
<td>opéra comique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Après le miel</td>
<td>opérette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Une adventure de Télémaque</td>
<td>opérette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chik-Kang-Fo</td>
<td>opérette (Marcel-Andre Buget, 1882)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Griloon du foyer</td>
<td>opérette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’anneau de diable</td>
<td>féerie (signalled in 1880)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’aile de la chouette</td>
<td>féerie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diana et Acteon</td>
<td>ballet divert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triomphé de Bacchus</td>
<td>ballet divert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les Canotiers de Lormont (sic)</td>
<td>ballet divert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caryatis</td>
<td>ballet divert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les Nymphes et le Chasseur</td>
<td>ballet divert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papillen bleu</td>
<td>grand valse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bordeaux</td>
<td>grand valse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Phocéenne</td>
<td>grand valse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>grand valse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arcadia</td>
<td>overture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Palmier</td>
<td>overture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sylvia</td>
<td>overture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?
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.  

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. 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. 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 vie et musica del’Afro-Americaine 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. 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 error 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).

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! 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.”

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 Rousséve excluded any full discussion of the entire Lambert family of musicians!

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 Nazionale, 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 Rousséve, 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 Rousséve 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, Eugène Victor Macarty, 2 items and Samuel Snaër, 13 items who, except for Snaër, had studied in France.

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 Paul à Puy près Dax (Landes), Voice; romance religieuse, Philibert, 1855 [1865] (Bordeaux)
1865 Le Marin de la France, Chansonnette de bord, Philibert, 1855 [1865] (Bordeaux)
1865 Le Serent 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 Héraud, 1886 (Paris)
1887 Comme une soeur, Voice, Guillemain, 1887 (Paris)
1887 La Conspiration des amoureux: d’après le Pronunciamento, Voice, Marche espagnole, Bathlot et Héraud, 1887 (Paris)
1887 Le Garçon troquet, Voice, Raymond Viel et Masson, 1887 (Paris)

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.

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* (forthcoming).
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 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.
Opéra comique*  Après le miel, opéra comique, n.p., 1880
Opéra*  Une aventure de Télémaque, opera, n.p., n.d.
Opéraetta  Les étudiants bordelais, operaetta 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 19\(^{th}\) 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.; Biblioteque 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) Eugéne 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-Spane printers (Detroit, Michigan), Jack L. Spane, Gene Robertson, Lloyd Lanpher, Lawrence Splane and Herman Layne assisting for over 20 years.

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.  

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).  

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.  

Although not immediately brought to public attention, another writer in the same work, Creole, Michel Fabre, 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. 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 Catherine Antoinette 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 danses 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 bégaine, 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 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 Mîme Litvinne, MM. Chaliapine, Smirnoff et Mîme Mati. On a de nouveau admisgre, dans les danses du second acte. Mîle Preobragenskaya et M. Kiakschut, dont la virtuosité a fait merveille. Et le succès 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, écrit 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 Bogch.)

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 Klephte*

Arthur R. LaBrew, 2013 Kresge Artist Fellow in the Literary Arts

---

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. Inspite 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

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

### Published Orchestral Works

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song Title</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cabriole, polka</td>
<td>orchestra</td>
<td>Fromont</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* En Chasse, mazurka</td>
<td>orchestra</td>
<td>Fromont</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fromont++</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocottes</td>
<td>grand orch.</td>
<td>Joubert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Le Conspiration,</td>
<td>march</td>
<td>Joubert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nini, quadrille</td>
<td></td>
<td>Philbert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpublished Vocal Works</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A propos de comptes</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A quoi j’pense</td>
<td>chant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A vous je confie la chose</td>
<td>chant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adventure de Télèmaque</td>
<td>operette</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quel changement</td>
<td>chant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aigle et Corissant</td>
<td>chant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amour t’appelle</td>
<td>serenade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ange de la Paix</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ange et Démon</td>
<td>pantomine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Au bal des Folies</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Au Tonkin</td>
<td>divertissement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustine</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bal des Folies Bordelaises</td>
<td>chanson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Battez aux Champs:**

M. l’Empereur Napoleon III (manuscript, 1865)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Battez aux Champs:</th>
<th>Medium</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bebe charmant</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belle Adele</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belle Djelma</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belle Tréne</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibolo</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bien fait n’est jamais perdu</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biribi</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bouquet rêvé</td>
<td>romance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bouquetière et Pschutteux</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brichet</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brigantine</td>
<td>romance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brioche</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C’est comme ca (ou: La Femme)</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C’est épatant</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ca m’empéchera-t-il d’être rossiere?</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitaine Chalui</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cascades de Follichette</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celeste</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ce que c’est que le Paradis</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ce que j’aime</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ce que je voudrais savoir</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ce qui leur manque</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chanteurs Espagnols (ou Les Sevillanos)</td>
<td>duo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chasse aux amoureux</td>
<td>pantomine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chef de musique</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chere Maitresse</td>
<td>romance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiens savants</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocasse aventure</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Titre</td>
<td>Genre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cungégonde</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dangers du Patnage</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deesse de l'Espagne</td>
<td>romance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dein Cocottes</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deménageur</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En se mariant</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encore un jour</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enfant sauve</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Femme au fil de fer</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Femme au vitroil</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Femme de glace</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Femme tigrée</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folle de la danse</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Français en Chine</td>
<td>ballet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaites de Bacchus</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gamin dans le Bassin</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Cendrillon</td>
<td>pantomime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbe</td>
<td>chant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Il faut aimer la République</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Il m'a lâchée pour une sauteuse</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspection conjugale</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inéa</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivresse et Oubli</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J'aime bien ça</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J'crais trop le loup garou</td>
<td>chanson(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J'ons pas de soucis</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J'rigole</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J'suis lacheuse</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J'suis trucqueur</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Je crois</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Je dis tout</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Je n'aimerai que toi</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Je no l'ai pas</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Je suis sincère</td>
<td>romance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Je t'aimais</td>
<td>romance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Je t'aimerai toujours</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Je voudrais bien savoir</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joyeux matelot</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L'Amour est de garde</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L'Enigme</td>
<td>duo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L'Moyen de plavie a ma femme</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Belle Nana</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Bowelaise</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Brise de nuits</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Chanson du Simoun</td>
<td>chanson arabe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Commercante</td>
<td>chanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Famille Indienne</td>
<td>pantomime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Femme (ou C'est comme ça)</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Fête du progres</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Fraternelle</td>
<td>hymns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Gitanta</td>
<td>pantomime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Noce a Grand Pierre</td>
<td>chansonette</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
La Pierre
La Poire
La Pomme avec les pepins
La Princesse Roustoubi
La Reine du Copurchic
La Timbree
La Valse des planetes
La Valse des Echalas
La Vipere
La Voix des mere
Lan le deri dera lan la
Le Cardeur de matelas
Le Champion des Terognes
Le Concours de laideur
Le Drapeau
Le Erreur des Reves
Le Grain
Le Griloon du foyer,
Le Joli chat
Le Jour de Pays
Le Lanage de la basse-cour
Le Lieut'nant debrouillard
Le Marin de la France
Le Naufrage du Béarn
Le Papillon bleu
Le Reflet
Le Reste
Le Reve
Le Roi des Boudines
Le Vampire
Les Bec-a-jus
Les Cuirassiers a Longchamps
Les Fiances Normands
Les Gommeux a la mode
Les Noces de Bacchus
Les Prussiens ne nous vaincront pas
Les Sevillanos (ou Chanteurs Espagnols
Les Sevillanos (ou Les chanteurs espagnols
M'aimeras-tu-toujours?
Madelinette
Mairca
Mari de ma soeur
Meer de ma soeur
Monsieur Jean
Myosotis
N'allez plus au bois
Napoleon III
Nasica la Pschutteuse
Ne l'oubliez pas
Noces de Minette
Noir et Blanc (avec Lamotte a)
les hommes ca n'est guere malin
On a brise mon cœur                   chanson
On n’peut pas conserver ça          parle
Pas d’ouciss                        chansonette
qui embrassera ça                  chansonette
Paupillard                          chanson
Pecheurs Napolitains (avec A., Pilati)
Petit poage rose                    chanson
Petit troupeau                      chanson
Petits pois exquis                  chanson
Petits voicins, petites voisines   chansonette
Pititin et Ripiton                  chansonette
Place au progres                    chansonette
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 ça          chansonette
Que d’Oeuillades                    chansonette
Rapin Childebrant                   chanson
Reine des pschutteuses              chanson
Retour de Printemps                 valse chansonette
Rev’nant de faire le tour de monde Valse chansonette
Reve de jeune fille                 Valse chansonette
Reve de Pierrot                     pantomime
Rocambole                          pantomime
Roi de Thune                       ballet
Rose et Jeanneton                   chansonette
Rosita                             chanson
Recil du laboureur                  chansonette
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                  chansonette
Tyrolienne amoureuse                chansonette
Tyrolienne de merle                 chansonette
Un Reve sous le lilas               chanson
Un Seul basier                      romance buffe
Une Etole qui file                  pantomime
Une Femme bien trempée              chanson
Une Fille timide                    chansonette
Vive l’amour                        chansonette
Vive le chanteuse excentrique  pantomime
Voisin de Therese operette
Vous n'veous attendiez pas a ça chansonette
Voyage aux Etoiles couplets
Voyage de Clara chansonette
  Chansonette