

GÉRARD DÔLE

# TEXAS 1836

MUSICAL ECHOES FROM  
THE ALAMO



FOLLOWED BY

## SAN ANTONIO ROZE

TRANSLATED

BY

ANITA CONRADE



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Translated by Anita Conrade

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2011

To  
*"My father, this hero with such a sweet smile"*

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In honor of the 175th Anniversary of the Battle of the Alamo,  
175 numbered and signed copies of this book were printed.

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## PREFACE



I bear the name of an illustrious city, Dôle, the former capital of Franche-Comté, rising at the foot of the Jura Plateau, between the River Doubs and the Saône. All of my ancestors on my father's side of the family, which I've traced back to 1556, were born there.

However, this brief presentation pales alongside the epic tales my father René Dôle used to spin for me. He was gifted with the ability to bring our forefathers to life as dream companions. As a result, history was a thrilling, action-packed panorama for me, and my father's colorful

stories stood in vivid contrast to the dingy pages of my history textbooks.

From the outset, my father imagined me as one of the stars in his heroic constellation, by choosing to name me Gérard – a Germanic compound of *ger*, or lance, and *hard*, strong – in honor of the courage of the Sequani, willing to perish to the last man, lance in hand, rather than surrender to their invaders. These indomitable Gaulish tribes controlled the huge territory now known as the French department of Jura. My father’s words, as he showed me the mounds of stones on Mount Roland in Dôle, conjured up the vision of their great oppidum, or settlement. He told me how the Sequani had built this fort on the site of a camp dating back to the Stone Age, to hold off Caesar’s armies. I easily imagined myself fighting alongside the fierce Sequani warriors, surrounded and vastly outnumbered by the Roman legions, gradually yielding to their bloodthirsty attacks. I must say that my father never ruled out the possibility that one of ours had been shoulder-to-shoulder with the valiant Sequani defenders.

In my childish eyes, History would irresistibly be associated with fortresses besieged by enemy throngs greater in number. Dôle was an ideal setting for such dramas. I could easily imagine my forebears, crouching behind tall wooden palisades, holding off the ferocious hordes of Huns. These barbarians must have been even worse than the Alamans, Vandals, Franks, and Burgundian tribes who had rampaged earlier, because my father waxed eloquent on the subject of their leader, Attila, who annihilated everything in his path, hence his title, “the wrath of God.”

Standing in front of the bastion on the bridge over the Doubs, I saw the people of Dôle constructing sturdy ramparts to protect their city, which I also considered my own, and which seemed to arouse the envy of all. On such occasions, my father spoke of how the stones for the parapets had been cut and joined, how the crenellations protected the walkway around the battlements. His history of warfare was mingled with instruction in fortification techniques, of which he was especially fond due to his training as a construction project manager.

It was then that I realized how many generations it had taken for France to form. My province, Franche-Comté, took shape as a “Free County” of the Kingdom of Burgundy. Then we became subjects of the Holy Roman Empire. Later, we were ruled by France and Austria. I admit that I became slightly lost in all these details, and was not especially interested in all the complicated machinations in which huge land holdings were signed over from one crown to another after a royal marriage or a death, with little concern for the people living on and farming them.

Stories of the sieges my city had resisted in the Middle Ages excited me much more. When my father and I walked around the old city of Dôle, we often stopped in front of the Robin House, where he would tell me a tale I adored, embellishing it with more tragic details every time.

His account of Louis XI, whose grim profile I had glimpsed in a textbook, brought the tyrant to life before my eyes. And with renewed ardor, I sharpened the blades with which I would defend Dôle against his cruel soldiery. At the time, my city was a dependency of Spain, and King Louis XI of France was determined to conquer it. My father taught me that during one especially deadly battle, Louis’s troops, far greater in number than the men of Dôle, shouted, “*Comtois, rends-toi!*” [“Comtois, give up!"]. Immediately, the defenders replied, “*Nenni, ma foi!*” [“Upon my faith, I will not!”] The slogan and rallying cry of Franche-Comté, borne proudly into later battles on our shields, made perfect sense to me.

That very evening, my father told me, the men of Dôle crept into the enemy camp and fought so stubbornly that the French forces were routed, and had to abandon their artillery. So, violating a truce even though it had been sworn on the Bible, Louis XI raised a new army, 15,000 strong. Its chief was Charles d’Amboise, lord of Chaumont. A dastardly lord indeed, I thought to myself, for as my father told me, d’Amboise dishonored himself by using sacrilege and perjury to trick my ancestors and force them to submit.



A corps of reinforcements was bound from Alsace to Dôle. D'Amboise intercepted and corrupted them, so they allowed their ranks to be infiltrated by his soldiers. When the column reached the gates of the city, the defenders were so relieved to see the faces of their allies arrive that their wariness momentarily ebbed. Nevertheless, they demanded the troops swear a solemn oath of loyalty. At the great gate, an altar was set up, and the Eucharist was presented. The clergy and magistrates clustered round. Loyal Christians all, they never suspected the depths of blasphemy to which Charles d'Amboise would stoop.

Each officer stretched out his arm, touched the Holy Host, and swore upon it to defend the city. Reassured, the guards raised their halberds so the troops could pass. And suddenly, the cries of joy were drowned out by shrieks of agony. The traitors, smelling victory, had cast off their masks. Havoc broke loose, as they ran riot, killing, looting, and raping. But immediately, from alley to alley, a desperate struggle for survival began. Submerged by enemies overrunning the city, the people of Dôle were butchered. Near the church, where the women and children had taken refuge, the last defenders barricaded themselves in a shoemaker's cellar, firing their arquebuses with such fury that they stood off all comers.

Charles d'Amboise had spared this handful of champions, saying "they should be kept as seed." So he wasn't quite as vile as I imagined. With the approval of my father, who was visibly pleased by the assumption, I had declared that the great-grandfather of Stéphane Dôle (1556-1653) had been among the insurgents in Hell's Cellar. The underground redoubt bore such a fantastical name that I was convinced my ancestor and I had to be a part of it.

Delighted by my enthusiasm, my father would often walk with me to the cathedral after our ritual visit to Hell's Cellar. According to him, the tragic but noble defeat was only one of a long series our city had overcome. Louis XI had ordered the torching of Dôle, and within three days, the city had been reduced to smoldering embers. But its inhabitants petitioned for and received permission to dwell in their



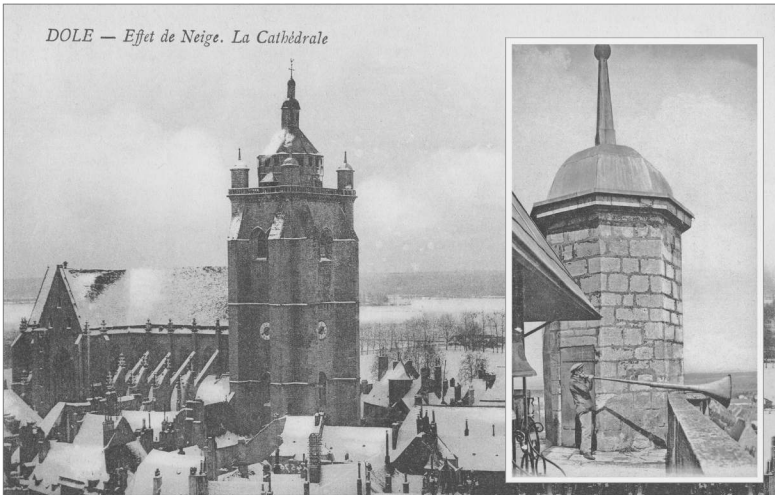
EN - MCCCLXXIX  
 DOLE-QUI-APPARTENOIT-ALORS-A LA-DOMINATION D AVTRICHE  
 FVST-PRINSE-TRAISTREVSEMENT-PAR-L ARMEE-DE- LOÏS-XI  
 ENSVISTE-BRVSLEE-ET-DESTRVITE  
 QVELQVES-HABITANS-SE-RETIREMENT-DANS-CESTE-CAVE  
 ET-FIRENT-VNC-FEV-SI-VIF-QV-ON-NE-PVST-LES-EN-DESLOGER  
 CE-LIEV-DEPVIS-FVST-APELE  
 CAVE D ENFER

**A carved stone plaque on a façade in the Rue de Besançon,  
 a memorial to Hell's Cellar – 1900 postcard – France – Author's collection.**

“In 1479, Dôle, then ruled by the Austrian Crown, fell to the treachery of the armies of Louis XI, and was burned to the ground. A few inhabitants took refuge in this cellar and kept up such a lively fire it was impossible to dislodge them. Ever since, it has been known as Hell's Cellar.”

cellars, building temporary roofs over the holes to keep out the rain. They were forced to live like rats! A few years later, they were free of Louis's despotic rule, traded to the Holy Roman Empire. Obstinate as ever, the people of Dôle hurriedly erected Notre-Dame Cathedral on the site of a church consumed by the flames. They wanted its bell-tower, the tallest in Franche-Comté province, to symbolize the rebirth of their city from its ashes.

When the tower was completed, a trumpeter was stationed there. He sounded his gigantic horn both to announce the canonical hours and to give the alert in case the town was in danger. Night and day, this lone guard kept watch from his bell-tower. He even had a special apparatus to hoist food and drink to the top. Thus, he never had to descend or climb the 365 steps separating him from *terra firma*.



DOLE — Effet de Neige. La Cathédrale

*Notre-Dame Cathedral in Dôle in winter and the trumpeter with his horn*  
1900 postcard – France – Author's collection.

Learning from my father that the cathedral tower had been of key strategic value in observing the movements of Condé's troops in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, I silently thanked the people of Dôle for their wisdom in building it and staffing it with a watchman. Once again, the French royal armies, now obeying Louis XIII, were besieging my city, and I thought to myself that this Louis must have been just as bad as the previous one, considering the determination with which my people withstood his attack.

The siege provoked a new batch of ordeals to be overcome: eighty days of ruthless artillery fire, accompanied by a dreadful epidemic of plague. Amidst these perils, the people of Dôle refused to surrender. Condé, faced with such courage and stubbornness, finally made up his mind to go home.

Next, my town was surrounded by the armies of Louis XIV, on two separate occasions. Whenever he addressed this subject, if we were strolling on the Bridge Bastion, my father would suppress a mischievous grin, and tell me the story of young Dominique Dôle, who had, as a child, sassed the King of France – a crime of lèse-majesty!

At the beginning of the second siege, Louis XIV rode up to the gates of my city in a carriage. He got out, straddled a magnificent white horse, and galloped all around the ramparts. Pulling up on the reins beside a young drummer thrumming up a racket to rouse the guard, he addressed the boy in these terms: “*Drummer, what are you beating?*” And the child retorted, “*I’m beating shit!*”

When Dôle capitulated after three days of intense combat, its garrison was decimated. Of 3,000 men, only 1,200 remained. Louis XIV granted the city honors of war, permitting the garrison to parade past his family and army with their weapons and gear. Then he seated himself upon his throne, and called up the little drummer who had spoken to him with such great audacity. In a brittle tone, the king ordered the boy to repeat his ugly words aloud, so that all the courtiers could hear him. Without flinching, the child dropped to one knee and replied, “*Sire, yesterday, you were my enemy; today, you are my king.*”

No matter how many times he’d repeated it, my father, well aware that the story was a family legend handed down through the generations, always relished telling me the end: King Louis XIV, surprised and flattered by the nine-year-old child’s quick wit and tact, gave him permission to stand. Then he gave him thirty gold coins struck with his image, and assigned him to the office of City Drummer for the rest of his life. And that’s how Dominique Dôle won the privilege of shouting the news in the streets of his beloved city until the end of his days.

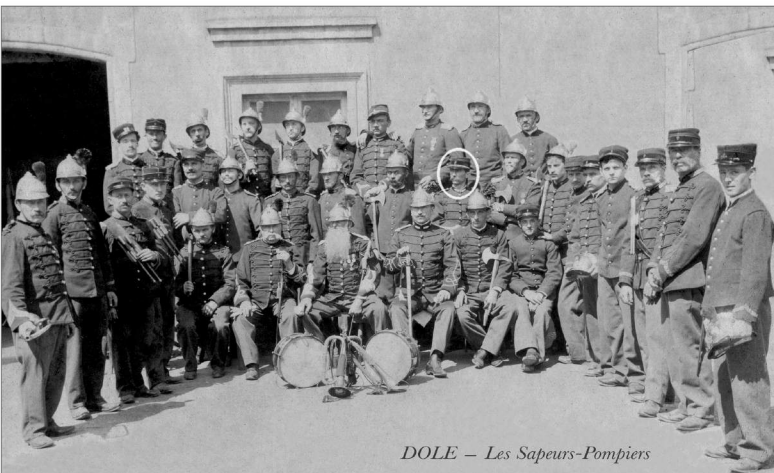
I can still recall feeling all aglow, as a little boy, when my father lifted me onto his shoulders so I could watch the regimental marching bands parade on the main street. It was all the more thrilling because on special occasions at home, he took out the trumpet he’d played himself, in his youth. The bugle and child-sized drum he gave me must have been another sign of the deep bond between us. He even decorated the cylinder himself, painting it with a breastplate and helmet, the insignia of the French Military Engineers, sharing with me his pride to have served in a corps vital to the protection of our armies.



*DOLE – Les Anciens Remparts. Bastion du Pont*

***The old Dôle ramparts, the Bridge Bastion,  
and the city drummer at the time of Louis XIV***  
1900 postcard – France – Author's collection.

Like the picture of the drummer on the bridge, that of the trumpeter in his bell tower became familiar tiles in the mosaic of my vision of history. My father recalled that one of these trumpeters, named Victor, was drunk as a lord three-fourths of the time. There were rumors that he'd deserted from the German army, and I could imagine the expression on the face of my grandfather François Dôle, a lieutenant in



*DOLE – Les Sapeurs-Pompiers*

***The Dôle Fire Brigade***  
1900 postcard – France – Author's collection.

My grandfather François Dôle is the one circled in the picture.

the firemen's brigade, when he saw Victor stagger past his barracks, still buttoned into an olive-drab uniform and wearing a spiked helmet, like the Kaiser on the old German postcard my Tante Mathilde had shown me. I also imagined the firemen joking when they bought the trumpeter a drink to thank him for keeping such good watch. They must have burned the infamous traces of his short military career.

At the crucial moment, did Victor lift an immense bronze horn to his lips, like the Buccinator illustrating the cover of my first Latin grammar? It would have been hard for me to say. I could only judge that though the sound of his trumpet was harsher than that of my grandmother's piano, its piercing notes had been effective in alerting the people of Dôle to the approach of the Uhlans. These fearsome Prussian lancers were reputed to impale babies on the points of their weapons. In my youthful innocence, I associated the gratuitous cruelty of the Uhlans with that of the Huns my ancestors had had to repel.

My childhood dreams were lively with these visions of sieges, battles, and conquests, blaring trumpets, and the insistent rat-a-tat-tat of the drums. As I grew, other stories, and especially fresh heroes, permeated my mind. The city of Dôle was no longer the center of all the action, and a stroll on its ramparts no longer the only pretext for a contemplation of History.

My imaginary horizons now stretched to include my great-great-great-uncle on my father's side, Charles Gouget, a Captain in the Light Cavalry, brandishing his sword in the charge at Waterloo... My maternal grandfather Hyacinthe Ollivier, First Master Pilot aboard a minesweeper, sinking a U-Boat in the Strait of the Dardanelles... My maternal grandfather by marriage, Gustave Marchand, Captain in the 152<sup>nd</sup> Regiment, the "Red Devils," clearing an enemy trench in the hellhole of Verdun <sup>1</sup>... My father René Dôle and my mother Yvonne Ollivier, conspirators in the Underground, rescuing Jewish families from

1. On his deathbed, wearing his dress uniform, my grandfather stroked my cheek and said, "Always be a good soldier!" I was three years old.

the Nazis' claws... My uncle Joseph Ollivier, too, a prisoner of war escaping from a stalag in the Black Forest to join the Maquisards, and thrashing the Gestapo when they came to arrest him.

All I needed was my own battle, so that I, too, would have a story to tell my father. Like many boys my age, without realizing there were so many of us, I identified with my hero Davy Crockett. At play with my friends, I defended my own Fort Alamo, located behind a rickety fence in a disused coal yard I had audaciously borrowed from the French Rail Administration.

Still happy to share in my dreams, my father offered to film us after I breathlessly outlined the plot to him: we were Texans besieged at Fort Alamo, just like the men of Dôle in Hell's Cellar, but General Santa Anna was less generous than Charles d'Amboise with the survivors. The Mexican Army would rain an uninterrupted shower of artillery fire on us, just like the cannons of the King of France, and the trumpeter, instead of playing for the salvation of souls, blew the forbidding notes of the lethal *Degüello*.

Much water has flowed beneath the single arch of the Roman bridge spanning the Doubs at Dôle. My father is no longer here to enchant me with his stories. And all that remains of my past as a frontiersman clad in fringed buckskin with a coonskin cap is two or three yellowed photos and a few strips of 8mm film.



*Fiddlin' Crockett*

Hand-painted metal miniature figure from King & Country's Remember the Alamo Photograph by Christine Dôle – Author's Collection.

So this is why, after I myself became a singer, music-maker, and historian of the Cajun music of Louisiana, upon seeing the real Alamo in San Antonio, the desire to revisit the dream fortress of my childhood was aroused. And because I always have a tune on my mind, I became curious and daring enough to wonder about David Crockett's fiddle, John McGregor's bagpipes, and, in general, the wealth of music and dance found in Texas at the time of its war for independence.

What a magnificent adventure!

GÉRARD DÔLE



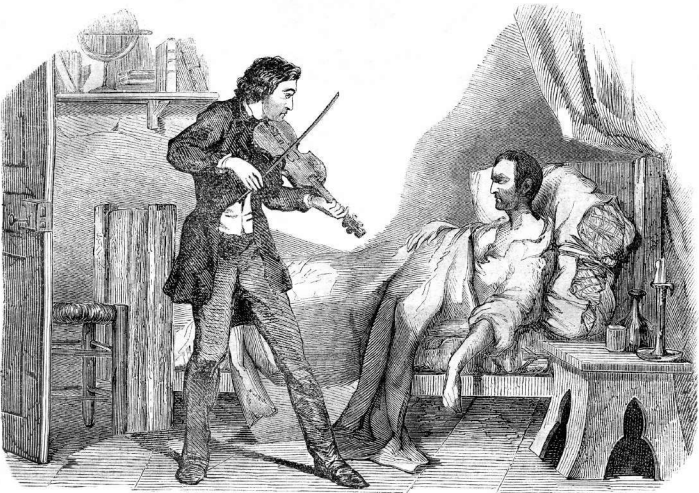
*René Dôle, Sapeur Maître Ouvrier*  
*5<sup>e</sup> Régiment du Génie, Düren (Westphalie), 1923*  
Author's collection.





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## MUSICAL ECHOES FROM THE ALAMO





Amérique Septentrionale, 1822  
 France – Author's collection.

## Chapter 1 A HARD ROAD TO TRAVEL



*L'Europe divisée en ses Grands États*  
France – Author's collection.

The estimated 189 men who spent the last days of their lives inside the Alamo garrison, including such famous characters as James Bowie, William Travis, and David Crockett, were from a variety of backgrounds. At the time of the battle, as many as 80 of them were documented residents of Texas, although only a few had actually been born in the territory. Researchers have identified a handful of Tejano defenders<sup>2</sup>, but

2. Their names were: Juan Abamillo, Juan A. Badillo, Carlos Espalier, Gregorio Esparza, Antonio Fuentes, and Andrés Nava.

these men were only a fraction of the many Hispanics who had chosen to join the revolutionary force.

Still more were part of the wave of Anglo-Celtic settlers who had recently migrated to Texas as they pushed ever farther west. Many were from Southern states, such as Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, and the Carolinas. Northerners from Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New York also stood their ground in the mission.

Europeans were also well represented. At least 10 were natives of England, 4 of Scotland (one of whom was piper John McGregor), and another 10 were from Ireland. The rest came from Germany (two) and Denmark (one).<sup>3</sup>

To all these men must be added a handful of African-Americans who were involved in the struggle for the Alamo without having had any say in the matter.

The garrison's men were also heterogeneous in terms of social class. Farmers fought and rested alongside clerks, doctors, and lawyers. We know the rolls included a blacksmith, a hatter, a house painter, a jockey, a shoemaker and a Baptist preacher. Very few were the frontier type, although one boasted he was the greatest bear hunter in the West: David Crockett.<sup>4</sup>

A word of explanation is necessary for the presentation of the forthcoming pages. In *Alamo Defenders, A Genealogy: The People and Their Words*,<sup>5</sup> author Bill Groneman has established a detailed list of the members of the Alamo garrison and their individual fates: whether they survived, were sent out as couriers before the battle, or were killed. Also included are non-combatant women and children who, along with the African-Americans, were present during the siege and battle. Because

3. Rosenthal, Phil and Groneman, Bill. *Roll Call at the Alamo*, Fort Collins: Old Army Press, 1985.

4. Lord, Walter. *A Time to Stand: The Epic of the Alamo*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1961.

5. Groneman, Bill. *Alamo Defenders*. Austin: Eakin, 1990.

my remarks pertain to music and dance, I have chosen to take a subjective approach to the study of these people, concentrating chiefly on the ethnic and cultural community to which they belonged. I have identified these communities as the Louisianans; the Anglo-Celtic (English, Scottish, and Irish); the African Americans; and the troop of New Orleans Greys. I then cite the few Germans and the lone Dane separately. The reader is invited to refer to *Alamo Defenders* and other such works to learn more about the garrison as a whole, a subject I cannot claim to have covered exhaustively.

## **LOUISIANA-BORN DEFENDERS**

Three natives of Louisiana are known to have traveled to the Alamo and lost their lives during the final assault. They were Isaac Ryan, Joseph Kerr, and Charles Despallier.

Isaac Ryan was born in 1805 at Perry's Ferry, Vermillion Parish, Louisiana. At age twelve, he moved with his parents to the western banks of Lake Charles, where a small settlement was taking root. By 1834, Ryan's brother-in-law, Thomas Rigmaiden, had built a house nearby, and the community also included Thomas Bilbo, Charles Sallier, Jacob Ryan, Jr., Arsene LeBleu, and several other families, all raising cattle and cotton. The Lake Charles lumber industry had not yet developed, so it is likely that young Isaac Ryan was also a livestock or cotton farmer. In the late summer of 1835, he arrived in New Orleans, either after having helped Capt. Arsene LeBleu, a former Laffite pirate, drive a herd of cattle there, or aboard a New Orleans schooner loaded with Calcasieu River cotton. Isaac Ryan took part in the siege of Bexar and then served in the Bexar Guards under the command of Capt. Robert White. He was listed on the Alamo's rolls as a private and infantry rifleman. His company was assigned to protect a cannon mount on the north wall.

Joseph Kerr, son of General Joseph Kerr of Chillicothe, Ohio, was born in Louisiana in 1814 on his father's plantation beside Lake Providence, fifty miles to the north of Vicksburg in the Parish of Carroll.

He and his brother Nathaniel traveled to Texas with Capt. S. L. Chamblis's Louisiana Volunteers for Texas Independence. In early February 1836, they were honorably discharged from Chamblis's company because their horses were disabled. The brothers continued on to Bexar, where Nathaniel died of a sudden illness. Joseph remained with the Alamo garrison and served at the fort.

Charles Despallier was born in Louisiana in 1812 and lived in Rapides Parish. He was the second son of Bernard Martin Despallier, a Frenchman who owned a plantation in Pineville, near Alexandria. After receiving a military appointment from Louisiana Governor Carondelet in 1794, Bernard Martin Despallier had moved from New Orleans to Nacogdoches, where he met and married Maria Candida Grande. He had been expelled from Texas by the royal Spanish government for illegal trade with Natchitoches and Louisiana, and therefore took an active interest in the movement to separate Texas from Spain led by Gutiérrez de Lara, a revolutionist agent from Mexico who came to Natchitoches in 1812. Despallier had written pamphlets and articles explaining the goals of the movement to Creole inhabitants of the provinces of Mexico. His wife Maria Candida is thought to have been a relative of Luis Grande from Trinidad, who was an underground courier for the Army of the North. Gutiérrez de Lara's filibustering expedition against Spanish rule in Texas, planned in Natchitoches, was crushed at the Battle of Medina in August 1813.

Charles Despallier's older brother, Blaz Phillipe Despallier, was a captain, or is spoken of as such, although the Muster Rolls list him as a private in York's company. Immediately after the fall of Bexar, he was associated with Travis in scout service. Honorably discharged in late December 1835, he went home sick. When Blaz Phillipe reached his family in Rapides Parish, Louisiana, his brother Charles set out to join the Texas army.

Charles Despallier was in Bexar in February 1836. He was in Gonzales as a courier from the Alamo for a short time in late February, and returned with the Gonzales Ranging Company of Mounted Volunteers on March 1, 1836. Travis cited him for bravery in a letter to Sam Houston sent from the Alamo, dated 25 February:

Charles Despallier and Robert Brown gallantly sallied out and set fire to houses which afforded the enemy shelter, in the face of enemy fire.

An affidavit signed by the Acting Adjutant General of Texas in 1851 certifies that Charles Despallier was "aid to Travis" and "fell with Travis in the Alamo."

In 1837, Charles Despallier's mother applied for lands due to her son, but by 1839, before the property was granted, she and both of her other sons, Blaz Phillipe and Victor, had died of cholera. In the end, donation lands were patented to the young son of Blaz Phillipe Despallier in 1852. Soon after, the 1,920 acres were sold at public auction for a total sum of \$40.

## **LOUISIANA SETTLERS AND RESIDENT DEFENDERS**

By 1804, Louisiana was already home to a large Anglo-American minority. After its purchase, a steady influx of families from the Carolinas, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, with a scattering of New Englanders, began. A wave of European immigration also occurred.

Among the men who had settled or resided in Louisiana before leaving to join the revolutionary force in Texas were:

Samuel E. Burns, born in Ireland in 1810, had made his home in Natchitoches. He served in the Alamo garrison as a member of Capt. William R. Carey's artillery company.

James Girard Garrett was born in Tennessee in 1806. He was a resident of Louisiana when he marched to Texas as a member of Capt. Thomas H. Breece's company of New Orleans Greys in 1835. Garrett took part in the siege of Bexar and later served in the Alamo garrison.

James W. Garrand was born in 1813, but his birthplace and parish of adoption were never recorded. An infantryman, he served under Capt. William Blazeby.

Tapley Holland was born in Ohio in 1810. His family, originally from Canada, then settled in Louisiana. After fighting at the siege of Bexar, Holland joined Capt. Carey's company at Fort Alamo. According to



most tellers of the "Moses Rose" story (see "San Antonio Roze"), when Travis drew the line with his sword and dared all who were willing to die with him to cross it, Tapley Holland was the first to leap to Travis's side.

James Bowie was born in Kentucky in 1796 but spent his youth in Louisiana. When he first entered Mexican Texas is unknown. On February 20, 1830, he took the oath of allegiance to Mexico and officially became a Mexican citizen the following autumn. Bowie's early accomplishments, like David Crockett's, are told separately.

## **THE NEW ORLEANS GREYS**

Not to be forgotten are the men who found themselves in town when the New Orleans Greys were organized out of a mass meeting held in the grand coffee room of Banks's Arcade on October 13, 1835. By the evening's end, nearly 120 appear to have been recruited. Two companies of volunteers were formed, the first under Capt. Thomas H. Breece and the second under Capt. Robert C. Morris.

Unlike the majority of enlisted men in the Texas Revolutionary Army, the New Orleans Greys, marching proudly under the name of their city of birth or predilection and the color of their coats, looked like soldiers. They wore uniforms, carried well-maintained rifles and adequate ammunition, and had some semblance of discipline.

The two companies departed from New Orleans within two days of each other. Capt. Breece's Greys steamed up the Mississippi and Red River aboard the *Washita*. They disembarked at Alexandria and followed the Old Spanish Trail to the Texas border at Gaines Ferry. A delegation of local women presented them with a blue silk banner embroidered with the words "First Company of Texan Volunteers from New Orleans," and a public dinner was held in their honor at San Augustine. It was followed with a "Feast of Liberty" sponsored by the citizens of Nacogdoches, led by Adolphus Sterne, a wealthy German merchant and financier of the Texas Revolution, who had landed in New Orleans in 1817. Bear, beef, mutton, turkeys, raccoon, and other specialties were

served at the banquet. With Rhine wine from Sterne's cellar, toasts were made and rousing speeches delivered.

The Greys had entered Nacogdoches on foot. Two-thirds of the company were given horses before proceeding to Bexar.

As for Capt. Morris's Greys, they sailed across the Gulf of Mexico from New Orleans, landing at Velasco on October 22, 1835. They proceeded to Brazoria by steamship and marched inland to Victoria, where some of them were issued horses. The rest secured mounts at La Bahía. The Greys then headed for Bexar, where they arrived before Breece's company.

After their forces had reunited, Morris was promoted to major and assumed command of a division made up of both companies of Greys. William Gordon Cooke, who took command of Morris's old company, noted that it numbered seventy men, while there were fifty in Breece's.



*Flag of the New Orleans Greys*  
Original artwork by Stéphane Vielle  
France – Private collection.

The Greys took an active part in the siege of Bexar. After its capture, they underwent a series of organizational changes. All but twenty-two members of Breece's company and one of Cooke's left Bexar. Those who remained were under the command of Capt. John James Baugh. When Baugh became garrison adjutant, William Blazeby took command of the company, of which every single member was fated to die at the Alamo.

## THE ENGLISH DEFENDERS

At least ten Alamo defenders were born in England. These brave men who lost their lives during the final battle were:

William Blazeby, 41 years, traveled to Texas from New York by way of New Orleans as a second lieutenant in Capt. Breece's Greys. He saw action in the siege of Bexar and remained there afterward as captain and commander of the Greys under Lt. Col. Neill.

Daniel Bourne, 26 years, immigrated to America with his brothers and settled in Gonzales. He took part in the siege of Bexar as a member of Capt. Parrott's artillery company and later served in the Bexar garrison in Capt. Carey's artillery company.

George Brown, 35 years, lived in Yazoo, Mississippi, before settling in Gonzales. He was one of four "George Browns" in the Texas army during the Texas Revolution.

James R. Dimpkins, age unknown, marched to Texas from New Orleans as a member of Capt. Breece's Greys. He fought in the siege of Bexar and later served in the Alamo garrison as a sergeant in Capt. Blazeby's infantry company.

James C. Gwynne, 32 years, moved to Texas from Mississippi. Also a veteran of the siege of Bexar, he later served in the Alamo garrison as a member of Capt. Carey's artillery company.

William D. Hersee, 31 years, lived in New York with a wife and four children. He traveled to Texas by way of Louisiana and was wounded in the Battle of Bexar. He served in the Alamo garrison as a sergeant in Capt. Carey's artillery company.

Marcus L. Sewell, 31 years, was a shoemaker by trade who reached Texas via New Orleans and settled in Gonzales. He rode to the relief of the Alamo with the Gonzales Ranging Company.

Richard Starr, 25 years, traveled to Texas by way of New Orleans as a member of Capt. Breece's Greys. He took part in the siege of Bexar and later served in the Alamo garrison as a member of Capt. Blazeby's infantry company.

James E. Stewart, 28 years. Not much is known about him. He served in the garrison of the Alamo as a private (rifleman).

Thomas Waters, 24 years, who marched to Texas by way of New Orleans as a member of Capt. Breece's Greys. took part in the siege of Bexar and later served in the Alamo garrison in Capt. Carey's artillery company.

Note that the following Alamo defender was born in either England or Ireland:

James Nowlan, 27 years, probably marched to Texas as a member of Capt. Cooke's Greys. He was severely wounded in the siege of Bexar and it is unlikely that he was able to play an active role in the battle of the Alamo.

Concerning Alamo defender Anthony Wolf, 54 years, several historians have speculated that he was Jewish and emigrated to Texas from England, but to date no firm evidence of this connection has surfaced. He apparently settled in the Louisiana-Texas territory prior to 1818 and was employed as an Indian scout and interpreter. He relocated in Nacogdoches in 1822 and later served in Capt. Carey's artillery company at the Alamo garrison. He was accompanied by two sons, aged eleven and twelve, who were killed in the battle's aftermath.

## **THE SCOTTISH DEFENDERS**

Four men born in Scotland, John McGregor, Richard W. Ballentine, Isaac Robinson, and David L. Wilson, were among those who lost their lives during the storming of the Alamo. <sup>6</sup>

6. There were also 26 men of Scots descent among the Alamo defenders. It must be remembered that over 40% of the "Old Three Hundred" colonists who settled on Steven F. Austin's land grant in 1825 were of Scottish ancestry.

Best remembered as "The Alamo Bagpiper," John McGregor was probably born in Dull, Perthshire, December 1, 1797. At the age of twelve, he emigrated with his father, Thomas, sailing from Oban, Argyll on June 8, 1808, and arriving at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island two months later, on August 6. It has been established that he had been given title to a piece of land in Burnet's Texas colony, in present-day Cherokee County, Texas, which he had farmed for a few years before going off to San Antonio de Bexar as a soldier. A single man, he joined the volunteer rebel army in 1835 as an artilleryman. He took part in the siege of Bexar and later served in the Alamo garrison as a second sergeant in Capt. William R. Carey's artillery company. He probably commanded a battery of guns on the walls.

Richard W. Ballentine was born in 1814. He traveled to Texas from Alabama aboard the *Santiago*, landing on December 9, 1835. Before disembarking, he and the other volunteers aboard signed a statement declaring, "we have left every endearment at our respective places of abode in the United States of America, to maintain and defend our brethren, at the peril of our lives, liberties and fortunes."

Isaac Robinson was born in 1808 and came to Texas from Louisiana. He took part in the siege of Bexar and later served in the Alamo garrison as a fourth sergeant in Capt. William R. Carey's artillery company.

David L. Wilson was born in 1807. In Texas, he lived in Nacogdoches with his wife Ophelia. Wilson was probably one of the volunteers who accompanied Capt. Philip Dimmitt to Bexar and the Alamo in the early months of 1836. He remained at the Alamo after Dimmitt left on the first day of the siege.

## **THE IRISH DEFENDERS**

At least ten Alamo defenders were born in Ireland. The rest, including several from the Refugio and San Patricio settlements, are

believed to have been of either Irish or Irish American heritage. Among the Irish-born volunteers who perished during the final battle were:

Samuel E. Burns, 26 years, was a resident of Natchitoches, Louisiana, at the beginning of the Texas Revolution. He served in the Alamo garrison as a member of Capt. Carey's artillery company.

Andrew Duvalt, 32 years, a plasterer by trade, immigrated to Texas by way of Missouri and settled in Gonzales. He took part in the siege of Bexar. Afterwards he remained in the town as a member of the Bexar Guards, then returned to his home in Gonzales. He was probably called up to the Alamo as a member of the relief force from Gonzales.

Robert Evans, 36 years, traveled to Texas from New York by way of New Orleans. After the siege of Bexar, he served as master of ordnance of the Bexar garrison. Later, as ordnance chief under Travis at the Alamo, he was responsible for the maintenance and care of all the cannon, firearms, and munitions.

Joseph M. Hawkins, 37 years, traveled to Texas by way of Louisiana. He may have been one of the volunteers who accompanied James Bowie to Bexar and the Alamo. Before the Alamo siege he served as an express rider to Sam Houston.

Thomas Jackson, age unknown, settled in 1831 in Texas where he registered for land in DeWitt's colony the same year. A married man and the father of four children, he entered the Alamo as a member of the relief force from Gonzales.

William Daniel Jackson, 29 years old, a sailor, moved to Texas from Kentucky. He took part in the siege of Bexar and later served in the Alamo garrison, possibly as a lieutenant of Capt. Carey's artillery company.

James McGee, age unknown, came to Texas by way of New Orleans as a member of Capt. Breece's Greys. He took part in the siege of Bexar, in which he was severely wounded, and later served at the Alamo as a member of Capt. Blazeby's infantry company.

Jackson J. Rusk, age unknown, resident of Nacogdoches, Texas, had registered in Lorenzo de Zavala's colony in September 1835. He probably was one of the volunteers who accompanied James Bowie to the Alamo.

Burke Trammel, 26 years old, traveled to Texas from Tennessee. He took part in the siege of Bexar and later served in the Alamo garrison as a member of Capt. Carey's artillery company.

William B. Ward, age unknown, came to Texas by way of New Orleans. In Bexar, prior to the Alamo siege, he gained a reputation for drunkenness. Nevertheless, he served as a sergeant in the Alamo garrison and was seen calm and sober, manning the artillery position at the main gate, when the enemy appeared.

Professor Phillip Thomas Tucker, author of the controversial *Exodus from the Alamo*, is convinced that "fifteen confirmed Irishmen fought and died at the Alamo."<sup>7</sup> In addition to the ten defenders listed above, he names John Mormon,<sup>8</sup> John Spratt,<sup>9</sup> Stephen Dennison, Robert McKinney, and Edward McCafferty:

Stephen Dennison, 24 years, a resident of Kentucky and a glazer and painter by trade, marched to Texas by way of New Orleans as a member of Capt. Breece's Greys. He took part in the siege of Bexar and later served in the Alamo garrison as a member of Capt. Blazeby's infantry company.<sup>10</sup>

Robert McKinney, 27 years, came to Texas from New Orleans. He may have been one of the volunteers who accompanied James Bowie to the Alamo.<sup>11</sup>

Edward McCafferty, age unknown, was a resident of Refugio County, Texas. He served in the Alamo garrison with the rank of lieutenant and may have been one of the volunteers who accompanied James Bowie to the Alamo.<sup>12</sup>

7. Tucker, Phillip Thomas. *Exodus from the Alamo: The Anatomy of the Last Stand Myth*. Philadelphia and Newbury: Casemate Publishers, 2010.

8. No biographical details found.

9. Spratt is not listed on most lists of Alamo defenders. In fall 1836 Capt. Thomas Breece compiled a list of the men who had originally been under his command, and marked Spratt as killed at the Alamo." (Wikipedia Online)

10. Stephen Dennison "Born: England or Ireland." (Bill Groneman) - "Stephen Dennison (24, who had left Galway for New Orleans.)" (Phillip Thomas Tucker.)

11. Robert McKinney "Born: Tennessee." (Bill Groneman.)

12. Place of birth unspecified.



## **THE GERMAN DEFENDERS**

Henry Courtman and Henry Thomas, born in Germany in 1808 and 1811 respectively, both lost their lives in the Alamo during the final assault. They had traveled to Texas from New Orleans as members of Capt. Breece's company of New Orleans Greys. Both are on record as having taken part in the siege of Bexar, and later serving in the Alamo garrison.

## **THE DANISH DEFENDERS**

One Danish defender, Charles Zenco, lost his life in the Alamo during the final assault.

Born at Randers, Denmark, in 1808, Zanco emigrated to America with his father Frederick in 1834, after his mother's death. Both men settled in what is now Harris County, Texas. The Zancos were farmers, and Charles was also a painter by trade. In the fall of 1835 he joined the first volunteers at Lynchburg for service in the Texas Revolution. He helped design the company's banner, which featured a painted star and the controversial legend, "Independence." He may well have held the distinct honor of painting the very first "Lone Star" on a Texas flag.

Charles Zanco took part in the siege of Bexar as a member of the Texan artillery, and remained in town as part of the garrison under Lieutenant Colonel James C. Neill. The Danish pioneer was promoted to lieutenant, serving as assistant to the garrison's ordnance chief. He entered the Alamo at the approach of the Mexican Army.<sup>13</sup>

## **THE AFRICAN AMERICANS**

Many of the settlers in Stephen Austin's new colony had brought African American slaves or servants with them, adding even further to

13. Groneman, Bill. *Alamo Defenders*, *op. cit.*



the diversity of the community and its economic and musical complexity in the years leading up to Texas's battles for independence. Moreover, in 1829, the national government in Mexico City issued a decree abolishing slavery throughout the newly founded Republic of Mexico. Tensions with the Anglo-American settlers in Tejas rose to a new high.

Noah Smithwick, who had arrived in Texas two years before at the age of nineteen, wrote in his recollections that African-Americans soon became aware that the institution of slavery was illegal on Mexican soil. However, "it was probably owing to their ignorance of the language and country that more of them did not leave."<sup>14</sup> Labor and money being scarce on the frontier, some slave-owners preferred to kill a slave rather than allow him to go seek his fortune as a free man:

Jim, one of McNeal's slaves, openly announced his determination to leave, and, acting on the impulse, threw down his hoe and started away. Pleasant McNeal, to whom he communicated his intention, ordered him to return to work, but Jim went on, whereupon Pleasant raised his rifle. "Jim," said he "if you don't come back I'll shoot you!" Jim, however, kept on and true to his threat McNeal shot him dead.<sup>15</sup>

Smithwick goes on to note that slavery nevertheless offered the promise of a life which, albeit without freedom, was also without responsibility.

One of his slaves, Mose, impatient for the promised freedom, ran away to Mexico to obtain it, but he soon wearied of "husks," and, returning voluntarily, surrendered himself to his old master, preferring slavery under Thompson's lenient rule to freedom in Mexico."<sup>16</sup>

We must keep in mind that the teller of the story is an old white settler whose faith in the benevolent paternalism of the institution of slavery was never subject to the strain of being a slave. As a result, he

14. Smithwick, Noah. *The Evolution of a State or Recollections of Old Texas Days*. Austin: Gammel Book Company, 1900.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

found it quite appropriate to tell his white readers a variation of the parable of the Prodigal Son. In the Bible, the story ends with music and dancing and, "coincidentally," Mose is a fiddler in great demand at the neighborhood's balls, as we shall see.

Though the Guerrero decree was never enforced in Tejas – slaves numbered 5000 in 1836 – it left a conviction in the minds of many settlers that their interests were not safe under a Mexican government.

Alamo survivor Juana Navarro de Alsbury remembered that an African-American woman who belonged to James Bowie, her cousin by marriage, escorted her and her one-year-old son to her father's house in La Villita. This slave may or may not have been Bowie's female cook Betty, who had waited out the assault in a kitchen area within the Alamo. She was with a male slave named Charlie who was pulled from his hiding place by a group of Mexican soldiers. Another Bowie slave named Sam has often been cited as an Alamo survivor, although the credibility of these reports remains thin.<sup>17</sup>

We know with certainty that Joe, slave of William Travis, survived the battle. He was taken to Santa Anna and later joined Susanna Dickinson and her escort, on their way to Sam Houston's camp. Brought before the Texas Cabinet, Joe was questioned about events at the Alamo then returned to Travis's estate near Columbia, where he remained until April 21, the first anniversary of the battle of San Jacinto. On that day, accompanied by an unidentified Mexican man, he escaped. The pair took two valuable horses and tack. A notice offering fifty dollars for his return was published by the executor of Travis's estate in the *Telegraph* and *Texas Register*. Presumably Joe's escape was successful, for the notice ran three months before being discontinued in August, 1837.<sup>18</sup>

17. Jackson, Ron. "In the Alamo's Shadow." *True West Magazine*. Cave Cree: True West Publishing, February 1998.

18. Lack, Paul D. "Slavery and the Texas Revolution." Austin: The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, July 1985.

Some of the African-Americans in or around the Alamo may not have been slaves, however. At least two free blacks were in San Antonio de Bexar in 1833: a blacksmith who had come to Nacogdoches as a slave from Georgia (after being sold away from North Carolina), and a Louisiana black Creole slave who had purchased freedom for himself and his family. This man had a sister, also residing in town, who was married to a Frenchman.<sup>19</sup>

Other free blacks may have arrived in San Antonio de Bexar by 1836 and, like some members of the local Tejano community, taken refuge in the fortified mission. Still others may have fled the area at the rumor of the approach of Santa Anna's cavalry. Five days after the storming of the fort, a Mexican officer noted in his memoirs that while on the banks of the nearby Colorado River, his patrol had met "several natives, a mulatto woman, two Negro women, and several Negro men, who were very useful in making the crossing and who washed our clothes."<sup>20</sup>

We may conclude that like the Anglo-Americans, many African-Americans were living in the settlements on the Texas frontier.

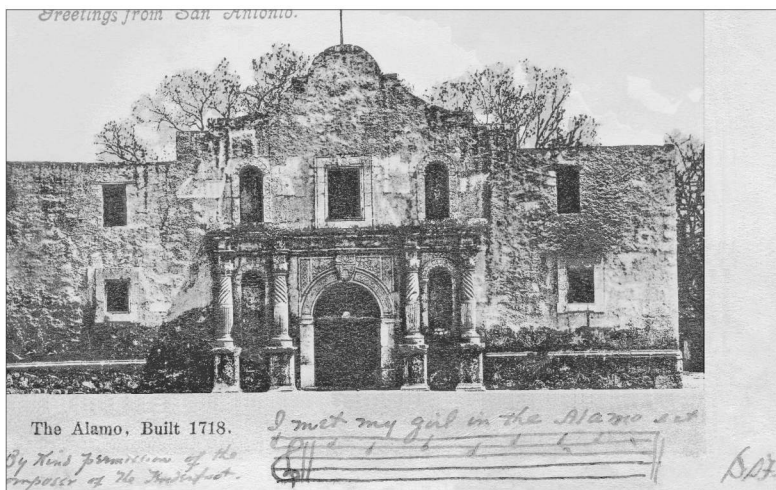


*Texas: A Hard Road to Travel*

19. Jackson, Ron. "In the Alamo's Shadow," *op. cit.*

20. *Ibid.*

## Chapter 2 MUSICAL TRAILS TO TEXAS AND THE ALAMO



### **"I met my Girl in the Alamo"**

**First line of an original song written on an old Alamo postcard  
U.S.A. – Author's collection.**

*"For a while, adieu the smile,  
And the joys our home surrounding,  
And welcome now, with a soldier brow,  
The trump of the battle sounding!  
For the hand of War—would strike our "star"—  
Away in its early beaming.  
But it long shall be o'er the Texans free,  
With a sacred glory streaming!  
Then on! Be brave! And if a grave  
Await our rights' contending,  
'Tis sweet to fall, 'neath the battle pall,  
The home of the heart defending!  
For the hand of War ...."*

Texas Song  
By Col.—<sup>21</sup>

As Dr. Wayne R. Austerman, historian at the Leader Training Center of the US Army Medical Department Center and School at Fort Sam Houston, Texas, remarked, "If the Republic of Texas was born in the

21. Hollon, Eugene W. (ed.). *William Bollaert's Texas*. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1956.

priming pan of a flintlock rifle, it was most certainly baptized with a dipperful of white lightning."<sup>22</sup>

The existing cultural propensity for heavy drinking manifested itself among the earliest American volunteers to reach Texas as war fever grew during the waning months of 1835. On November 4, for example, a party of 30 men belonging to a larger contingent of volunteers recruited from the Ayish Bayou settlements in the Louisiana-Texas border country passed through the village of Gonzales on the Guadalupe River, east of San Antonio. There they punctuated a drinking bout by staging a riot which saw stores looted, men beaten, and women subjected to insult and abuse before more sober comrades intervened to restrain the drunken troops.<sup>23</sup>

If consumption of alcohol associated with the Texas army volunteers (and their wild carousing at times, as we have just read) can be found in various historical sources, music and dance are only rarely mentioned in eyewitness accounts of the siege of the Alamo. But the joining together of men from diverse backgrounds, desperate, yet determined to go down fighting for the cause of freedom, would undoubtedly have given rise to a wealth of music and dances. The Alamo defenders could have shared them whole-heartedly, had the circumstances been less dramatic.

As it became clear to them that they were doomed, they probably thought back upon their lives, seeking courage and comfort from their memories. Perhaps the thought of a jolly celebration, with music and dances from a distant home, momentarily distracted them from their present predicament. In the absence of specific documentation, the only way to surmise the sort of tunes they might have sung, played, or danced to cheer themselves is to refer to their ancestral traditions.

22. Austerman, Wayne R. "Aguardiente at the Alamo: Alcohol Abuse and the Texas War for Independence, 1835-1836." *United States Army Medical Department Journal*. Fort Sam Houston: U. S. Army Medical Department, April 2010.

23. *Ibid.*

## MUSIC AND DANCE IN NORTH AMERICA

### • Vocal & Instrumental Music

A great variety of ethnic groups settled between New England and Virginia, providing a wealth of additional sources of and influences upon the music that would flourish in North America.

For example, in addition to a rich musical tradition, the Swedes, Germans, and Moravians had brought their instruments and their love of the art. As early as 1700, their chronicles are filled with stories related to music, both holy and profane. Among them were composers and musicians who knew how to play the viol, oboe, trumpet, kettledrums, harpsichord, and organ. However, they had had to struggle against the opposition of the Pennsylvania Quakers who, like the Puritans, were eager to ban every sort of music. Despite this opposition, the various ethnic groups were so determined to conserve their rich traditions that, in the end, they managed to win out.<sup>24</sup>

Likewise, in one way or another, the Germans, Scottish, and Irish who left Pennsylvania and settled in North Carolina in the 18th century, and the German, Scottish, Swiss, Portuguese, and Jewish colonists who founded Savannah, Georgia, in 1733, all contributed to the music taking root in America.

One of the most important public and private activities of the Anglo-American colonists was choral singing. An expression of their religious fervor, it played a social role that went well beyond mere recreation. Undeniably, the religious physiognomy of New England colonial life was fundamental. The first performances of vocal music were devoted to the singing of psalms alone; instruments were forbidden at religious services, and songs other than psalms were carefully screened. The psalms were sung in a call-and-response form (the congregation responding to the minister, verse by verse) and in unison. However, at home, families sang multi-part harmonies. The best evidence that choral singing was widespread among the Puritans is that

24. Amtmann, Willy, *La Musique au Québec, 1600-1875*. Montréal: Éditions de l'Homme, 1976.

the first notable book to be printed in the Anglo-American colonies was the *Bay Psalm Book* (Cambridge, 1640). It contained one hundred rhyming psalms, without musical accompaniment. A second edition, published in 1690, included twelve tunes. Some of them, like *The Old Hundredth*, are still sung today, on both sides of the Atlantic. The popularity of the *Bay Psalm Book* ultimately exceeded that of the Ainsworth Psalter with which the Mayflower Pilgrims had crossed the ocean.

In the early 18th century, Reverend John Tufts of Newburyport, Massachusetts made an effort to improve congregational singing, devising a musical notation system consisting of letters and punctuation. In 1712, he published a collection entitled *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm Tunes* transcribed according to this system. In 1721, another minister, Reverend Thomas Walter of Roxbury, Massachusetts, printed the first collection of psalms in conventional musical notation, *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained; or, an Introduction to the Art of Singing by Note*. Like most of the tunes published in North America, the melodies, scored for three parts, were borrowed from the English canon. The first volume of American religious music, by William Billings, was not published until 1770. In addition, in the southern colonies, John Wesley's 1737 *Collection of Psalms and Hymns* was widely circulated<sup>25</sup>.

Even though secular songs, or *ballads*, were condemned by Puritans and defenders of the faith, they too entertained settlers in the Anglo-American colonies. In the 17th and 18th centuries, as was the case with the religious music, most of these songs came from the British Isles. The vivacity of this vocal tradition on American soil is attested by the copious collections of such late 19th-century or early 20th-century folklorists as Francis J. Child, of Harvard University, and Cecil Sharp. On the basis of their work and that of later scholars, the songs have been divided into three groups. The first group, known as the *Child Ballads*

25. Gauthier, André. *La Musique américaine*. Paris: P.U.F., 1963.

Jacobs, Arthur (ed.). *Choral Music, a Symposium*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963.



*Music's Mishap* – Engraving by J. M. Wright, 1828  
Great Britain – Author's collection.

The burlesque character of a parish clerk giving a music lesson to his village charges. in honor of their collector, who published a ten-volume anthology of songs, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, between 1882 and 1898, contains the oldest. Most date from the 16th and 17th centuries, although a few can be traced back to the late medieval period.

The second group is composed of “broadside ballads” from the British Isles. Printed on a single sheet of paper, they were composed to be sold on the streets or at fairs by itinerant vendors called chapmen.



Many of these ballads appealed to singers and became part of the vocal tradition.

The third group consists of ballads originating in North America, spread either by oral tradition or in print.

The most popular Child Ballads sing of love and family dramas. They are about aristocrats in a feudal society where gold, silver, and wealth are of primordial importance. These ballads often tell tragic stories of dastardly crimes and violent deaths, resulting from jealousy and hatred. For example, the oldest versions of “The Two Sisters” describe two princesses. The younger and more beautiful is courted by a suitor who showers her with expensive gifts. Her elder sister, insane with jealousy, lures her to the banks of a river and pushes her in:

*Sometimes she sank and sometimes she swam,  
Until she came to the old mill dam.  
The miller he got his fishing hook,  
And fished the maiden out of the brook.*

In certain variants, the murderer’s name is revealed by supernatural means. A harpist strings his instrument with strands of the unfortunate victim’s hair, and when he strums them, a voice from the Beyond accuses the elder sister. “The Two Sisters” is notable in that it spawned more different versions than any other ballad. However, the most widespread Child Ballad in America is undeniably “Barbara Allen,” in which the heroine dies of grief and guilt after spurning her dying lover. Barbara Allen’s last words are for her mother:

*O, mother, mother, make my bed,  
O make it soft and narrow;  
Since my love died for me today,  
I’ll die for him tomorrow.*

In America, traditional broadside ballads that had come to the New World with English and Scottish settlers were hawked in streets and taverns, in towns and in the countryside. They prevailed largely over the Child Ballads.

The chief contrast between the two lies in the plebeian nature of the broadside. Rather than recounting the misfortunes of lords and ladies, broadsides sing of soldiers and sailors, servant-girls and merchants. Many of them deal with the problems of young lovers facing the disapproval of their parents. For example, the daughter of a wealthy man may fall in love with a poor plowman or mariner, and risk incurring the wrath of her parents to elope with him. As an alternative, she may dress up as a man and enlist in the army or navy to remain close to her lover. In "Jack Monroe," for example, the maiden follows her beloved to war in Germany and nurses him when he is wounded. In "The Golden Glove," a nobleman's daughter prefers a penniless farmer to the rich lord her parents have arranged for her to wed, and cunningly outwits them. Other broadside ballads are about war and its woes; crimes, murders, and misdeeds; disaster at sea and on land; and serious or grotesque sentimental misadventures. Marital conflicts also figure largely. "Johnny Sands" makes a mockery of the squabbling, and the tables are turned on the treacherous spouse. Comical themes are as rare as they are in the Child ballads. Melancholy but tuneful tales like "The Butcher Boy," in which a maiden kills herself out of unrequited love, are far more common. Here is a taste of it:

*In Jersey City were I did dwell  
A butcher boy I loved so well;  
He courted me my heart away,  
And then with me he would not stay.*

When American musicians began writing ballads, they tended to imitate the form and content of the broadsides, which reflected the democratic values of the new continent. Moreover, the broadside ballad style did not require extraordinary poetic skills. Being more sentimental and less imaginative than the Child ballads, they were a better match for the natural penchants and artistic talent of these composers<sup>26</sup>.

26. Malcolm Laws Jr., George. "Stories Told in Song: The Ballads of America" in Coffin, Tristram Potter (ed.). *Our Living Traditions, an Introduction to American Folklore*. New York and London: Basic Books, 1968.



Musical instruments were readily available in the Anglo-American colonies. It has been noted, however, that the wealthier settlers preferred sophisticated instruments like the virginal (a type of harpsichord), spinet, or viola da gamba to the pipes and fiddles which accompanied dancers who put on fewer airs.

In Massachusetts, there is evidence music-lovers played a variety of different instruments. In December 1699, Samuel Sewall, the judge who presided over the Salem witch trials, noted in his diary that he had stopped at Hiller's Boston workshop to see if his wife's virginal had been repaired. In 1716, one Edward Enstone, an organist at the royal chapel, advertised in the Boston *News Letter* the arrival of shipment of instruments, including whistles, flutes, oboes, viols, and violins, as well as bows, strings, reeds, and lesson books for learning to play them. He also offered services such as the repair of all sorts of instruments, the tuning of virginals and spinets, and tutoring in music <sup>27</sup>.

Among the Pennsylvania settlers, there were many music lovers. Philadelphia was already a musical center by 1700. In 1730, in what is now Lancaster County, Johann Conrad Beissel founded the Ephrata Cloister, a religious community which was also a center of musical education and publication. In 1744, three years after chartering the town of Bethlehem, its German and Moravian settlers built a *Collegium Musicum* for the purposes of promoting music, presenting performances of chamber music, symphonies, and choral works. In fact, its auditorium hosted the first New World concert of Handel's *Messiah* and Haydn's *Creation* <sup>28</sup>.

27. W. Amtmann, *La Musique au Québec*, op. cit.

28. *Ibid.*

In New York, the first concerts were held between 1735 and 1740. The city's Upper Marlborough Theatre first employed an orchestra for a staging of John Gay's *Beggar's Opera*, in 1752 <sup>29</sup>.

The town notables of Charleston, South Carolina founded a *Saint Cecilia Society*, named for the traditional patron saint of music, in the 1760s. It is believed to have been the first of its kind in America, Josiah Quincy, Jr.'s account of his journey to South Carolina in 1773 <sup>30</sup> reports that the society engaged excellent musicians, and rewarded them handsomely.

From America's very beginnings in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, settlers craved musical expression. The interest in learned music helped create a climate hospitable to the performer's calling. Talents flourished, even though many 18<sup>th</sup>-century American composers were satisfied with writing hymns or ditties suitable for small communities, rather than the symphonic and operatic works applauded in European cities.

#### • Dancing in the Eighteenth Century

The influence of religion was on the wane in Late Colonial American society. Many of the hardships of founding a new land had been overcome. Settlers new and established began turning their attention to politics and science. Those who had prospered as farmers, or in such businesses as shipping and the slave trade, began to display conspicuous signs of their wealth and success. They built more stately mansions with finer furnishings, wore rich clothing, and gave receptions and balls.

Dancing had long been condemned from the pulpit and legislated against, described as a sinful waste of time and money, if not the devil's business itself. Despite all this, people still danced heartily: Brangills, <sup>31</sup>

29. Gauthier, André. *La Musique américaine, op. cit.*

30. Howe, Mark Anthony DeWolfe (ed.). "Journal of Josiah Quincy, Jr." Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 1915-1916.

31. Also referred to as Branles, Brawls, etc., Brangills designated a variety of line and circle dances of popular character that were widely cultivated in France over several centuries.

### Durang's Hornpipe

The image shows a musical score for "Durang's Hornpipe". It is written in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. The score is presented in four systems, each with a treble clef staff on top and a bass clef staff on the bottom. The melody in the treble clef is highly rhythmic, featuring many eighth notes and grace notes. The bass clef part provides a simple accompaniment with quarter and eighth notes. The piece ends with a repeat sign and a fermata.

#### "Durang's Hornpipe"

Composed by "Mr. Hoffmaster, a German Dwarf, in New York, 1785."

John Durang (1768–1822) was reputedly George Washington's favorite dancer.

This popular tune was named for him.

Jigs, Hornpipes<sup>32</sup> and Reels<sup>33</sup> their grandparents had brought with them to the New World, along with the Minuet and Country Dances in great favor in the cities of England and France. Those who did not know the steps of these two fashionable dances were eager to learn them.

As the demand grew, dancing masters multiplied. They followed closely on the heels of the immigrants, travelling from town to town and often

32. Hornpipes and Jigs designated step dances which combined rhythmic taps and shuffles to create a lively and dynamic performance. They came to America from the British Isles.

33. Hailing from Scotland, Reels were executed by three or four people following an interweaving path. Performing them required little instruction, although some footwork skill was needed.



*A Hornpipe, 1790* – Drawing by Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827)  
Great Britain – Private collection.

advertising ahead that they planned to open a dancing school "if there be sufficient inducement." Probably the most famous of these itinerant teachers was George Brownell.<sup>34</sup> Sources show that he gave lessons in Boston in 1712 and 1734, in Philadelphia in 1727, 1730, and 1735, in New York in 1731, and in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1744.<sup>35</sup>

Likewise, a Mr. Hulett, dancing master in New York,<sup>36</sup> advertised in 1759 that although he could not get a room for his dancing school, he "would attend them in their own houses" if his pupils so desired. He finally opened his "Public Dancing School" in 1770 and announced in mid-October of the same year that although regular lessons were held at three in the afternoon, he would teach in the evening too, for those who could not attend earlier. He taught the Minuet and Country Dances, and had created a private class for those gentlemen "that have not learned the Hornpipe."<sup>37</sup>

34. George Brownell's most illustrious student was Benjamin Franklin.

35. Marks III, Joseph E. *America Learns to Dance: A Historical Study of Dance Education in America before 1900*. New York: Exposition Press, 1957.

36. "Mr. Hulett was for many years the only dancing master in New York. Some of us old fellows remember the steps taught by this worthy man whose sons were the teachers of succeeding generations." Dunlap, William. *History of the American Theatre*. London: Richard Bentley, 1833.

37. Marks III, *op. cit.*

In 1772, a Philadelphia dancing master offered his services in the following words:

He intends teaching in the newest and most approved [manner], now practiced in all the polite Assemblies of Europe. Exclusive of the Minuet, Country Dance, and Scotch Reel, he teaches (such of his pupils as he finds has a capacity) the Allemande, Cotillion and Louvre, and takes particular care, with respect to their dancing a proper Country Dance step without any extra charge.<sup>38</sup>

Every ball opened with a Minuet. Its complexity and multiple protocols established the dancers' individual status and prestige. Considerable expertise was required of the gentleman guiding his lady. It was so challenging that Kellom Tomlinson's *The Art of Dancing by Reading and Figures* (London, 1735) devoted nearly forty pages to it, along with sixteen plates illustrating steps and gestures.<sup>39</sup>



*A Family Party, The Minuet, 1780*  
Oil painting by Johan Zoffany (1733-1810)  
Great Britain – Private collection.

38. Bradford, William (ed.). "Mr. Hulett, Dancing Master" (advertisement.) *The Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, August 26, 1772.

39. Leppert, Richard. *Music and Image*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Essentially, Country Dances were the opposite of the stately Minuet. Sociable, informal, and interactive, they were fast in tempo and cheerful and energetic in spirit. Their freer forms required less practice and preparation (Tomlinson covered them in only three pages).<sup>40</sup>

English Country Dances had been popularized in France in the late seventeenth century, where they were called *Contredanses*. In altered form, they were introduced back into England. One particular example is the Cotillion, which was a round or square dance, as opposed to the longways form more common to English Country Dances. In whatever form, country dances were extraordinarily popular on the Continent and in England, and it took them little time to cross the ocean and reach North America.<sup>41</sup>

Whereas the steps of the Minuet never differed, regardless of the accompanying music, there were as many Country Dances as there were tunes: endless variety was the most essential component. Thus, each Country Dance tune required the learning of new combinations of movements, a boon to teachers.<sup>42</sup>



*A Longways Country Dance, 1790*  
Drawing by Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827)  
Great Britain – Private collection.

Understandably, as people learned to dance the Minuet and the Country Dances, acquiring elegance and sophistication at the same time, the demand grew for balls and assemblies where they might put their new skills to use. Many of these gatherings were hosted by the dancing masters themselves, as a means of attracting new students and supplementing their income.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*



In 1778, during the Revolutionary War, the arrival of French troops gave rise to more parties and balls. Ostentatious dancing assemblies and elegant entertainments were held, and the Cotillion became a tour-de-force in the ballroom. <sup>43</sup>

At least one wartime anecdote implies that some French officers were acquainted with English Country Dance tunes. On March 6, 1781, George Washington was in Newport, Rhode Island to plan the Yorktown campaign with the Vicomte de Rochambeau, commander-in-chief of the French Expeditionary Force. The town's patriotic citizenry gave a grand ball in their honor. Naturally, as the most important guest, the future president of the United States was asked to open the ball. The dance selected by his partner, sixteen-year-old Margaret Champlain, was "A Successful Campaign." At once, the French officers took the instruments from the musicians and played, while Washington danced the first figure with one of the most beautiful of Newport's many belles. <sup>44</sup>

The Successfull Campaign

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "The Successfull Campaign". It consists of four staves of music, all in treble clef. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C). The first staff begins with a treble clef, a sharp sign, and a common time signature. The music is written in a single melodic line. The second staff continues the melody. The third staff begins with a repeat sign (two vertical lines with dots) and contains a different melodic line. The fourth staff continues the melody from the third staff and ends with a double bar line and repeat dots. The overall style is that of an 18th-century manuscript.

*"The Successfull Campaign"*

43. Tuckerman, Arthur. *When Rochambeau Stepped Ashore: A Reconstruction of Life in Newport in 1780*. Newport: Preservation Society of Newport County, 1955.

44. Mason, George Champlin (ed.). *Newport Illustrated*. New York: D. Appleton & Co. ca. 1854.

As Kate Van Winkle Keller remarked in *Dance and Its Music in America*, the story contains several inconsistencies. For example, "The Successful Campaign" is a Country Dance, and it is highly unlikely that such an important ball would have opened without a Minuet. A possible answer is that if the incident did occur, it happened at the beginning of the second part of the dance, following dinner, when most formalities were set aside.

This prophetic tune first appeared in John Walsh's *Twenty-Four Country Dances* (London, 1764). It must have been in high favor in 1781, for it is referenced again by François Jean de Beauvoir, Marquis de Chastellux, after attending a ball in Philadelphia on December 14, 1780, when the active theater of conflict had moved south.

De Beauvoir, who acted as the principal liaison officer between Rochambeau and George Washington, stated:

These dances, like the “toasts” we drink at table, have a marked connection with politics: one is called “the success of the campaign,” another “Burgoyne’s defeat,” and a third, “Clinton’s retreat.”<sup>45</sup>

“The Successful Campaign” remained a piece of music reflecting, or remembering, the battles, leaders, and spirit of the American Revolution. It was widely used as a marching tune for fifers and drummers.

Shortly after the Yorktown victory, while traveling in Virginia, the baron Ludwig Von Closen, Rochambeau’s young aide-de-camp, commented on the dancing in his diary:

The fair sex in this city [Williamsburg, Virginia] are very fond of Minuets. It is true that some of them dance them rather well, and infinitely better than those up North. All of them like our Cotillions and, in general, they find also French manners to their taste.<sup>46</sup>

In the South, plantation owners gave lavish balls which often lasted for days. After attending a ball in Westmoreland County, Virginia, in January, 1774, Philip Fithian committed this vivid description of the scene to his diary:

About seven the Ladies & Gentlemen began to dance in the Ball-Room – first Minuets one Round; Second Giggs; third Reels; And last of all

45. Beauvoir, François Jean de, Marquis de Chastellux. *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963.

46. Closen, Ludwig, baron von. *Revolutionary Journal 1780-1783*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958.

Country-Dances; tho' they struck several Marches occasionally – The Music was a French-Horn and two Violins – The Ladies were dressed gay, and splendid, & when dancing, their silks & brocades rustled and trailed behind them!<sup>47</sup>

At such upper-class gatherings, dancing was an expression of social prestige. Dances, usually described as “the latest,” “with the newest methods,” or “the most fashionable,” actually functioned to stage and ritualize social status through grace of body and display of fine clothing and jewels.



*The Cotillion Dance, 1771*

**Drawing by John Collet (ca.1725-1780) and James Caldwell (1739-1819)  
Great Britain – Private collection.**

Among the lower classes, where instruction in dancing may have been spread informally by a member of the group able to afford lessons at a dancing school, it was "less a matter of self-display than it [was] of true enjoyment," as Moreau de Saint-Mery wrote in his *American Journey* (1793-1798). He added:

47. Farish, Hunter Dickinson (ed.). *Journal & Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773-1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1957.

At the same dance you will see a grandfather, his son and his grandson, but more often still the grandmother, her daughter and her granddaughter. If a Frenchman comments upon this with surprise, he is told that each one dances for his own amusement, and not because it is the thing to do.<sup>48</sup>

In the countryside, labor requiring a large group of people was often combined with the pleasure of dancing, at a “bee” or “frolic.” There were many different sorts. Several farmers and their families would drive to the home of a neighbor, to help him raise a barn or some other such endeavor. Afterwards, all would join in a hearty meal followed by a dance.

Saint-Jean de Crevecoeur wrote in 1782:

The name "Frolic" may perhaps scandalize you and make you imagine that we meet to riot together. Lest you should misunderstand me, give me leave to explain myself. I really know among us of no custom which is so useful and tends so much to establish the union and the little society which subsists among us. Poor as we are, if we have not the gorgeous balls, the harmonious concerts, the shrill horn of Europe, yet we dilate our hearts as well with the simple negro fiddle.<sup>49</sup>

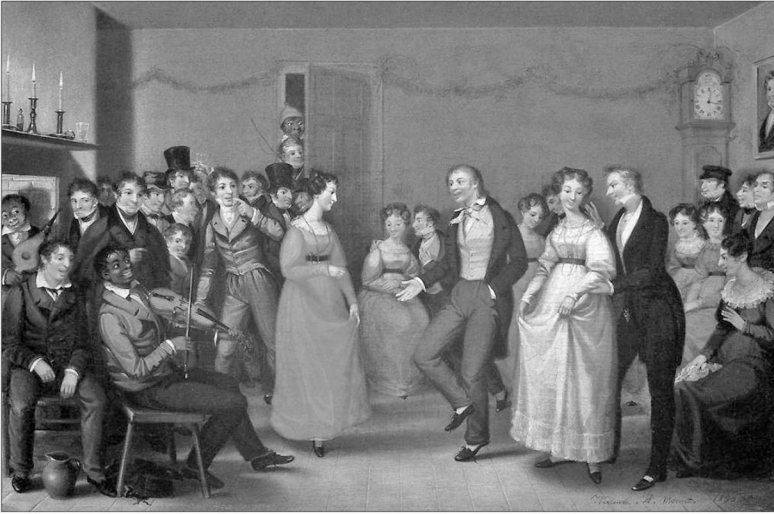
Indeed, black musicians were often employed to play and call the dances at white balls, rich and poor. But, as elsewhere in the New World colonies, they were not without their own dancing assemblies. Moreau de Saint-Méry remarked that black servants, keenly observing the White, danced Minuets and Country Dances. Their dancing was similar, apart from the step variations that they skillfully introduced in their capering.<sup>50</sup>

Personal ability, sophistication of taste, and availability of new material, as well as race, social standing, region, and environment, affected dance interpretation and performance. People would dance differently depending on where they were, who they were, who was

48. Roberts, Kenneth and Anna M. (trans.). *Moreau de St Merry's American Journey (1793-1798)*. New York: Doubleday & Company, 1947.

49. St. John de Crevecoeur, J. Hector. *Letters From An American Farmer and Sketches of Eighteenth Century America*. New York: New American Library, 1963.

50. Moreau de Saint-Méry, Louis-Élie. *Description Topographique, Physique, Civile, Politique et Historique de la Partie Française de l'Isle de Saint-Domingue*. Philadelphia, Paris & Hamburg: The Author, 1797.



*Rustic Dance after A Sleigh Ride, 1830*

Oil painting by William Sidney Mount (1807-1868)

U.S.A. – Engraved from the original by Alfred Jones – Private collection.

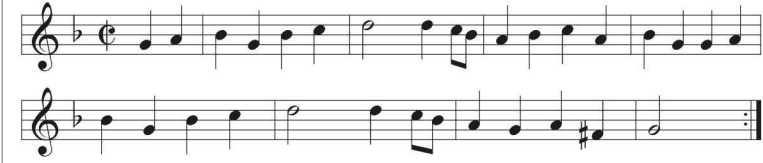
watching. The amount of liquor they had consumed was also a factor. In a tavern, for example, dancing would be unconventional and free. In a ballroom, refinement and grace would be the rule. To the observer, the dance might look quite different, but the elements remained the same.

In the 1790s, due to the Revolution in France, a greater number of French itinerant teachers appeared in America. Many of them came from the best nobility, or reinvented themselves as such. They sought refuge in the New World, where their aristocratic background could be applied to earning a livelihood and making a place for themselves. Teaching the fashionable steps of Versailles, they moved from cities to towns, from towns to hamlets, and from hamlets to the countryside.

Much to his surprise, during his visit to the American frontier in 1791, François de Chateaubriand learned that they had even penetrated Iroquois territory:

The whole stretch of country between Albany and Niagara is now cleared and inhabited; the New York canal crosses it; but then a large part of the territory was wilderness. Suddenly, I almost bruised my nose on the side of a shelter. Once beneath it, I set astonished eyes on the first savages I had ever seen. There were a score of them, men and women, painted like sorcerers, bodies half-naked, ears slit, crows' feathers on their

## Madelon Friquet



*"Madelon Friquet, 1785"*

From "Potpourri François de Contredanse Ancienne."

heads, and rings through their noses. A little Frenchman, hair curled and powdered, in an apple-green coat, a woollen jacket, and a muslin shirt-frill and ruffles, was scraping a pocket-fiddle, and making the Iroquois dance to Madelon Friquet. Monsieur Violet (for so he was called) was dancing-master to these savages. They paid for his lessons in beaver skins and bears' hams. He had been a scullion in the service of General Rochambeau, during the American War. Remaining in New York, after the departure of our army, he had resolved to instruct the Americans in the fine arts. His ambition had grown with his success, and the new Orpheus was carrying civilisation to the savage hordes of the New World. Speaking to me of the Indians, he always said to me: 'These savage ladies and gentlemen.' He took great pride in the agility of his pupils; indeed I have never seen such capering. Monsieur Violet, holding his little violin between chest and chin, would tune the fatal instrument and call to the Iroquois: 'Take your places!' And the whole troop would leap about like a band of demons.<sup>51</sup>



*An Impromptu Music Lesson in the Wilderness, 1830s*

Drawing by Henry Valentine

Engraved from the original by B. Midderigh-Bokhorst

Great Britain – Private collection.

51. Chateaubriand, François-René, vicomte de. *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*. Paris: E. et V. Penaud frères, 1848.

As we can see, while there had been few opportunities for dance in the early 1700s, the century closed with private assemblies, public balls, and afternoon dancing parties scattered throughout the land – even in the wilderness.

**QUATRIEME RECUEIL**  
**EN DUO CONTENANT**  
**CINQUANTE MENUETS CHOISIES**

*Pour les Violons, Flûtes, Haut-bois,*  
*Et Par dessus de Viole,*  
*Recueillies & mis en Ordre,*

**PAR M.<sup>R</sup> LECLERC**

*Gravé Par M.<sup>de</sup> Leclerc.*  
*Prix 2<sup>rs</sup> 8<sup>cs</sup>*  
*A PARIS*

*CHEZ M.<sup>r</sup> Leclerc Marchand rue du roule à la Croix d'Or -*  
*avec privilege du roy.*

4.<sup>e</sup> Recueil .

151. *Mouet.*

“Cinquante Menuets Choisis par Mr. Leclerc.”  
Paris: Chez Mr. Leclerc, 1734.

# QUATRIEME RECUEIL

En duo Contenant

CINQUANTE CONTREDANSES CHOISIES

*Des plus beaux airs, et celles qui sont les plus  
unies à aux bals et aux Assemblées  
Recueillies Et mises en Ordre*

PAR

M. LE CLERC

*Gravée par M.<sup>lle</sup> sa fille*

Prix 2.<sup>fr</sup> 8.<sup>fr</sup>

A PARIS

Chez M.<sup>r</sup> Le clerc, M.<sup>lle</sup> du Roule à la Croix d'Or.  
AVEC PRIVILEGE DU ROY.

## 4.<sup>e</sup> Recueil de Contredanses.

### *Le Missisipi.*

151.

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system consists of two staves: the upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 6/8 time signature, and the lower staff is in bass clef. The second system also consists of two staves in the same clefs and time signature. The music is a single melodic line with a simple harmonic accompaniment.

“Cinquante Contredanses Choiesies par Mr. Leclerc.”

Paris: Chez Mr. Leclerc, 1734.

As the eminent dance historian Yves Guilcher pointed out to the author:

“A distinction should be made between the three successive realities covered by the name Cotillion. The four-dancer form from the early 18<sup>th</sup> century gradually gave way to the eight-dancer form. Finally, the 19<sup>th</sup>-century cotillion, many elements of which are found in the American ‘running set,’ included a caller and waltzed transitions. These three ages of the contradance reflect changing social circumstances.”



3<sup>e</sup> Vol. 33<sup>e</sup> Cah. 67<sup>e</sup> Feuille.

LES

VACANCES

*Contredanse Nouvelle*

PAR M<sup>r</sup> PAPILLON

*M<sup>br</sup>e de Danse en Exercice au*

*Collège de Pontlevoy*

Prix 4<sup>f</sup> la Feuille

A PARIS

Chez { *Melle Castagnery rue des Prouaires*  
*a la Musique Royale*  
*Robert rue Barier à Orleans*

Avec Privilege du Roy

“*Les Vacances, Contredanse Nouvelle par Mr. Papillon*”

Paris: Chez M<sup>br</sup>e Castagnery, 1762.

## LES VACANCES

Contredanse.

*De Rondeau*

## LES VACANCES

### DESCRIPTION des Figures de la Contredanse.

- 1<sup>o</sup> Le Rond ordinaire.
- 2<sup>o</sup> Deux Cavaliers vis-à-vis tenans leurs Dames vont figurer devant ceux de leur droite qui en les attendant Balancent et tous font le Rigaud.
- 3<sup>o</sup> Chaque Cavalier prenant les Mains de la Dame qu'il a devant lui Chassent ouvert et Rigaudon en se faisant tous face.
- 4<sup>o</sup> Chasse de la Marquise et Rigaudon
- 5<sup>o</sup> Ceux des bouts Chassent en changeant de places vis-à-vis, les autres ne font qu'un simple Chassé tout Rigaudon.
- 6<sup>o</sup> 2 Moulinet de 4. un demitour et Rig.
- 7<sup>o</sup> Chaque Cavalier ayant sa figurante devant lui, lui donne les deux Mains et tournant avec elle reprendent la forme carré.
- 8<sup>o</sup> L'Allemande aux quatre coins
- 9<sup>o</sup> L'Allemande à ses Dames
- 10<sup>o</sup>
- 11<sup>o</sup>
- 12<sup>o</sup>
- 13<sup>o</sup>
- 14<sup>o</sup>
- 15<sup>o</sup>

*Sont les Contreparties des six premiers  
mouvements, après quy*

*La Main*

## LES VACANCES

### PLAN des Figures de la Contredanse

"Les Vacances, Contredanse Nouvelle par Mr. Papillon"  
Paris: Chez M<sup>lle</sup> Castagnery, 1762.

## • Dancing in the Early Nineteenth Century

In the early 19th century, a liberation in social dancing took place. The rapid tempos of the Waltz and Galop, reckless, daring dances, reflected the dawning age of steam. America's long love affair with going ever farther, ever faster, was beginning.

Being fairly easy to learn, the Waltz and the Galop brought about a change in the way dancing was taught. The steps were simple enough to pick up from watching other dancers. Because manner was secondary, aspiring dancers lacking the talent for imitation needed only a few lessons to acquire the dances. The modern trend disturbed many of the older dancing masters, for their primary objective was to help the student with the graceful use of the body and the deportment of the ballroom.

As early as the seventeenth century, Waltzes were played in Vienna at the Hapsburg court. The Weller, or turning dances, were danced by Austrian and Bavarian peasants even before that time.

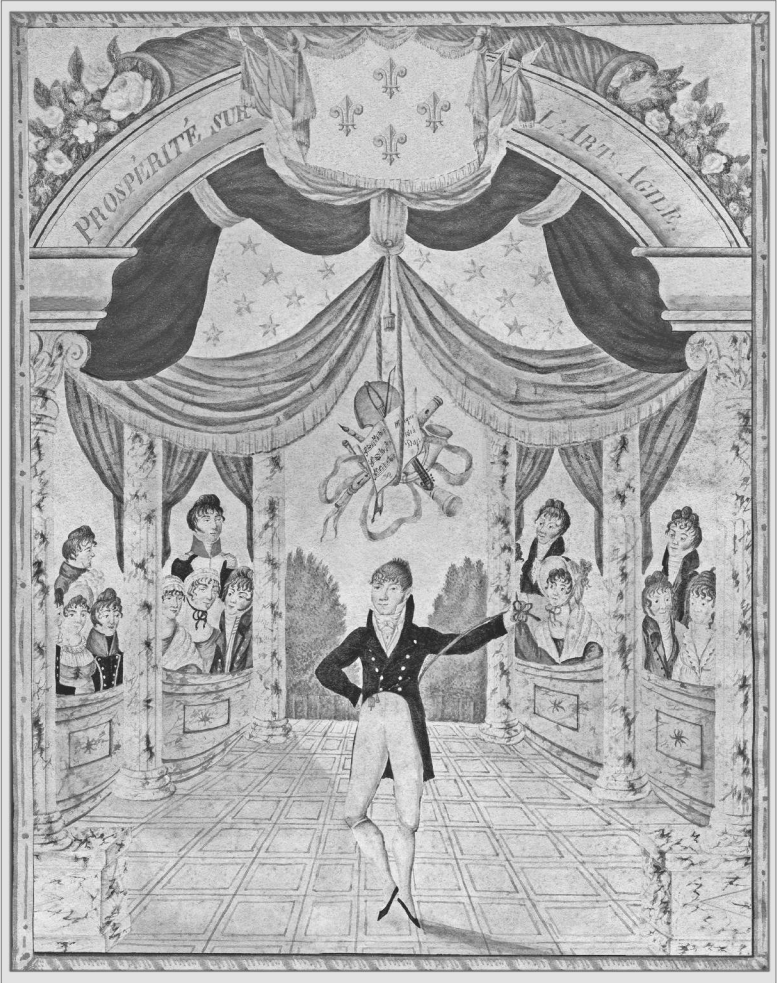
The "Allemande" form of the Waltz had been very popular in mid-18<sup>th</sup>-century France. Danced first as one of the figures in the Cotillion, it achieved great favor as an independent dance during the French Revolution (1789-1799), adding an agreeable musical and choreographic diversion to the Country Dances.

The Prussian musician Johann Friedrich Reichardt, visiting France in 1792, wrote :

We travelled to a lively public dance hall, crowded with dancers. There were at least two hundred young women, glowing with health and energy. From six o'clock until midnight, they danced French dances with incredible verve. Waltzes were opportunities to rest.<sup>52</sup>

One of the earliest American references to the Waltz was the publication of a *Dance for Waltzing*, issued by George Willig of

52. Laquiante, Arthur (ed.). *Un Prussien en France en 1792, Strasbourg-Lyon-Paris: Lettres Intimes de J. F. Reichardt*. Paris: Perrin et Cie, 1892.



**Dancing Master's Certificate, December 25, 1814  
Saint-Valéry-en-Caux, Normandy  
Watercolor and ink on paper – France – Author's collection.**

This naive painting shows the licentiate garbed in a waistcoat, executing an entrechat in the middle of the dance floor. The box seats overflow with an audience of admiring ladies and gentlemen, beneath a proscenium arch crowned with a banner embellished with four fleur de lys, symbols of resurgent royalty. On either side, the words "Prosperité sur l'Art Agile" ("Prosperity upon the Agile Art") are written on the arch.

Eight months earlier, after Napoleon Bonaparte had abdicated and left France, King Louis XVIII had ridden triumphantly into Paris. But by March 1 of 1815, the Emperor had challenged him. Napoleon's second reign, however, lasted only one hundred days, ending tragically at the Battle of Waterloo.

**Contre-dances et Walzers**  
*Pour deux Violons*

**WALZER**

**SAUTEUSE**

**ANGLAISE**

**FIN**

**Fin**

**"Contre-dances et Walzers pour deux Violons par Marin Pichon"**  
Paris: Chez Jouve, 1814.

The sauteuse, named for its jumping step, was a common partner dance in early 19th-century France. It usually followed a waltz. The gentleman held his lady by the waist, as they whirled about, hopping from one foot to the other.

Philadelphia, somewhere between 1795 and 1797. The Waltz so shocked families that mothers warned their daughters that the dance imperiled their modesty and self-respect. Fathers made dire predictions about where such intimacies would lead. Most parents simply forbade their children to dance it.

Visiting Saint Louis in 1835, Sir Charles August Murray wrote:

A ball was given at our hotel; I attended it, but was told that it did not include the 'elite of the town.' There were some pretty girls, and they danced with great spirit, but jumped too much for a cotillon. The beaux capered away lustily; and although some of them indulged in strange contortions of the body, and in movements both of the foot and arm, which were intended to display both activity and grace, the party was conducted with propriety and decorum, and I have seen many gayer assemblies composed of much less happy faces.

It must, however, be confessed, that it requires no small fortitude to endure the sight of the dance which is meant to represent the waltz in provincial towns in America. It is bad enough throughout England, except the best circles in London, and not excepting Edinburgh: but here it is even worse; no imagination can conceive the rolling, the swinging, the strange undulations of the rotatory pair; they frequently hold each other only by one hand, and the lady places her idle hand on her waist, while the gentleman nourishes his gracefully either above his own or his partner's head, or assigns to it some resting-place no less extraordinary than its movements. In some circles in the south, elbow waltzing alone is permitted; the lady's waist is forbidden ground, and the gentleman is compelled to hold her by the points of the elbows, it having been held indecorous by these *Précieuses ridicules*,

"That Waltz, that rake from foreign lands,  
Should dare, in sight of all beholders,  
To lay his rude licentious hands  
On virtuous *damsels'* backs and shoulders." – MOORE.

What miserable nonsense is often talked and written on this subject! as if amorous or improper advances cannot be made as well by a pressure of the hand, or a squeeze of the arm, as by encircling the waist, if one party dares to make, and the other is willing to receive them. It is an exact parallel to Madame de Stael's rebuke of some female's observation on the indecency of exposing a naked statue to view in the Louvre – 'The indecency is not in the statue, but in the remark.' I can understand a father or a brother objecting to a young girl's waltzing, though I differ

from them in opinion; nay, I would respect a young lady, who, from a shrinking delicacy of character, refused to waltz at all; but when the answer is, 'You must hold me by the elbows' or, 'I only waltz with married men,' – Heaven preserve us from such humbug and prudery!<sup>53</sup>



*The Waltz, 1806*

Drawing by Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827).

Great Britain – Private collection.

Fortunately, despite opposition, the popularity of the Waltz continued to grow until it was upstaged by the Galop.

Deriving its name from a shortened version of the original term Galopade, the Galop first appeared in Vienna and Berlin about the year 1822. In France, it was introduced at the balls given during the 1829 Carnival season by the Duchesse de Berry. The Galop reached England the same year.

We read in *Companion to La Terpsichore Moderne* (c. 1830):

This new and fashionable dance, which it appears is of Russian origin, was first introduced into this country at His Majesty's ball, St. James Palace, on the 11th June, 1829, when the Princess Esterhazy, the Earl of Clanwilliam, the Duke of Devonshire, and some of the foreign ministers exerted themselves in teaching its novel movements to the company.<sup>54</sup>

53. Murray, Charles August. *Travels in North America During The Years 1834, 1835, & 1836*. London: Richard Bentley, 1839.

54. Pollock, J.S. *Companion to La Terpsichore Moderne*. London: Publisher unknown, c. 1830.

Particularly popular as the final dance of the evening, the Galop traveled to America in the early 1830s, providing new fuel for the fire that blazed against round dances.



*The Galop Lesson*  
Drawing by Eugène Devéria (1805-1865)  
France – Private collection.

As the young gentlemen put their arms about the ladies' waists and the couples spun through Waltzes or sashayed down the room in a Galop, the older generation wondered what the world was coming to. For the first time, dance partners held each other in a face-to-face embrace as they turned and swirled around the dance floor.

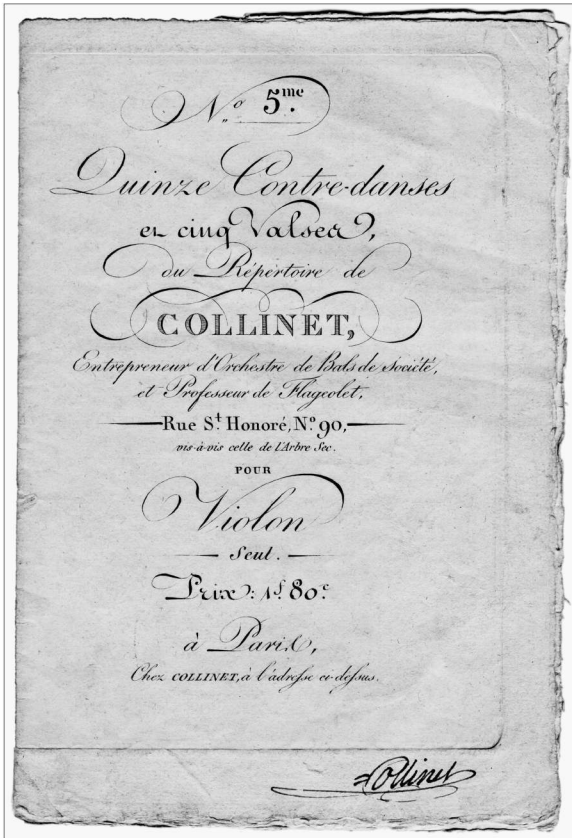
Note that the Quadrille was assembled in the mid-1820s, when enthusiasm for Contradance was waning. Five Contradances were put end-to-end, and always performed in the same order. These five dances making up the Quadrille were henceforth known as "figures."

Like the contradance, the quadrille could conclude with a "galop," or grand promenade.





*Figure de Quadrille, 1820s*  
France – Private collection.



“Quinze Contre-danses et cinq Valses du répertoire de Collinet pour violon seul”  
Paris : Chez Collinet, ca. 1822.

37. Quadrille.

VIOLINO I<sup>o</sup>

N<sup>o</sup> 11.  
LA ALBOROUGH,  
Pantalon.

N<sup>o</sup> 12.  
LA EVELYNA  
Eté.

N<sup>o</sup> 13.  
LA TERTART,  
Poule.

“Quadrille: Pantalon, Eté, Poule”  
Paris : Chez Collinet, ca. 1822.

“Quadrille (suite): Trénis, Finale”  
Paris : Chez Collinet, ca. 1822.

VIOLINO I<sup>o</sup>

N<sup>o</sup> 14.  
LA TRENELLE,  
Trénis.

N<sup>o</sup> 15.  
LA MONTAGNARDE,  
Finale.

VIOLINO I<sup>o</sup>

N<sup>o</sup> 16.  
VALZES.

N<sup>o</sup> 17.

N<sup>o</sup> 18.

N<sup>o</sup> 19.

“Valzes”  
Paris : Chez Collinet, ca. 1822.

- Dancing at Military Academies

The first book on gymnastics<sup>55</sup> was published in America in 1802, the same year that West Point Academy was founded. It strongly recommended dancing as ideal for uniting "gracefulness of motion with strength and agility." In 1817, dance was included in the program of West Point and Pierre Thomas, first sword master, was given permission to organize a voluntary dancing class for the Cadets who had requested it. In 1823, Papanti, a famous Boston dancing master, was appointed instructor when dancing was made compulsory as a part of the summer encampment.

James Walker Fannin, the future hero of the Texas Republican Army, was admitted to the prestigious Military Academy in 1819. Because he withdrew in 1821, he missed Papanti's courses, but he had been free to attend Pierre Thomas's post-fencing-session dance classes.

Being a military man, Karl Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach, was especially curious about the famed school. He was given a tour in the fall of 1825. However, after describing and praising the strict education given to the Cadets, he remarked:

A band of music, paid by the government, belongs exclusively to them, and is said to afford the best military music in the United States. Every one has his taste, but I must confess that even the celebrated music of the English guards, and the American music, are far behind that of the French, Netherlander, and Germans.<sup>56</sup>

In October, the Duke attended a ball given by J. R. Livingston, "a very respectable citizen of New York, whose country seat [was] at Massena, near Redhook, about a hundred miles up the Hudson River, near the little town called Hudson." First, the Duke was presented to the host's brother Edward, a member of Congress who resided in Louisiana; he was then introduced to the rest of the company, composed of the best

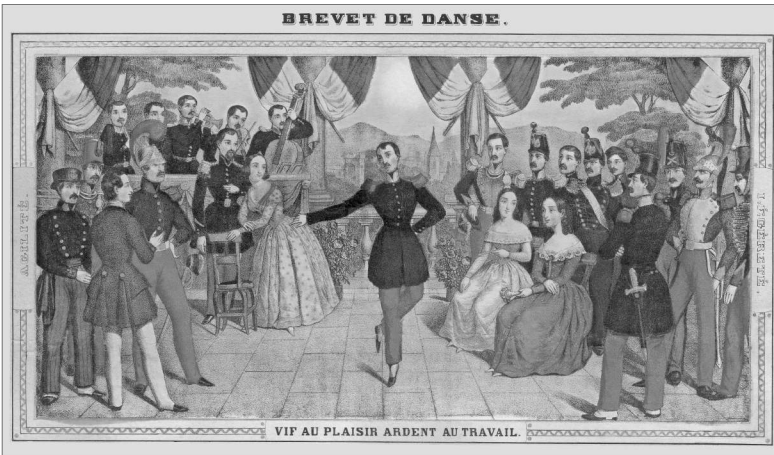
55. It was an English translation of *Gymnastik für die Jugend*, the first systematic textbook in gymnastics written by Johann Christoph Friedrich Guts Muths and published in Germany in 1793.

56 Bernhard, Karl, Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach. *Travels Through North America During The Years 1825 And 1826*. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Carey, 1828.

New York families. Among them were two young lieutenants from West Point, great-grandsons of Benjamin Franklin. One was an artillery officer; the other, an engineer who was also an instructor in the science of engineering at West Point.

In the evening about eight o'clock, the company assembled at the ball, which was animated, and the ladies elegantly attired. They danced nothing but French contra-dances, for the American ladies have so much modesty that they object to waltzing. The ball continued until two o'clock in the morning.<sup>57</sup>

Other military academies followed West Point's lead, including dance in the course of instruction. The same Pierre Thomas who had taught at West Point was engaged as sword master and dancing instructor at the Military Department of Norwich Academy in Vermont. At the commencement exercises of 1824, the Cadets were given a ball to conclude the ceremonies of the day. It was so successful that it lasted till half-past three in the morning.



*Brevet de danse régimentaire, 1845*  
France – Private collection.

The program of the American Institute, in Washington, D.C., was also extensively modeled on that of West Point. In the Military and Gymnastic Department, dance was offered as one of the exercises.

57. *Ibid.*

Generally, whether it was through drills, parades, or dance, involvement in music encouraged teamwork, and was a pleasurable way for Cadets to learn self-discipline and acquire confidence in their physical coordination.

- Dancing to **African-American Fiddle Players**

By far, the most popular instrument played by slaves was the violin. African-American fiddlers were proficient in dance music repertoire suitable either for White patrons – from big plantation balls to small house dances – or for Black revelers, although servants often adopted their masters' dancing.

Contemporary Black Florida musician Tony Thomas notes that today, many people are unaware that a violin was an extremely common instrument among African American musicians.

We have many reports of Africans in America fiddling and making fiddles almost as soon as they arrived from Africa. The excellence of Black fiddlers performing both for white masters, patrons, and paying audience and for the dances and parties of other Africans in America, speaks not only to the training in European violin playing some slaves received, but also to traditions of fiddling on African bowed instruments that slaves brought here.<sup>58</sup>

Many owners purchased fiddles for their slaves, and a slave who was a skilled player commanded a much higher price. If the masters did not purchase the instrument, slaves either manufactured them, as Tony Thomas pointed out, or bought their own at the plantation store or elsewhere. One former slave declared:

I first learned how to play on a long gourd with horsehair on it. That was the first of my learning to play. After a while I bought me a fiddle for \$1.80, and after so long a time I bought me a fiddle sure enough.<sup>59</sup>

58. Thomas, Tony. "Why Black Folks Don't Fiddle." This article originated as a posting to FIDDLE-L, a newsgroup dedicated to the study of fiddling in America.

59. *Unwritten History of Slavery: Autobiographical Accounts of Negro Ex-Slaves*. Nashville: Social Science Institute, Fisk University, 1945.



**Unknown African American fiddle player  
Tintype, 1880s – Private collection.**

Virginia ex-slave Sally Ashton told of the unusual life a good fiddler led:

Old fiddler was a man named Louis Cane. Child, he shure could strung that fiddle. Never did do much work, but Master use to keep him, 'cause he use to have him play for the balls in the big house. Master use

to pay him, too. We never did pay him, 'cause we ain't never had nothin'.<sup>60</sup>

Former slave Isaac Stier remembered that on his plantation in Mississippi:

Some of the men clogged and pigeoned, but when us had dances they was real cotillions, like the white folks had. I used to call out the figures: 'Ladies sashay, Gents to the left, now all swing.' Everybody liked my calls and the dancers sure moved smooth and pretty.<sup>61</sup>



*A Plantation Reel*  
Undated black-and-white illustration  
U.S.A. – Private collection.

If it was common practice for a plantation owner to have a slave play the fiddle for his guests at the "big house," the situation was rarely reversed. However, the story told by former slave D. Davis, aged 85, who had been raised in Oktibbeha County, Mississippi, demonstrates that it did sometimes happen:

60. Writers' Program (Va.). *The Negro In Virginia*. New York: Hastings House, 1940.

61. Federal Writers' Project Work Projects Administration. *Slaves Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the United States from Interviews with Former Slaves*, vol 9. Washington, DC: Work Projects Administration, 1941.

Master Tom he would ride out over the place at least once a week and always on the Saturday morning, and generally he would pass the word out among the folks for them all to come to the big house on Saturday afternoon for a frolic. Every person on the place from the littlest child to the oldest man and woman would clean themselves up and put on their best clothes for to 'go before the King', that's what us called him. All would gather in the back of the big house under the big oak trees and Master Tom he would come out with his fiddle under his arm. You know Master Tom he was a great fiddler, and sat himself down in the chair that Uncle Joe had fetched for him, and then he tell Uncle Joe for to go get the barrel of whiskey and he would give them all a gill or two so as they could all feel quite good, and then Master Tom he start that fiddle playing quite lively and all these niggers would dance and have the best kind of frolic, and Master Tom he gets just as much fun out of the party as the niggers themselves. That's the kind of man what Master Tom was.<sup>62</sup>

Some owners even hired music teachers for their slave-violinists, an investment which combined business and pleasure, because as we noted above, musical skill added value to the merchandise.

The best illustration we have of the diversity in Black musicianship, ranging from smooth violin playing to crude fiddling, is the story told by a visiting Saxon nobleman, the Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach. He was to be the guest of honor at a banquet held in a plantation mansion near Columbia, Virginia, on a November evening in 1825. However, the formally trained black orchestra engaged for the occasion suddenly became unavailable:

The music was of a singular kind, for the blacks, who two days ago played very well at the governor's, were now drunk, and could not make their appearance. This was the reason why the whole music consisted of two violins and a tambourine. This tambourine was struck with a terrible energy. The two others scraped the violin, in the truest signification of the word; one of them cried out the figures, imitating with his body all the motions of the dance. The whole of it amused me much.<sup>63</sup>

62. Workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Progress Administration. *The Negro In Mississippi*. New York: Hastings House, 1940.

63. Bernhard, Karl, Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach. *Travels Through North America, op. cit.*



## MUSIC AND DANCE FROM ENGLAND

When King Henry VIII (1509-1547) broke England's ties to Rome and established the Anglican Church, it had an immediate impact on the pleasures and diversions of every class of society. Everywhere, dances became merrier and freer, and foreign ambassadors could speak of a "dancing England." As the era unfolded, from around 1520 to 1640, there was an ongoing exchange between the common folk and courtiers, as far as dance was concerned:

It was usual for rural villagers to dance for the queen when she visited the countryside. Her interest in these typically English dances was aroused and, according to Wood, in 1591, she was quite impressed to see Lord and Lady Montague dancing with their tenants and valets. Afterwards, several of these country dances were adopted at Elizabeth's court. In order to satisfy aristocratic tastes, dancing masters undoubtedly made changes, which explains why as early as 1600, ladies-in-waiting knew both the "old" and "new" country dances.<sup>64</sup>

However, the English Civil Wars put an end to this state of affairs. Cromwell and his government were eager to rid the country of all Stuartian "extravagance."

The reform suppressed a multitude of festivities associated with memorials for Roman Catholic saints and an infinity of rustic pastimes, further curtailed by Presbyterianism and Puritanism. Anything resembling gaiety was suspect, and therefore banished, at least from the law-abiding land. It was driven out into the remote countryside or into the secrecy of the individual home. Song, once mingled with every joy, was treated as a public enemy. To replace the rousing choruses of the olden days, pious hymns were composed, arranged on profane rhymes, in order to avoid sin and licentiousness.<sup>65</sup>

Likewise, dances had to meet the standards of morality and propriety of the new rulers. To this end, they had one of their official printing

64. Voyer, Simonne. *La Danse traditionnelle dans l'est du Canada: quadrilles et cotillons*. Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1986.

65. Rathery, Edme-Jacques-Benoît. "Les Chants populaires de l'Angleterre." *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Paris: Au bureau de la Revue des Deux Mondes, December 1863.

presses publish a collection of music and instructions for country dancing entitled *The English Dancing Master*.

*The English Dancing Master* (called *The Dancing Master* after the second printing) is certainly the book that had the greatest impact for the longest time on dancing in England and the Anglo-American colonies. Eighteen editions were published, from 1651 to 1728. Music publisher John Playford wrote the first seven (1651-1686), his son Henry Playford the next five (1686-1703), and John Young the last six (1706-1728)<sup>66</sup>. Popular melodies of the time were reproduced on one or two staves, accompanied by explanations and diagrams for dancing.

[*The Dancing Master*] contained the music and directions of dances which were performed by the people now ruling the country. Some of these were derived from folk origins, as were some of the tunes, but the largest proportion were specially arranged by dancing masters, so that they would appear decorous in the new society. Such elements as the high jumping of the Morris, the fertility leaps of La Volta, gay jiggling, and couple dances were eschewed. All permitted dances were longways or circular sets, in which many took part and continually changed partners so that there could be no accusation of flirtatious behaviour.<sup>67</sup>

The first edition of *The Dancing Master* contained five hundred tunes, but as time went on, new tunes and dances were added to the collection, forming a set of over five hundred pieces after nearly eighty years.

Playford's *Dancing Master* represents the largest collection of current 17th century dance-tunes that we possess and it is a treasure-house of beautiful melodies. They are not all traditional; while many have probably been adapted from folk tunes, others are the work of individual composers. The modal characteristics that occur frequently in the tunes of the earlier editions were gradually suppressed when they were later reprinted. Many of the tunes were already known in the 16th century and provided Byrd, Farnaby and others with themes for compositions for the virginals. They are also found in the works of Purcell and other 17th century composers, and it is often difficult to

66. Dean-Smith, Margaret (ed.). *Playford's English Dancing Master 1651*, London: Scott and C°, 1957 - Barlow, Jeremy. *The Music of Playford's Dancing Master*. Winchester & London: Faber & Faber, 1984.

67. Lawson, Joan. *European Folk Dance, Its National and Musical Characteristics*. London: I. Pitman & Sons, 1953.

determine whether they are original compositions or whether the composer was borrowing from popular airs.<sup>68</sup>



*The Dancing Master, 1698*  
Great Britain – Private collection.

Traditional English dances can be divided into two categories. The first is composed of ceremonial or ritual dances, performed in certain seasons by small groups of men wearing special clothing for the circumstance. The Sword Dance, Morris Dances, and processional dances are the main ones in this category. The second sort consists of minuets and country dances, danced by men and women throughout the year as a recreational activity.<sup>69</sup>

The minuet was introduced into England at the court of Charles II [1660-1685] but did not reach the height of fashion till the end of the seventeenth century. It went through many changes, each making it more rigid and stately, but less demanding for the dancers, as the ornamental steps were gradually dropped and a set pattern was adopted. With its graceful bows, neat and precise steps, and the stately carriage of the body, arms and head, it gave both the dance and dancer the dignity that was so much esteemed by aristocratic society.<sup>70</sup>

68. Stanley, Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. London: Macmillan Publishers, 1980.

69. Kidson, Frank & Mary Neal, Mary. *English Folk-Song and Dance*. Cambridge: The University Press, 1915.

70. Marks III, E. Joseph. *America Learns to Dance*. New York: Exposition Press, 1957.

As we noted above, some country dances had made their way to Elizabeth's court in London by the late 1500s. Standards for their melodies and steps emerged in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, and John Playford began publishing collections of them in 1651. <sup>71</sup> In 1685, a French dancing master traveling in England, André Lorin, observed that they were danced according to the same steps not only at the court, but also at dance schools and public balls held both in the towns and in the country. <sup>72</sup>

Sweet Kate

The image shows a musical score for the dance "Sweet Kate". It consists of three staves of music in G major (one sharp) and 6/8 time. The top staff is the melody, the middle staff is the bass line, and the bottom staff is a second bass line or accompaniment. The music is arranged in three measures, each ending with a double bar line and repeat dots. The first measure has a repeat sign at the beginning. The melody is characterized by eighth and sixteenth notes, and the bass lines provide a steady accompaniment.

**"Sweet Kate" – English Country Dance arranged by Cecil Sharp  
from John Playford's *Dancing Master*, London, 1670.**

The novelist and translator Antoine François Prévost (author of *Manon Lescaut*) recorded his impressions of a country dance he saw in London in 1716, at the Haymarket masquerade ball:

The English manner of dancing is quite pleasant. Usually, they begin their balls with minuets, & then come the country dances of the land. They assemble in two rows of fifteen to twenty men, with as many Ladies; they might dance in greater numbers, were the halls larger, & without the least confusion. They spin, leap, & pass each other in a thousand ways. The tunes are so lively they stir the soul. The Ladies are the most intrepid dancers I've seen in my life. They never appear to weary, even though they are in continual motion for four or five consecutive hours. <sup>73</sup>

71. Guilcher, Jean-Michel. *La Contredanse et les renouvellements de la danse française*. Paris & La Haye: Mouton & Co., 1969.

72. Lorin, André. *Livre de la contredanse du Roy* [1688], in Guilcher, Jean-Marie. *La Contredanse*, *op. cit.*

73. Prévost, Antoine-François. *Suites des Mémoires et aventures d'un homme de qualité qui s'est retiré du monde*. Amsterdam: Aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1731.

A Swiss, B at Louis de Muralt, whose *Letters* were published in 1725, noted that the leisure activities of the common people barely differed from those of the affluent.

They have practically the same pleasures as the nobles, merchants, and clergy, the same virtues, and the same vices. Likewise, in their dances, which demand a large assembly, I was told that in the countryside, when there are not enough dancers among the guests, the Greats have no qualms about employing their domestics to complete the number of dancers.<sup>74</sup>

Pr evost confirmed the fact, describing the leisure activities available to those “taking the waters” at Tunbridge, a spa then about one day’s journey from London:

Three times a week, they hold a public dance in a large ballroom used only for such events. There, every social rank is mingled, for one may see *grisettes* alongside duchesses. No one is entitled to any knowledge about a person’s background or station, and there is dancing until the crack of dawn.<sup>75</sup>

It is therefore clear that in those days, in England, aristocrats and common people enjoyed the same repertoire of tunes, and it was not unusual to see them skipping and prancing together in the same dance. The custom endured when the future Alamo Defenders left their homeland to emigrate to North America.

#### • Instrumental and Vocal Music

As for the publication of musical scores for playing and singing, the two most notable 18<sup>th</sup>-century publications were *The Complete Musick Master* (1704, 1707, 1722) by Thomas Brown, and *The Modern Musick Master or the Universal Musician* (1731) by Peter Prelleur. The first gave “simple, easy, and familiar” rules for playing the violin, flute, oboe, and viols, and singing. The second provided instruction in how to play many

74. Muralt, B at Louis de. *Lettres sur les Anglois et les Fran ois et sur les voyages*, 1728. Paris: Champion Biblioth que de la Revue Litteraire Compar e, 1933.

75. Pr evost, AntoineFran ois. *Suites des M moires*, *op. cit.*

of the same instruments, with the addition of the harp, harpsichord, and organ, as well as the “German flute” (the transverse flute, as opposed to the recorder). It also contained a chapter on the *basso continuo*, along with a collection of tunes appropriate for several instruments, and ended with a brief history of music and a dictionary of musical terms. However, both Prelleur and Brown drew much of their material from various methods for playing and singing published around the same time.<sup>76</sup>

Although neither book included the bagpipes, it would be unfair to ignore the instrument’s presence in English folk music of the period, and the considerable impact it had upon the music of the British Isles. Bagpipes are described in the court of 14<sup>th</sup>-century kings of England, and Chaucer mentions them in his *Canterbury Tales*, written around 1386. We shall discuss the bagpipes in greater detail below.<sup>77</sup>

#### • The Songs

In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, English music was especially rich in melodies from both folk and learned sources. Often, they competed with each other, and “crossed over” from one genre to the other. For example, 18<sup>th</sup>-century dance-tunes were freely used in the ballad operas.

The device of using popular tunes for the cantus firmus of their masses, so dear to composers on the Continent, had its counterpart in England, and the use by Taverner and others of the tune *The Western Wynde* may be cited as an example. Folktunes have also been put to religious use by being mated with psalms and hymns. A Puritan who ‘sings psalms to hornpipes’ was known in Shakespeare’s time (see *The Winter’s Tale*); and the practice of borrowing secular tunes, including folktunes, for religious purposes has never ceased, as witness *The English Hymnal* and other hymnals in current use.<sup>78</sup>

76. Prelleur, Peter. *The Modern Musick-Master or The Universal Musician*. London: PrintingOffice in Bow Church Yard, 1731.

77. Collinson, Francis. *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966.

78. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, *op. cit.*

The popularity of the tunes is also shown by the frequency with which they were used as settings for broadside ballads. As we noted in the section on North American music, these ballads, printed on large sheets of paper (hence the name *broadside* or *broadsheet*), were sold by itinerant vendors in the cities and countryside. The words were set to familiar tunes, indicated at the top of each sheet. In addition to the broadsides, there were other types of ballads, as well as various other genres of song. Carols, for example, were (and still are) traditional at Christmas and even at non-religious celebrations, and shanties were shipboard work songs.<sup>79</sup>

## MUSIC AND DANCE FROM SCOTLAND

- The Songs

Scottish song has two branches, corresponding to two different languages: that of the Highlands and Hebrides, sung in Gaelic, and that of the Lowlands and Eastern Scotland, usually sung in Scots or English.

Traditional Highlands song is also divided into two distinct categories, on the basis of theme:

- *Oran mor*, literally meaning “great song,” includes heroic lays, ballads, and songs associated with pipe music, like laments and pibroch songs.
- “Small song” covers a great variety of love songs, work songs, lullabies, etc.

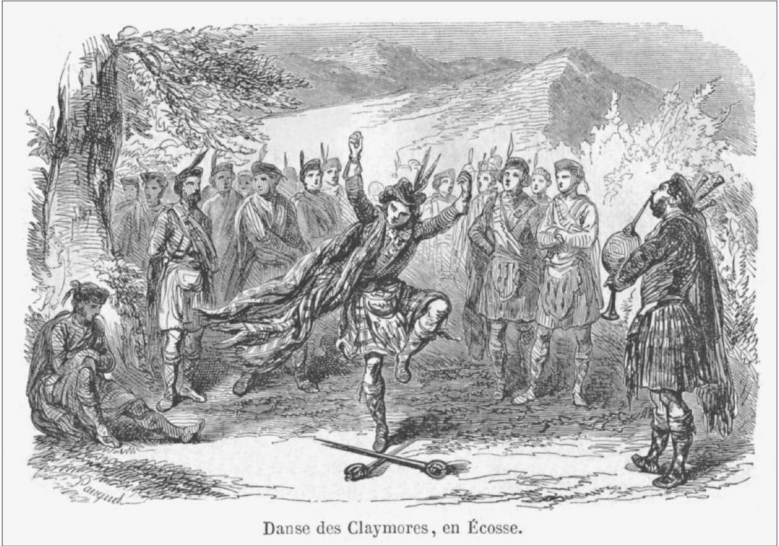
Lowlands songs are usually either ballads in the strict sense of the term (long narrative songs) and “bothy ballads,” the homemade entertainment of groups of unmarried male farm laborers housed in outbuildings known as “bothies”.

*The Complaynt of Scotland*, published in 1548, offers a glimpse of the customs of the time. The anonymous author lists both learned and popular songs (including the ever-popular *Froggy Would A-Wooing Go*);

79. *Ibid.*

he then metaphorically describes the shepherds' dance, and mentions the bagpipes and the fiddle among the musical instruments accompanying the round.<sup>80</sup>

- The Dances



**A Highland Sword Dance, 1820's – Steel engraving by X  
France – Author's collection.**

At the time, many of the dances were named for the tune to which they were done. Some of them were chain dances, such as rounds, reels, or “brawls”; others were partner dances, like the jigs.

The *round* is a closed circular chain dance. The dancers form a ring, alternating men and women. One of the oldest known round tunes is “Sellenger’s Round,” used by composer William Byrd (c. 1543-1623) as a theme for a series of variations for a keyboard instrument.

The *brawl* or *brangill* is derived from the French word *branle*. Thoinot Arbeau gives the tune and description of two brawls from

80. Emmerson, George Sinclair. *A Social History of Scottish Dance*. Montreal & London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972.



Scotland. According to Emmerson, the step characteristic of the brawl is nearly identical to the first step of the strathspey.

The *reel* is a *country dance* in two rows, also known as a longways dance. A line of men forms up opposite a line of women, with each dancer facing his or her partner.<sup>81</sup>

The *strathspey* is a Scottish dance that is a slower version of the *reel*. Although it is essentially a dance played on the fiddle, it is sometimes accompanied with pipe music. Several collections of strathspeys and reels were published in Scotland in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The *hay* is a late 16<sup>th</sup> century dance form cited by Thoinot Arbeau, consisting of a chain of dancers who progress through various winding figures before joining hands in a circle again. The hay or reel chain dances were probably elements in many rounds.

The *jig* is believed to have originated in the British Isles, as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Initially, it was a partner dance. Characteristically, the dancers keep the upper parts of their bodies immobile while striking the ground alternately with the heel and toe. Jigs are mentioned in a poem dating from before 1568. Shakespeare refers to the *Scotch Jig* dans *Much Ado about Nothing*, comparing it to the early days of a courtship and describing it in particular as “hot and hasty.” Likewise, English music collections from the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries contain jigs. Although a great variety exist, the most well-known is the Irish jig, danced solo or with a partner, to the sound of the pipes or fiddle.

- The Scottish Bagpipes

The first written evidence of Scottish pipes dates from the 15th century. At that time, the pipes probably only played a single drone; the second seems to have been added during the 16th century. The two-

81. Jean-Michel Guilcher, *La contredanse et les renouvellements de la danse française, op. cit.*

drone bagpipes were long the quintessential folk instrument. The third drone did not appear until after 1700, when the Highland Pipes we are familiar with today originated.



*The Bag-piper*  
Engraving after an oil painting made in 1813  
by Scottish artist David Wilkie (1785-1841)  
Great Britain – Private collection.

The musician in this picture plays on a set of Scottish Border pipes, musically akin to the Highland bagpipes. Its fingering is the same as the Highland ones, with a notable added feature: Some simple cross-fingering—Highland pipers know this as 'false' fingering—on a well made chanter can produce an almost fully chromatic scale. This opens the range of the instrument to more unusual and eclectic tunes.

Within the clan, the Highlands piper occupied a position of honor, usually passed down from father to son. Even rival clans respected the piper. Every clan chieftain retained a piper to play at gatherings, festivities, and battles.

For centuries, the Highlands pipes were used to muster soldiers for battle and to mourn those who had fallen on the field. Rev. James MacKenzie's 1867 *History of Scotland* claims that at a 1390 battle in Perth, "the clans stalked into the barriers to the sound of their own great war pipes." At the battle of Pinkie, near Edinburgh, in 1549, a French observer noted that the wild Scots "encouraged themselves to arms with the sound of their bagpipes." According to tradition, the "Scots March" was composed in 1527, during the siege of Tantallon Castle by James V of Scotland. Chroniclers of the Thirty Years' War report that the march was played by the Scottish mercenaries serving the Protestant cause, celebrating their victory in the First Battle of Breitenfeld in 1631.

The ancient call of the pipes was legendary, as the story of prisoner James Reid attests. When the Highland clans fighting for "Bonnie Prince Charlie" Stuart lost the Battle of Culloden in 1746, Reid was prosecuted



**Scottish Drummer, 1830s  
Steel engraving by X  
France – Author's collection.**

by the British as a Jacobite rebel. He defended himself by saying that he was merely "a piper to his clan." The judge ruled against him, arguing that "in the experience of this Court, a Highland Regiment has neither marched nor fought without a piper, and therefore in the eyes of the law, the bagpipe is an instrument of war." In consequence, piper James Reid was hanged, drawn, and quartered at the gates of York.

Following the defeat of Culloden, the Highland Army was disbanded. The British

attempted to stamp out old national customs, banning the kilt and tartan among common Highland men until 1782. Speaking Gaelic was outlawed. For a whole generation, pipe-playing was forbidden. Paradoxically, the agency which saved the old clan regalia, pipes and kilt, from extinction was the British Army. Pipe music was given an enormous boost when the Highland Regiments were raised in the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Prior to 1854, each Grenadier Company of the Highland Regiments was allowed to recruit two pipers, the equivalent of the pair of fifers in English Line Regiments. The attitude towards the music of the Great Highland Bagpipe in these regiments was similar to that of the clans: pipers played during marches, and in battle, and they also provided musical entertainment when the soldiers were off duty.

### *The Great Highland Bagpipe*

Four of the five pipes connected to a Great Highland Bagpipe contain reeds. The fifth, a blowpipe fitted with a non-return valve, is used to inflate the pouch. Traditionally made from goat, sheep, or cowhide, the pouch serves as an air reservoir, enabling the piper to play and breathe at the same time. By squeezing the pouch, he can maintain a continuous sound, produced by steady pressure on the reeds at times.

The melody is played on the chanter, a cone-shaped pipe containing a single cane reed. Being open-ended, it is difficult to silence. As a result, the bagpipe tends to have a monotonous, droning sound. To create the illusion of articulation and accent despite the inability to stop the sound, embellishments are used to break up the melody.

The drone is usually a cylindrical tube with a single reed, although drones with double reeds do exist. It is generally designed in two or more parts, with a sliding joint so that the pitch of the drone can be manipulated. The three drones of a Great Highland Bagpipe, one bass and two tenor, are held over the piper's shoulder. They, too, are fitted with cane reeds. Their purpose is to supply a steady harmonic background to the tune being played on the chanter. The drones are held in place by cords.

## *Pibroch Pipe Music*

Pipers in the Scottish Regiments rapidly replaced the fifes that had hitherto been assigned to sound Reveille, Troop, Retreat, and Tattoo, the four major events of the soldier's day. However, the Great Highland Bagpipe was (and still is) also used for a style called Pibroch. "Pibroch" is derived from the Scots Gaelic word *Piobaireachd*, meaning "piping."

An art-music style demonstrating the player's virtuosity, Pibroch consists of lengthy variations on a melodic theme characterized by elaborate formal variations in note duration and tempo. Traditionally, the music was taught orally, using an indigenous system of sung syllables referred to as *Canntaireachd* (literally, "chanting"). The ancient Scottish Highland method predated the use of musical staff notation.

In musical structure, Pibroch is a theme with variations. The theme is usually a very simple melody, though few if any Pibroch contain the theme in its simplest form. It is first stated in a slow movement which is usually fairly stylized, with numerous added embellishments and connecting notes. It is called the ground or, in Gaelic, the *ùrlar*. The subsequent variations can number from one up to about twenty, although there are a few fragmentary tunes for which only a ground is known. In most cases the variations following the ground involve the use of a number of different musical embellishments, usually starting very simply and progressing through successively more complex movements before returning again to the ground.

Variations after the *ùrlar* or ground usually include a *siubhal* ("passing" or "traversing") or *dithis* ("two" or "a pair") or both. The *siubhal* comprises theme notes, each coupled with a single note of higher or lower pitch, usually preceding the theme note. The theme note is held and its paired single note cut. The timing given to the theme notes is of critical importance in displaying the virtuosity of the master piper. If the theme and single note are repeated or played in pairs, it is referred to as a doubling; otherwise, as a *siubhal* singling.

The dithis is similar. The theme note is accented and followed by a cut note of lower pitch, usually alternating, for example, between an A and a G. If the coupled pairs are played in a repeating pattern, it too is called a dithis doubling.

Following the siubhal or dithis variation are other more complex embellishments. The Gaelic names of these type movements are leumluath, taorluath, and crùnluath. In almost all pibroch tunes in which these later movements are found, the variations are played first as a singling and then as a doubling, at a slightly faster tempo. However, some Pibrochs use “irregular” variations, and include only a few of these movements, or none at all. In addition, one of several internal structures usually reflects the order of the theme’s musical phrases (or vice-versa).

Traditionally, many pipers preferred the name Ceòl Mór to Pibroch. Ceòl Mór is Scottish Gaelic meaning the “Great Music.” The term distinguishes this complex, extended art-music from the more common kinds of popular Scottish music such as reels, marches, and strathspeys, which are called Ceòl Beag or “Little Music”.

- The Fiddle Pibroch

Related Ceòl Mór genres were historically also played on the fiddle and on the wire-strung Gaelic harp or clarsach. Clarsach Ceòl Mór is likely to have predated and influenced pipe and fiddle music. However, pibroch in its current form was developed on the Great Highland Bagpipe, with most of the extant pibroch tunes being adapted to or written specifically for the Great Highland Bagpipe. As a result, the musical form is influenced by features and limitations of that instrument.

Ceòl Mór repertoire is likely to have transferred from the harp to the newly developed Italian violin in the late 16th century as fiddlers began to receive aristocratic patronage and supplement the role of the harpers. Evidence of concurrent patronage can be found in a notarized document sent to the Laird of Grant in 1638, reporting that his fiddler John Hay

and his harper (unnamed) had injured each other in a fight. The fiddler's heightened social and cultural status was consolidated by Clan Cummings of Freuchie. They became the hereditary fiddlers and subsequently also pipers to the Laird of Grant from the early 17th century until the late 18th century.

A distinctive body of Ceòl Mór known as fiddle pibroch developed in this period. Its melodic themes and formal variations are similar to concurrent bagpipe pibroch, but not necessarily derived from or imitative of it, despite the similarities suggested by the name. The two forms are likely to have developed in parallel from a common shared source in earlier harp music and Gaelic song.

Fiddle pibroch performance techniques included double-stops, different bowing patterns, complex ornamentation and expressive rubato rhythmic freedom. Pibroch fiddlers employed alternative scordatura tunings to play this repertoire, such as the "A E a e" tuning.

Around seventeen fiddle pibroch compositions survive in various 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts and publications. Notable fiddle pibrochs include compositions likely to have been transposed from the wire-strung harp repertoire, such as "Cumha Iarla Wigton (Lament for the Earl of Wigton)," or "Cumh Easpuic Earra-ghaoidheal (Lament for the Bishop of Argyll)," as well as compositions for the violin within the pibroch form, such as "Marsail Lochinalie" and "Mackintosh's Lament." This musical lineage had gone into decline around the time the fiddle pibroch repertoire was documented in the late 18<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts, culminating in the laments by and for the Scottish fiddler and composer Niel Gow (1727–1807).



*The Blind Fiddler, 1806*  
Engraving by T. Nicholson from the original picture  
by David Wilkie (1785-1841)  
Great Britain – Author's collection.

## MUSIC AND DANCE FROM IRELAND

Irish music, in full bloom at the time of the Alamo, included a great variety of music and dance. William Daniel Jackson, a former sailor, and Robert Evans, a tall, black-haired, blue-eyed fellow described by Mrs. Dickinson as always being merry, may have cut a step or two inside the fort, while Davy Crockett, or one of the lesser known Irishmen, played the fiddle.

- The Dances

In Ireland, reference to the jig is found in a 1569 letter from the English Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir Henry Sidney, to Queen Elizabeth, in which he expresses great enthusiasm for the *Irish jigs* danced by the Galway ladies <sup>82</sup>. The reel and hornpipe, however, imported from

82. O'Rafferty, Peadar and Gerald. *Dances of Ireland*. London: Parrish & Co., 1959.



Scotland and England respectively, did not develop until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Regarding the distinctions between these dances, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music* informs us:

There is no evidence that the hornpipe is native to Ireland, nor is there a Gaelic word for hornpipe, jig or reel, terms that were formerly interchangeable. But the hornpipe in Ireland is now distinguished from the jig by its 2/4 time and from the reel by the number of accents to the bar, the hornpipe having two and the reel one.<sup>83</sup>

The popularity of the reel and hornpipe most likely should be attributed to the efforts of the dancing masters who traveled Ireland in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Arthur Young's *Tour of Ireland* (1776-1779) reports:

Dancing is very general among the poor people, almost universal in every cabin. Dancing masters of their own rank travel throughout the country from cabin to cabin, with a piper or a blind fiddler, and the pay is 6d. a quarter. It is an absolute system of education.<sup>84</sup>

Besides the Irish jig, which was danced with "most luxuriant expression," according to Young, the dancing masters also taught minuets, country dances, and even cotillions.

#### • The Musical Instruments

The harp was gradually being supplemented or replaced by a variety of instruments: the tin whistle, the transverse flute, the violin, and the bagpipes – almost as ancient as the harp, for various archeological finds demonstrate that the bagpipes were brought to the British Isles by the Roman legions.

Bagpipes are a class of musical instruments in which the sound is produced by enclosed reeds that vibrate as air is squeezed from a pouch. In the Old World, many varieties are currently played within the vast

83. Sadie Stanley (ed.). *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, op. cit.

84. Young, Arthur. *A Tour in Ireland, 1776-1779*. London: Cassel & Company, 1897.

triangle bounded by Scotland to the northwest, Mongolia to the east, and Mali to the southwest.

Two types of pipes were used in Ireland at different historical times. The oldest is a type similar to Scottish war pipes, in which the air reservoir is inflated with a blowpipe. It mustered the Irish fighters in 1346 at the battle of Crécy, and the Irish Brigade at Fontenoy four centuries later. The pipes were also heard in the streets of Philadelphia in 1778, when the Volunteers of Ireland, a British military unit, marched to New York to join the Redcoats.

As early as 1581, Galileo the musician, father of the great astronomer, wrote:

The bagpipe is much used by the Irish. To its sound this unconquered, fierce, and warlike people march their armies and encourage one another to feats of valour. With it, also, they accompany their dead to the grave, making such mournful sounds as almost to force the bystanders to weep.<sup>85</sup>

A later type of bagpipes, in which the flow of air is regulated by pressing a bellows with the elbow (similar to the French *musette*), called the uilleann pipes (“uilleann” meaning “elbow”), became widespread in Ireland in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>86</sup>

As now played, the instrument has a chanter with a soft, sweet reed, and three drones sounding the note C in three octaves. These drones are combined in one stock and the bore of the longest one traverses the length of the tube more than once, like that of a bassoon. A special feature lies in certain metal keys that, operated by pressure of the wrist, produce three note chords (of the tonic and dominant) from these drones, so supplying a crude but not ineffective chordal bass to the melody of the chanter; these chords are not carried on continuously but interjected here and there in suitable places. The scale of the chanter is a nearly complete chromatic one from D below the treble stave to D three spaces above it, i.e. two octaves, the second octave being obtained

85. Arnold, Denis (ed.). *The New Oxford Companion to Music*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.

86. These kind of pipes were at first called "Union pipes," possibly because of the union of the chanter, drones, and regulators, or because they were played throughout a full union of England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.

by giving the bag a sharp squeeze and pumping the bellows a little faster, which results in overblowing.

The player sits to play, with the bag under his left arm and the bellows under his right and tied to it and to his body: the drones rest on the leg and the end of the chanter on a pad of leather on the knee, so facilitating the process known as *tipping*, connected with the clear articulation of the notes, a process that resembles in effect that mentioned in describing the Northumbrian instrument."<sup>87</sup>



*An Itinerant Irish piper*  
Oil painting, early 19th century  
Great Britain – Private collection.

The fiddle and uilleann pipes share the honor of having expressed the music of the Irish soul over a period covering more than two centuries. Undoubtedly, the two instruments fashioned the music, shaping it to their individual criteria.

The violin had started its long career in Europe in the seventeenth century, quickly spreading through the British Isles. It became a staple of Irish dance music, vying with the bagpipes as the instrument of choice for jigs, hornpipes, and reels. The quick success of the violin in

87. Sadie, Stanley (ed.). *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. London: Macmillan Publishers, 1980.

urban and rural communities alike may have resulted from its relative simplicity, portability, low cost, and ready supply.

In the Americas, immigrant carpenters and cabinetmakers brought their craft from the old country, sawing and joining stringed instruments. Everywhere, the box's popularity was spread by itinerant musicians, often blind, eking out an existence singing and playing battered fiddles in farms and roadside taverns. Gentlemen dancing masters, who criss-crossed the country claiming to teach the social graces, carried pocket violins.<sup>88</sup>

Even though the fiddle, unlike the uilleann pipes, has no distinctively Irish features and is, in fact a standard violin, the style of playing adopted by the traditional fiddlers has evolved into something distinctive and uniquely suited to Irish music. In particular, the emphasis placed on variation in Irish dance music implies a certain compositional ability in good traditional performers. This composition is done not with a pen and manuscript but on the instrument itself and in this way the instrument leaves its mark on the tunes composed on it, so that many are obviously fiddle tunes while others are equally recognisable as pipe tunes. The distinguishing characteristic may be, for example, a melodic pattern which lies easily under the fingers on one instrument but would be difficult on another or, alternatively, the notes on which decorations occur may give a clue to the origin of the tune. In many cases the range of the tune will indicate that it is basically a fiddle tune rather than a pipe tune.<sup>89</sup>

The following comments may cause you to recall an air or two yourself:

One characteristic of Irish fiddle playing that can be heard easily when it is compared to the fiddling of neighboring traditions is the presence of sometimes complex fingered ornaments. Ornamentation in Irish music is not simply decorative. It constitutes a precise, yet flexible system of gracing which is wedded to the melody for the specific purposes of emphasizing certain notes and articulating others. In all likelihood, these techniques derive from piping. On an open chanter

88. Varlet, Philippe. "Away With The Bow: An Introduction to Irish Fiddle Styles." Program of the 20th Annual Washington D.C. Irish Folk Festival. Silver Spring: National Council for the Traditional Arts, 1996.

89. O'Canainn, Tomas. *Traditional Music in Ireland*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978.

like that of the Scottish Highland pipes where a continuous flow of air activates the reed, the only way to articulate repeated notes is to cut between them with grace notes.<sup>90</sup>

Commonly used fingered ornaments include single or double grace notes, short, long, and delayed rolls, mordants, and crans, all of which can be further combined or substituted for variation. One could add to the list short slides and double-stops, also used for emphasis, as well as bow triplets or trebles which, while not strictly fingered ornaments, function in the same capacity. One finds that, in fact, many players incorporate only a subset of these in their technique, while others still use fingered ornaments only sparsely or not at all.<sup>91</sup>

Fiddling was widespread in European settlements in the Americas by 1836, and Irish music seems to have left an imprint in the Spanish-Mexican world at the time too. The lady traveler Frances Calderón de la Barca notes its mark on Catholic Indians, after hearing a band play the "Procession of the Angels" during Good Friday celebrations in Coyuhuacan (Mexico) in 1840:

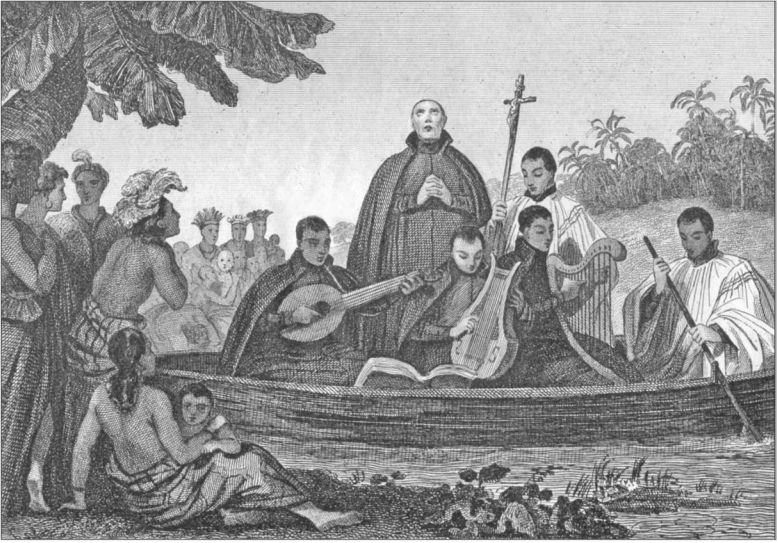
The musicians seemed to be playing "Sweet Kitty Clover," with variations. If Sweet Kitty Clover is genuine Irish, as who can doubt, how did these Indians get hold of it? Did Saint Patrick go round from the Emerald Isle by way of Tipperary? But, if he had, would he not have killed the alacrans, and chicalinos, and coralillos, and vinagrillos? This requires consideration.<sup>92</sup>

The Indians were probably playing violins, flutes, and drums, like the ones who led the San Andres procession in Urupa a few weeks later.

90. Varlet, Philippe. "Away With The Bow," *op. cit.*

91. *Ibid.*

92. Calderon De La Barca, Frances. *Life In Mexico During a Residence of Two Years in That Country*. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1843.



**Arrivée des Jésuites au Mexique en 1572**  
**Steel engraving by X**  
**France – Private collection.**

From the beginning of the Spanish ecclesiastical and governmental systems, music was used as a tool in the conversion of indigenous people. Indian musicians, taught by the Franciscans and Jesuits, played in church services in many of the missions.

- The Songs

Most of the repertoire sung in the Irish-speaking regions, or *Gaeltacht*, is made up of love songs, expressing the hope or despair of the lover. Words and music are conjoined to produce a remarkable emotional effect. Alongside these moving songs, a repertoire of “light” songs are sung to catchy tunes, for the sole purpose of entertaining the audience. There are also many lullabies, as well as a few religious songs.

English songs can be divided into two major groups: old tunes imported from England and Scotland, and songs composed by Irish people whose mother tongue was English. There is no reason to believe that the oldest songs travelled more slowly in the English settlements on Ireland’s east coast than they did in England. From time immemorial, there had been ongoing exchanges between the islands, via government officials, soldiers, merchants, laborers, etc. Generally, the largest part of song repertoire was added in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries in areas where English influence was growing most rapidly. As with the Irish song

canon, love was the dominant theme in the new compositions in English. Runaway lovers or kidnappings, fortuitous encounters and painful separations provided the raw material for many a song. Likewise, shipwrecks, drowning, murders, public executions, and historical events inspired many a songmaker. It is assumed that itinerant songsters, selling their tuppenny broadsides, were the chief factor in propagating these popular English songs in Ireland.<sup>93</sup>

"The Minstrel Boy" cited here could have been sung by Robert Evans or another Irishman at the Alamo. It is a patriotic song written by Thomas Moore (1779–1852), who set it to the melody of *The Moreen*, an old Irish air. It is widely believed that Moore composed the song in remembrance of a number of his former classmates from Trinity College, Dublin, who were killed during the Irish Rebellion of 1798.

The minstrel boy to the war is gone,  
In the ranks of death ye will find him;  
His father's sword he hath girded on,  
And his wild harp slung behind him;  
"Land of Song!" said the warrior bard,  
"Tho' all the world betray thee,  
One sword, at least, thy rights shall guard,  
One faithful harp shall praise thee!"

The Minstrel fell! But the foeman's chain  
Could not bring his proud soul under;  
The harp he lov'd ne'er spoke again,  
For he tore its chords asunder;  
And said "No chains shall sully thee,  
Thou soul of love and bravery!  
Thy songs were made for the pure and free  
They shall never sound in slavery!"

William Daniel Jackson, the young Irish sailor who moved to Texas from Kentucky, might have entertained his companions by singing such a song as "I'd Be a Jolly Tar." William Bollaert heard it one March night on 1842 aboard the *LaFitte*, cruising off present-day Corpus Christi.

93. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, *op. cit.*

## The Minstrel Boy



### *"The Minstrel Boy"*

The steamer, which carried a company of Coast Guards and another one of Fusileers, was under the command of Capt. John Wade, hero of the battle of San Jacinto.

Bollaert wrote:

The whiskey punch went round for a short time afterwards, when each returned to his berth or hammock—having previously as a finale, sang the following song: Air—"I'd Be a Butterfly."

I'd be a jolly tar, born on the ocean,  
Where billows and wild waves are dashing around,  
Sailing along whilst the waves are in motion,  
'Tis joy to my heart—the fierce cannon's sound.  
I'd be a sailor with grog for my portion,  
Seldom with such is much sorrow found,  
I'd be a jolly tar born on the ocean,  
When Neptune is stirring the blue waves around.  
I'd be a jolly tar, I'd be a jolly tar,  
When Neptune is stirring the blue waves around.

Landsmen may laugh at a sailor's devotion,  
May talk of the joys and pleasures of land;  
Think you a bold tar would alter his notion,  
And leave his gay berth for a home on the strand?  
When the base tyrants have vessels in motion  
Old Jack will be there with true steel in his hand.  
I'd be a jolly tar, born on the ocean,  
When tempests are raging or gales blowing bland.



I'd be a jolly tar, I'd be a jolly tar,  
When tempests are raging or gales blowing bland.<sup>94</sup>

**I'd Be A Butterfly**

The image shows a musical score for the song "I'd Be A Butterfly" by Thomas Haynes Bayly. The score is written for six staves, all in treble clef. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 2/4. The music features a melody in the first staff, with accompaniment in the remaining five staves. The melody consists of eighth and quarter notes, with some slurs and accents. The accompaniment includes various rhythmic patterns, including eighth-note runs and chords.

*"I'd Be a Butterfly"*

Composed by English poet and songwriter Thomas Haynes Bayly (1797-1839)

## MUSIC AND DANCE FROM GERMANY

At the beginning of the 19th century, the German states, like the rest of Europe, became engulfed in the Napoleonic Wars. After Napoleon Bonaparte seized power in France in 1799, he embarked on a series of conquests, defeating Austria and bringing the Holy Roman Empire to an end. Prussia also suffered, losing about half of its territory. But after Napoleon's disastrous invasion of Russia in 1812, the tide turned against him. A coalition of European powers, including Prussia and Austria, took part in Napoleon's final defeat in 1815.

Although the people of the German states suffered through centuries of conflict, tensions, wars, and battles of every kind, they never failed to indulge in their favorite pastime, dancing, despite sovereign bans on the practice, threats from the church, and flurries of punishments.

94. Hollon, Eugene W. (ed.). *William Bollaert's Texas*, op. cit.

In the oldest forms of dance, performers sang and danced at the same time. They had names like *the dance of the seven jumps*, *the nine-person round*, *the billy-goat dance*, etc. The first, the leaping dance, was for men only, whereas the nine-person round was performed by nine women. One of its variations, the *women's dance around a goat*, involved a ladies' chain dance around a man wearing animal emblems, or around the animal itself. Their primary meaning, as a pagan fertility rite, had obviously been disguised over time. Other typical dances were *the stick dance*, *the hoop dance*, *the ribbon dance*, *the sword dance*, etc.

Regarding the sword dance, Agnes Fyfe wrote:

The vineyard workers of Überlingen on the Lake of Constance were the last to maintain a regular performance of their dance, which they did up to 1939. They had a King, four leading dancers and a Fool or Hänsele. This important character wore the traditional costume of his kind - the 'Whipping Hänsele' of the region are remarkable figures - sewn all over with tabs of coloured cotton stuff, bells and a hood-mask with a long, hanging nose, real fox-tails hanging down his back. He cracked a long whip continually and when the rose had been formed by the swords he crept beneath it while the King waved a flag over them all.<sup>95</sup>

The cutlers of Nuremberg also performed their own sword dance. In fact, all of the trade guilds, including such humble professions as goose-keeping, had their own dances.

In the free town of Nuremberg the Guilds were wealthy and gave splendid performances of their dances. The Cutlers performed a Sword dance, the Coopers of Munich a Reif (half-hoop) dance every seven years at Carnival time. In the last figure filled wineglasses were placed on the inner curve of the hoops and these and the glasses were swung about in circles without spilling the wine. The Drapers also had a Flag dance; indeed each Guild possessed a dance in some way fitted to its work.<sup>96</sup>

The musicians' guild (*Die Bruderschaft der Pfeifer*) was among the oldest. It included kettledrum and tambourin (flute and drum) players, trumpeters, fiddlers, flautists, and cornetto or *zink* players. The rules of

95. Fyfe, Agnes, *Dances of Germany*. London: Max Parrish and Company, 1951.

96. *Ibid.*

the brotherhood were similar to those governing those of the other trades: a musician had to have completed a two-year apprenticeship to play in a town, whereas one year was enough for the village, and fees were charged for both joining and leaving the guild. The “king” (*Pfeifer König*) was elected by the local lord, along with four masters and a standard-bearer. Guild membership conferred the exclusive right to play music for money in the district supervised by the guild.<sup>97</sup>

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the main instruments used to accompany dancers were the tambourin (a 3- or 4- stop flute twinned with a drum), the bagpipes, and the fiddle. But as the 18<sup>th</sup> century approached, the fiddle acquired greater importance. By 1720, it was by far the most widespread instrument.



*A young country fiddler*  
Postcard, late 1890s – Germany – Private collection.

One German dance became popular throughout Europe in the Baroque period. Performed to an instrumental accompaniment, as opposed to being sung, it was called the Allemande, from the French word for “German.” It developed in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as the pavane became less fashionable. In 1589, orchesographer Thoinot Arbeau described it as a slow, four-beat parade dance, comprising three musical parts, of which the third and last was lighter and bouncier:

97. *Ibid.*

In the course of the dance, a young man may capture another man's partner, by catching her hand and leading her away, and he who has lost his partner strives to replace her by catching the hand of another.<sup>98</sup>

In the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Allemande fell out of favor in the ballroom, replaced by the minuet. However, after 1750, it made a comeback, initially as one of the figures in a contradance. At the time, it was a two- or three-beat dance. By the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Allemande was again fashionable in Europe. Its embraces and "arm turns" with the partner were a novelty for dancers. Some of the turns were carried over into square dancing and country dancing, where the calls "Allemande left!" and "Allemande right!" are instructions to the dancers to clasp their hands and turn around each other.



*The Allemande, 1772*  
Drawing by James Caldwell (1739-1819) after Brandoin  
Great Britain – Private collection.

Although there were a few Germans in Texas when the area was under Spanish and Mexican rule, the first permanent settlement of Germans was at Industry, in Austin County, established by Friedrich Ernst and Charles Fordtran in the early 1830s. Ernst wrote a letter to a

98. Arbeau, Thoinot. *Orchesographie*. Langres: Jehan des Preyz, 1596.

friend in his native Oldenburg which was published in the newspaper there. His description of Texas was so influential in attracting German immigrants to that area that he is remembered as "The Father of German Immigration to Texas."

We may think that like Friedrich Ernst and the other settlers of present Austin County, the two German Alamo defenders, Henry Courtman and Henry Thomas, were delighted to recall their homeland and its tunes, dances, and entertainment when the opportunity arose.

Frances Calderón De la Barca, who visited Don Carlos Heimbürger, "a Polish gentleman at the head of the German mining establishment" of Anguero (central Mexico), in December 1840, remarked:

All Germans are musical, and the gentlemen in this house did not belie the national reputation. After dinner, a bright fire blazing, doors and windows shutting out the cold air that whistled along the hills, they struck up in chorus some of the finest national airs, particularly the Hymn to the Rhine—so that it seemed an illusion that we were in this wild, mining district, inhabited only by the poorest Indians; and we were transported thousands of miles off, across the broad Atlantic, even to the land where

"The castled crag of Drachenfels  
Frowns o'er the broad and winding Rhine."<sup>99</sup>

Had there been a piano like in the home of Señor V——o, a rich merchant of Vera Cruz where Mrs. Calderón was received with great hospitality a few months before<sup>100</sup>, she could no doubt have played a German cotillion for her hosts.<sup>101</sup>

99. Calderón De La Barca, Frances. *Life In Mexico, op. cit.* Mrs. Calderón quotes Lord Byron: *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto the Third, 1816.

100. Mrs. Calderón writes: "I found a German piano in the drawing-room, on which I was glad to put my fingers after a month's abstinence." *Ibid.*

101. Mrs. Calderón writes: "On Monday we gave a Tertulia which... consisted of nearly all the pleasantest people in Mexico. We had music, dancing, and cards, and at three in the morning the German cotillon was still in full vigour." *Ibid.*



*"La Nouvelle Allemande"*  
Composed by Caillat, Paris, 1767.

## MUSIC AND DANCE FROM DENMARK

Charles Zanco, the sole Danish Texas volunteer, came from an ethno-linguistic region in northern Europe known as Scandinavia. It included the three kingdoms of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, characterized by their common historical heritage and language.

Scandinavian rural society before 1800 was centered on the village. Tenant farmers beholden to the Crown or some other aristocratic landlord lived with their hands and livestock in a cluster of farms and houses. The land, devoted chiefly to bread-grain crops, was tended communally.

It was in this context that vocal music or instrumental music with such musical instrument as the drums <sup>102</sup>, the bagpipe, the hurdy-gurdy and a kind of fiddle named *fedel* or *fejle* were used for dancing.

In circle dancing, one distinctive tradition was singing without words, a style known as *tulling*, *sulling* or *tralling* in which a sequence of consonants was invented or improvised by the singer who created his own sounds using plosives and nasal consonants with relatively light

102. Drummers were frequently engaged to play for weddings, dances and other celebrations. Thus the military drum tradition also became a folk music tradition.

vowels. A typical tralling sequence, as in such folk tunes as "Springdans" (Spring Dance) or "*Bruremarsj*" (Wedding March), might have been "tra di da di dadi damm di dadndida." This was very similar to the Scottish and Irish tradition known as "mouth music."<sup>103</sup>

With the exception of this style of singing without words used in circle dancing, the lyrics were an important element in the vocal music tradition. The following ballad known as "Rolandskvadet" (The Song of Roland) may have been sung loudly and defiantly by Charles Zanco while on duty at the Alamo, besieged by Santa Anna's soldiers:

*Slogest dei ut på Ronsarvollen i dagane två og trjá  
Blåmennan fall for Rolandssverd som gav seg fyrí ljåe.  
Rida dei ut or Franklandet med dyre dros i sadel  
Blæs i luren Olifant på Ronsarvollen.*

They fought at Ronsarvollen for two and three days  
The blue men fell before Roland's sword and blade.  
They rode out of the Frankish lands with spoils in their saddles  
Blow the horn Olifant at Ronsarvollen.

The next stanzas were:

The mountain of blue men blocked the sun  
Which could not shine clear through the stench of their blood.  
They rode out... etc.

One fearful footman asked Roland to blow his horn  
To blow it with all his might.  
They rode out... etc.

Roland put his horn to his bloodied mouth and gave an angry blow  
The anguished sound carried over mountains  
[and seas for three days.  
They rode out... etc.

King Charlemagne, he started to weep  
'What awaits my friend? I hear his horn sounding.'  
They rode out... etc.


103. There was also a type of traditional singing known as *lokk* or *laling*, short motifs sung to call home cattle at night on mountain farms, and also an effective means of communication over long distances.

King Charlemagne he saw his friend  
Dead lay Roland holding on to his sword.  
They rode out... etc."

This ballad, composed some time in the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century, tells the legend of the battle in 778 at Roncevaux, scandinavianized to Ronsarvollen. The Frankish king Charlemagne chose six of his twelve knights, Roland among them, to fight the Muslim Saracens (the blue men) at a pass in the Pyrenees Mountains. Roland carried a horn called Olifant, which he was to sound to call for reinforcements from his king. The Saracens came in overwhelming numbers, but Roland proudly refused to blow his horn until his sword was split in two. By then, as the ballad says, it was too late, and when the king arrived, he found Roland dead, still clutching the broken sword.

In Scandinavia we know of instrumental music going as far back as 1750, thanks to the manuscript dance music books of the *spillemand* (the folk musician). These are mainly monophonic violin books like Rasmus Storms's and Erik Jensen's 18th-century manuscripts.

Polonoise



The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "Polonoise". It is written in 3/4 time and the key signature has one sharp (F#), indicating D major. The score is presented on five staves. The first two staves contain the first phrase of the piece, and the last two staves contain the second phrase. The music is monophonic and features characteristic polonaise rhythms, including dotted rhythms and eighth-note patterns. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

*"Polonoise"*

Composed by Rasmus Storms Nodebog circa 1750, Köpenham, Denmark.

From that time on, the combination of two violins, or violin and bass (cello), became typical of *spillemandsmusik*. The *stadsmusikanter*



(professional musicians of the borough towns) were granted a monopoly on all paid music performance in the villages.

The new system meant that rural musical tradition was subject to massive influence from the towns. The manufactured violin became the main instrument of the rural musician, supplanting older contraptions. In the same way, the *polskedans* repertoire was supplemented by Minuets, Polonaises, Anglaises, Contredanses, and Marches.



*Scandinavian Fiddlers*  
Postcard, 1890s – Denmark – Author's collection.

In the early 1800s, the monopoly of the *stadsmusikanter* lapsed, and other manufactured instruments such as the oboe, flute, and clarinet were adopted by the *spillemand*. Music and dancing were an indispensable part of the feasts of the life cycle and the year, and *spillemandsmusik* involved ensembles of two, three or four members.

However, most rural villages maintained close ties with the town. As a result, country *spillemandsmusik* was constantly supplemented by new dance music. The Anglaises and Contredanses survived in the tradition as *turdanse* or figure dances. Meanwhile, the popularity of the Waltz and the Galop grew, as it did elsewhere in Europe and the New World.<sup>104</sup>

104. Koudal, Jens Henrik. *For Borgere Og Bønder. Stadsmusikantvæsenet i Danmark ca. 1660-1800*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanums Forlag, 2000.



*La Leçon de Valze – The Waltz Lesson*  
A comical dance scene drawn by an unknown New Orleans artist,  
dated "November 8th, 1834" – Author's collection.

## MUSIC AND DANCE IN LOUISIANA AND THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

James Bowie's early accomplishments in the Bayou Country and New Orleans should give the reader a fair idea of the music and dance that he enjoyed, as obviously did the other native or adoptive Louisianans at the Alamo, Isaac Ryan, Joseph Kerr, Charles Despallier, Samuel E. Burns, James Girard Garrett, James W. Garrand, and Tapley Holland, as well as several future members of the New Orleans Greys.

On May 2, 1801, at Rapides, Louisiana, Rezin Bowie and his brothers David, Rhesa, and John swore allegiance to the Spanish government. In October the families settled on farms in what is now Catahoula Parish. About 1809, the Bowie clan moved to the Attakapas country in southeastern Louisiana. There, Rezin purchased 640 acres on the Vermilion River near the mouth of Little Bayou. He then developed a plantation in the vicinity of Opelousas, where he grew cotton and sugarcane, raised livestock, and bought and sold slaves. He also went into the lumber business, establishing a saw mill on Bayou Courtableau.

James Bowie, born in Kentucky in 1796, was the third son of Elve and John Bowie, Rezin's brother. In his teens, he worked in Avoyelles

and Rapides parishes, where he floated lumber to market. He was fond of hunting and fishing, catching wild horses and trapping bears.

By late 1814, the war with the British finally came to the Lower Mississippi Valley. Men from all over Louisiana, but especially Rapides, Natchitoches, and St. Landry Parishes, mustered in or near Opelousas as the new year dawned.

James Bowie enlisted on January 8, 1815 in the rank of private, in a company which soon merged with a number of others from the region to form the Consolidated Louisiana Militia Regiment. This large unit was a mixture of nationalities: men of Spanish, French, Portuguese, Acadian, and apparently even African backgrounds formed its ranks. According to family records, James Bowie was on his way to join Andrew Jackson's forces at New Orleans when the war ended.

His first visit to the Crescent City, which he reached on January 24, 1815, did not last long. His regiment was ordered upriver to Donaldsonville, where it remained stationed for two weeks.

Had it not been for the Lenten season, Bowie may have attended balls given by the nearby Acadians of Lafourche, whose relatives grew "on four sides—to the left and right, across the bayou, and back along the swamps and smaller streams."<sup>105</sup>

In 1882, William Harris Sparks looked back on these antebellum Acadians:

Fond of amusements, their social meetings, though of most primitive character, were frequent and cordial. They observed strictly the exactions of the Church, especially Lent; but indulged the Carnival to its wildest extent. Out of Lent they met to dance and enjoy themselves, weekly, first at one, and then at another neighbor's house.<sup>106</sup>

105. Kane, Harnett Thomas. *The Bayous of Louisiana*. New York: William Morrow & Company, 1944.

106. Sparks, William Harris. *The Memories of Fifty Years*. Philadelphia: E. Claxton & Company, 1882.

Having spent his teens in the Attakapas country, James Bowie had probably already joined in Acadian dances or at least watched from the sidelines. However, we shall leave it to Napoleon Bonaparte's emissary Charles-César Robin, who was a guest at a ball on the Acadian coast in December 1803, to describe the atmosphere:

Everyone dances, grandfather and grand'mama; one or two violins, with great abandon, enliven the joyous assembly; four candles with crowns consisting of wood paddles, stuck in the wall, provide all the illumination; long wooden benches are offered to seat the friends; on extraordinary occasions, a few bottles of ratafia, diluted in water, are served as refreshments: but the Creole delicacy *gombo* is always the dish everyone is invited to share.<sup>107</sup>



*Acadian Flood Refugees, Lafayette, Louisiana, 1927*  
Photograph – U.S.A. – Private collection.

"Everyone dances, grandfather and grand'mama; one or two violins, with great abandon, enliven the joyous assembly."

After breaking camp in Donaldsonville, James Bowie went back downriver to New Orleans, and stayed throughout the month of March. In the big city, Bowie probably found some pleasures to enjoy:

107. Robin, Charles-César, *Voyages dans l'intérieur de la Louisiane, de la Floride occidentale, et dans les isles de la Martinique et de Saint-Domingue, pendant les années 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805 et 1806*. Paris: F. Buisson, 1807.

"Dissipation in New-Orleans is unlimited," wrote Eastwick Evans, a highly educated but somewhat quixotic man who witnessed it two years later:

Here men may be vicious without incurring the ill opinion of those around them: —for all go one way. Here broad indeed is the road to ruin; and an insulated spectator sees the multitude passing down the stream of pleasure to the gulf of remorse. Surrounded by the fascinations of wealth, the blandishments of beauty, and the bewitching influences of music, they do not realize that they are losing the dignity of their nature, and preparing for themselves the most bitter self-reproach: —they do not realize that an eternity cannot undo an ignoble deed.<sup>108</sup>

Dignity lost or not, many devoted their evenings to "dissipation" as Evans called it. Dancing, of course, was one of the pleasures so freely indulged. The Louisianans, as Major Amos Stoddard remarked in his *Sketches* published in 1812, were "particularly attached to the exercise of dancing," and engaged in it with a zeal he qualified almost admirably as "incredible excess."<sup>109</sup>

Neither the severity of the cold, nor the oppression of the heat, ever restrains them from this amusement, which usually commences early in the evening, and is seldom suspended till late the next morning. They even attend the balls not unfrequently for two or three days in succession, and without the least apparent fatigue. At this exercise the females, in particular, are extremely active, and those of the United States must submit to be called their inferiors.<sup>110</sup>

Naturally, Charles-César Robin attended many Carnival balls during his stay in New Orleans. He reported:

There are public dances for white ladies, and others for women of color. Men go to both. The brittle rigidness of the society ladies makes the first type of ball quite boring, but the others are merry.<sup>111</sup>

108. Evans, Eastwick. *A Pedestrious Tour, or Four Thousand Miles, through the Western States and Territories, During the Winter and Spring of 1818*. Concord: Joseph C. Spear, 1819.

109. Stoddard, Amos, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana*. Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1812.

110. Stoddard, Amos, *Sketches, op. cit.*

111. Robin, Charles-César, *Voyages dans l'intérieur de la Louisiane, op. cit.*

The latter were considered one of the sights of the city, and most men visiting New Orleans attended at least one. The chances are good that the dashing young Bowie chatted up many a belle at the dances.<sup>112</sup>

The aristocratic German visitor Karl Bernhard, having heard of the beauty and graceful dancing of the quadroons, sneaked away to see for himself. He later confided:

Cotillions and waltzes were danced, and several of the ladies performed elegantly. I did not remain long there that I might not utterly destroy my standing in New Orleans, but returned to the masked ball and took great care not to disclose to the white ladies where I had been. I could not, however, refrain from making comparisons, which in no wise redounded to the advantage of the white assembly. As soon as I entered I found a state of formality.<sup>113</sup>

Pierre-Louis Berquin-Duvallon was a sugar planter who fled to New Orleans from the French colony of Saint-Domingue (western Hispaniola, later to become Haiti) following the slave revolt of 1793. He left us a scathing description of the dance hall on Condé Street, then known as “the white ladies’ ballroom,” to set it apart from its colored twin:

Once or twice a week in January and February, men and women meet there to shake themselves from seven o’clock in the evening until the morning of the next day. They weary themselves with the steps, loosely speaking, of contre-dances, and what else? Contre-dances, to the shrill sounds of a few violins bowed by players who give the dancers what they paid for. The instrument players are five or six Bohemians or colored people, sawing away on their fiddles, and seated in a row, on a sort of platform in the middle of one of the sides of the room.<sup>114</sup>

Baron de Montlezun, a French officer present at the Battle of Yorktown, also turned a critical eye on the white ladies’ ball, which he attended some fifteen years after Berquin-Duvallon:

112. Kmen, Henry A. *Music in New Orleans, The Formative Years, 1791-1841*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966.

113. Bernhard, Karl, Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach. *Travels Through North America, op. cit.*

114. Berquin-Duvallon, Pierre-Louis. *Vue de la colonie espagnole du Mississipi ou des provinces de Louisiane et Floride occidentale en l’année 1802*. Paris: Imprimerie Expéditive, 1803.

Although it was a gathering of the best New Orleans society, the atmosphere at the dance bubbled with settler energy and democratic freedom. A lowly fracas, to qualify it as politely as possible, broke out at the entrance to the hall. Without ceremony or etiquette, two booted men faced off, armed with canes heavy enough to deserve a more rustic appellation. Thick clouds of pipe smoke mingled very unpleasantly with the perfumes and voluptuously exhaled essences of the charming heads clustered here and there. The music was mean and its effect pitiful. The whole orchestra consisted of just six barbaric players, massacring the melodies of a few dusty old dances. They fiddled slowly, rustily, and laboriously, and yet the ladies danced with furious abandon. Six contre-dances and as many waltzes made up each set. The ball started at eight o'clock in the evening and lasted until three in the morning.<sup>115</sup>

Despite the time that had elapsed between the two men's visits, apparently very little had changed in the way the Condé Street dance was conducted.<sup>116</sup>

The ballrooms being the principal place for social contact on a large scale among the nationalities, they could operate either to promote a friendly merging of cultures, or to foment discord.

On one occasion, in 1804, the Americans were agitating for the Virginia Reel and the Jig in place of the Waltz and the Cotillion. As the noise and confusion mounted, a young girl jumped up on a bench. Addressing the angry Americans, she cried, "We have been Spanish for thirty years and the Spaniards never forced us to dance the fandango; neither do we want to dance the reel or the jig!" Although the girl spoke French, her fearlessness touched the astonished Americans who shouted "Hurrah!" and joined the waltz enthusiastically.<sup>117</sup>

The municipal authorities, hoping to forestall further trouble, subsequently ruled that there should be a set cycle of two French Country Dances (Cotillions), one English Country Dance (Reel), and

115. Montlezun, Baron de. *Voyage Fait Dans les Années 1816 et 1817 de New York à la Nouvelle-Orléans et de l'Orénoque au Mississipi par les Petites et Grandes Antilles*. Paris (France): Gide fils, 1818.

116. *Ibid.*

117. Kmen, Henry A. *Music in New Orleans, op. cit.*

one Waltz, to be repeated throughout the evening. The following seasons were indeed more peaceful.<sup>118</sup>

About that time, M. Francisqui, the dancing master, introduced a special attraction at one of his balls in the St. Peter Street Ballroom. He borrowed General Wilkinson's military band to play the waltzes. This innovation proved popular enough to be repeated a week later, and thereafter military bands frequently shared the bandstand with the more conventional string orchestras.<sup>119</sup>

It is said that the same favor was bestowed in Mexico by General Antonio López de Santa Anna on the Travelers Inn's ballroom. But this story, if it is true, remains to be proven.<sup>120</sup>

Having described the decadent city, let us leave it behind, and retreat to Opelousas, where James Bowie had chosen a parcel of unoccupied land on Bayou Boeuf, close to the border between Avoyelles and Rapides. He sold off the cypress, whipsawing it into planks. In late 1818, he acquired adjacent timberland on Bayou Boeuf, Elm Bayou, and the Red River. He occasionally went to Cheyneyville, a nearby settlement where he could find music and amusement.

Bowie also began trading in slaves, selling them in St. Landry. He also dabbled in land speculation centered on the southern Louisiana parishes. It helped that the trusting Acadians of Bayou Lafourche, unused to hard currency or to financial dealings in general, often proved willing to sell him their holdings at a very low price.<sup>121</sup>

According to tradition, and there is no reason to dismiss the possibility, Bowie met John James Audubon (1785-1851) at a ball in Feliciana parish. The later-to-be-famous ornithologist had gone there on one of his forays into the countryside in search of specimens.

118. *Ibid.*

119. *Ibid.*

120. Becher, Carl Christian. *Mexico in Den Ereignissvollen Jahren 1832 Und 1833 Und Die Reise Hin Und Zurck*. Hamburg: Perthes & Besser, 1834.

121. Davis, William C. *Three Roads to the Alamo*. New York: HarperPerennial, 1999.



Had not Bowie perished during the storming of the Alamo, the two men might have been reunited years later in Texas, when Audubon visited Galveston, Houston, and San Jacinto Battleground in 1837.

Audubon was born in the French colony of Saint Domingue on his father's sugar plantation in April, 1785. In 1803, he went to the United States, an opportunity both to avoid conscription in the Napoleonic Wars and to study American birds, with the goal of illustrating his findings in a realistic manner.

Leaving Kentucky in October 1820, he set forth for New Orleans, floating down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers by flatboat, determined to draw everything with wings. Nevertheless, sometimes he would put aside pencils and paper to grab his violin or flute and entertain the crew with a lively tune.

"I was extremely fond of music, dancing, and drawing," wrote the woodsman in his Journal. "In all I had been well instructed, and not an opportunity was lost to confirm my propensities in those accomplishments."<sup>122</sup>

Audubon's musical gifts were nearly as outstanding as his talents as an illustrator. On the lower reaches of the Mississippi, he encountered more of his fellow Frenchmen, and may have learned "La Guillannée."

Bonsoir le maître et la maîtresse,  
Et tout le monde du logis,  
Pour le dernier jour de l'année,  
La Guillannée vous nous devez.  
Si vous ne voulez rien donner  
Dites-nous lé.  
On vous demandera seulement  
Une échinée.<sup>123</sup>

Good evening, master and good mistress  
And all the good folk who live here

122. Audubon, Maria R. *Audubon and his Journals*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899.

123. O'Flynn, Anna C. and Carrière, Joseph Médard. *Folk Songs of Old Vincennes*. Chicago: H.T. Fitzsimmons Company, 1946.

We've come to ask for mistletoe  
On this last day of the old year  
If you want to say you like us,  
Just say so, please feed and wine us,  
We only want a pig's ear, then we'll go  
And I wish you a Happy New Year.<sup>124</sup>

“Guillanée” can be explained as an abbreviation of *gui de l'année, gui de la nouvelle année*: New Year's mistletoe. The history of this old song, popular with the French Canadian boatmen who plied the Mississippi,<sup>125</sup> takes us back to pagan times. At the winter solstice, the Druids would gather sacred mistletoe, the greenery that thrived in bitter cold, and present it to their followers. The early Church gave this pagan custom a Christian twist by associating it with charity for the poor.<sup>126</sup>

River traffic also provided a livelihood for Scottish and Irish boatmen, who played the fiddle and danced whenever an occasion arose. An early traveler observed:

As the boats were laid to for the night in an eddy, a part of the crew could give them headway on starting in the morning, while the others struck up a tune on their fiddles, and commenced their day's work with music to scare the devil away and secure good luck. The boatmen, as a class, were masters of the fiddle, and the music, heard through the distance from these boats, was more sweet and animating than any I have ever heard since.<sup>127</sup>

A few chroniclers mention the names of some of the songs the Scottish boatmen played, such as "Blue Bells of Scotland."<sup>128</sup> Another, describing his visit with Thomas Kennedy, the Cincinnati ferryman, wrote:

124. Harnett Kane describes "La Guignolee," a New Year visiting custom from French communities in Missouri. See Kane, Harnett. *The Southern Christmas Book*. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1958. This English version was sung by George and Gerry Armstrong of Chicago.

125. Rathbone, Perry T. (ed.) *Mississippi Panorama*. St. Louis: City Art Museum of St. Louis, 1950.

126. *Ibid.*

127. Williams, John S. (ed.) "Western Keelboatmen." Cincinnati: The American Pioneer, 1843.

128. Ludlow, Noah Miller. *Dramatic Life as I Found It*. St. Louis: G. I. Jones & Co., 1880.

Before we had finished our breakfast, Mr. Kennedy drew a fiddle from a box and struck up *Rothemurchie's Rant*. He played in the true Highland style and I could not stop to finish my breakfast, but started up and danced *Shantrews*.<sup>129</sup>

*Rothemurchie's Rant*

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "Rothemurchie's Rant". The score is written in 6/8 time and consists of six staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C), which is then changed to 6/8. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some triplet markings. There are repeat signs (double bar lines with dots) in the second and third staves. The piece concludes with a final double bar line and repeat dots in the sixth staff.

*"Rothemurchie's Rant"*

The Athole Collection of Scottish Dance Music, 1884.

When the boats stopped for the night at or near a settlement, a dance was got up, if possible, which the boatmen would attend.<sup>130</sup> In *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826), Timothy Flint said:

Almost every boat, while it lies in the harbor, has one or more fiddlers scraping continually aboard, to which you often see the boatmen dancing.<sup>131</sup>

129. Melish, John. *A Geographical Description of the United States, with the Contiguous British and Spanish Possessions*. Philadelphia: J. Melish, 1812.

*Shantrews* may be a phonetic spelling of *Seann Triubhas*, a Highland dance still performed in Scottish dancing competitions.

130. Williams, John S. (ed.). "Western Keelboatmen," *op. cit.*

131. Flint, James. *Recollections of the last ten years, passed in occasional residences and journeyings in the valley of the Mississippi*. Boston: Commings, Hilliard, & Co., 1826.



*The Jolly Flatboatmen, 1846*

Oil painting by George Caleb Bingham (1811-1879)

Engraved from the original by G.C. Bingham – U.S.A. – Private collection.

Audubon reached the Crescent City in January of 1821, but encountered only indifference, at best: ornithology was unappreciated. Few of his peers saw any reason for a man to endanger his health with the sultry air of the swamps just to paint birds in their natural surroundings or scribble down their calls and songs. New Orleans Creole society was primarily social, not intellectual. The Opera ruled the arts, family portraiture being its first lady-in-waiting. This mock-Europeanism was more than Audubon could bear. He left town a few months later and returned to his dear wilderness.

One of his wanderings took him to Oakley, the home of Mr. and Mrs. Perrie, near Bayou Sara (West Feliciana Parish). At their request, he spent the summer and fall teaching their daughter "all [he] could in drawing, music, dancing, etc. etc... and found [himself] bound for several months on a farm in Louisiana."<sup>132</sup>

132. Corning, Howard (ed.). *Journal of John James Audubon Made during his Trip to New Orleans in 1820-1821*. Cambridge: The Business Historical Society, 1929.

Audubon had known the cypress swamps and canebrakes of the Isle of Orleans,<sup>133</sup> but never before had he beheld the upland South, with its red hills and pine groves mixed with flowering trees and evergreen shrubs. He delighted in the area, the resort of myriad new species of birds, and had half of every day free, so he could explore the countryside. Perhaps it was here that he sighted the large Ivory-Billed Woodpecker, 20 inches long, now extinct.

His art and music lessons completed, Audubon left Oakley and returned to New Orleans, where he rented a house for his family. In his journal for the winter of 1821-1822, we find accounts of musical evenings spent in Rue Dauphine with his wife Lucy who played the piano. Occasionally, Mr. Matabon, a gifted flute player Audubon had met at the French Market, joined them.<sup>134</sup>

Though colorful and gay, Creole life was rather confined to the repetition of a small cycle of experiences. Lucy's judgment about New Orleans was correct: it was not the place for her husband to make either a permanent income or a home.

So, with his wife's blessing, Audubon once again picked up his knapsack and gun, called his dog, and left to roam the Southern states. There, he painted the wild flowers, fruits, and leaves that give the early period of *Birds of America* much of their naturalism, and their value as complete habitat groups. This time, his wanderings lasted three years.

When he returned to Louisiana in May, 1824, Lucy had entered into an engagement at Mrs. Percy's Beech Woods plantation on Bayou Sara to instruct her children, together with her own, and a limited number of outside pupils. Receiving an offer to teach dancing, Audubon soon had a class of sixty.

It was upon the occasions of Saturday night soirees that former pupils best remembered the artist, for when the cotton gin-house was not in use at *Beech Woods* its floor was swept clean and Audubon gave the

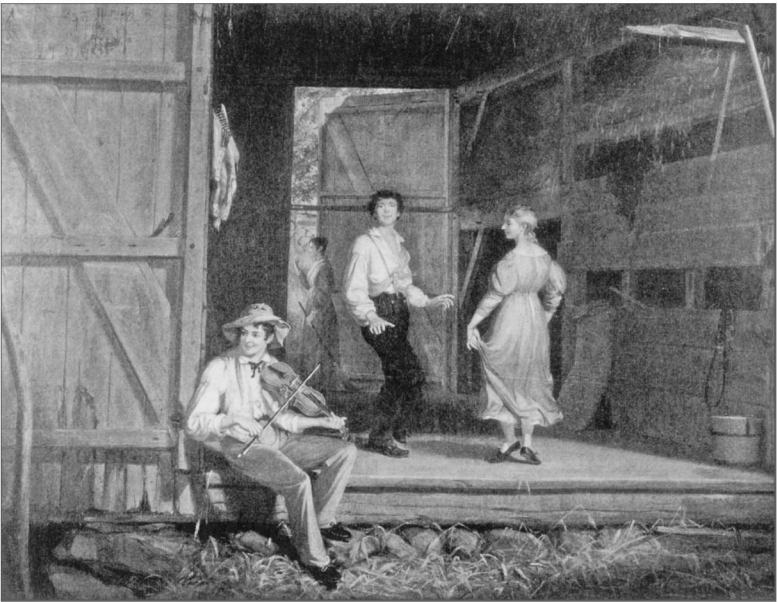
133. Isle of Orleans was the historic name for the New Orleans area.

134. Audubon, Maria R. *Audubon and his Journals*, *op. cit.*

beaux and belles dancing lessons. These affairs grew in favor and it was no unusual sight to see the gin-house filled to capacity, candles sputtering in brackets on the walls, and the long-haired Frenchman prancing up and down the floor, playing his violin as he danced, and showing the men the correct steps for the cotillon. <sup>135</sup>

The success of his lessons gained him a flattering reputation and prestige. His fame as a dancing master spread, and it was not long before his services were sought by plantation owners throughout the Feliciana country.

Pupils occasionally proved awkward, or lacked talent. It is said that Audubon broke his bow and nearly ruined his violin in his irritation and



*Dancing on the Barn Floor, 1831*

Oil painting by William Sidney Mount (1807-1868)

Engraved from the original by G.C. Bingham – U.S.A. – Private collection.

Ian Brockbank, expert dancer from Edinburgh, Scotland, remarked: "It looks like the couple in the picture are doing some sort of setting, getting ready for a turn or spin of some sort. They could well be doing a jig – their body language feels right. I don't know if in actual fact there would have been just a couple, or if the artist decided to depict only a single couple to give the picture focus."

135 Arthur, Stanley Clisby. *Audubon: An Intimate Life of the American Woodsman*. Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 2000.

impatience. He soothed himself by dancing to his own music until the whole audience, overcome with admiration, thundered applause.<sup>136</sup>

Audubon became the rage of Louisiana's four parishes. During a year and a half he kept going from from place to place, teaching music and dance. This is supposedly when he met and befriended James Bowie, a good dancer himself.

The Geese In The Bog

The image shows a musical score for a double jig titled "The Geese In The Bog". The score is written on eight staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of two sharps (D major). The time signature is 6/8. The music consists of two main melodic lines, each with a repeat sign at the end. The first line starts with a quarter rest followed by a quarter note, and the second line starts with a quarter note. The melody is characterized by eighth and sixteenth notes, with some triplet-like patterns. The score is enclosed in a rectangular box.

**"The Geese in the Bog"**  
An Irish-American Double Jig, popular as long ago as 1779  
Transcribed by Ian Brockbank.

136. Peattie, Donald Culross (ed.). *Audubon's America: The Narratives and Experiences of John James Audubon*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940.

Chapter 3  
MUSIC AND DANCE IN TEXAS



*Map of Texas with adjacent parts of Mexico and Louisiana, 1836*  
Engraved by Thierry for the World Atlas of Malte-Brun  
France – Author's collection.

Although Anglo-American incursions on Spanish-Mexican soil had occurred periodically for years, the first large legal immigration of American colonists began in 1821. Moses Austin's son Stephen inherited permission to settle three hundred families in the state of Coahuila y Tejas, now eastern Texas. Stephen Fuller Austin, born in 1793 in Virginia coal-mining country, grew up on his father's lead-mining concession, *Mine à Breton*, in present-day Missouri, just 40 miles west of the Mississippi. He was groomed for his future as a businessman by an education in New England, and upon graduating, returned to Missouri to practice law and run for public office.



Ruined in the Panic of 1819, Austin went west, settling just south of the Arkansas River. As the land agent for the territories Mexico had just won from the Spanish crown, he was able to offer acreage at one-tenth the going price just over the border in the United States. Thousands of Anglo-Americans settled in Tejas over the next fifteen years.<sup>137</sup>

The new community that put down roots came from many horizons. They were doctors, drifters, peddlers, entertainers, seekers of pay dirt, farmers, fighters, lumberjacks, boatmen, hunters, soldiers, and servants. But nearly all of them spent what leisure time they had making music somehow, singing and clapping, twanging on the mouth harp<sup>138</sup>,



*Frontier life (After Supper)*

Photographic image from a Stereo view, Melander & Bros., 1872  
U.S.A. – Author's collection.

137. Kite, Jodella Dorothea. *A Social History of the Anglo-American Colonies in Mexican Texas, 1821-1835*. Lubbock: Texas Tech University, 1990.

138. By “mouth harp,” we are referring to the small musical instrument also known as a Jew's harp or Jaw Harp. Not to be confused with a harmonica.

or beating time with the implements at hand: spoons, bones, or plow shackles, if not playing a purpose-made instrument like a fiddle or flute. As we noted earlier, home-made entertainment played a crucial role in frontier life. Live music and dance were the only source of distraction in the age preceding the invention of the phonograph, the photograph, and other mechanical means of reproducing performance and art. Like people everywhere, these settlements baptized and buried, married and mourned, with special songs. By candlelight and campfire, they gathered for church socials and card games. Fiddlers, always in great demand, were drawn from a variety of backgrounds: Anglo-American, African-American, or Mexican.

## HOUSE DANCES AND FAMILY BALLS

In her reminiscences about the 1830s, Mrs. Dilue Rose Harris writes extensively about balls and dancing parties in Harrisburg, Texas (located near Houston). She describes the ethnic mixture and mores of the guests at the festivities held to celebrate the Fourth of July, 1835:

The citizens of Harrisburg had been preparing for a grand ball and barbecue before the trouble at Anahuac. When they heard the Mexicans would be brought there they sent word to the people of the different settlements to attend... Well, the Fourth of July brought out quite a crowd. The Texans and Mexicans arrived in time for the barbecue, but the ball was put off until the fifth. A man died in town the morning of the Fourth, and Mr. Choate, the musician, would not play till the corpse was buried... The funeral came off the morning of the fifth, everybody attending. Mr. Choate read the burial services, and after the funeral we had dinner and then dancing. We danced in a new storehouse. It was built by Mr. Stafford... The Mexican officers were at the ball. They did not dance country dances. Mr. Kokernot and his wife were Germans. They waltzed, and Captain Tenorio danced with Mrs. Kokernot. She could speak French and Captain Tenorio also was a French scholar, so they danced and talked all the evening. She was handsome and he a fine looking man, and they attracted a great deal of attention.<sup>139</sup>

139. Harris, Dilue Rose. "Reminiscences." Austin: Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association, October 1900, January 1901, and January 1904.

Mr. Choate's refusal to strike up a tune prior to a proper Anglo-American burial ceremony for the deceased can be contrasted with Mexican mourning customs, in which music and dance featured prominently. The Virginian William Fairfax Gray found the difference striking enough to mention in his diary in February 1836. He describes a dance given by Miguel Cortenoz, a Mexican who owned a gambling house in Nacogdoches, the night one of the girls in the household died of the measles. Gray notes the loud and heart-rending lamentations of the mother, "lavishing on the departed child all of the endearing epithets in which the Spanish language is remarkably rich." Neighbors assembled in the Cortenoz home throughout the day and night; the family called for a fiddler, and a dance took place. Gray observed "no grief was manifested by anyone but the bereaved mother." Early the next morning, Miguel Cortenoz sent funeral invitations to his friends. Six young girls served as pallbearers in the funeral procession. A drum, fife, and two violins played, while twenty or thirty people in the entourage carried spermaceti candles.<sup>140</sup>



*A Wake in Spain: A Funeral Dance (jota)*  
 Drawing by Gustave Doré (1832-1883) – France – Author's Collection.

The wake of a peasant child in Chile was described thus: "The tinkle of a guitar was heard last night on the outskirts of the city, with voices raised in song and boisterousness suggestive of intoxication among the members of the company. We came closer and saw... that the origin of all this was the death of an infant... on a table surrounded with lights."<sup>141</sup>

140. Gray, William Fairfax. *From Virginia to Texas, 1835-1837*. Houston: Fletcher Young, 1909.


141. Orellana Marcela, "Versos por Angelito: Poetry and Its Function at the Wake of a Peasant Child in Chile." Bloomington: *Journal of Folklore Research*, 1990.

Mrs. Annie P. Harris, whose father had moved his family out to Texas during the winter of 1832, stated in her *Memoirs* that colonists mostly danced Spanish and Virginia reels, as the waltz was generally familiar only to European settlers and visiting Mexican officials.<sup>142</sup>

Another early settler, Noah Smithwick, remembered:

It mattered not that the floor was made of puncheons [rough timbers]. When young folks danced in those days, they danced; they didn't glide around; they "shuffled" and "double shuffled," "wired" and "cut the pigeon's wing," making the splinters fly. There were some of the boys, however, who were not provided with shoes, and moccasins were not adapted to that kind of dancing floor, and moreover they couldn't make noise enough, but their more fortunate brethren were not at all selfish or disposed to put on airs, so, when they had danced a turn, they generously exchanged footgear with the moccasined contingent and gave them the ring, and we just literally kicked every splinter off that floor before morning.<sup>143</sup>

Virginia Reel  
Sir Roger De Coverly



*Virginia Reel: "Sir Roger de Coverly"*

Although it is generally classified as an English Country Dance, the sources of the Reel are thought to be Scottish country dance and the Highland Reel, themselves possibly the product of an even earlier dance, the Irish Rinne Fada. An early version of "Sir Roger de Coverly" was published in 1695 in Playford's *Dancing Master* and retained through its last edition in 1728. It migrated to North America in colonial times and became the Virginia Reel.

142. Franklin, Ethel Mary (ed.). "Memoirs of Mrs. Annie P. Harris, born Annie Pleasants Fisher." Austin: The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, January 1937.

143. Smithwick, Noah. *The Evolution of a State or Recollections of Old Texas Days*. Austin: Gammel Book Company, 1900.

## BLACK FIDDLERS

Texas Black African-American fiddlers were proficient in dance music repertoire suitable either for White patrons—from plantation balls to small house dances—or for Black revelers. Servants often adopted their masters' dancing on more formal occasions, during their Christmas holidays for example, when "bedecked out in their best, they visit each other, the evening ending in singing and dancing,"<sup>144</sup> William Bollaert informs us.

His journal also contains the following description:

Last night, through the kindness of Mr. Mc., the Negroes of this vicinity [Huntsville, Texas] had their Christmas ball in his unfinished store. (The upper part destined for a Masonic Hall). It was late when all arrived, many of them having had to come several miles. It was a "subscription" ball and the unfortunate Negro who could not raise a couple of bits (about 1\$) was not admitted at the commencement of the ball, but Black hearts wax soft as midnight approached and the strains of music sweet, the excitement produced by dancing [made] the door keepers benevolent and it was a public ball.

As the company arrived they were cordially greeted [with] bows and shaking of hands and introduced by the names of their masters and mistresses and young masters and mistresses. Thus was announced Mr. and Mrs. McD—, Mr. and Mrs. E—, Miss Mary E—, Master Joe E— (Sukey, Fanny, Mary, Charlotte, Jim, Silas, Ned, Phil, Bob, Tim, Meg, Dinah, Miss Mary K. etc. etc.). They were well dressed and most orderly. Now and then a sable gay Lothario on bended knee soliciting the hand of one in whom was centered all his hopes for the dance—she would remain a few moments, coquettishly undecided, then put forth her "lily black paw" and concede to him his request. Gladness sparkled in his eye, decorum of carriage forgotten, every limb would be in movement, the truly joyous and hearty laugh would resound thru the room and the yagh! yagh! as finale truly indicative of the Nigger. About midnight they had supper and to it they went until daylight, when they returned to their respective homes, their Christmas holidays having terminated."<sup>145</sup>

144. Hollon, Eugene W. (ed.). *William Bollaert's Texas, op. cit.*

145. *Ibid.*

Mrs. Dilue Rose Harris has left an account of a white family ball held in a log cabin and led by a black fiddler in Harrisburg, Texas, in April 1834:

One evening Mrs. Dyer sent her brother, Harvey Stafford, to invite mother to attend a dancing party at her house. We children were delighted... We got there before dark. It was only two miles in the bottom. The house was a double log cabin with a passage between the rooms. The people soon began to arrive, among them several young ladies... Before dark a servant came in with a bunch of cane, each piece about twelve inches in length. He laid the pieces of cane on a chair, got a knife, split them, took out tallow candles, and lighted up the house... As soon as the house was lighted, a negro man came in with a fiddle and commenced playing. The young people began dancing, and one of the boys asked me to dance: I never had danced [before]... I looked on and watched the different figures till I thought I could dance. Mr. Harvey Stafford asked me to be his partner in an old Virginia reel. I went on the floor and danced till morning. Mrs. Dyer told mother that dancing was the only amusement the young folks had in Texas. We went home next morning delighted with the ball.<sup>146</sup>



*Unknown African American Fiddler playing on a homemade instrument*  
Photographic image from a Stereo view  
1870s – U.S.A.

From the collection of Benno Häüpl.

Mrs. Harris also described a ball at the same Dyer's cabin, given to celebrate the Fourth of July, 1834:

The music was two fiddles, played turn about by three negro men. One negro man got an iron pin and clevis, and beat time with the fiddles. Another man beat a tin pan. Well, the young people danced to that music from three o'clock in the evening till next morning... Three of the Mexicans [who had shown up with a drove of horses for sale] ate dinner and were very sociable. One of them danced a Virginia reel, but the others could not dance anything but waltzes, and our young ladies

146. Harris, Dilue Rose, "Reminiscences," *op. cit.*

did not waltz... Mother went home with her family before day. Everybody else stayed all night. Everybody went home in a good humor, none more so than the negro musicians, as they were paid for playing the fiddles and beating the clevis, and tin pan.<sup>147</sup>

Texas settler Noah Smithwick reminisced about a wedding dance in the vicinity of Columbia (nowadays West Columbia in Brazoria County, Texas):

The floor was cleared for dancing... The fiddle, manipulated by Jesse Thompson's man Mose, being rather too weak to make itself heard above the din of clattering feet, we had in another fellow with a clevis and pin to strengthen the orchestra, and we had a most enjoyable time.<sup>148</sup>

Another dancing party Noah Smithwick attended was at Martin Varner's place, also near Columbia:

When we were all assembled and ready to begin business it was found that Mose, the only fiddler around, had failed to come to time, so we called in an old darky belonging to Colonel Zeno Philips, who performed on a clevis as an accompaniment to his singing, while another negro scraped on a cotton hoe with a case knife. The favorite chorus was:

O git up gals in de mawnin',  
Git up gals in de mawnin',  
O git up gals in de mawnin',  
Jes at de break ob day,

at the conclusion of which the performer gave an extra blow to the clevis while the dancers responded with a series of dexterous rat-tat-tats with heel and toe.<sup>149</sup>

Black musicians also played at Mexican balls in Texas. Journalist Richard Everett, who witnessed some in San Antonio, wrote:

147. *Ibid.*

A clevis is a fitting shackled to the end of a cart tongue or plow beam, to attach the trace chains or tugs of a team.

148. Smithwick, Noah. *The Evolution of a State, op. cit.*

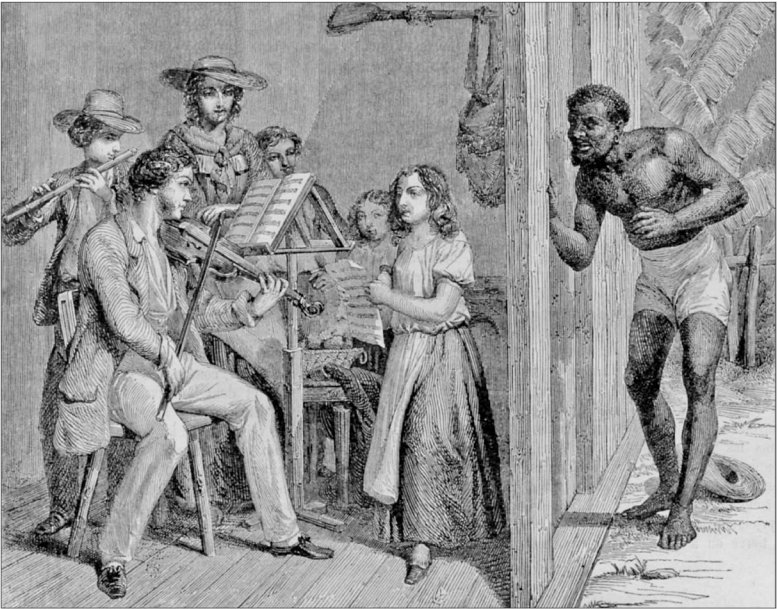
149. *Ibid.*



The fandangoes take place every evening, and are patronized by the lower orders of people, who, as the sapient circus proprietor in "Hard Times" would declare, "must be amused." A large hall or square room, lighted by a few lamps hung from the walls, or lanterns suspended from the ceiling, a pair of negro fiddlers and twenty or thirty couples in the full enjoyment of a "bolero"... help make up the scene.<sup>150</sup>

## PARLOR MUSIC

Parlor music was a type of popular music performed by amateur singers and musicians. Disseminated as sheet music, its heyday came in the 19th century, as a result of a steady increase in the number of households with enough surplus cash to purchase musical instruments and instruction in music, and with the leisure time and motivation to engage in recreational music-making. Many a favorite tune circulated orally afterwards and became part of the cherished repertoire of lower class country fiddlers, black and white alike.



*A family concert inside a colonist's home, 1830s*

Engraving by X.

France – Author's collection.

150. Everett, Richard, "Things In and About San Antonio," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. New York: John Y. Foster, January 15, 1859.



Unlike the older folk songs which were part of what was called "front porch music," popular/parlor songs of the day came from printed sheet music. Some, propagated by blackface minstrels appearing in burlesques and comic entr'actes in tent shows, quickly reached isolated rural areas.

Favorite titles published in the United States between 1820 and 1835 included: "John Peel" (1820), "Invitation to the Dance" (1821), "The Harp of Love" (1822), "Home, Sweet Home" (1823), "A Wet Sheet and a Flowing Sea" (1825), "The Hunters of Kentucky" (1826), "The Coal Black Rose" (1827), "My Long-Tail Blue" (1827), "Oh! No, We Never Mention Her" (1828), "Jim Crow" (1829), "Sparkling and Bright" (1830), "The Bloom Is on the Rye" (1832), "Rock of Ages" (1832), "Ching A Ring Chaw" (1833), "Turkey in the Straw" (1834), "Clare the Kitchen" (1835).<sup>151</sup>

If the songs were sung to musical accompaniment, the primary instruments were the piano and possibly the guitar. Initially a fairly insignificant parlor curiosity, the guitar gained a great following as its use spread with the continued immigration of European players.

Remembering an episode of her youth in Harrisburg, Texas, in April 1835, Mrs. Dilue Rose Harris wrote :

Ten families from England had just arrived in Texas. They came in a schooner from New York and landed at Anahuac. Two of the English families were named Adkins. One of the Mrs. Adkinses was a widow with a pretty daughter named Jane. Jane was lovely, dressed very fine, and could sing and play the guitar.<sup>152</sup>

"Judging from extant sheet music and tune collections," writes music expert Philip F. Gura, "in the 1820s the violin, flute, and piano were most common. But beginning in the 1830s, as more and more Americans learned of the new 'Spanish' guitar and heard its music, it, too, became widely popular and permeated popular culture."<sup>153</sup>

151. Matfeld, Julius. *Variety Cavalcade: A Musical-Historical Review, 1620-1969*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971.

152. Harris, Dilue Rose, "Reminiscences". Austin: Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association, October 1900, January 1901, and January 1904.

153. Gura, Philip F. *C.F. Martin and His Guitars, 1796-1873*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Gura notes that the growing appeal of the guitar “was related to its reasonable cost, for a fine instrument could be had for \$25 and a serviceable one for half that, while a piano might cost several hundred dollars. Portability and convenience also were factors, for, like the violin and flute, the guitar could easily be carried to wherever a musician was asked to perform and, compared, say, to a piano or harp, was no trouble to tune or maintain.”<sup>154</sup>



*Miss Godie Jude*

**Bunnell Photographer, Cisco, Texas, 1899 – U.S.A. – Author’s collection.**

This cabinet card offers a fair idea of the playing position and fingering of the parlor guitar, possibly strummed by a young Anglo-American lady at the time of the Alamo.

154. *Ibid.*

## SACRED MUSIC AND HYMNS

According to Mrs. Kite, Texas colonists sang such favorite hymns as "On Jordan's Stormy Banks," "Come, Thou Fount of Every Blessing," and "When I Can Read My Title Clear." She also informs us that "two little girls once entertained visitors all evening long by singing selections from a hymnbook."<sup>155</sup>

With few exceptions, popular taste on the Texas frontier in the early years of the 19th century favored the introduction of the devotional lyric and the gospel song into public worship. Often set to folk melodies, these compositions featured emotional and subjective expression of the faith.<sup>156</sup>

"Amazing Grace," with its simple, heartfelt refrain, was one of many hymns that punctuated fervent sermons:

Amazing grace! How sweet the sound  
That saved a wretch like me.  
I once was lost, but now am found,  
Was blind but now I see.

Shout, shout for glory,  
Shout, shout aloud for glory.  
Brother, sister, mourner,  
All shout glory hallelujah."<sup>157</sup>

*The Easy Instructor*, published in 1801 by William Smith and William Little, was the first tunebook to use shape notes: Shapes were added to the note heads in written music to help singers find pitches within major and minor scales without the use of more complex information found in key signatures on the staff.

155. Kite, Jodella Dorothea. *A Social History of the Anglo-American Colonies in Mexican Texas*, *op. cit.*

156. Metcalf, Frank (comp.). *American Psalmody or Titles of Books Containing Tunes Printed in America: From 1721-1820*. New York: Charles F. Hartman, 1917.

157. "Amazing Grace" was written by English poet and clergyman John Newton (1725–1807.)

*The Easy Instructor* became very popular, spawning a whole series of shape-note tunebooks, many of which were widely distributed. As the population spread west and south, the tradition of shape-note singing expanded geographically. The most successful shape-note book of the period was probably William Walker's *Southern Harmony*, published in 1835.<sup>158</sup>

8 NEW BRITAIN. C. M. Baptist Harmony, p. 123.

1 Amazing grace! (how sweet the sound) That saved a wretch like me! I once was lost, but now am found, Was blind, but now I see

2 'Twas grace that taught my heart to fear, And grace my fears relieved: How precious did that grace ap - pear, 'Twas hour I first believed!

3 Through many dangers, toils, and snares, I have already come; 'Tis grace has brought me safe thus far, And grace will lead me home.

4 The Lord has promised good to me, His word my hope secures; He will my shield and portion be, As long as life endures.

5 Yes, when this flesh and heart shall fail, And mortal life shall cease, I shall possess, within the veil, A life of joy and peace.

6 The earth shall soon dissolve like snow, The sun forbear to shine; But God, who call'd me here below, Will be for ever mine.

**"Amazing Grace" appearing under its older tune name: "New Britain" in an 1847 publication of *Southern Harmony* in shape notes**  
Private collection.

## DANCING IN TEXAS SETTLEMENTS

- Nacogdoches

Nacogdoches, near the Louisiana line, tended to attract gamblers, smugglers, and other shadowy figures who found it convenient to operate near an international border.<sup>159</sup>

Here there was a regular organization for roping in the greenhorn and relieving him of his cash. Several of its members afterwards took an active part in the revolution, one at least being a signer of the Declaration of Independence. This brave patriot, having spotted a stranger who seemed to have deep pockets, steered him into a game, and went out to look for another sucker. When he returned, the game was over and the clique dividing the spoils. The steerer demanded his share. 'Why, you wasn't in the game!' they contended. 'The h—I I wasn't; didn't I find him first?' and backing his claim with a pistol he secured his share.<sup>160</sup>

158. Horn, Dorothy. *Sing to Me of Heaven: A Study of Folk and Early American Materials in Three Old Harp Books*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1970.

159. Lord, Walter. *A Time to Stand*, *op. cit.*

160. Smithwick, Noah. *The Evolution of a State*, *op. cit.*

At least three full-time musicians lived in Nacogdoches in 1835. One violin player, Jose Thomas, was the son of the free Black Maria Nieves and a white man. Besides these three musicians, others in town were paid for playing at dances.<sup>161</sup>

Balls abounded in Nacogdoches. As early as 1822, a passing traveler wrote:

The Spaniards do nothing all week & on Sunday Evening will make what they call a vandango [sic] & will play the violin and Dance the whole night.<sup>162</sup>

Gatherings in Nacogdoches were usually wild romps where those attending indulged freely in drinking, courting, and gambling. But for those of good breeding, private family dancing parties where good manners prevailed could also be found. Jodella Kite wrote:

A handsome gentleman named Claud Riviere arrived in Nacogdoches in 1827 representing himself as the son of a wealthy sugar planter. He set the hearts of the young ladies aflutter as he perfectly executed the waltz and cotillion. At the close of a set in the dance, Rezin Bowie, brother to James, arrived to claim his runaway slave.<sup>163</sup>

By the early 1830s, with some exceptions, Tejanos and Anglos were holding separate public dances in town. Visiting Texas in 1835, abolitionist and publisher Benjamin Lundy noted that "a ball was given to-night by some of the Mexican residents of Nacogdoches."<sup>164</sup> William Goyens, a free black, also attended the dance along with some Anglo men. There are many accounts in English of violence at "mixed" fandangoes. One observer remarked that when Anglo "Redlanders" attending the Mexican balls asked to dance with the señoritas, knife fights ensued.<sup>165</sup>

161. Census Report of Nacogdoches, 1835.

162. James Whiteside's letter, April 22, 1822 in James Whiteside Papers. Austin: Barker Archives, University of Texas Library.

163. Kite, Jodella Dorothea. *A Social History of the Anglo-American Colonies in Mexican Texas*, *op. cit.*

164. Earle, Thomas (ed.). *The Life, Travels and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy, Including His Journeys to Texas and Mexico*. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969.

165. Zuber, William Physick. *My Eighty Years in Texas*. Austin: University of Texas Press edition, 1971.

The following account by William Fairfax Gray reflects the segregationist dancing policy in Nacogdoches, contrasting the rowdy public fandangoes patronized by the lower classes with the uptown dancing assemblies to which only wealthy Anglos were admitted, in venues like Brown's Tavern or private homes. The height of class was to issue a printed invitation.

Gray noted in his diary on Thursday, February 4, 1836:

I attended a ball at Brown's Tavern, given by the Anglo-Americans, to which I had a ticket of invitation. It rained hard from noon until midnight; there are no carriages in the place, but this did not prevent the ladies from attending. They trudged to it on foot through rain and mud, to the number of about twenty; the gents were more numerous. I was really surprised to find that so shabby a looking place could assemble so many good looking, well dressed and well behaved women. The ball room was shabby and uncomfortable, and the entertainment coarse, but there was better dancing and more decorum than I have often seen at parties in Fredericksburg. They dispersed about 1 o'clock, all sober, and in good humor. The music consisted of two violins and a triangle, tolerably well played. It was, on the whole, a favorable specimen of Texan society.<sup>166</sup>

A profitable comparison could be established with a public ball held in Havana at almost the same time and described by the visiting Briton Charles Augustus Murray:

Soon after my arrival I had an opportunity of seeing a public ball at a garden called Tivoli, about a mile from the town: it is the Vauxhall of Havana, of small extent, but agreeably situated; it was very numerously attended by the families of respectable merchants and tradesmen, but not by the aristocracy. Everything was conducted with the greatest propriety and decorum. The dancing-floor was shaded by a roof supported by pillars, some of which were the natural trunks of trees, and lighted by very pretty chandeliers. The prevailing dance is a kind of union of the waltz and the English country-dance; extremely dull and slow—more stupid, if possible, than a French quadrille in England. The only change from this dance was to the common waltz, which was performed with a deliberation suitable to the climate, as the thermometer, from the 5th to the 9th of January, averaged 75° Fahrenheit, in the shade, and the sun was intensely hot; but all the

166. Gray, William Fairfax. *From Virginia to Texas*, *op. cit.*

people in the town told me it was extremely cool and pleasant! Of course I was obliged to perspire, and be silent. I confess I was much disappointed not to see one pretty girl, or handsome woman, in this assemblage; although there were a few pleasing and expressive countenances. Many of the ladies dressed and moved with considerable grace.<sup>167</sup>

Note that the prevailing dance Murray describes as being "extremely dull and slow" could be one of these "long Spanish dances"<sup>168</sup> that Frances Calderón witnessed at an aristocratic ball in Havana in November 1839. It is probably the same dance that John Russell Bartlett calls "the Spanish reel."<sup>169</sup> He writes of dancers twirling to its stately pace at an outdoor ball in San Francisco in 1851. It seems also quite similar to what Mrs. Calderón named a "Spanish country-dance"<sup>170</sup> in 1840.

The same night that William Fairfax Gray went to Brown's Tavern, a fandango was held at the other end of Nacogdoches, in the *monte*, or gambling house, of Miguel Cortenoz. Gray, the visiting Virginian, notes that he greatly regretted missing it, being "desirous of seeing life in Texas in all its varieties."<sup>171</sup> Fortunately for us, that very same year, a German named Herman Ehrenberg, the youngest member of the New Orleans Greys, found Casa Cortenoz a new enough experience to write home about. He and his army buddies enjoyed the provocative dances of a Mexican couple accompanied by an old fiddler, "also a descendent of the Montezumas," in Ehrenberg's words. The vulgar speech and suggestive positions of the dancers "filled us with amazement".<sup>172</sup>

167. Murray, Charles August. *Travels in North America, op. cit.*

168. Calderón de La Barca, Frances. *Life In Mexico, op. cit.*

169. Bartlett, John Russell. *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora and Chihuahua, 1850-1853.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1854.

170. Calderón de La Barca, Frances. *Life In Mexico, op. cit.*

171. Gray, William Fairfax. *From Virginia to Texas, op. cit.*

172. Ehrenberg, Herman. *Texas Und Seine Revolution.* Leipzig: O. Wigand, 1843.

• Huntsville

Huntsville, which would become the home of Sam Houston, is located in the East Texas Piney Woods. English soldier of fortune William Bollaert informs us, "This town was commenced in 1836, [when Pleasant and Ephraim Gray opened a trading post on the site] but made little progress until 1842, when Mr. McDonald gave an impetus to building etc., thus making it a convenient mark for the neighboring planters and farmers."<sup>173</sup> Consequently, Bollaert's quote about dances and music on the evening of December 26th, 1843, reproduced here because of its valuable details, cannot be applied with certainty to balls held at the time of the city's founding:

Quadrilles are called cotillions, and the contre-dance, a reel. Waltzes not patronized yet. A ball is soon arranged in these parts; if such is wished for, let the room be large or small, it takes place, some friend playing the violin, but for the cotillions the figures are "called out." "Roaring River," "Piney Woods," "Killicrankie," "Harper's Creek," "Bully Thatché's," [Bull et chassé] "My Wife's Dead," and "I'm a Widower" etc. are favorite reels.<sup>174</sup>

Killicrankie



The image shows a musical score for the tune "Killicrankie". It consists of four staves of music written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of 2/4. The melody is characterized by a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some triplet patterns. The piece concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

*"Killicrankie"*

Stylistic features suggest that this old Scottish tune may be the surviving opening for a battle pibroch. The title commemorates the famous Battle of Killiecrankie, Perthshire, in 1689.

173. Hollon, Eugene W. (ed.). *William Bollaert's Texas*, op. cit.

174. *Ibid.*



Marriage was an excellent occasion for music and dance. William Bollaert reminisced about merry fiddling at two country weddings he attended in Huntsville's pine woods.

At the first one, after supper, "there was a cry for the music," but before a good fiddler could be obtained, a couple of hours passed. The interim was filled up by singing.

At last the fiddle, after sundry snaps of strings, was announced, when cotillions, or "contra-dansé" were commenced, varied by reels and an occasional variation of "roaring river." The more venerable part of the concourse, Mammams with their *babies* and a few others, "sloped" about midnight... But the juveniles kept it up till nearly morning and when fatigued with dancing, would play at forfeits, "grind the bottle," "fish stalk," "Lennor says 'come to taw!'.<sup>175</sup>

The second one being "a temperance wedding party," things went on moderately gay until about evening when the "happy pair" made their escape and a great number of guests went back to their homes with the setting sun.

The fiddle had been playing occasionally during the day, but no stimulating tipples being forthcoming, Paganini had fallen asleep. Some of the "rowdies" of the party had however managed to bring sundry gourds full of whiskey and these were disclosed to view one by one as required. The Fiddler on being awaked and sipped some of the "Old Monongehela," re-tuned his Cremona, rosined his bow, and then they all went to work dancing: "Rosin the Bow," "Jim along Josey," "Tip Coon," etc. etc. This continued until morning, when after breakfast the marriage party separated.<sup>176</sup>

- San Felipe

In August 1832, a flatboat ferry took William Barret Travis across the Brazos River to San Felipe, the acknowledged center of Texian political and business activity, where the future heroic commander of the Alamo intended to continue his practice of law.

175. *Ibid.*

176. *Ibid.*

It was a young town, started by Austin in 1824 at the head of the navigation of the river, and from its keelboats and flats made the passage down to Brazoria and Velasco on the Gulf, the town's chief link with New Orleans and the rest of white America.<sup>177</sup>

Stephen F. Austin, as land contractor, or *empresario*, to the Mexican government, oversaw the distribution of almost six million acres of land in Texas. His first contract allowed him to bring three hundred families from the United States, a group termed the Old Three Hundred.

Noah Smithwick recalled: "They were a social people these old Three Hundred, though no one seems to have noted the evidence of it."<sup>178</sup> He added:

So great was the dearth of female society in San Felipe that during my whole residence there – '28 to '31 – there was not a ball or party of any kind in which ladies participated. There being so little opportunity for social intercourse with the gentler sex, the sterner element should not be too severely censured if they sought diversion of a lower order. And if our stag parties were a bit convivial, they would probably compare favorably in that regard with the swell club dinners in the cities. Godwin B. Cotton was the host in many a merry bout; love feasts, he called them. Collecting a jovial set of fellows, he served them up a sumptuous supper in his bachelor apartments at which every guest was expected to contribute to the general enjoyment according to his ability. Judge Williamson was one of the leading spirits on these occasions. Having a natural bent toward the stage, Willie was equally at home conducting a revival meeting or a minstrel show, in which latter performance his wooden leg played an important part: said member being utilized to beat time to his singing. One of his best choruses was:

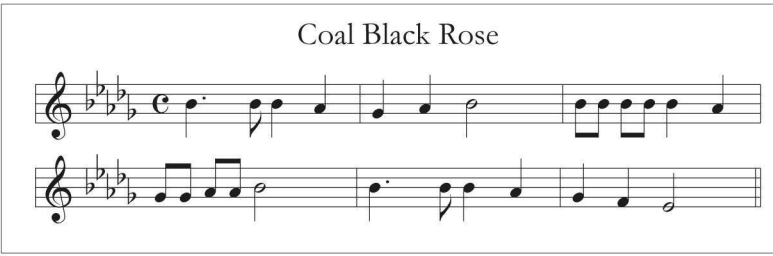
"Rose, Rose, coal black Rose,  
I nebber see a nigger dat I lub like Rose,"

a measure admirably adapted to the banjo which he handled like a professional.<sup>179</sup>

177. Davis, William C. *Three Roads to the Alamo*. New York: HarperPerennial, 1999.

178. Smithwick, Noah. *The Evolution of a State*, *op. cit.*

179. *Ibid.*



**"Coal Black Rose"**

Originally a Scottish country dance tune, it was one of the earliest songs to be sung by a man in blackface, possibly George Washington Dixon in the late 1820s.

Jodella Dorothea Kite, author of *A Social History of the Anglo-American Colonies in Mexican Texas*, remarked that the mention by Smithwick of this particular song takes on added importance because George W. Dixon [a renowned blackface minstrel] first introduced it at the Bowery Theatre of New York City in 1829.<sup>180</sup> "Since Smithwick only resided in San Felipe from 1828 to 1831," Mrs. Kite added, "music apparently travelled rather quickly from centers of culture which contradicts the idea of colonial Texas being extremely isolated and insulated from cultural trends."<sup>181</sup>

By the late 1820s, blackfaced white American performers like George W. Dixon toured the nation, performing alleged African American songs and dances in circuses and between the acts of plays.

Like much of the period's popular music, many a minstrel-song tune had originated in the British Isles. "Coal Black Rose," cited above, certainly had its roots there. "Zip Coon" was related to an Irish song. "My Long-Tail Blue" followed a Scottish folk song. "Jim Crow" resembled an Irish folk tune and an English stage song. Lyrics updated for life in the New World, however, drew laughs from their European

180. The Library of Congress Music Division and Julius Mattfeld furnish different dates: "The Coal Black Rose. w., m., anon. Firth & Hall [ca. 1827]; P. Maverick [ca. 1829]. Popularized by the Negro minstrel [understand white performer who performed in blackface] George Washington Dixon at Albany, N.Y., about 1827. The song was attributed to one White Snyder in the Maverick edition. "

181. Kite, Jodella Dorothea. *A Social History of the Anglo-American Colonies in Mexican Texas, 1821-1835, op. cit.*

American audiences by pandering to a popular taste for broad satirical stereotypes of African American slaves.

Thomas Dartmouth "Daddy" Rice (1808-1860) was one of the first white performers to wear blackface makeup. Dressed in rags, battered hat, and torn shoes, he danced, singing: "Turn about and wheel about, and do just so, And every time I turn about, I jump Jim Crow." His Jim Crow song-and-dance act created a sensation and took him on a triumphant tour of major cities throughout the North in the 1830s. David Crockett, who saw him perform at the Walnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia in 1834, wrote some bittersweet impressions of the show.<sup>182</sup>

Let us return to San Felipe stag parties enlightened by the mental brilliance and great musicianship of Judge Williamson. He was known to friends as "Three-Legged Willie" for a crutch-like device he wore strapped to his right knee. Noah Smithwick recalled :

Some sang, some told stories and some danced. Luke La Sascie, a Louisiana Frenchman, and by the way a brilliant lawyer, was our champion story teller; with Cotton and Doctor Peebles worthy competitors. I, being reckoned the most nimble footed man in the place, usually paid my dues in jigs and hornpipes, "Willie" patting Juba for me.<sup>183</sup>

Before becoming part of minstrelsy's routine, "Patting Juba" was an extension and elaboration of simple handclapping, raised to the level of a self-contained accompaniment for dancing by plantation slaves. It seems quite likely that the prohibition of drums contributed to its development.<sup>184</sup>

A Dr. William B. Smith of Cumberland witnessed a slave gathering in the lower end of Prince Edward County, Virginia, in the early 1830s. He wrote in "Persimmon Tree and Beer Dance":

182. Crockett, David. *An Account of Col. Crockett's Tour to the North and down East, in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty-Four*. Philadelphia: E. L. Carey & A. Hart; Baltimore: Carey, Hart, & Co., 1835.

183. Smithwick, Noah. *The Evolution of a State, op. cit.*

184. Epstein, Dena J. *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977.



A few native Mexicans are settled in this part of the province, and I witnessed one afternoon a Spanish fandango danced in the open air by a party of these people, evidently of a low class. There was nothing worthy of particular remark in the style of the performance ; and the music, which was that of a violin, was poor indeed. <sup>188</sup>

Historian William C. Davis added that "the *norteamericanos* sometimes joined with reels and jigs." <sup>189</sup>

We learn from Travis's diary that in spite of the rarity of available partners, he enjoyed the local dances so much that he sent ball tickets, paid a "fiddler 43<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> cts" and spent \$ 2.65 for a pair of "dancing pumps." <sup>190</sup> "Travis partook of every bit of amusement that poor San Felipe could offer," Davis points out, "and helped in planning the merriment."

He joined Spencer Jack, the lawyer brother of Patrick and William, in making the arrangements for a Christmas subscription ball, and on the evening itself dined first at Thomas Gay's, where he contributed two bottles of wine to the meal, and then went on to the ball for what he called a 'fine enjoyment.' The next day he attended a party at the home of Maj. Ira Lewis, and on December 30 he joined others in the mock trial of a fiddler who gave them "much fun," then went to an auction where he bought a bottle of whiskey that he gave to local natives for their own celebration. New Year's Eve itself he spent attending a wedding celebration. If there was an ounce of fun to be had in San Felipe, Travis was sure to seek it out. <sup>191</sup>

William Barret Travis's propensity for dancing and his appreciation of lightweight ballroom shoes suggests that he may have studied the "terpsichorean art" in his mid teens at the Sparta Academy of Alabama, or a little later while attending a school in nearby Claiborne. In these days, formal lessons offered to young pupils by some passing dancing master

188. Fiske, William Hooker. *A Visit to Texas: Being the Journal of a Traveller Through Those Parts Most Interesting to American Settlers*. New York: Goodrich & Wiley, 1834.

189. Davis, William C. *Three Roads to the Alamo*. New York: HarperPerennial, 1999.

190. Davis, Robert E. (ed.). *The Diary of William Barret Travis*. Waco: Texian Press, 1966.

The Travis Diary opens on August 31, 1833, and closes on June 25, 1834.

191. Davis, William C. *Three Roads to the Alamo*, *op. cit.*

were not uncommon. Grace and good deportment were important in rounding out a young gentleman's worldly education at the time. As we have seen, the future "Constitutional Advocate and Texas Public Advertiser" was indeed a well-rounded fellow, motivated by a native fondness for the company of the fairer sex.

- Galveston

Named after Bernardo de Gálvez y Madrid, Count of Gálvez, Galveston's first European settlements on its island were constructed around 1816. The Port of Galveston was established in 1825 by the Congress of Mexico, following its successful revolution from Spain. The city served as the main port for the Texas Navy during the Texas Revolution. In January 1836, agents purchased four schooners: *Invincible*, *Brutus*, *Independence*, and *Liberty*.

The Galvestonians liked to dance. Reporting on the day the Declaration of Independence was adopted (March 2, 1836,) English adventurer William Bollaert wrote:

I need hardly add that this day was one of rejoicing and the evening passed in suppers and balls. The more humble citizens patronizing what is called in this country 'A Dutch Ball.' I offer this following from the pen of a Galvestonian:

*Have you ever attended a Dutch Ball? No. Very well, I have— and with your permission, will enlighten you. In the first place, I know not why they are denominated Dutch Balls. Certainly not on account of their being principally patronized by that worthy class of emigrants, the Germans. Is it because a Dutchman first introduced them here? Or is it that the entertainers seek patronage from that industrious people? Or why is it? The deponent answereth not.*

*One dollar is the price of admittance. I paid my fee and entered. The room was small and badly lighted; the music—such as serves our other Balls. The attendance—slim; oniy ten or twelve Ladies and some twenty Lords. Although it was rather a failure in this instance. But then—this was the commencement of the season. A larger ball room, music, lights, ladies—will increase and multiply as the season advances.*

*I only aspire to a general description, and cannot entertain you with an account of how this belle was ornamented and that beau equipped. In fact, these balls are intended more for use than ornament, for dancing than gazing. Republican simplicity is the order of the day. The women make themselves as tidy as circumstances allow, holding a correspondence in colors, and an adherence to any particular fashion in utter contempt. The men, I am sorry to say, carry this contempt for dress a little too far—with some exceptions.*

*Country dances, cotillions and waltzes, followed each other in rapid succession. Partners were rather scarce and in demand, but I managed to 'hold my own' among the competitors. "In Rome etc." is my motto, and from being a dignified spectator, I soon became a jolly and eager participant. Some of the ladies made their debut 'on the light fantastic toe' but they were encouraged and prompted, instead of being criticized and sneered at—and did very well.*<sup>192</sup>

#### • Brazoria

By 1832, a Mrs. Long opened a successful hotel in Brazoria, then a primary port for newly arriving emigrants. She often held balls and dinner parties which were attended by no less notable Texans than Ben Milam, William Travis, Stephen Austin, Sam Houston and Mirabeau Lamar.

On Tuesday, September 8, 1835, Mrs. Long organized a red carpet welcome to celebrate Colonel Austin's triumphant return from captivity in Mexico.<sup>193</sup> His cousin Henry Austin described the event in a letter he wrote to his sister Mrs. Holly from Brazoria, dated September 10, 1835:

A Grand Dinner and Ball were got up for the occasion on two days notice... the only thing I did not like was 7\$ a head for ball and supper... There were 60 covers and despite the short notice the table was three times filled by men alone. In the evening the long room was filled to a Jam at least 60 or 80 ladies who danced the sun up and the

192. Hollon, Eugene W. (ed.). *William Bollaert's Texas, op. cit.*

193. Accused of inciting insurrection among the colonists, Austin was captured by the Mexicans and spent much of the period between 1834 and 1835 in Mexican prisons.



Oyster Creek girls would not have quit then had not the room been wanted for breakfast—you never saw such enthusiasm.<sup>194</sup>

Were reels called to the music of a single fiddler? No one knows, although this was the case at the grand ball given in Houston in 1837 to celebrate the battle of San Jacinto.<sup>195</sup>

#### • San Patricio

San Patricio de Ibernia was founded in 1828, when two Irish *empresarios* (land contractors) named John McMullen and James McGloin received permission from the Mexican government to settle two hundred Catholic families on the left bank of the Nueces River above the coastal reserve. McMullen and McGloin hawked their land in New York. By advertising and word of mouth, they attracted a number of willing colonists among the recently arrived Irish immigrants, the first Irish to settle as a group in Texas. A town was laid out in 1831 on the Goliad-to-Laredo Road where the Atascosito Road forded the Nueces River. Its inhabitants called it St. Patrick of Ireland (San Patricio de Hibernia) for the patron saint of their homeland.<sup>196</sup>

For many years afterwards, the residents of San Patricio spoke of the great feast which took place on the banks of Agua Dulce Creek, to which McMullen and McGloin had invited their numerous Mexican friends from Matamoros. The people of San Patricio prepared a banquet at a shaded watering place for man and beast on the banks of the nearby Agua Dulce Creek, and treated their guests to several days of Irish music and dances.<sup>197</sup>

194. Barker, Eugene C. (ed.). *The Austin Papers*, Volume III. Washington DC: USGPO, 1924-1928.

195. Casey, Betty, *Dancing across Texas*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985.

Betty Casey's quote is unclear. She writes: "At Mrs. Long's boarding house in Houston in 1835, for example, 'the colonists held an elaborate dinner and ball' honoring Stephen F. Austin, 'with one thousand colonists in attendance.'" But Houston was not incorporated until 1837, when it was named for the president of the Republic of Texas, General Sam.

196. Oberste, William H. *Texas Irish Empresarios and Their Colonies*. Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1953.

197. *Ibid.*

- San Antonio de Bexar

San Antonio de Bexar, where the first European settlers were early 18<sup>th</sup>-century immigrants from the Canary Islands, was a long-established stronghold by the time the Mexicans took it over from the Spanish. The municipal government, or *Ayuntamiento*, taxed public dances, popular enough to become an attractive source of local revenue.

An Ohio traveler obviously relished the memory of his courting and dancing experience in one of these popular gatherings during the late 1830s:

The evening is spent by a large portion of the population at the  *fandango* , a kind of Spanish waltz. There are seldom less than three or four of this description of dances during the night in different portions of the city. As I had a great wish to see the Mexicans and especially the females in a ballroom, I made up my mind to go on the earliest opportunity. At dark, in company with a friend, I found my way by the sound of a fiddle and the course of the people, which, like the tide, was setting in one direction, to the place where the dance was to be held. The  *fandango*  was held in a stone house of the largest size. The room was thirty feet in length and fifteen in breadth, floored with bricks which, from long use, were worn perfectly smooth. Benches were arranged along the sides of the walls which were occupied by the ladies. There was little either in the copper color of the females, who were small and delicate, or their dress, which, in some instances, was of silk but most generally consisted of calico, calculated to inspire a high idea of their beauty or taste. The male part of the assembly paraded the room, with large brimmed straw hats that almost concealed the face, dressed in blue roundabouts and pantaloons so wide at bottom as to look grotesque and outlandish.

My attention was particularly directed to one of the company who, in his haste, did not take time to divest himself of his  *dishabille*  but brought with him a change, which he put on by merely dodging into a recess in the wall. Our presence excited no agreeable sensations, as great prejudice usually prevails in the minds of the Mexicans against all Americans. It is a matter of no surprise that such is the case, as the appearance of such persons is the signal for riots and disturbances. It has happened that strangers form themselves into a company and, entering such assemblies, put the male part to fight and take possession of the house. As we showed no disposition to take any part in the proceedings other than that of casual spectators, our presence, after a short time, was recognized with complaisance.

The dance commenced to the music of the violin, and a half dozen couples performed a waltz around the room, until a general exhaustion was the result. The lady was then restored by a dish of coffee at the hands of her partner and was ready to go at it again. As I usually lay claim to a reasonable share of all sport that falls in my way, I made up my mind that so soon as I could succeed in gaining a reasonable degree of confidence with the party by a courteous deportment to all to try my hand at the fandango. But perhaps I ought to be candid and admit that a wish to waltz with a dark eyed beauty, whose consciousness of superior charms imparted to her demeanor a tone and bearing more elevated than that of those around her, had much to do in forming my determination.

Under circumstances as auspicious as my ingenuity could contrive or rather boorish gallantry create, the usual ceremonies of a first acquaintance were undergone; I began to edge up a little and advance by degrees toward this formidable battery of beauty until I had fairly secured her hand for a turn-about in the mazy dance. When the American took the floor with the Mexican beauty, all eyes were turned upon us. We now set off, but the fandango was all Greek to me. Sometimes I hobbled; sometimes I got tangled up, I cannot tell exactly how; sometimes I was too fast, and sometimes too slow. But, the worst of all, unaccustomed to the rotary movements of the waltz, my head began to swim and the floor and ceiling seemed alternately to change places, Both head and feet soon got wrong, and I began to see (if I could see at all) a storm gathering upon the brow of my partner. I confused her, and she was evidently mortified. What could I do, however, but go round and round, and so I did, just as a chicken with its head nearly cut off. At length my Mexican could endure it no longer and asked me in broken English if I had ever danced before and added, in a tone akin to asperity, that I had lost the step. It occurred to me that I had never had it, but her remark struck me all into a heap, and after fairly winding myself up by winding round, I gave my partner to understand that it would be agreeable to take my seat. This was the only part of the performance that seemed to please her, and so we sat down. As soon as the floor and ceiling took their places, I bowed to my Mexican beauty and bade good night to the fandango.

Taking the whole together, the fandango was rather a poor concern. But justice requires that I should observe that such gatherings are not composed of the elite of the city. The gambling table, which appears to be one of the usual concomitants of the dance, attracted by far more attention than the fandango itself.<sup>198</sup>

198. Muir, Andrew Forest (ed.). *Texas in 1837: An Anonymous, Contemporary Narrative*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986.

The Texians left a hundred-man garrison in San Antonio de Bexar after General Cos, Santa Anna's brother-in-law, signed articles of capitulation on December 10, 1836. Idle soldiers hung about drinking and gambling, and sought good fortune in such sporting houses as the 'Veramendi Palace' built in the early 1800s. It had probably changed little when Colonel George H. Giddings and his Rangers visited it ten years later:

There was a fandango or dance there that night and we attended it. This was given in a long room lit faintly with tallow candles. The musicians were seated on a slight elevation at one end. There were tables at which games of monte and other games of chance were being dealt and played at the other end of the same room, while the dance was going on. The city was then full of soldiers and many of them formed the crowd in attendance at the dance and at the gaming tables. An altercation arose over one of the games and shooting soon followed. There were at least a dozen shots fired. During the melee two men were killed and three others badly wounded. I thought, of course, that this tragic episode would terminate the festivities of the occasion, but to my surprise, after the dead and wounded had been carried away, the blood was either washed away or covered with sand and the dance resumed as though nothing unusual had occurred. The girls, who had fled but a short distance, returned, the harper and fiddlers resumed their music and the floor on which the dead and wounded had fallen and laid but a few moments before was filled with the dancers. This was the first fandango I had ever attended and I there saw the first white man I had ever seen killed in a personal encounter.<sup>199</sup>

A rough place indeed, but like Giddings' Rangers, the men of the Alamo garrison were no band of choir-boys. As Walter Lord pointed out:

Men like the Arkansas jockey Henry Warnell and wild young William Malone of Georgia weren't about to ignore the pleasures of the town. Seaman William Jackson and John McGregor, the jaunty Scot from Nacogdoches, felt the same. Nor were the officers immune—Captain Carey talked not too seriously of marriage with a pretty señorita.<sup>200</sup>

199. Giddings, George H. "San Antonio in the Forties." *San Antonio Daily Express*, June 1, 1902.

200. Lord, Walter. *A Time to Stand*, *op. cit.*



*A fandango*  
American soldiers dancing with señoritas to the strains of a harp  
Mexican War, 1847  
Watercolor Painting – U.S.A. – Private collection.

Less than two weeks before the beginning of the siege of the Alamo, a ball was given to honor the arrival of David Crockett in San Antonio de Bexar, the very last the ex-congressman would enjoy with Travis, Bowie and other Texas army officers:

On the 10 February, 1836, A. was invited by officers to a ball given in honor of Crockett, and was asked to invite all the principal ladies in the City to it. On the same day invitations were extended and the ball given that night. While at the ball, at about 1 o'clock, A. M. of the 11th, a courier, sent by Placido Benavides, arrived from Camargo, with the intelligence that Santa Anna was starting from the Presidio Rio Grande with 13,000 troops, 10,000 Infantry and 3,000 Cavalry, with the view of taking San Antonio. The courier arrived at the ball room door, inquired for Col. Seguin, and was told that Col. Seguin was not there. Asked if Menchaca was there, and was told that he was. He spoke to him and told him that he had a letter of great importance, which he had brought from P. B. from Camargo, asked partner and came to see letter. Opened letter and read the following: "At this moment I have received a very certain notice that the commander in chief, Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, marches for the city of San Antonio to take possession thereof, with 13,000 men." As he was reading the letter, Bowie came opposite him, came to see it, and while reading it, Travis came up, and Bowie called him to read that letter; but Travis said that at that moment he could not stay to read letters, for he was dancing with the most beautiful lady in San Antonio, Bowie told him that the letter was one of

grave importance, and for him to leave his partner. Travis came and brought Crockett with him. Travis and Bowie understood Spanish, Crockett did not. Travis then said, it will take 13,000 men from the Presidio de Rio Grande to this place thirteen or fourteen days to get here; this is the 4th day. Let us dance to-night and to-morrow we will make provisions for our defense. The ball continued until 7 o'clock, A. M. <sup>201</sup>

In all likelihood, the San Antonio ball was similar to the one William Fairfax Gray attended in Nacogdoches six days before (Thursday, February 4, 1836) where the music consisted of two violins and a triangle, tolerably well played. <sup>202</sup> It is also safe to assume that Crockett, Travis, and Bowie danced with the local beauties the same "kind of Spanish waltz" that a "Citizen of Ohio," as the anonymous traveller called himself, would experience one year later. <sup>203</sup> "Their quadrilles were much like ours," recalled a Texas ranger, "only that they danced them differently. The waltz was a sort of slow march, balancing at every two or three turns." <sup>204</sup>

In the 1880s, Felix Nuñez told the story that Santa Anna had "learned that there was a *baile* (a dance) going to take place in the Domingo Bustillo house, just north of the Southern Hotel."

Obtaining this information, Santa Anna doffed his regimentals and disguised himself as a muleteer and went to the dance. There he learned the exact force and number of the troops that were in the city and all other necessary information, as well, also, the feeling of the citizens in regard to the invasion. The president, being an elegant talker and a very brilliant conversationalist, directed his conversation to the Americans and Mexican citizens who were in sympathy with the American cause. One of the incidents I recollect distinctly. It was a very heated controversy that took place between Gen. Santa Anna [disguised as a mule-driver] and Señor Vergara, the father-in-law of Capt. Jno. W. Smith (of whom I shall speak again), in which this gentleman gave Santa Anna an unmerciful abusing and hooted at the ideal of the Mexicans ever subjugating the Americans. Just after the fall of the Alamo, Gen. Santa Anna sent his orderly to Señor Vergara and

201. *Ibid.*

202. Gray, William Fairfax. *From Virginia to Texas*, *op. cit.*

203. Muir, Andrew Forest (ed.). *Texas in 1837*, *op. cit.*

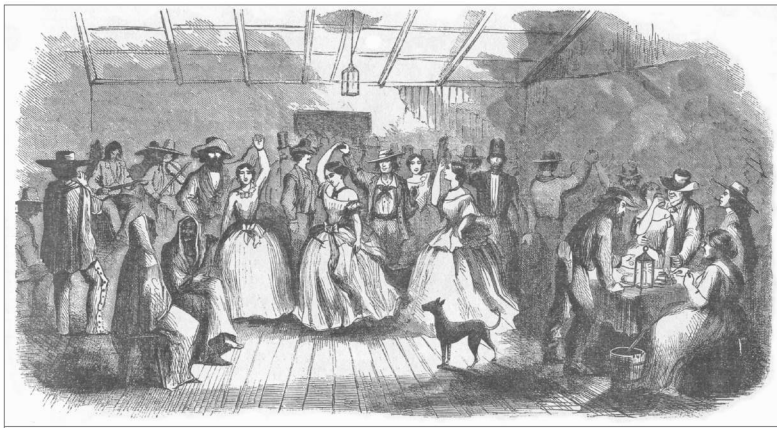
204. Reid, Samuel Chester. *The Scouting Expeditions of McCulloch's Texas Rangers*. Philadelphia: G.B. Zieber & Co., 1847.

commanded him to appear before him. Upon being asked if he recollected the conversation with the muleteer he was almost scared out of his wits. He was reprimanded by Santa Anna, who told him to go his way and sin no more. Here the president completely disguised, was talking and chatting in company with some of the Americans who had come over from the Alamo and participated in the festivities of the dance, not even dreaming that they were in such close proximity to the one who would shortly spread before them the last and fatal feast of death.<sup>205</sup>

In such circumstances, tales quickly grow tall, but a San Antonio inhabitant had told the same story in a briefer form to his neighbors. José Maria Rodriguez, who was a boy during the Alamo battle and abandoned town during the siege and final assault, recalled:

One morning early a man named Rivas called at our house and told us that he had seen Santa Anna in disguise the night before looking in on a *fandango* on Soledad Street.<sup>206</sup>

Disguise was the kind of mischief Santa Anna had used before. In Veracruz, he had had his men dress up as monks to seize an



*Sketches in San Antonio – The Fandango*  
*From a Sketch by Our Own Correspondent*

**Black-and-white illustration published in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper  
January 15, 1859 – U.S.A. – Author's collection.**

205. Nunez, Félix. "Fall of the Alamo. One of the Besiegers Tells the Story of the Siege and Final Assault." *San Antonio Daily Express*, June 30, 1889.

206. Rodriguez, José Maria. *Rodriguez Memoirs of Early Texas*. San Antonio: Passing Show Printing, 1913.

unsuspecting rival.<sup>207</sup> And he would use it again after the San Jacinto defeat, when he stripped off his ornate uniform, put on common soldier's apparel, and lit out for the wilderness. The next day, following Houston's orders for a thorough search of the surrounding territory, a Texian patrol spotted and captured a Mexican trying to hide in the woods. The fugitive was wearing a short jacket, blue cotton pantaloons, skin cap, and soldier's shoes. He was brought back to the camp, and his identity was revealed by other Mexican prisoners.

The circumstantial evidence therefore leads us to believe that in San Antonio de Bexar that spring, General Santa Anna may very well have assumed the garb of a humble mule-driver to mingle with the guests at a Tejano house, men foolhardy enough to waste their time at a dance when the enemy was so close.<sup>208</sup>

207. Lord, Walter. *A Time to Stand, op. cit.*

Ironically, a "Public Dinner and Ball" had been given three and a half years earlier (July 21, 1832) in Brazoria at the tavern of Thomas H. Brennen, "in honor of the triumph of the cause of the Constitution and its distinguished advocate, General Santa Anna" the invitation read. Printed on a 4-page folder by D.W. Anthony. For more on this episode, see the entry for the extra of the *Texas Gazette and Brazoria Commercial Advertiser* for Monday, July 23, entry No. 33.

208. Santa Anna is more famous for wiles than bravery. When the French Navy landed in Vera Cruz (November 27, 1838), he had been in the port city only long enough to go to sleep. The Mexican General was jolted awake by the bomb at the city gate only a few minutes before the French officers were at his own door. Only half-dressed, he rushed downstairs, and his disheveled condition caused several of them to mistake him for a butler. They detained him just long enough to ask which was Santa Anna's room.





## Chapter 4

# DAVID CROCKETT'S JOURNEY TO TEXAS

In 1835, David Crockett (1786-1836), possibly the most prominent of the romantic Early American frontiersmen, was nearing the age of fifty, and his 190 lbs. had been redistributed on his frame. He had served two terms as the truculent Congressman from Tennessee, challenging President Andrew Jackson on the Indian Removal Act, and was talking about going to Texas. Defeated in the 1834 election, Crockett roundly cursed 'em all, donned his coonskin cap, and left for Texas, a-tingle with an exhilaration that pleasantly recalled his legendary youth.<sup>209</sup>

Starting down the Mississippi on November 1, 1835, Crockett rode in company of his nephew and two friends. The four travelers caroused all night in Memphis, their leader delivering his famous "go-to-hell" speech at the Union Hotel bar. He could have provided musical emphasis for his words by grabbing his fiddle and playing the old favorite "Go to the Devil and Shake Yourself."

He reportedly continued to harangue crowds from a flatboat just below the Gayoso Hotel, then engaged in more drinking and parties at every riverboat dock along the 150 miles from Memphis to the mouth of the Arkansas.

As he was approaching the Ouachita River, the story goes that he heard a fiddle playing "Hail, Columbia, Happy Land." "That's fine," said Crockett to his friends, but soon the tune had changed to "Over the River to Charley," and everyone was reminded of the words:

209. Lord, Walter, *A Time to Stand*, *op. cit.*

"Over the river to feed my sheep,  
And over the river to Charley,  
Over the river to feed my sheep  
On buckwheat cakes and barley."

Finally the small group reached the river crossing, and there in the middle of the stream they saw a white-bearded man standing in a sulky, fiddling. "You've missed the ford," shouted Crockett. "I know that," replied the old timer with a grin. He couldn't turn his old horse around, so he was stuck. He explained that he had been fiddling to the fishes for an hour or more, and had played all the tunes he knew, wondering what would happen next. "In times of peril," he added, "I always play my box, because there is nothing in universal nature so well calculated to draw a crowd together as its sound. I might shout myself hoarse and nobody would stir a peg." Crockett urged his own horse into the stream, and they managed to turn the old man's horse around and get him and his buggy back to the bank. The old man then introduced himself as a preacher, and proposed a free sermon in gratitude. Crockett declined the offer, but asked for more fiddling. It turned out that the old man was going toward Fulton too. As soon as they had found the ford and crossed the river, he tied his reins around his whip stock, rosined the bow and started playing again. Crockett, a fiddler himself, knew many of these tunes, and soon he was whistling along with the old man's merry notes. This continued for mile upon mile, until they had almost reached Fulton. There, they parted ways, Crockett having thanked the preacher for his music.<sup>210</sup>

The small party then ferried across the Father of Rivers and rode west along on the Arkansas River. When they arrived in Little Rock on November 12, the fife-and-drum burst into "Hail, The Conquering Hero Comes" to welcome Crockett, the number of whose companions had increased to eight or ten. They rode on, through the thickets to the Red River country. Clarksville, Lost Prairie... Along the way, Crockett

210 Wolfe, Charles K. "Davy Crockett's Dance and Old Hickory's Fandango," *The Devil's Box*. Knoxville: Tennessee Folklore Society, September 1982.

As Wolfe pointed out in the same article, "This story is only one of dozens about Davy Crockett that attest to his interest in old-time music and old-time fiddling. Crockett's various writings and early writings about him are full of accounts like this."

attracted still more followers. They headed south across the Sabine, and were at last in Texas. When Crockett reached Nacogdoches on January 5, the town's cannon banged out a salute, the prelude to another banquet, another speech, and another standing ovation.<sup>211</sup>

Amid the merriment and good wishes, Crockett may have answered a toast with "the song we used to sing when we fought the Indians," which began:

You soldiers brave from Tennessee,  
I'd have you for to know,  
That for to fight the enemy,  
We're going for to go!<sup>212</sup>

His charisma galvanized Nacogdoches, and he invited the town's unattached men to join him. After a brief trip to San Augustine for another gala ball, Crockett returned to Nacogdoches for the long ride to San Antonio de Bexar. The Colonel's unit now included the dashing young lawyer Micajah Autry, who had left his family and slaves in the care of his stepdaughter's husband and set out for Texas by steamboat from Nashville.<sup>213</sup>

Perhaps Autry, who had a fine ear for music and played the violin well,<sup>214</sup> backed up David Crockett's fiddling when the occasion arose. It would be no wonder if fiddler and Alamo defender John Davis<sup>215</sup> later joined in on such favorites as "Lost Indian," which was popular from Tennessee to Texas, characteristically played in the AEAC# tuning. Crockett himself may have entertained his admirers at the many stops along the trail with the tune.

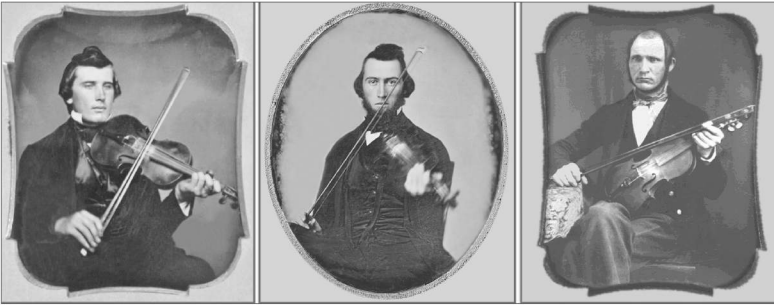
211. *Ibid.*

212. Crockett, David. *An account of Col. Crockett's Tour to the North and down East, op. cit.*

213. Lord, Walter. *A Time to Stand, op. cit.*

214. Reported by Mary Autry Greer, in writing her recollections of her father.

215. John Davis was the brother of Daniel Davis, who fiddled with his son George Washington Davis at the Battle of San Jacinto. On February 23, 1836, he was mustered into the Gonzales Ranging Company of Mounted Volunteers. With this unit he arrived at the Alamo on March 1, 1836 and died in the storming of the



*Unknown fiddlers*  
 6th plate daguerreotypes, late 1840s to early 1850s  
 U.S.A. – Private collection.

Ira Ford's 1940 description of the genesis of "Lost Indian" is worth its weight in narrative excesses:

A steamboat plying the Mississippi River anchored at a landing owing to the swollen waters, which were filled with driftwood and logs (...). One evening, while waiting for the flood waters to subside, the passengers were dancing to the music of a fiddler entertaining them with the tunes and songs of the day. Suddenly, above the sound of the raging river, a quivering wail ending in a series of whoops came eerily across the water, and out of the impenetrable darkness into the radius of the boat's light floated a great log. On it was an Indian struggling to keep his balance. The wild cry echoed once again over the river and then the swirling currents caught the log, and the unfortunate redskin disappeared in a mighty plunge under the boiling waters. This tragedy made such a lasting impression on the fiddler's mind that he later became mildly insane. Thereafter the only tune that he would play was the one interrupted by this harrowing experience, in which he incorporated the wails and shouts of the lost Indian.<sup>216</sup>

Whooping and hollering, David Crockett and his mounted scouts arrived in San Antonio de Bexar in January. In his *Memoirs* dictated to Charles Merritt Barnes, Tejano officer José Antonio Menchaca (1800–1879) recalled :

On the 13 January, 1836, David Crockett presented himself at the old Mexican graveyard, on the west side of the San Pedro Creek, had in company with him fourteen young men who had accompanied him from Tennessee here. As soon as he got there, he sent word to Bowie to go and receive him, and conduct him into the City. Bowie and

216. Ford, Ira W. *Traditional Music in America*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1940.

Menchaca went and he was brought and lodged at Erasmo Seguin's house. Crockett, Bowie, Travis, Niell and all the officers joined together, to establish guards for the safety of the City, they fearing that the Mexicans would return.<sup>217</sup>

Lost Indian

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "Lost Indian". It consists of four staves of music, all in treble clef. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 2/4. The melody is written on the first staff, and the accompaniment is written on the second, third, and fourth staves. The piece ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

"Lost Indian"

## MUSICAL CROCKETT

David Crockett was also a folk hero whose accomplishments were popularized in stage plays and almanacs in his own lifetime. After his death, he continued to be credited with brazen acts of colossal proportions.

As historian Cecil Howse remarked, Davy Crockett was a man of numerous prodigious talents and occupations.<sup>218</sup> Crockett's first identity, the one everyone knows, is that of "Pioneer Crockett," epitome of the frontier type, mighty hunter and fabulous marksman. The second is the "Historical Crockett," dauntless foe of the Creek Indians and valiant fighter who died defending Fort Alamo from Santa Anna. "Political Crockett" began his career in the Tennessee state legislature in 1821, and by 1826, was sent to Washington to represent Tennessee. Yet

217. Chabot, Fredrick C. (ed.). *Menchaca's Memoirs*. San Antonio: Yanaguana Society, 1937.

218. Howse, Cecil. "David Crockett, The Six Crocketts, A Man of Multiple Identity." In *Gibson County, Past and Present*. Trenton, Tennessee: Gibson County Historical Society, 1961.

a fourth identity is the “Mythical Crockett,” “half-horse, half-alligator,” the “ring-tailed roarer” who could “ride a streak of lightning, wade the Mississippi, and come down off the Peak o’ Day with a piece of sunrise in his pocket.” The fifth is the “Novelist Crockett,” whose books were interspersed with nuggets of wisdom such as:

Some persons tickle up their fancies to the scribbling point, and then their pen goes like a fiddler’s elbow. I like rale life, that makes a book jump out of the press like a new dollar from a mint-hopper.<sup>219</sup>

His sixth and most overlooked identity is that of the “Musical Crockett.” According to Cecil Howse, he “was a fiddler, caller and dancer at the old square dances.”<sup>220</sup>

On August 16, 1806, David Crockett married an Irish girl, Mary (Polly) Finley, who lived in Jefferson County, Tennessee. The ceremony was followed by a dance, during which the bridegroom undoubtedly demonstrated his joy and raw talent. One of his biographers, John S. C. Abbott, wrote:

After dinner the dancing began. There was invariably some musical genius present who could play the fiddle. The dances were what were called three or four handed reels, or square sets and jigs. With all sorts of grotesque attitudes, pantomime and athletic displays, the revelry continued until late into the night, and often until the dawn of the morning.<sup>221</sup>

In the morning the company dispersed. David also and his young bride left, during the day, for his father’s cabin. As the families of the nuptial party both belonged to the aristocracy of the region, quite a splendid marriage reception was held at John Crockett’s. There were feasting and dancing.<sup>222</sup>

219. Crockett, David. *An account of Col. Crockett's Tour to the North and down East, op. cit.*

220. Howse, Cecil. "David Crockett, The Six Crocketts, A Man of Multiple Identity," *op. cit.*

221. Abbott, John Stevens Cabot. *David Crockett: His Life and Adventures*. New York: Dodd & Mead, 1874.

222. *Ibid.*

John Crockett operated a log-cabin tavern in Jefferson County, on the road between Knoxville, Tennessee and Abingdon, Virginia.

To judge by his criticism of a minstrel show he saw in Philadelphia in 1834, David Crockett was a connoisseur of "mountain music" who preferred nature to artifice. Unimpressed by the blackface performers in that northern city that he visited for the first time, he was convinced they had a lot to learn from genuine country frolickers.

I returned to the hotel, and remained until night, when I was asked to visit the theatre in Walnut Street. The landlord, Dorrance, and others were to go with me to see Jim Crow.

We started for the theatre, and found a very full house, and Jim a-playing for the dear life. Jim makes as good a nigger as if he was clean black, except the bandy-legs.

Their fiddling was pretty good, considering every fellow played his own piece; and I would have known more about it, if they had played a tune, but it was all twee-wee-tadlum-tadlum-tum-tum, tadle-leedle-tadle-leedle-lee. 'The Twenty-Second of February' or 'The Cuckoo's Nest' would have been a treat.

I do not think, however, from all I saw, that the people enjoyed themselves better than we do at a country frolic, where we dance till daylight, and pay off the score by giving one in our turn. It would do you good to see our boys and girls dancing. None of your stradling, mincing, sadying; but a regular sifter, cut-the-buckle, chicken-flutter set-to. It is good wholesome exercise; and when one of our boys puts his arm round his partner, it's a good hug, and no harm in it.<sup>223</sup>

The Cooper family of Swannanoa Valley, North Carolina, had a memory of a social encounter with David Crockett, eight years before his *Tour to the North and down East*. Elizabeth Cooper Hill, born in 1811, recorded in her Bible that "at age 15" she played the fiddle while David Crockett danced at the Cooper home. This was in Fairview, North Carolina, in 1826. Later that same year David Crockett was elected to Congress from West Tennessee.<sup>224</sup>

223. Crockett, David. *An account of Col. Crockett's tour to the North and down East, op. cit.*

224. Whitaker, Bruce. "David and Elizabeth (Patton) Crockett." Asheville: Old Buncombe County Genealogical Society, 2000.





*Thomas Dartmouth Rice as "Jim Crow"*  
Copperplate engraving, 1832  
U.S.A. – Private collection.

A first-hand recollection of David Crockett's fiddling skills can be found in the memoirs of Robert Hall, published in 1898. Hall, "Indian Fighter and Veteran of Three Great Wars," tells of Crockett entertaining fellow woodsmen at a log-rolling in Tennessee before leaving for Texas:

He sent a negro for a fiddle, and he played a tune that sometimes soothes my old tired brain even to this day. That was the last big frolic that grand old Davy Crockett ever had in the land he loved so well. <sup>225</sup>

A second account comes from Mrs. Andrea Castañón de Villanueva (1803?-1899), a Mexican woman of worthy service during the 1840s in San Antonio de Bexar. Better known as Madam Candelaria after marrying Mr. Candelario Villanueva, her reminiscences varied from time to time. In her old age she settled on the story that she was in the Alamo to nurse James Bowie and that he was killed in her arms. Today, most historians are in disagreement over her claim <sup>226</sup>, but her

225. Brazos. *Life of Robert Hall, Indian Fighter and Veteran of Three Great Wars*. Austin: Ben C. Jones Printer, 1898.

226. Williams, Amelia. "Alamo Survivors, analysis." Austin: The Southwestern Historical Quarterly. April 1946.

Amelia Williams thinks that in truth Andrea Castañón Villanueva went into the Alamo with her lover, a Mexican of high birth, but left in his company a week before the assault.

contemporaries believed her, and she had regular visitors eager to hear her tell of what she had seen <sup>227</sup>.

One year or so before her death, a newspaper man quoted Madam Candelaria, describing a hotel she had kept, which "was always at the disposal of Houston, Austin, Travis, Lamar and such other daring spirits as were at that time committing themselves to the cause of Texas Freedom." <sup>228</sup> She also commented on David Crockett's fiddling:

This man came to San Antonio only a few days before the invasion. The Americans extended him a warm welcome. They made bonfires in the streets and Colonel Crockett must have made a great speech, for I never heard so much cheering and hurraing in all my life. They had supper at my hotel and there was lots of singing, story telling and some drinking. Crockett played the fiddle and he played well if I am any judge of music. <sup>229</sup>

It is indeed credible that Madam Candelaria heard David Crockett play in her hotel (if she ever owned one) or elsewhere in town, before he confined himself in the Alamo where he may have survived briefly the general massacre.

The cornerstone of the legend of Colonel Crockett playing the violin inside the old mission's walls during the 13-day siege is buried in the reminiscences of Mrs. Susannah Dickinson (ca. 1814-1883). They were published in *History of Texas* <sup>230</sup>, thirty-nine years after the battle.

I knew Colonels Crockett, Bowie and Travis well. Col. Crockett was a performer on the violin, and often during the siege took it up and played his favorite tunes. <sup>231</sup>

227. Enrique Esparza (1828-1917), one of the many young children to witness the Alamo battle, was notable for being the only one to discuss his experiences in detail. He declared in 1907 that Madam Candelaria may have been one of the women in the Alamo and that he would not dispute her claim that she was present.

228. "Alamo Massacre As Told by the Late Madam Candelaria." *San Antonio Light*, February 19, 1899. Reprinted from an earlier interview, about 1898.

229. *Ibid.*

230. Morphis, James M. *History of Texas, From Its Discovery and Settlement*. New York: United States Publishing Company, 1875.

231. *Ibid.*

As the wife of a blacksmith who served as artilleryman in the garrison, Susannah Dickinson endured the siege of the Alamo. Hidden in the chapel with her 15-month-old daughter Angelina Elizabeth, she witnessed its fall. Mexican officers led them from the smoldering compound with several noncombatant women, children, and slaves. Santa Anna spared their lives and pledged safe passage through his lines, providing each with a blanket and two dollars.

Another piece of evidence of Crockett's fiddling can be found in Amelia Williams' *Critical Study of the Siege of the Alamo*<sup>232</sup>. For a doctoral dissertation submitted in 1926, Mrs. Williams interviewed Susanna Sterling, granddaughter of Susannah Dickinson. Mrs. Sterling, close to 70 years old at the time, related stories about the Alamo her grandmother had entertained her with while she was young.

Amelia Williams wrote:

Mrs. Dickenson (*sic*), one of the survivors of the massacre, told that Colonel Crockett was very popular with all the soldiers at the Alamo and after the siege began, constantly cheered and encouraged the men. She also said that Crockett often 'played tunes on his fiddle' when the fighting was not brisk; and that sometimes he played in competition with John McGregor's bag-pipes.<sup>233</sup>

In a note placed right beneath this paragraph, the author comes back to that unusual musical contest :

Mrs. Susan Sterling, a granddaughter of Mrs. Dickenson, lived in Austin till August, 1929. She told me that in her childhood she spent much time with her grandmother, who told and retold to her many stories of the Alamo. The one story that never failed to amuse her was the account of the musical contest between David Crockett and John McGregor.<sup>234</sup>

232. Williams, Amelia. "A Critical Study of the Siege of the Alamo and of the Personnel of its Defenders." Austin, Texas: The Southwestern Historical Quarterly. July 1933 to April 1934.

233. *Ibid.* For the modern reader, the tale of the Alamo Scottish piper and his friendly competition with Crockett brings to mind the "Dueling Banjos" sequence in the 1972 American thriller *Deliverance*, produced and directed by John Boorman.

234. Williams, Amelia. "A Critical Study of the Siege of the Alamo and of the Personnel of its Defenders," *op. cit.*

She said that when the fighting would lull, and the Texans had time for rest and relaxation, John McGregor and David Crockett would give a sort of musical concert, or rather a musical competition, to see which one could make the best music, or the most noise—David with his fiddle and John with his bagpipes. She said McGregor always won so far as noise was concerned, for he made "strange, dreadful sound" with his queer instrument.<sup>235</sup>

We shall come back later to the Scottish piper of the Alamo, and his "musical duel" with Crockett.

Through the years, some scholars have questioned whether the informants' statements about Crockett's musical ability were worthy of faith, alleging great age, failing memory, or sheer fantasy. Since the evidence pertaining to the Alamo survivors and their descendants of the two next generations is sparse and fragmentary, it is unlikely that the dispute will ever be settled.

Davy Crockett's fiddle reminds me of Paul Gauguin's squeezebox. Only one mention of it occurs<sup>236</sup> in the numerous books written about the world-famous painter. Obviously, the authors never imagined that Gauguin could play accordion.<sup>237</sup> Were it not for a drawing<sup>238</sup> and comment left to posterity by his fellow painter Paul Sérusier (1864-1927), the fact would now be lost. Gauguin never wrote about his musical skills, either in his lengthy correspondance or in his notebooks.<sup>239</sup> Having received no formal musical training, he gave little

235. *Ibid.*

236. Chassé, Charles. *Gauguin sans légendes*. Paris: Les Éditions du Temps, 1965.

237. Paul Gauguin, like other bohemian artists of his times, possessed respectable musical skills. It is said that he could play nicely on the piano, the mandolin, and the accordion. Recalling the musical evenings that he shared with his friend and fellow painter at the village inn of Le Pouldu, in Brittany, in the summer of 1889, Paul Sérusier remembered: "Gauguin was extraordinarily intuitive. When I played the accordion, I tried to study how the instrument worked, what sounds one could extract from it. Conversely, he would just elaborate personal variations."

238. "Gauguin jouant de l'accordéon (1889)". Pencil sketch by Paul Sérusier (1864-1927.) Collection Paule Henriette Boutaric, Paris.

239. Letters: *Lettres de Paul Gauguin à sa femme et à ses amis*. Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1946.

Notebooks: *Cahier pour Aline* (1892). *Ancien culte maori* (1893-1994). *Noa Noa* (1893-1894). *Racontars de rapin* (1902). *Avant et après* (1903).

thought to his playing. In all likelihood, with regard to his fiddling, Davy Crockett behaved in the same manner.



## **CROCKETT'S FIDDLES**

In the 175 years since Davy Crockett's death at the Battle of the Alamo, a number of violins said to have been owned and played by the great man himself have surfaced. Here are some stories – or shall we say "tales" – about two of them.

- **C. K. Quin's Crockett Fiddles**

The violin is on display at the Witte Museum of San Antonio. The following passage is written on the inside, in faint pencil: "This fiddle is my property, Davy Crockett, Franklin County, Tenn. Feb. 14, 1819."

Charles Kennon Quin, who was mayor of San Antonio 1933-39, loaned this piece of personal property to the museum in 1934 and donated it sixteen years later. He had received it as a gift from Mr. T.S. Quinn (no relation) a violinmaker from Russellville, Alabama.

Before presenting the fiddle to the mayor, T.S. Quinn had replaced the violin's tailpiece, fingerboard, and bridge; re-bored holes to adjust new pegs; and put on a new set of strings, restoring it to playing condition. Nevertheless, the Russellville craftsman preserved the original tailpiece and fingerboard, as well as two small rattlesnake tails which had been found inside the fiddle, and sent them to the mayor at the same time.

T.S. Quinn also provided certificates signed by himself and Frank A. Hollis, attesting that Mr. Hollis had inherited the violin from his father,



*The Violin and the Shrine*

Original artwork by Michael J. Young

David Crockett's Fiddle, Courtesy the Witte Museum, San Antonio, Texas.

Tom Hollis, who hailed from near the Crockett homestead in Franklin County, Tennessee. David Crockett's son, Joseph, was said to have given the violin to his neighbor Mr. Tom in 1859. In all truth, David Crockett neither had a son named Joseph, nor was he living in Franklin County in 1819. Understandably, the Witte museum remains cautious about this venerable musical relic. Today's historians consider it a vintage instrument assembled from pre-existent parts of a fiddle believed to have once belonged to the Alamo defender.<sup>240</sup>

A 1982 typescript describing the violin, by Bill Green, the famed musician who served two terms as president of the San Antonio Chapter of the Texas Music Association, can be found in the museum's files. Mr. Green wrote: "It is also possible that the violin is authentic and that T.S. Quinn or Frank A. Hollis hoped to support the instrument's authenticity by writing inside the instrument. Or, the instrument could be a fake."

Even if David Crockett once owned the violin on display at the Witte Museum, it can hardly be the instrument, or more exactly its composite, that he supposedly carried to the Alamo. It may be that the Colonel owned more than one violin, a belief asserted by the owner of another Crockett fiddle.

- **John Houston Thurman's Crockett Fiddles**

When the violin owned by Mayor Quin began receiving publicity in 1936 for the Texas Centennial, an 80-year-old man, John Houston Thurman, of Longview, Texas, came forward with an instrument of his own to challenge it. His violin was the genuine one which David Crockett carried with him to Texas, reported a newspaperman in the *Houston Chronicle* dated Sunday, April 19, 1936. J.H. Thurman asserted that a Mexican soldier had made off with it as spoils of war after the battle of the Alamo, taking it to Mexico City.

<sup>240</sup> Charles K. Wolfe once told me that Western singer Red River Dave recorded a song about 1950 called "When Davy Crockett Met the San Antonio Rose," featuring a member of Dave's band actually playing Crockett's fiddle.

The journalist traced the fiddle's adventures further, to 1847, when it was allegedly purchased in Mexico City by an American soldier serving in General Winfield Scott's army during the Mexican War. This owner quickly sold it off, however. Thurman's father, who happened to be there at the time, found it in a secondhand store. He acquired it for a low price, and brought it back to Texas the following year. The violin remained in the Thurman family's hands until 1864, when it was stolen from their home. By 1892, the elder Thurman had died. His son, who was traveling through Parsons, Kansas, with an entertainment revue, made an amazing discovery in a secondhand shop he visited: here was a battered fiddle with "D. Crockett" carved on one side of its head and "Tenn., 1835, D.C., Texas 1836" on the other. In young Thurman's mind, no doubt remained: this was the violin that his dad had bought in Mexico City and taken home to Texas, some 45 years before.

A bewildering story, indeed, but, if true, how could the *Houston Chronicle* journalist be sure that the inscription on the fiddle was genuine? He brazenly swore it was the truth, on the basis of an interview he had just conducted with an "old Negro neighbor" of the Alamo defender. The informant, who would have been well over one hundred years old when the story was published in 1936, assured him that "David Crockett had a habit of carving his name with a penknife on practically everything he owned."

Hearsay and reminiscence are paltry proof of the authenticity attached to the relics of a tragic historical episode. Both violins can simply be said to be shrouded in a mystery no one may ever be able to unravel. Over the years, they have taken on their own particular personalities and voices, their wood rubbed and weathered and dimpled into uniqueness.

To paraphrase Prospero in Act IV of Shakespeare's *Tempest*, Crockett fiddles (like a few other precious musical relics <sup>241</sup>) "are such stuff as dreams are made on."

241. John McGregor's bagpipe stock, James Bowie's hunting whistle, Charles Despallier's flutina, an unknown defender's Jew's harp... These relics will be described and studied in a revised second edition of this book, should there be one.





Chapter 5  
FIDDLELING AND DANCING AT THE ALAMO



*Unknown Fiddle Player*

**Photographic image from a Stereo view, 1870's – U.S.A. – Author's collection.**

"Crockett traveled to the Alamo in simple riding clothes, no buckskins or Nimrod Wildfire regalia, but he must still have looked a bit eccentric wearing an old top hat." William C. Davis, *Three Roads to the Alamo*.

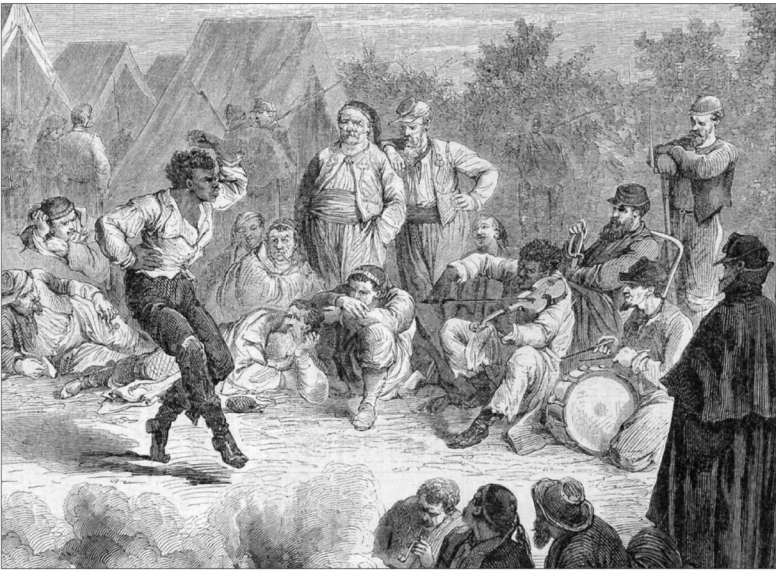
David Crockett played the violin; so did John Davis and Micajah Autry. Quite possibly, some of the other freedom-fighters who took refuge inside the Alamo as news of Santa Anna's approach spread were also proficient players and dancers. Skilled African-American musicians and dancers may have been among them.

We know from various sources that African Americans played and danced to entertain the Texas settlers in wartime. It is therefore likely that such scenes as those drawn from life in the Civil War years took

place either in San Antonio de Bexar, or at some point during the Texas Revolutionary War.

Both pictures shown here are engravings from *Le Monde Illustré*, a popular magazine published in Paris, France.

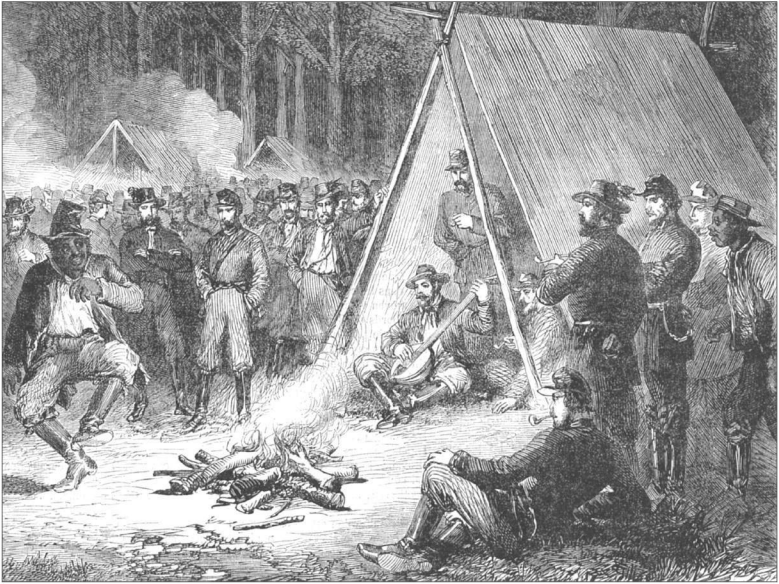
The first scene, from the February 1862 issue, signed by French artist Frédéric Théodore Lix, is entitled "Bivouac of the Federal Troops in South Carolina." Seating or standing around a campfire, with tents in the background, Union soldiers, some smoking pipes, watch a young maroon African-American dance frenziedly to the music of a Black fiddler. To judge by the way the White musician is kneeling by his side



*War in America: Bivouac of the Federal Troops in South Carolina* (detail)  
Steel Engraving by Frédéric Théodore Lix (1830-1897)  
*Le Monde Illustré Weekly Magazine* n° 252, February 8, 1862  
France – Author's Collection.

with his sticks in his hand and his drum upright between his legs, we may surmise that he alternately hits the rim to imitate the clapping of bones and bangs the head, on which he has slackedened the gut snare, to obtain the sound of the tambourine.

The second scene, published in March 1865 and signed by English engraver Mason Jackson (1819-1903), is entitled "At Night in a Confederate Camp." Just as in the previous picture, seated or standing



*War in America: At Night in a Confederate Camp (Detail)*  
Steel Engraving by Mason Jackson (1819-1903)  
*Le Monde Illustré Weekly Magazine* n°415, March 15, 1865  
U.S.A. – Author's collection.

around a campfire, soldiers (from the Confederate Army in this case) enjoy the performance of an African-American cutting a jig, while a White soldier, seated cross-legged under his tent, is frailing a gourd banjo. Note the Black servant on the far right watching the dance with a smile.

Now, imagine that the unknown African-American dancer in the first illustration is Joe, William Travis's slave; the Black fiddler is Charles Despallier's Creole servant; the Union soldier, Drum Major Joseph George Washington. In the second picture, the Black dancer becomes Charlie, James Bowie's slave, and the unknown Confederate banjo player, David Crockett and his fiddle or John McGregor and his bagpipe. This is how the Alamo defenders might have entertained themselves around the campfire, despising the threat of death dangling over their heads:

Santa Anna ran a blood-red flag to the top of the tower of the cathedral of San Fernando. Someone said this meant he would kill every one of the side of the Texans. The Texans did not seem to be excited. At night they would sing and dance.<sup>242</sup>

The following account given by Samuel Reid in *The Scouting Expeditions of McCulloch's Texas Rangers* is interesting because it gives us a glimpse of an outdoor fandango the Alamo defenders might have seen “when the fighting would lull, and the Texans had time for rest and relaxation.”<sup>243</sup>

The dance was held in the open air; and the bright fires kindled at different points, the candles and torches moving to and fro, the animated groups of revellers clustered on every side, the white robes of the girls prettily contrasting in the firelight with the dusky apparel of their partners, while gay forms replete, with life and motion bounded in the lovely dance or floated in the graceful waltz in sweet accord with the spirit-stirring strains of music which the night breeze wafted to our ears—all made a scene that was, at the distance we reviewed it, beautiful indeed.<sup>244</sup>



242. Final account attributed to Enrique Esparza, appearing in Driggs, Howard R. and King, Sarah S. *Rise of the Lone Star*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1936. Quoted in Groneman, Bill. *Eyewitness to the Alamo*. Plano: Republic of Texas Press, 1996.

Interview with Enrique Esparza. *San Antonio Express*, November, 1902. Quoted in Groneman, Bill. *Eyewitness to the Alamo*, *op. cit.*

243. Mrs. Susan Sterling to Amelia Williams in “A Critical Study of the Siege of the Alamo and of the Personnel of its Defenders,” *op. cit.*

244. Reid, Samuel Chester. *The Scouting Expeditions of McCulloch's Texas Rangers*, *op. cit.*

## Chapter 6 TEXIAN FIFES AND DRUMS

### OLD WORLD FIELD MUSIC

As we may conceive, the manner of warfare and the formal organization of the armies that had evolved by the dawn of the eighteenth century were quite different from the hand-to-hand combat practiced by the loosely organized armies of the Middle Ages. As military music expert Raoul F. Camus points out, the soldier now was required to march in step, advancing or retreating in block movements with strict obedience to his superiors' command.<sup>245</sup>

The drum, which the Crusaders had brought back with them in several forms from the Saracens, was found admirably suited to the purpose of conveying orders and of maintaining the pace in a systematic and orderly manner. Like the French and the English before them, the Americans had two basic cadences for their marching troops :

The common or ordinary step was, as its name implies, that used at all times by the marching troops. The quickstep, sometimes called *pas de manœuvre* by the French, was used only for turning movements or for changing positions, and then the cadence would immediately revert to the common step.<sup>246</sup>

In addition to the standard drum commands used in battle, signals such as reveille, retreat and tattoo assumed a definite form in the everyday routines of the soldier. A drummer had to perform other

245. Camus, Raoul F. *Military Music of the American Revolution*. Westerville: Integrity Press, 1975.

246. *Ibid.*

important military functions, too. One was the execution of court martial sentences. This involved the actual task of lashing guilty soldiers, as well as the ceremonial function of drumming miscreants out of service. In case of battle, the drummer had to remain with his company, continuing to give the signals as required, normally marching immediately behind the advancing line. Following the battle, he was expected to assist the wounded.<sup>247</sup>

At the same time that the drum was being introduced into the foot companies of Europe, it was accompanied by the the fife in order to provide some melodic interest. This combination was called field music.



*Arigot (flute), Drum and Fife Players*  
from Thoinot Arbot's *Orchesography* published in Langres, France,  
in 1596 – Author's collection.

Military marches were one of the main features of martial discipline. These were used to encourage the troops and to raise their spirits both in battle and during the difficult moments before and after the fight. Every nation had its own particular national type, and the story goes that during the Thirty Years' War [1618-1648] Scottish drummers were teaching their soldiery to distinguish between the *Scottish March*, the *Irish March* and the *German March*. This knowledge could be crucial, even in the economy of tactics. During the same war, the Germans once played the *Scots March* so as to deceive the enemy. At the battle of Oudenaarde (present-day Belgium, July 1708) led by the duke of Marlborough, the Allied drummers beat the French *Retraite*. The duc de

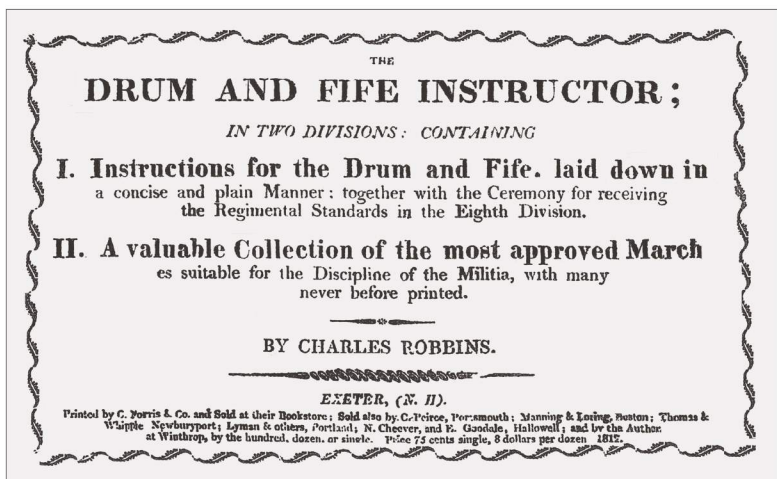
<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*





During that war, as in the French and Indian War and for centuries before in Europe as we have seen, the fife and the drum served as the signal corps of the military. During the American War for Independence, most field commanders had their own fifer and drummer, one of each per company, with a regimental Drum Major in charge of all of the musicians. Various beats and tunes provided structure to the soldier's day, awakening him with *The Dawning of the Day*, and calling him to supper with *The Roast Beef of Old England*, tunes frequently used by both sides. The drum coordinated the firing of artillery and muskets, and since the shrill sound of the fife could be heard for miles, even over the sound of cannon, it was used for relaying other commands.

The siege of Yorktown, Virginia began on September 28, 1781. On October 17, at about 10 A.M., during a blistering French and American bombardment, a lone British drummer boy walked through the crossfire and ascended a parapet. Carefully, he began to beat his drum. At first, this traditional signal for a parley passed unnoticed. In his journal, Lt. Ebenezer Denny noted, "I never heard a drum equal to it-the most delightful music to us all." Thus, the War for Independence began with a drumbeat and ended in the same way.<sup>250</sup>



*The Drum and Fife Instructor*, 1812  
U.S.A. – From the collection of Edmund W. Boyle

Published in the same year as Charles Stewart Ashworth's *System of Drum Beating*, *The Drum and Fife Instructor* describes the Long Roll, Five, Seven, Nine and Eleven stroke rolls, and then details what Charles Robbins calls "Methods" for drumming common time. There are variations on Single Dragg and Double Dragg. Duty calls, referred to as "Signals" are listed for a variety of requirements, including Adjutant's Call, First Sergeant's Call, Front, For the Front to Advance Quicker, For the Front to Advance Slower, etc, all circa 1812. This is all followed by 90 popular tunes from the period and the duty for the fife, covering reveille and tattoo.

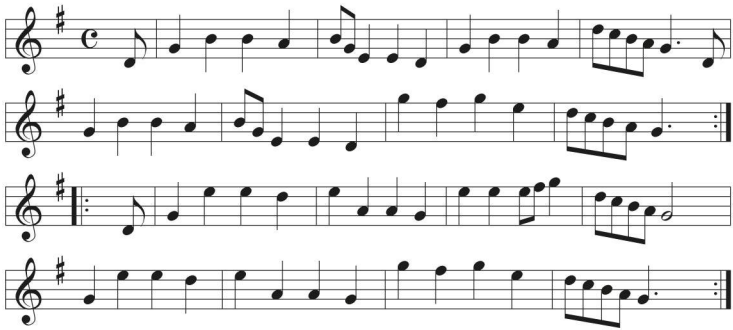
250. *Ibid.*

### Dale's March



*"Dale's March"* – A March published by Charles Robbins  
in *The Drum and Fife Instructor*, 1812  
U.S.A. – From the collection of Edmund W. Boyle.

### Drops Of Brandy



*"Drops of Brandy"* – A March published by Charles Robbins  
in *The Drum and Fife Instructor*, 1812  
U.S.A. – From the collection of Edmund W. Boyle.

## TEXAS REPUBLICAN ARMY FIELD MUSIC

Records of the names of the soldiers who played in the Texas Republican Army Music Corps are fragmentary. We know only that three men, John N. Beebe, Martin Flores and Frederick Lemsky, served as musicians in Captain Briscoe's Regular Infantry, Company A.<sup>251</sup>

251. Tolbert, Frank X. *The Day of San Jacinto*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959.

Frederick Lemsky, who could speak English and French, came from the Czech Lands. He moved to Texas in February 1836, enlisted in the Texas army in March of the same year, and served as a musician until December 31, 1836. According to the probate records in Brazoria County, "1 octave flute" and "1 keyed flute" were included in the inventory of his property after he drowned in early 1844.<sup>252</sup> As the contemporary musicologist Stephen Chambers explains in a letter to the author,

Flutes of that time, also then known as "concert flutes," would have had 6 fingerholes and anything between 1 and 11 keys on them (commonly 4, 6 or 8) so that is what is meant by a "keyed flute." An "octave flute" would be a piccolo (which sounds one octave higher than a flute), though the scribe may have been incorrectly describing a fife in those terms.<sup>253</sup>

We also know there were flute players, and other accomplished musicians, in Colonel James W. Fannin's regiment at Fort Defiance (Presidio La Bahia near Goliad.)

After learning of the Alamo's defeat, General Sam Houston had ordered Fannin to retreat and join the rest of the army in Victoria. On March 19, 1836, Mexican troops surrounded the Texians near Coletto Creek in the open prairie. After hours of fierce fighting, Fannin's men surrendered and returned to their former fort, led to believe that they would be released into the United States. Unaware that they had been sentenced to death instead, prisoners who could play music beguiled the time by entertaining themselves and their companions with popular tunes.

Capt. Jack Shackelford, commander of the Alabama Red Rovers at Goliad, was spared execution because he was a surgeon. He remembered with great sadness:

252. Creighton, James A. *A Narrative History of Brazoria County*. Angleton: Brazoria County Historical Commission, 1975.

Dixon, Sam Houston and Kemp, Louis Wiltz. *The Heroes of San Jacinto*. Houston: Anson Jones, 1932.

253. Stephen Chambers's letter to the author, January 28, 2011.

# Home! Sweet Home!

MID PLEASURES & PALACES.

with

Chorus for Four Voices,  
Sung by

SONTAG, JENNY GOLDSCHMIDT LIND, & C.

Composed and Arranged

BY

# SIR HENRY R. BISHOP.

SIR H. R. BISHOP'S GLEES, SONGS, DUETS, &c.  
with Pianoforte Accompaniments. Single N<sup>o</sup>. 3<sup>d</sup> Double N<sup>o</sup>. 6<sup>d</sup>

| WITH THE MUSICAL BOUQUET.                        | SONG                  | MUSICAL BOUQUET.                            | DUET          | WITH THE MUSICAL BOUQUET.                         | SONG        |
|--|-----------------------|---|---------------|---|-------------|
| 2669, THE PILGRIM OF LOVE.                       | SONG                  | 2678 & 70, THE CROUCH AND CROW              | DUET          | 2671 & 2, BLOW GENTLE GALES                       | DUET        |
| 2673 & 4, WHEN THE WIND BLOWS                    | RHOD                  | 2678 & 6, FORESTERS SOUND THE CHEERFUL HORN | DUET          | 2677, MY HIGHLAND HOME                            | SONG        |
| 2676 & 8, MY PRETTY PAGE                         | DUET                  | 2680 & 1, BID ME DISCOURSE.                 | SONG          | 2683 & 3, WHAT SHALL WE HAVE THAT KILLED THE DEER | DUET        |
| 2684 & 1, THE HUGE GLOBE HAS ENOUGH TO DO        | DUET                  | 2686, I LOVE THEE                           | SONG          | 2687 & 8, THE WIND'S WHISTLE COULD                | DUET        |
| 2689 & 90, THE FOX JUMP'D OVER THE PARSON'S GATE | QUARTET               | 2691, SONS OF FREEDOM HEAR MY STORY         | SONG          | 2692, THE SOLDIER'S GRATITUDE                     | SONG        |
| 2693 & 4, MOCKING BIRD SONG                      | SONG                  | 2695, BE MINE DEAR MAID                     | SONG          | 2696 & 7, TELL ME MY HEART                        | SONG        |
| 2698 & 3, OVERTURE "GUY MANNERING"               | SONG                  | 2700 & 1, STAY, PRYTHES, STAY               | QUARTET       | 2702 & 3, COME O'er THE BROOK                     | DUET        |
| 2704 & 1, THE TICKER COUGHS IN THE WOOD          | CHORUS                | 2706 & 7, COME, THOU MONARCH OF THE VINE    | DUET          | 2708 & 3, WHO IS SYLVIA, WHAT IS SHE?             | DUET        |
| 2710 & 11, LO! HERE THE GENTLE LARK              | SONG                  | 2712 & 13, AS IT FELL UPON A DAY            | DUET          | 2718 & 15, NOW TRAMP O'er MOSS AND FELL           | CHORUS      |
| 2720 & 21, O, BY RIVERS                          | SERENADE FOR 5 VOICES | 2722 & 3, THE SILVER QUEEN                  | QUARTET       | 2724 & 5, PUSH ABOUT THE BOTTLE BOYS              | GLEE CHORUS |
| 2726, 'TIS WHEN TO SLEEP                         | SONG                  | 2730, THE DASHING WHITE SERGEANT            | SONG          | 2731, COME LIVE WITH ME AND BE MY LOVE            | SONG        |
| 2732, TRIFLES FOR CAN                            | WALTZ & POLKA         | 2732 & 4, HARK! 'TIS THE INDIAN DRUM        | ROUND         | 2732 & 6, HARK! APOLLO STRIKES THE LYRE           | DUET        |
| 2737 & 8, HAIL TO THE CHIEF                      | QUARTET               | 2738 & 40, DAUGHTER OF ERROR                | CHORUS & SOLO | 2744, LIVE HENRI QUATRE                           | CHORUS      |
| 2745 & 6, ALLEGIANCE WE SWEAR                    | CHORUS WITH SOLOS     | 2871 & 2, 'TIS THY DEAR VOICE MY LOVE       | SONG          | 2880, SWEET MAID                                  | SONG        |

LONDON: MUSICAL BOUQUET OFFICE, 192, HIGH HOLBORN.

CITY AGENTS: E. W. ALLEN, 20, WARWICK LANE, & F. PITMAN, 20, PATERNOSTER ROW.

"Home! Sweet Home!" by Sir Henry R. Bishop  
London: Musical Bouquet, 1852 – Author's collection.

## HOME. SWEET HOME.

SONG AND CHORUS.

Poetry by  
J. H. PAYNE Esq<sup>re</sup>Music by  
SIR H. R. BISHOP.

*ANDANTE*  
*LARGHETTO.*

'Mid plea-sures and pa-laces

though we may roam, Be it e-...-ver so hum-ble there's no place like home! A

charm from the skies seems to hal-low us there, Which, seek thro' the

*espress.*

world, is not met with else-where. Home! Home!... sweet, sweet

Brahm's Songs & Duets in THE MUSICAL BOUQUET, DEATH OF NELSON, 3874 & 5, ANCHOR'S WEIGHED, 3976; BEWILDERED MAID, 3477, WHEN VULCAN FORGED, 3879, SAID A SMILE TO A TEAR, 3885, ON THIS COLD FLINTY ROCK, 2898; IS THERE A HEART THAT NEVER LOVS.

*largo.*

Home! There's no place like Home! There's no place like.... Home!...

*colla voce.* *a tempo.*

**CHORUS.**  
1st & 2nd Soprano, or Trebles.

Home! Home! sweet, sweet Home! There's no place like

Tenor & Bass.

Home! Home! sweet, sweet Home! There's no place like

Home! There's no place like Home!

Home! There's no place like Home!

*ff*

*piu animato.*

An Ex-ile from Home, splendour dazzles in vain, Oh!

*ff* *f*

W. H. Montgomery's Songs in the Musical Bouquet: THE NORTH CAROLINA ROSE, 274 & 5, WHILE I MY BANJO PLAY, 286 & 87.

4

give me my low-ly thatch'd cottage a- gain! The birds sing- ing

gai-ly that came at my call, Give me them with the peace of mind dear- er than

all. Home! Home! sweet, sweet Home! There's no place like

Home! There's no place like Home! Home! Home! sweet, sweet

Home! Home! sweet, sweet

Home! There's no place like Home! There's no place like Home!

Home! There's no place like Home! There's no place like Home!

*largo.* *f* *ad lib.* CHORUS.

*colla voce.* *pp* *a tempo.*



Many of our young men had a fondness for music, and could perform well, particularly on the flute. In passing by them to visit some wounded, on the outside of the Fort, my ear caught the sound of music, as it rolled in harmonious numbers from several flutes in concert. The tune was "Home, Sweet Home." I stopped for a few moments and gazed upon my companions with an intense and painful interest. As those 'notes of mournful touch' stole upon the breeze, the big tear that rolled down many a manly cheek, which had glowed in battle and burned in the rage of conflict, told the heart's irrepressible emotion; for the image of home and friends came over the mind 'like the pressure of a spirit-hand.'<sup>254</sup>

By the way, the familiar tune "Home, Sweet Home" was originally composed by an Englishman, Henry Rowley Bishop (1786-1855), for his 1821 opera *Clari, the Maid of Milan*. The words we know today were added in 1823 by the American author and actor John Howard Payne (1792-1852).



*Jack the Fifer*  
 Early 1860s 6th Plate Ambrotype  
 U.S.A. – From the collection of Michael J. Young.

"That is a typical military fife in B-flat," remarked Stephen Chambers, "though it appears to have some kind of 'embouchure assistor' that I'm not too sure about at the moment. A proper fife, like this one, is usually of one-piece construction and will always have a cylindrical bore, as opposed to the conical bore of a flute of the time, or later band flutes."<sup>255</sup>

254. Shackleford, Jack. "Some Few Notes upon a Part of the Texas War" in Foote, Henry Stuart. *Texas and the Texans*. Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co., 1841.

255. *Ibid.*



Luke W. Bust from Illinois was one of the musicians in Captain William Wood's Company.<sup>256</sup> A free Black man from New Orleans, known as "Dick the Drummer,"<sup>257</sup> was a member of the regular infantry.<sup>258</sup> Peter Allen, a free Black from Pennsylvania, served as a musician in Colonel Fannin's troops.<sup>259</sup>



Captain Breece's First Company of New Orleans Greys had a drummer,<sup>260</sup> and Captain Morris's Second Company had John Rees, an accomplished 20-year-old Welsh fife player, who may have been recruited by the British army when he was in his teens.<sup>261</sup>

Before departing New Orleans within two days of each other, both companies of New Orleans Greys drilled on Customhouse Square. Martial music was provided by Captain Morris's company fifer and Captain Breece's company drummer, presumably joined by other privates who could beat or blow.

Breece's Greys took an overland route to join the Texas Army. At San Augustine, a crowd of colonists greeted them.

256. Dixon, Samuel Houston and Kemp, Louis Wiltz. *The Heroes of San Jacinto*, *op. cit.*

257. Tolbert, Frank X. *The Day of San Jacinto*, *op. cit.*

258. Schoen, Harold, "The Free Negro in the Republic of Texas." Austin: Southwestern Historical Quarterly. April 1936.

259. *Journal of the Texas House of Representatives, 7th Legislature*. Austin: The Legislative Reference Library.

260. Miller, Edward L. "The Texas Revolution, Civilian Suits, Whiskey-loving Foreigners, and the New Orleans Greys," and "The New Orleans Greys at San Antonio de Bexar, 1835," *Journal of the Company of Military Historians*. Rutland: The Company of Military Historians, Spring 1996. – Miller, Edward L. *New Orleans and The Texas Revolution*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004.

261. Humphries, John, *The Man from The Alamo*. Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 2005.

The town's drummer thumped out a salute, but it was too mild for these carefree men. Showing him how to do it, the Greys' own drummer broke into the furious beat of "Beer in the Mug."<sup>262</sup>

In regard to "Beer in the Mug," Edmund W. Boyles went through approximately 10,000 tunes in multiple sources and "came up dry," as he said playfully. He added: "Bear in mind that a good tune never dies. New lyrics are written for them all the time. Consequently, the tune picks up a new title. 'Beer in the Mug' might easily be 'Gillingarra Mountain,' which ends with 'Whisky in the Jar.'"<sup>263</sup>



*Tambour de la Marine*  
France – Author's collection.

Obviously, the New Orleans Greys' uniforms were inspired by French military attire from the same period. Captain Breece's drummer may have looked somewhat like this French *Tambour de la Marine* of 1834.

Enrique Esparza (1828-1917), who as a child of eight accompanied his family within the walls of the Alamo and final assault, recalled hearing a drum played along with a flute (or fife?) inside the fort on one occasion:

After the first few days I remember that a messenger came from somewhere with word that help was coming. The Americans celebrated it by beating the drums and playing on the flute.<sup>264</sup>

262. Lord Walter. *A Time To Stand*, *op. cit.*

263. Edmund W. Boyles's letter to the author, February 20, 2011.

264. Interview with Enrique Esparza. *San Antonio Express*, Nov. 22, 1902. Quoted in Matovina, Timothy M. *The Alamo Remembered: Tejano Accounts and Perspectives*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995.

In another version of the same article, Esparza declared: "When Señor Smith came from Gonzales with the band of men he had gathered, there was great shouting. The Texans beat the drums and played on a flute." Quoted in Groneman, Bill. *Eyewitness to the Alamo*, *op. cit.*

Kentucky-born Joseph George Washington, age 28, was a Drum Major. He had taken the oath of allegiance to Texas at Nacogdoches a month before and traveled to the Alamo in Captain William Harrison's company of Tennessee Mounted Volunteers, which included David Crockett.<sup>265</sup>

**AIRS de FIFRE**  
adaptés aux Batteries d'ordonnance

**L'assemblée sur place**

**L'assemblée en marchant**

**Le Rappel en marchant**

**Pas accéléré**

**Pas Redoublés**

**Pas de charge**

**La Retraite**

The image displays five musical scores for fife and drum calls, arranged in two columns. The left column contains three scores: 'L'assemblée sur place', 'L'assemblée en marchant', and 'Le Rappel en marchant'. The right column contains two scores: 'Pas accéléré' and 'Pas de charge'. Below these is a separate score for 'La Retraite'. Each score is written for a fife (Soprano) and a drum (Bass) in 2/4 time, with various musical notations including rests, notes, and dynamic markings like 'Fin.' and 'D.C. S.'.

Fife and Drum Calls, 1830s – France.

265. Tucker, Phillip Thomas, “Motivations of United States Volunteers During the Texas Revolution,” *East Texas Historical Journal*. Nacogdoches: East Texas Historical Association 1991.

• A Benefit Concert for the Texas Volunteers

German settler Adolphus Sterne, a strong supporter of Texas independence, had personally raised and financed the two companies known as the New Orleans Greys, so he arranged for a gala welcoming banquet when Captain Breece's unit reached Nacogdoches. We think it likely that the citizens of Velasco organized a similar "Feast of Liberty" when Captain Morris's Greys, who had sailed across the Gulf of Mexico from New Orleans, disembarked in their port.

William Bollaert's papers contain a description of a benefit concert the citizens of Galveston held seven years later for a company of volunteers. It conjures up a vivid picture of the musical atmosphere at a gathering of Texas patriots:

A Volunteer Company had been formed at Galveston, its object being to proceed to the frontier, but as an addition to their funds was necessary for its complete equipment, and its Colonel being a German Professor of Music, he came out boldly in an advertisement on the propriety of getting up a concert, the proceeds of which were to be given to the Company, at the same time interesting the editor of the principal newspapers for a helping hand on the occasion, that document winding up with the following: "We need not remind our readers of what Shakespeare said about the individual who was so unfortunate as to have no music in his soul. They will all recollect that that close observer of human character pronounced such fit only for the vilest uses."

Reader, pardon me—for now I am obliged to speak somewhat directly of myself. I was invited to take part with the professionals! on the occasion and solicited to sing a Spanish song or two, there being several families from San Antonio (where Spanish is spoken) who intended to patronize the concert—which was held at the Tremont Hotel. The audience arrived when it was first treated to the tuning of what had been once a piano, but more appropriately now might be called a collection of tin kettles. Well, the piano was screwed up to G#, and after a considerable time passed in tuning—the audience tired of waiting—the concert commenced with a quartette. Before it was concluded, there was a regular break down. Our Prima—and only Donna—a delicate young lady, Mrs. Sealsfield found that the instrument was in as base a B flat as one could possibly wish. It was no go. Never was so indulgent an audience, and rounds of applause followed. The Colonel now tried

to give the "Largo il Factotum," but what with the tinkling tones of the piano, and his own tremulous husky voice, having had a severe fit of the ague in the morning, he made, to use a common expression, a mess of it. Still, he came in for his share of applause.

According to the program it was my turn. A Spanish song was given, at the end of which "Bueno, bueno, mui bonito" from the Spaniards—but from the Texas citizens resounded "Give us a song from the old country." I gave them one, breathing as much of trumpets, drums, powder, and shot etc. as the most Hector-like could wish for. Encored of course, and among other protestations of eternal and everlasting friendship were the following: "Now if that stranger wants a town lot here. I'll give him one." "If he stops in the country and will run for Congress, he has my vote." "They say he's a lawyer; why, we'll make him a judge ere long."

My companions in arms tried a duet. They floundered about like a merman and mermaid on dry land. The audience, bless their kind and benevolent souls, took it all in for Gospel. It was now suggested that as the piano was in such a "fix," another should be sent for. When Mr. Power offered us his, half a dozen Niggers brought it from his house. In the interim it was suggested that the audience and singers should return to the Bar of the [Tremont] Hotel and "take a drink." This however only extended to the male part of the audience (and I may here mention that during the considerable time I was in Texas I never saw a woman in the bar room of an inn or hotel, or one in any way under the influence of liquor.)

The second piano arrived, when after much screwing and thumping, it was pronounced to be tuned, when a flute solo by a violent tempered Irishman, with piano accompaniment was announced. It commenced—went on a few bars—they tried back—if anything, the second piano was worse than the first. Our Nicholson became infuriated, he cursed etc. the piano. Up jumped the lady performer horror stricken at the imprecations, when he rushed out of the room, swearing that he "would be d——d if he would be made a fool of by any such piano on this side of the Atlantic." This of course produced roars of laughter and more amusement than any vocal or instrumental display by us possibly could have done.

D. Guillermo (that's me) was pressed. "Tus ojos excitan," came next. Some Spanish families being there and the majority of the concourse understanding that language, bravoed it "Encore Encore," but instead of it I sang my new song of "Red Rovers." Thunders of applause and thus I was obliged to put down their bellowing—to bellow again. "By G——!" said one, "I'll give that stranger a league of land." "By G——, I'll give

him a town lot." "By G—, he's a brick," etc. But one kindred spirit, s<sup>d</sup>. "Sergeant Blowhard, come let's take a drink." Aye, and good bottled beer was the tipple. More songs were sung—I wound up with "My Little Maid and That Bonnet." Encore D—— the encores—these Texans believe that I have a potent pair of lungs.

After the concert the "exclusives" had returned to the Ladies Parlor of the Hotel in which the concert was held, and "Mr. B[ollaert]'s company particularly requested by the Ladies." When did beauty ever plead in vain and there were some there meriting this appellation? A Petite Souper was ready, after which singing and music commenced and this in fact was the real concert, when we were favored among others, with many lyrical compositions of the other side of the Atlantic, including some real and original negro melodies. <sup>266</sup>

## FIDDLING AT THE BATTLE OF SAN JACINTO

The songs and instruments played at the Battle of San Jacinto on April 21, 1836 are the subject of many a story. According to an account passed down in the family of Daniel Davis, <sup>267</sup> an early De Witt Colonist, it is not true that a fife and drum mustered the Texian army. It was probably a figment of the imagination of later historians, trying to write a more coherent and conventional account of the incredible victory. <sup>268</sup>

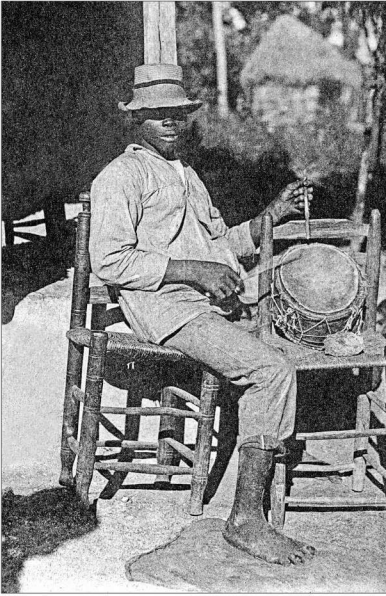
To be sure, drums were heard on the battlefield that day, and so were bugles. But the military music emanated from the Mexican side only. It is believed that Sam Houston's Texian volunteers marched, fought, and triumphed to the crude sound of two fiddles. <sup>269</sup>

266. Hollon, Eugene W. (ed.). *William Bollaert's Texas, op. cit.*

267. Schwab, Elmo Jr. "They Weren't Merely Fiddling Around: Family Lore Says no Fife, Drum at San Jacinto." *Houston Post*, April 21, 1985.

268. A historic bias that Captain Taylor resented bitterly when recalling the battle of Conception, fought on October 28, 1835. "I have heard fledgling San Jacinto Day orators speak in spread-eagle style of the 'Lone Star flag that waved in heavenly grandeur over the flame swept field of Conception.' But there was no flag or banner of any sort in our rank on that occasion; nor was there any music on either side—only the sound of cannon and the rattle of musketry was heard." Quoted in DeShields, James T., *Tall Men with Long Rifles*. San Antonio: Naylor 1935.

269. Schwab, Elmo, Jr. "They Weren't Merely Fiddling Around," *op. cit.*



*Haiti, Tambourier Créole  
(Creole Tom-Tom Player)*

**Postcard, 1890s  
France – Author's collection.**

Note that this Creole tom-tom player grips his sticks in the traditional way of army-corps drummers. However, instead of holding the left stick between middle and ring finger, he clasps it between index and middle finger, a variation popular with self-taught percussionists. We can imagine that the young African-American in Houston's camp beat in a similar way a comparable drum of fortune with sheep-skins substituted for the heads.

Green De Witt's original colonists in February 1831. As head of a family, he received a land grant of one sitio (roughly 4,500 acres), about 15 miles south of the present town of Gonzales. His son, George Washington Davis, born 1817, followed him about a month later and was given a one-sitio grant in the same general area. Daniel's unmarried brother, John Davis, one of the volunteers who died in the Alamo, received a quarter-sitio, since he was not the head of a family.

The Davis men, who maintained a family tradition as fiddlers, settled in and around Gonzales, which had been founded six years earlier. Although Daniel and John could not write, they and Daniel's son George became renowned on the frontier as fiddle players.

Houston had assigned a young African-American to beat on a tom-tom, sounding the wake-up call for the camp each morning, but he was a far cry from a military drummer.

Some men could play the Jew's harp or a simple, homemade, wooden three-stop whistle – nothing that could be called a fife. According to Davis family legend, the only members of the band who could have been considered musicians were Daniel Davis and his son George. But they did not know how to march, let alone how to play one. Like most of the others, they lacked formal military training.

Daniel Davis, born in Tyrell County, North Carolina, about 1782, came to Texas as one of

On Oct. 2, 1835, Daniel Davis was among the men from Gonzales who defied the Mexican demand that the small cannon the settlers used to scare off Indians be returned. This was the challenge that sparked the Texas Revolution. Daniel's brother John, being single, volunteered to join a small band of 32 men from Gonzales who went to the relief of the Alamo.

After the fall of the fort, Daniel and his son George took part in torching the town of Gonzales, about to be captured by the Mexicans advancing under Santa Anna. The little cannon was buried in George's peach orchard. The two men and their families joined Sam Houston's army in the long retreat eastward, the trek that went down in history as the Runaway Scrape.

Sam Houston's plan on the day of the San Jacinto battle was to deceive the Mexican sentinels into thinking that his ragtag bunch of poorly armed, untrained men was conducting a sort of drill. He wanted the fiddlers to play a tune familiar to the Texians, which would not be interpreted by the Mexicans as a call to battle. So the "Davis boys," as they were called, though they were father and son, struck up "Will You Come to the Bower?"

They lent as much of a march tempo as possible to the popular love song. The ragged troops formed two long columns behind them, moving from one grove of cottonwood trees to the other, past the Mexican lines. They wobbled along, just out of gunshot range. It looked like a poorly executed parade drill, and the Mexican sentinels were not at all alarmed. Officers on horseback on either side of the line made believe they were trying to keep the men in order.

As the columns approached the far grove of trees, they halted and turned right to face the Mexican camp. The Davises stayed in the shelter of the cottonwoods, as ordered, fiddling through chorus after chorus of the melody they had often played before, on more festive occasions.

The Texian charge drowned out the wail of the strings, but right up until the first shots were fired, most of the volunteers on the left side



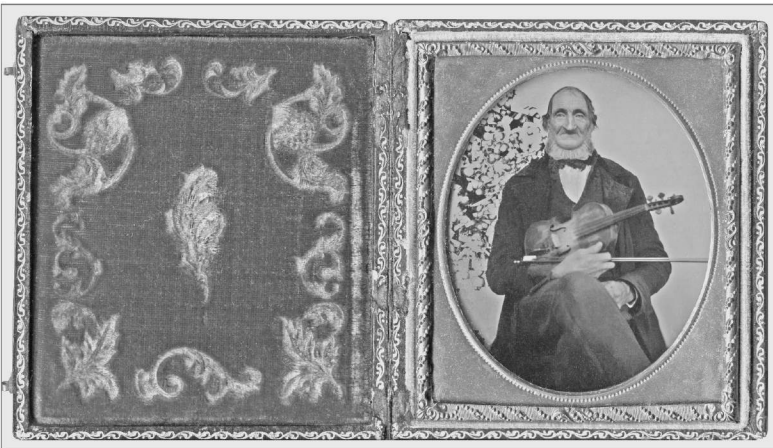
distinctly heard Davis and his son sawing away at "Will You Come to the Bower?"



*"Will You Come to the Bower"*

From Elias Howe Jr., *A New and Complete Preceptor for the French Accordeon*.  
Boston, 1842.

Will you come to the bower I have shaded for you?  
Your bed shall be of roses, bespangled with dew.  
Will you, will you, will you come to the bower?



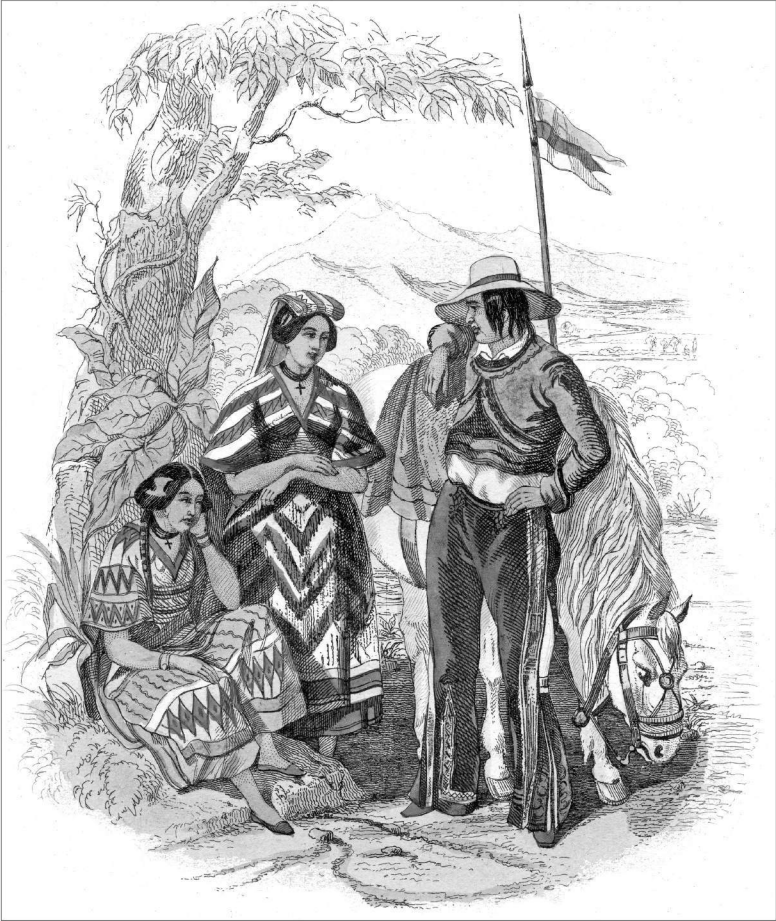
*Uncle Thomas, champion fiddler from North Carolina*  
Late 1850s 6th plate Ambrotype – U.S.A.  
From the collection of Michael J. Young.

Dr. Young wrote that a penciled note accompanying this image identified the sitter as "Uncle Thomas, champion fiddler from North Carolina." The stalwart was therefore a contemporary of Daniel Davis, with whom he may have played house dances in the 1840s.

Taken by surprise, the Mexicans began frantic efforts to rouse the sleeping troops and organize a defense. Drums rolled and bugles sounded, to no avail. With the Mexican side in a state of total confusion, the parade, charge, and battle were over in less than thirty minutes.

Later, the fiddlers moved about the victors' campfires, playing, drinking and listening to accounts of the melee until dawn.

George Washington Davis received a veteran's grant from the Republic of Texas for his participation at San Jacinto, although he did not fire a single shot. His father Daniel, who always claimed that all he did that day was play the fiddle, did not apply for a reward. He died in Gonzales in 1850.



*Mexicans, 1830s*  
Steel engraving by X – France  
Author's collection.

Chapter 7  
MEXICAN MARTIAL AND FESTIVE MUSIC  
DURING THE SIEGE OF THE ALAMO

**CARGA O DEGÜELLO - CHARGE OR DESTRUCTION**

The musical score is written for a six-part ensemble. It begins with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature. The tempo is marked 'Vivo'. The score consists of six staves. The first five staves are in treble clef, and the sixth staff is in bass clef with a 6/8 time signature. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some triplet markings. The piece concludes with a final cadence in the bass staff.

A black and white photograph showing the ruins of the Church of the Alamo. The structure is made of stone and is heavily damaged, with many windows and arches missing. The central entrance is a large, ornate archway. The surrounding area is flat and appears to be a dry, open landscape.

**RUINS OF THE CHURCH OF THE ALAMO, 1847**

**SANTA ANNA'S MILITARY BAND**

On July 13, 1832, a clash at Anáhuac initiated three years of preliminary conflict between American settlers and small Mexican army detachments in Tejas. In late 1835, at the time of the first major skirmishes at Gonzales, Concepción, and Bexar, the battalions and regiments of the Mexican Army existed only in theory. Hurriedly, six

thousand raw recruits were raised, armed, and equipped for a 1000-mile march from San Luis Potosi across the northern deserts. After two months of cold and hunger, abandoned corpses and conveyances marking their route, the remnants of this improvised force reached and occupied San Antonio de Bexar in February, capturing Fort Alamo in March 1836.<sup>270</sup>

General Santa Anna, Commander in Chief of the Mexican Army, idolized Napoleon Bonaparte. This was one reason why he enjoyed the title of "The Napoleon of the West." As Phillip Thomas Tucker pointed out in *Exodus from the Alamo*,<sup>271</sup> Santa Anna, "smitten with French culture" had spent time and money collecting all things related to the French Emperor. The walls of his magnificent hacienda, located just outside Vera Cruz, were decorated with portraits of Napoleon and scenes of his victorious campaigns.

Another historian remarked that Santa Anna always led from the front because he had apparently seen a painting of Napoleon riding boldly ahead of his troops.<sup>272</sup> According to his second-in-command, the Italian-born General Vicente Filisola, he shunned anyone who disagreed with his hero.<sup>273</sup> Understandably, Santa Anna held in particular esteem Quartermaster-General Woll, a Grande Armée veteran who boasted of having learned the principles of war from Maréchal Soult in person.<sup>274</sup>

"Napoleon's legacy," wrote Tucker, "hovered over Santa Anna's Army of Operations from the beginning to the end of the 1836 Texas campaign."<sup>275</sup> Not surprisingly, the troops "were clothed in colorful

270. Nieto, Angelina, Brown, John Nicholas, and Hefter, Joseph. *El Soldado Mexicano 1837-1847, The Mexican Soldier*. Mexico City: Ediciones Nieto-Brown-Hefter, 1958.

271. Tucker, Phillip Thomas. *Exodus from the Alamo*, *op. cit.*

272. Fowler Will. *Santa Anna of Mexico*. Lincoln: Nebraska University Press, 2007.

273. Filisola, Vicente. *Memoirs for the History of the War in Texas*. Austin: Eakin Press, 1985.

274. Despite his German-sounding name, Adrian Woll (1795–1875) claimed to be a Frenchman born just outside Paris. He was not present at the Alamo, reaching San Antonio two days after the mission had fallen. In consequence, history did not associate him with Santa Anna's no-mercy tactic.

275. Tucker, Phillip Thomas. *Exodus from the Alamo*, *op. cit.*



*Battle of Iena, 14th October 1806*  
Oil painting by Horace Vernet (1789–1863)  
Engraved from the original by X – France – Author's collection.

Napoleonic uniforms, carried similar weapons, and were trained in Napoleonic tactics, perpetuating Santa Anna's fantasies." <sup>276</sup>

Quite possibly, the martial music was borrowed from the French as well. Napoleonic military marches were plentiful, and the fife-and-drum tunes, like the trumpet calls, were as grand as the army they rallied.

Each Mexican *Compañía Fusileros* (Fusilier or Line Company) had two drummers and a fifer, while the *Compañía Cazadores* (Light Infantry Rifle Company, similar to the French *Chasseurs*), and the *Compañía Granaderos* (Grenadier Company) were assigned three trumpeters. <sup>277</sup>

276. *Ibid.*

It must be considered that up to the battle of Sedan in 1870, soldiers in North and South America were dressed in the style of the French Army (cf. the Civil War's *zouaves*), a perfect model of valor and heroism. After Napoleon III's defeat, Germany began to share the style of its uniforms with various foreign troops. To my eye, the shape of the contemporary US helmet originated with the steel model worn by the Kaiser's soldiers in World War I.

277. Nieto, Angelina, etc. *El Soldado Mexicano*, *op. cit.*

Eight-year-old Enrique Esparza moved inside the Alamo with his family just as the Mexican troops were entering San Antonio de Bexar. He told local reporters in 1902:

There was a bridge over the river about where Commerce Street crosses it and just as we got to it we could hear Santa Anna's drums beating on Milam Square.<sup>278</sup>

William P. Zuber gives us the name of a sixteen-year-old fifer, Apolinario (Polin) Saldigua, who allegedly was in a reserve battalion during the storming of the old mission and entered it after the battle was over. Zuber wrote:

After the fort (the celebrated church of the Alamo at San Antonio) had been stormed, and all its defenders had been reported to have been slain, and when the Mexican assailants had been recalled from within the walls, Santa Anna and his staff entered the fortress. Polin being a fifer, and therefore a privileged person, and possibly more so on account of his tender age, by permission, entered with them. He desired to see all that had to be seen; and for this purpose, he kept himself near his general-in-chief.<sup>279</sup>

The name of another young Mexican fifer can be found in La Peña's diary:

Afterwards, there arrived an artilleryman and Luis Espinosa, fifer of the Guerrero Battalion, a young man twelve years old and extraordinarily alert, who has given me a detailed narrative of the happenings at San Jacinto.<sup>280</sup>

But not satisfied with the drums, fifes, and trumpets constituting the field music, Santa Anna organized regimental bands to bring extra brightness and musical energy to his reviews and parades.

278. Interview with Enrique Esparza. *San Antonio Express*, November 22, 1902. Quoted in **Matovina, Timothy M.** *The Alamo Remembered*, *op. cit.*

279. Interview with Apolinario [Polin] Saldigua. *Houston Daily Post*, March 1, 1882. Quoted in Groneman, Bill. *Eyewitness to the Alamo*, *op. cit.*

Zuber's interview was not located in the newspaper article cited.

280. La Peña, José Enrique. *With Santa Anna in Texas: A Personal Narrative of the Revolution*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2008.

The Guerrero Battalion did not participate in the battle of the Alamo. At San Jacinto, it was on the right side of the Mexican camp, resting, when surprised by the Texian forces.

The tradition of open-air music is an old and important one. In Santa Anna's days, the high-ranking officers of European armies, most of whom were from wealthy families, felt they were entitled to musical entertainment commensurate with their rank, and were reluctant to forego this pleasure while in service. Consequently, they often sustained bands at their own expense.

Existing side by side with the field music, these bands were primarily used for the entertainment of the officers, such as providing music during meals and for dances and social activities, including serenading.<sup>281</sup>

Emulating these standards, General Santa Anna probably hired professional musicians in Mexico City, clothed them in uniforms, and had them serve as regimental bands. As in European armies, martial activities were among the duties of these musicians, so that "no military



*A Mexican band leading a parade and serenading the crowd*  
Steel engraving by X – France – Private collection.

281. Camus, Raoul F. *Military Music of the American Revolution*. Westerville: Integrity Press, 1975.



ceremonial would have been considered complete without the “Music,” i.e. the Band, not only as accompaniment to the “salute,” but for the spectacular march past in slow and quick time.”<sup>282</sup>

Young Juan Diaz, whose father was the deacon of San Fernando Cathedral, watched from the church bell tower as the Mexican army swept into town. He recalled:

At the head of the soldiers came the regimental band, playing the liveliest air, and with the band came a squad of men bearing the flags and banners of Mexico and an immense image that looked like an alligator’s head. The band stopped on Main Plaza and remained there until after the fall of the fort.<sup>283</sup>

Occasionally, during the siege, Santa Anna’s bands played to be heard by the Alamo defenders. We read in Juan N. Almonte’s *Journal of the Mexican Campaign*:

Wednesday, Feb. 24th. At evening the music struck up, and went to entertain the enemy with *it* and some *grenades*.<sup>284</sup>



*A Latin American Regimental Band*  
Photographic image, late 1800s – Author’s collection.

282. Farmer, Henry G. *Military Music*. New York: Chanticleer Press, 1950.

283. Interview with Juan Diaz. *San Antonio Light*, September 1, 1907. Quoted in Matovina, Timothy M. *The Alamo Remembered*, *op. cit.*

284. Asbury, Samuel E. (ed.). "The Private Journal of Juan Nepomuceno Almonte, February 1-April 16, 1836." Austin: The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, July 1944.

## TRUMPET CALLS AND *EL DEGUELLO*

Juan Valentine Amador, a member of Santa Anna's staff, wrote to the Generals, Chiefs of sections, and commanding officers on March 5, 1836 at 2 P.M.:

Being necessary to act decisively upon the enemy defending The Alamo, the Most Excellent General-In-Chief has ordered that tomorrow at four o'clock the attacking columns, placed at short distance from the first trenches, undertake the assault to begin with a signal given by the General by means of the sounding of a bugle from the North battery.<sup>285</sup>

La Peña confirmed the execution of Amador's order, writing that:

a sound of a trumpet call to attention was the signal agreed upon and well soon was heard the terrible bugle call of death which stirred our hearts, which changed our countenances and drew us all out, suddenly, from our pensive reflections.<sup>286</sup>

Mexican Infantry & Cavalry Bugle Calls

1 ATENCIÓN - ATTENTION 4 MARCHA - MARCH  
10 ALTO - HALT 5 FUEGO - FIRE  
3 RETIRADA - RETREAT 6 DERUCHA - RIGHT  
13 ENEMIGOS, INFANTERÍA - ENEMY INFANTRY 7 IZQUIERDA - LEFT  
17 HAY MUCHOS HERIDOS - THERE ARE MANY WOUNDED  
19 SE NECESITA REFUERZO - REINFORCEMENTS NEEDED  
20 DIANA, REVUELLE - *Largo*  
*Allarg.* 31 PIEDRO A TIERRA - PROSE

60 CARGA o DEGUELLO - CHARGE or DESTRUCTION (CABALL) (CAVALRY) *1 time*  
23 CARGA o ATAQUE - CHARGE or ATTACK (INF) *Prize*

### *Bugle Calls 1837-1847*

14 of the 70 infantry and cavalry bugle calls, with official names and numbers.

285. Juan Valentine Amador's battle orders to the Generals, Chiefs of sections, and commanding officers, March 5, 1836. Archivo General de Mexico papers. Quoted in Groneman, Bill. *Eyewitness to the Alamo. op. cit.*

286. La Peña, José Enrique. *With Santa Anna in Texas, op. cit.*

A compendium of trumpet calls entitled *El Soldado Mexicano 1837-1847* refers to a total of 70, with name and number for the cavalry and infantry. It further states, "there were 57 calls common to both branches, 9 special cavalry and 4 special light infantry calls."<sup>287</sup>

Enrique Esparza remembered:

On the first night a company of which my father was one went out and captured some prisoners. One of them was a Mexican soldier and all through the siege he interpreted the bugle calls on the Mexican side and in this way kept the Americans posted on the movements of the enemy.<sup>288</sup>

The authors of *El Soldado Mexicano* inform us:

Cavalry trumpet calls were: Saddle or General Call, Groups, Assembly, To Horse, March, Fall In, Honor Roll, Reveille or Prayer, Attention, Rest, Trot, Gallop, About Turn, To Order, Attack or Beheading, Halt, Retreat or Tattoo. Of these calls, the *Degüello* – Beheading or Destruction – was sounded only at the culmination of a charge when 80 paces from the enemy.<sup>289</sup>

The strains of the mournful melody *El Degüello* might have been forgotten, were it not for Hollywood composer Dmitri Tiomkin. Identified as "The Cutthroat Song" by one of the characters, it featured prominently as a tension-builder in his sound track for Howard Hawks's 1959 western *Rio Bravo*. Tiomkin pulled it out the next year, too, when John Wayne directed and starred in *The Alamo* and hired Tiomkin to compose the music. In the imagination of the audience, the haunting tune aroused blood-curdling fantasies of a musical spell cast by the villainous Santa Anna, promising the Texans ruthless destruction and death.

287. Nieto, Angelina, etc. *El Soldado Mexicano*, *op. cit.*

288. Interview with Enrique Esparza. *San Antonio Express*, November 22, 1902. Quoted in Matovina, Timothy M. *The Alamo Remembered*, *op. cit.*

In the final account attributed to Esparza, we read: "One night father captured a Mexican who was prowling round, and kept him as a prisoner. He was one of Santa Anna's soldiers. During the siege he would tell the Texans what the bugle calls of the enemy meant. I heard that the poor fellow was afterwards killed because Santa Anna thought he was a deserter." Quoted in Driggs, Howard R. and King, Sarah S. *Rise of the Lone Star*, *op. cit.*

289. Nieto, Angelina, etc. *El Soldado Mexicano*, *op. cit.*



*Interrupting El Degüello*  
Original artwork by Stéphane Vielle,  
inspired by an old black-and-white illustration  
France – Private collection.

The adverse psychological impact of El Degüello sounding grimly during the final attack on the fort had been pointed out a century or so earlier by Captain R. M. Potter, who wrote in "Fall of the Alamo" (1860):

When the hour came, the south guns of the Alamo were answering the batteries which fronted them; but the music was silent till the blast of a bugle was followed by the rushing tramp of soldiers. The guns of the fort opened upon the moving masses, and Santa Anna's bands struck up the assassin notes of "deguello," or no quarter.<sup>290</sup>

Two pages after this statement, Potter added:

Santa Anna remained at the south battery with the music of the whole army and a part of his staff, till he supposed the place was nearly mastered.<sup>291</sup>

A Mexican sergeant named Manuel Loranca provided additional details in a narrative which originated in the Corpus Christi *Free Press*:

The Mexican infantry, with ladders, were lying down at musket-shot distance, awaiting the signal of assault which was to be given from a fort about a cannon-shot to the east of the Alamo, where the president Santa Anna was with the music of the regiment of Dolores and his staff to direct the movements.<sup>292</sup>

La Peña's *Narrative* is also explicit:

The bands of all the corps, gathered around our chief, playing the call of attack, and this sound which electrified our hearts, which elevated our souls and made others shudder, was seen to fill us with more lively ardor and enthusiasm.<sup>293</sup>

290. Potter, Reuben Marmaduke. "Fall of the Alamo." San Antonio: Steam Herald Press, 1860. Reprinted in *The Texas Almanac for 1868*, and the *Magazine of American History*, January 1878.

291. *Ibid.*

292. Anonymous. "Santa Anna's Last Effort. The Alamo and San Jacinto. Narrative of a Mexican Sergeant who belonged to Santa Anna's Army." *San Antonio Express*, June 23, 1878. Quoted in Groneman, Bill. *Eyewitness to the Alamo. op. cit.*

293. La Peña, José Enrique. *With Santa Anna in Texas, op. cit.*

As we see, there is no doubt that the "clamor of the military instruments" <sup>294</sup> was heard in the final hours, but unfortunately, La Peña does not specify whether the "call of attack" was El Degüello. Besides, supposing it was, Captain Potter omitted to specify if musicians were ordered to continue playing this ghastly tune until "General Cos ordered the fire to be silenced... but the bugler Tamayo of the sappers exhausted in vain his instrument, since it did not cease until no one was left to kill." <sup>295</sup>

In fact, no primary sources refer to El Degüello, aside from the latter-day accounts of Madame Candelaria and Mrs. Susanna Dickinson.

Madame Candelaria, whose presence inside the fort during the assault has not been fully proven, told a newspaper reporter in 1899 that she heard it played. <sup>296</sup> Mrs. Susanna Dickinson, uncontested Alamo survivor, also gave an embellished version of El Degüello. But both oral accounts came long after Captain Potter's pamphlet had widely circulated, so that not all modern historians agree that "the assassin note of 'deguello,' or no quarter" sounded in the pre-dawn

hours of Sunday, March 6, 1836. To give but one example, when Dr. Stephen L. Hardin takes visitors on a walking tour of the original fort and historic sites inside old San Antonio, he omits it from his description of the battle.

Toques Particulares Para La Caballeria

The image shows a musical score titled "Toques Particulares Para La Caballeria" with four distinct pieces. Each piece is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature.   
 - **N°1 MARCHA**: Lento. Features a melody with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a triplet of eighth notes.   
 - **N°2 TROTO**: Andante. A simple, steady melody of eighth notes.   
 - **N°3 GALOPE**: Allegro. A fast, rhythmic melody with eighth notes and rests.   
 - **N°4 CARGA o DEGUELLO**: Feroz. A complex, driving melody with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, ending with a fermata.

*Toques Particulares Para La Caballeria.*

294. *Ibid.*

295. *Ibid.*

296. The reporter wrote: "The degüello was sounded, and Mrs. Candelaria said that they all understood very well what it meant, and every man prepared to sell his life as dearly as possible." See Huffines, Alan C. *Blood of Noble Men: The Alamo Siege and Battle*. Austin: Eakin Press, 1999.

Assuming that El Degüello did indeed reach the ears of those inside at the culmination of the Mexican charge, I cannot help but compare the symbolic menace of the tune with that of the famous *Rantanplan Tirelire* which rallied so many valiant Napoleonic charges. Quicker in tempo than Santa Anna's ominous musical advice to the enemy to give up hope, it urges the soldiers to "pierce the flank" of an opponent perceived as evil incarnate.<sup>297</sup>

Naturally, General Woll was familiar with this standard from the military repertoire, and it is logical to believe that he shared the knowledge with Santa Anna who, as we know, delighted in every scrap of lore related to Napoleon and his glorious campaigns.

In his *Journal du Canonnier Bricard*, artilleryman Louis-Joseph Bricard (1771-1853) recalls a battle waged at Valenciennes in 1793 by the Fifth Battalion of Paris:

The enemy cavalry slaughtered us, and nearly all the musicians were killed as they played the old tune soldiers often sing:

*On va leur percer le flanc  
Que nous allons rire  
On va leur percer le flanc  
Ran tan plan tire lire lan.*<sup>298</sup>

We'll pierce their flank  
What a lark it'll be  
We'll pierce their flank  
Ran tan plan tire lire lan.

Captain Coignet remarks that the same tune was played at the battle of Austerlitz in 1805:

Unusually, the Emperor had given orders for the musicians to remain in their positions at the center of each battalion. Our entire military

297. Vingtrinier, Joseph. *Chants et Chansons des Soldats de France*. Paris: Albert Mérigant, 1902.

298. Bricard, Alfred and Jules (ed.). *Journal du canonnier Bricard (1792-1802)*. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1894.

"Ran tan plan" imitates the beating of the drum, and "tirelire" the fife trill.

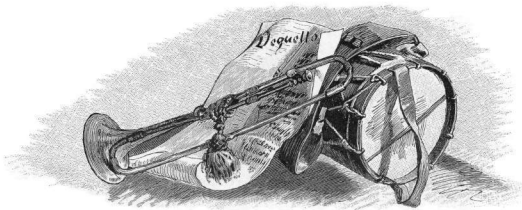
band was mustered, with their leader, an old trooper who was at least sixty. They played a song all of us knew, *On va leur percer le flanc*:

*Napoléon sera content  
Rantanplan tire lire  
Pour lui plaire il faut du sang  
Rantanplan tire lire lan.*

Napoleon will be quite pleased  
Rantanplan tire lire  
He likes it when our enemies bleed  
Rantanplan tire lire lan.

The drums beat the charge, thundering loud enough to break, blending with the music. The whole thing was so powerful it would have given legs to a paralytic!<sup>299</sup>

Bloodthirsty songs, rumbling drums, and ruthless charging music on the one hand, and moaning trumpet calls rising above a foreboding, inexorable bass progression on the other: regardless of the hearer's identity, he was bound to think twice about fighting. I have no doubt that both Napoleon Bonaparte and his Mexican acolyte Santa Anna had mastered the art of striking fear into the enemy's heart armed only with the emotional impact of music.



## MUSIC AND DANCE OF SANTA ANNA'S SOLDIERS

Throngs of camp followers trailed Santa Anna's army from Mexico to San Antonio de Bexar, fulfilling a host of duties: cook, forager, nurse,

<sup>299</sup> Coignet, Jean-Roch. *Souvenirs*. Auxerre: Perriquet, 1851-1853.



etc. Bringing along soldiers' mothers, sisters, sweethearts, wives,<sup>300</sup> and children was a useful way of preventing desertion. Rocking babies to sleep was in some way comparable, no doubt, to what Frances Calderón saw and heard at San Cosme, Mexico, a few years later:

We heard an old woman singing a cheerful ditty in an awfully cracked voice, and as we got a full view of her before she could see us, we saw a clean, old body sitting, sewing and singing, while a baby rolling on the floor in a state of perfect ecstasy, was keeping up a sort of crowing duet with her. She... led us into a large hall where a score of nurses and babies were performing a symphony of singing, hushing, crying, lullabying, and other nursery music.<sup>301</sup>

Besides, legions of "loose women" temporarily attached themselves to the troop. Filisola showed nothing but disgust for them, comparing these *soldaderas* to the cockroach or *cucaracha* that spreads disease in its path.<sup>302</sup>

In Latin America, the earliest known reference to *La Cucaracha*, a traditional Spanish folk *corrido*,<sup>303</sup> comes from the verses of Mexican writer and political journalist José de Lizardi. His 1819 novel, *La Quijotita y su Prima*, suggests:

*Un capitán de marina  
Que vino en una fragata  
Entre varios sonecitos  
Trajo el de "La Cucaracha."*

A naval captain  
Who came in a frigate  
Among various tunes  
Brought the one about "La Cucaracha."

300. Camp follower Panchita Alvarez, the wife of Captain Telesforo Alvarez, saved the lives of at least ninety-nine Texas rebels who had been taken captive by the Mexican army by dissuading her husband and other Mexican officers from executing them. She felt that Santa Anna's order to kill them was unacceptable.

301. Calderón De La Barca, Frances. *Life In Mexico, op. cit.*

302. Filisola, Vicente. *Memoirs for the History of the War in Texas, op. cit.*

Filisola added: "If [the soldiers] happen to have young women in tow, or have daughters of a certain age, squalor and circumstance drives them to prostitute themselves. From this comes not only desertion, but also corruption, disease, so common among our troops, altercations and even murder."

303. The *corrido* is a popular narrative song and poetry form, a ballad, of Mexico.

The song's origin remains obscure, dating back to the 15th century, at least. The lyrics of one old version are related to the 1492 Granada War to drive the last Muslims out of Spain:

De las patillas de un moro  
Tengo que hacer una escoba,  
Para barrer el cuartel  
De la infantería española.

From the sideburns of a Moor  
I must make a broom,  
To sweep the quarters  
Of the Spanish infantry.<sup>304</sup>

A more recent one details such dramatic events as the civil war following the death of Ferdinand VII of Spain in 1833.

One can also find *Cucaracha* lyrics commemorating other 19th-century conflicts in both Spain and Mexico, but verse production did not intensify until the Mexican revolution of 1910-1920. So many stanzas were added by partisans on all sides during this period that today *La Cucaracha* is associated mostly with Pancho Villa and his *soldaderas*.

*Soldaderas* were female soldiers who went into combat alongside men. The term comes from the Spanish word *soldada* which denotes a payment made to the person who provided for a soldier's well-being.

"*Cucaracha*" being the pejorative name given to a specific sort of camp follower, we wonder if a version was sung by Santa Anna's soldiers marching to Texas, with every regiment adding its own couplet, such as the following one which *double entendre* is obvious:

*Pobre de la Cucaracha*  
*Se queja con decepción,*  
*De no usar ropa planchaza,*  
*Por la escasez de carbón.*

304. Vidales Rivera, Carlos. "Crónicas de una cucaracha." Stockholm: Literatura Columbiana Online, 2008.

Poor Cockroach,  
Complaining with disappointment  
She cannot iron her dress  
Because she has no coal. <sup>305</sup>

The question remains open until more systematic studies have been conducted. In the meantime, it can be treated as an apocryphal but pleasant tale.



*Mexican Camp Followers, 1836*  
Steel engraving by Charles Vernier (1813-1892)  
France – Author's collection.

Another enduring Alamo myth relates that the Mexican troops coined the word *gringo* after hearing the defenders, many of them Scottish-Americans, steeling themselves for defeat and certain death by singing rousing choruses of the old English counting song "Green Grow The Rushes Oh!":

I'll sing you one, oh!  
Green grow the rushes, oh!  
What is your one, oh!

305. Stanzas quoted in Michael J. Young's letter to the author, March 17, 2007.

One is one and all alone  
And evermore shall be (it) so.  
Green grow the rushes, oh!

Although we shall never know, I am tempted to believe that this is a song, along with “Home, Sweet Home” (played on flutes inside Fort Defiance the previous night, as we have seen,) that Colonel Fannin’s men heartily intoned in Goliath on May 22, 1836, after hearing the news of their repatriation.<sup>306</sup> A general massacre, expressly ordered by Santa Anna, followed instead.

Green Grow The Rushes Oh!

The image shows a musical score for the song "Green Grow The Rushes Oh!". It consists of three staves of music in 4/4 time, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is written on the top staff, and the accompaniment is split between the middle and bottom staves. The music is in a simple, folk-like style with a mix of quarter and eighth notes.

*“Green Grow The Rushes Oh!”*

Like the other members of the garrison, William Barret Travis could hear echoes of the enemy’s joy in his entrenched camp. He drily noted it in a letter dated March 3, partly misinterpreting its cause: “I think it more than probable that Santa Anna is now in town, from the rejoicing we hear.”

"A most discordant band screamed national airs"<sup>307</sup> when General Santa Anna landed in Vera Cruz, in August, 1846, noted George F. Ruxton. We might suppose that the music played in Bexar to announce the arrival or recognize the presence of *El Presidente* was just as bad, if not worse.

306. La Peña wrote: “They were requested to take their knapsacks to make them believe this unworthy falsehood, which they so trusted that they started singing as they began their march.” *In La Peña*, José Enrique. *With Santa Anna in Texas*, *op. cit.*

307. Ruxton, George Frederick Augustus. *Adventures in Mexico & the Rocky Mountains*. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1848.

In fact, Santa Anna had arrived in San Antonio de Bexar days before, on the afternoon of February 22. The “rejoicing” Travis perceived on March 3 meant that a supplementary military force had reached the town. Enrique Esparza, then a child of eight, confirmed it in 1902 when he told a newspaperman:

One night there was music in the Mexican camp and the Mexican prisoner [captured by Esparza’s father] said it meant that reinforcements had arrived.<sup>308</sup>

In the military camp, music could have been provided by the *Cuatro*, a substitute of the *Vihuela* (guitar), so called because of its four groups of strings. Widely used by the poor of rural Mexico, its small size and lightness made it perfect to carry along on a long march.



*Indian playing a Cuatro*  
Mexico Historical Atlas, 1823  
France – Author’s collection.

In town, depending on the available musicians, string instruments such as the *Vihuela*, the *Jarana*, the *Huapanguera*, the *Requinto*, the guitar, the violin, the harp, etc. could have been used in addition to the *Cuatro*.

308. Interview with Enrique Esparza. *San Antonio Express*, November, 1902. Quoted in Groneman, Bill. *Eyewitness to the Alamo*, op. cit.



*The Harp Lesson, 1834*  
Drawing by Jacques Joseph Lecurieux (1801-1867)  
Engraved from the original by Blanchard  
France – Author's collection.

Whether it was a parlor instrument gracing a wealthy man's hacienda or a rustic folk implement in an Indian's shack, the harp was ubiquitous in Mexico and Texas. Mrs. Calderón, a classically-trained musician who traveled in Mexico three years after the Texas Revolution ended, wrote an interesting description of a harp played in Vera Cruz:

We returned to the house, and heard some ladies play upon a harp, so called, a small, light instrument in that form, but without pedals, so light, that they can lift it with one hand; and yet the music they bring from it is surprising; one air after another, a little monotonously, but with great ease and a certain execution, and with the additional merit of being self-taught.<sup>309</sup>

In San Antonio de Bexar, pleasure houses had probably reopened their doors a short while after the Mexican army's arrival. Captain Potter explained:

309. Calderón De La Barca, Frances. *Life In Mexico, op. cit.*

San Antonio had a Mexican population, a minority of which was well affected to the cause of Texas while the rest were inclined to make the easiest terms they could with whichever side might be for the time being dominant.<sup>310</sup>

Indeed, we may think that during the siege, parties of off-duty Mexican soldiers gathered in and around town to drink, gamble, and dance. It is logical to believe that these fiestas were diverse in nature, from rowdy *tertulias* or free-for-alls attended by low-ranking soldiers and ladies of ill repute, to genteel soirees hosted by wealthy Mexican sympathizers, similar to the one that Captain Basil Hall of the Royal Navy attended in Tepic, Mexico on an April night in 1824:

Across the upper end of a large room, and for some distance along the sides, were seated the ladies, about twenty in number, in a compact line, and glued, as it were, to the wall. Sometimes, in the course of the evening, a gentleman succeeded in obtaining a station among the ladies, but he was generally an intimate acquaintance, or a very determined stranger. In each corner of the room was placed a small stone table, on which stood a dingy tallow-candle, the feeble glimmer of which gave a dismal light to the room; but, by an incongruity characteristic of the country, the candlestick was large and handsome, and of massive silver. Behind the light, in a glass case, was displayed an image of the Virgin, dressed up as Nuestra Senora de Guadeloupe, the patron saint of Mexico, almost suffocated with a profusion of tawdry artificial flowers. The line of ladies on one side reached to the door, and, on the side opposite, to a table about half-way along the room, on which were placed wine and water—gentlemen's hats, and ladies' shawls. Against one of the corner tables there rested a guitar; and it seldom happened that there was not some person present ready to play a popular tune, or to accompany the ladies, many of whom sung very prettily. This occasional music went on without interrupting the conversation; indeed, the sound of the guitar, among the Spaniards, or their descendants, is so familiar, that it acts more as a stimulus, a sort of accompaniment to conversation, than as an interruption. At the farther end of the room was a card-table, where most of the gentlemen played at a game called *monté*.

It occurred to me during the evening, that if a parson were suddenly transported from England to this party, he might be much puzzled to

310. Potter, Reuben Marmaduke. "The Fall of the Alamo, a Reminiscence of the Revolution in Texas," *Texas Almanac*. Galveston: Richardson, Belo and Co, 1868.

say where he had got to... He could have no time to make minute remarks, and would scarcely notice the unevenly paved brick floor—the bare plastered walls—the naked beams of the roof, through which the tiles might be counted—indeed, the feebleness of the light would greatly perplex his observations. The elegant dresses, the handsome looks, and the lady-like appearance of the women, would naturally lead him to imagine he was in respectable company; but, when he discovered all the ladies smoking segars—and heard them laughing most obstreperously, and screaming out their observations, at the top of their voices, he would relapse into his former doubts; especially when he remarked the gentlemen in boots and cloaks, and some with their hats on. Neither would his ideas be cleared up by seeing the party at the other end of the room engaged in deep play, amidst a cloud of tobacco smoke. And were he now as suddenly transported back again to his own country, it might be difficult to persuade him, that he had been among an agreeable, amiable, and well-bred people—in the very first society—in the Grosvenor Square, in short, of the city of Tepic.<sup>311</sup>

Santa Anna's soldiers may also have been entertained by Maromeros (rope dancers and acrobats) like the ones explorer Zebulon Pike observed performing on the Plaza of San Antonio de Bexar when he passed through in June 1807:

In the evening we went to see some performers on the slack-rope, who were no wise extraordinary in their performances, except in language which would bring a blush on the cheek of the most abandoned of the female sex in the United States.<sup>312</sup>

William Bollaert, who witnessed a similar performance in San Antonio in September 1843, wrote:

In the evening I had the pleasure of going with Dona J. M——, one of the belles of San Antonio and the whole of her family to see the "Maromeros," or Provincial rope dancers and actors! The company consisted of a comical Payaso, or clown, three young men and one female. The performance was *al fresco* in the courtyard of a house in a public square. At the foot of the tight rope was made two large fires, this being the only illumination for actors and audience. The rope dancing

311. Hall, Basil. *Extracts from a journal, written on the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, in the years 1820, 1821, 1822*. Edinburgh: Constable, 1824.

312. Pike, Zebulon Montgomery. *Journal of a tour through the interior provinces of New Spain, in the year 1807 in Exploratory Travels through the Western Territories of North America*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1811.



over, tumbling commenced, this being finished, upon a rude stage, a comedy and two farces followed, the three pieces occupying about twenty minutes. I cannot speak favorably of the polite composition of the dramas represented; it was indeed very *low comedy*.<sup>313</sup>

## MUSIC, DANCES AND GALLANTRY WITH SANTA ANNA

In this whirl of pre-battle courting and gallantry, Santa Anna himself is said to have had his share of good fortune. His countenance reputedly reflected his character, betraying oily duplicity, treachery, avarice, and sensuality.

His well known character bears out the truth of the impress his vices have stamped upon his face. In person he is portly, and not devoid of a certain well bred bearing, which wins for him golden opinions from the surface-seeing fair sex, to whom he ever pays the most courtly attention.<sup>314</sup>

During an early skirmish with the Alamo defenders, Matamoros infantrymen had taken cover in La Villita, a small village south of the compound. There, they found the widow of a Mexican officer and her beautiful daughter who had not deserted their home. Santa Anna heard about the two women and arranged to have introductions made. Once again adopting a vile stratagem to obtain his purpose, he proposed marriage to the daughter. One of his staff officers impersonated a priest and performed the rites, and he had the bride safely tucked away in his quarters after the blasphemous ceremony.<sup>315</sup>

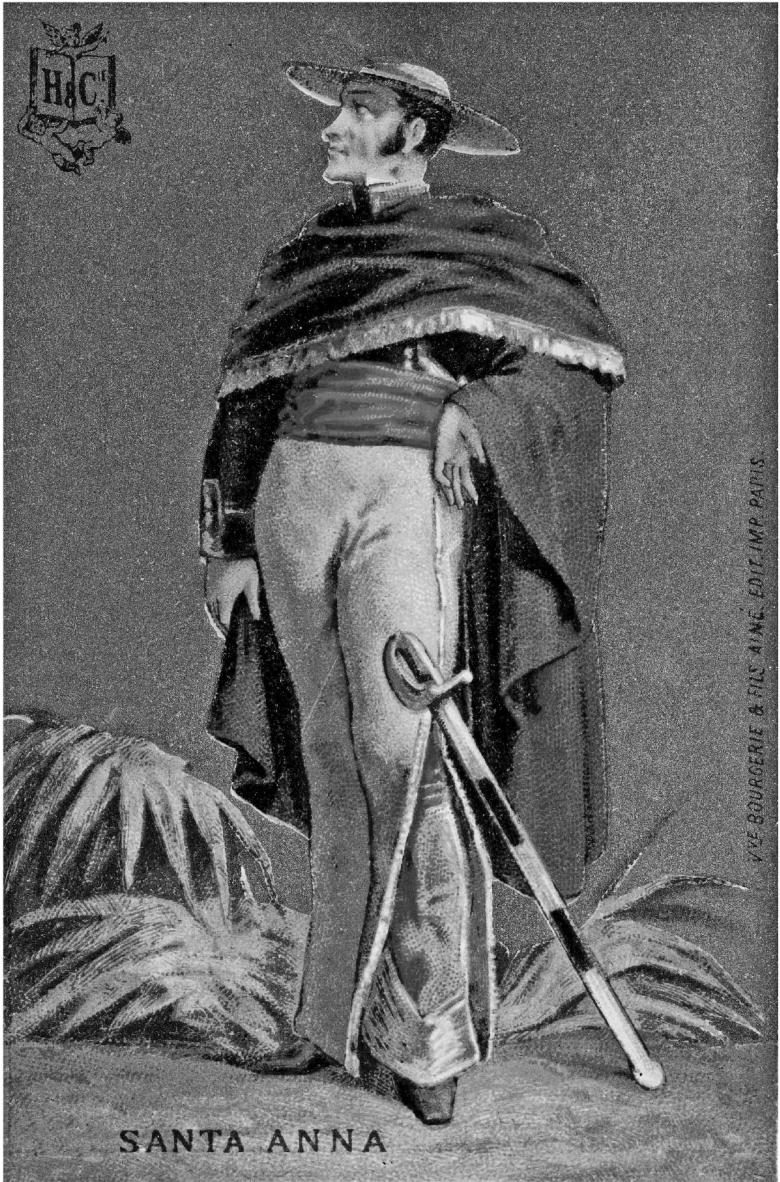
No doubt that the chief commander's mock wedding was followed by a joyous celebration. Zebulon Pike, welcomed by Governors Cordero and Herrera in their San Antonio quarters in 1807, remembered:

In the evening [Cordero's] levee was attended by a crowd of officers and priests, among whom were Father M<sup>c</sup>Guire and Dr. Zerbin. After

313. Hollon, Eugene W. (ed.). *William Bollaert's Texas*. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1956.

314. Ruxton, George Frederick Augustus. *Adventures in Mexico, op. cit.*

315. Langham, Robert. "Siege of the Alamo: Love and War in La Villita." Tyler: Blackfork Online, February 2011.



*Santa Anna*

Chromolithography

“Cours d’Histoire à l’usage des écoles” – Hachette et Cie, Paris, 1893

Author’s collection.

supper we went to the public square, where might be seen the two governors joined in a dance with people who in the daytime would approach them with reverence and awe.<sup>316</sup>

Mrs. Calderón remarked, as Santa Anna had just been restored to the head of the Mexican government:

The New president, "*on dit*, is turning his sword into a ploughshare. Preferring a country to a city life, nearly every Sunday he names the house in which he desires to be *fêted* the following week — now at the villa of Señor ——— at Tacubaya — now at the hacienda of Señor ——— at San Augustin. As yet the diplomatic corps do not attend these assemblies, not having been officially received; but we hear that there is singing and dancing, and other amusements, and that his excellency is extremely amiable and gallant."<sup>317</sup>

We may think that such parties shared similarities (at least partially) with the following one that Mrs. Calderón did attend in May 1840. It was held at "a large house in a wild-looking country, standing in solitary state, with hills behind, and rocks before it, and surrounded by great uncultivated plains and pasture-fields... about eighteen leagues from Mexico"<sup>318</sup>:

In the evening here, all assemble in a large hall; the Señora de —playing the piano; while the whole party, agents, dependientes, major-domo, coachmen, matadors, picadors, and women-servants, assemble and perform the dances of the country; *jarabes*, *aforrados*, *enanos*, *palomos*, *zapateros*, etc., etc. It must not be supposed that in this apparent mingling of ranks between masters and servants, there is the slightest want of respect on the part of the latter; on the contrary, they seem to exert themselves, as in duty bound, for the amusement of their master and his guests. There is nothing republican in it; no feeling of equality; as far as I have seen, that feeling does not exist here, except between people of the same rank. It is more like some remains of the feudal system, where the retainers sat at the same table with their chief, but below the salt. The dances are monotonous, with small steps and a great deal of shuffling, but the music is rather pretty, and some of the dancers were very graceful and agile; and if it were not invidious to make

316. Pike, Zebulon Montgomery. *Journal of a tour through the interior provinces of New Spain*, *op. cit.*

317. Calderón De La Barca, Frances. *Life In Mexico*, *op. cit.*

318. *Ibid.*

distinctions, we might particularize Bernardo the Matador, the head coachman, and a handsome peasant-girl, with a short scarlet and yellow petticoat, and a foot and ankle à la Vestris. They were all very quiet, but seemed in a state of intense enjoyment; and some of the men accompanied the dancers on the guitar.

First the player strikes up in quick time, and the dancer performs a quick movement; then the musician accompanies the music with his voice, and the dancer goes through some slow steps. Such is the case in the *Aforrado* or *Lining*, a curious *nom de tendresse*, expressive, I suppose, of something soft and well wadded. The words are as follow:

1.  
*Aforrado de mi vida!*  
*Come estás, como te va?*  
*Como has pasado la noche,*  
*No has tenido novedad?*

2.  
*Aforrado de mi vida!*  
*Yo te quisiera cantar,*  
*Pero mis ojos son tiernos,*  
*Y empazaran á llorar.*

3.  
*De Guadalajara vengo,*  
*Lideando con un soldado,*  
*Solo por venir a ver*  
*A mi jarabe aforrado.*

4.  
*Y vente conmigo,*  
*Y yo te daré*  
*Zapatos de raso*  
*Color de café.*

Of these poetical sublimities, a translation at once literal and metrical, would, we think, damp the spirit of a Coleridge.

1.  
Lining of my life!  
How are you? how do you do?  
How have you passed the night?  
Have you met with nothing new?

2.  
Lining of my life!  
To you I should like to sing;  
But that my eyes are weak,  
And tears might begin to spring.

3.  
From Guadalajara fighting,  
With a soldier I came on,  
My well-lined sweet syrup!  
I came to see you alone.

4.  
And come then with me,  
And I will give thee  
Such fine shoes of satin,  
The colour of tea.

It is *coff e*, but you will excuse the poetical licence. The music married to this "immortal verse," I have learned by ear, and shall send you. In the "*enanos*" (the dwarfs) the dancer *makes himself little*, every time the chorus is sung.

1.  
*Ah! que bonitos*  
*Son los enanos,*  
*Los chiquititos*  
*Y Mejicanos.*

2.  
*Sale la linda,*  
*Sale la fea,*  
*Sale el enano,*  
*Con su zalea.*

3.  
*Los enanitos*  
*Se enojaron,*  
*Porque a las enanas*  
*Les pellizcaron.*

There are many more verses, but I think you will find these quite satisfactory, "Ah! how pretty are the dwarfs, the little ones, the Mexicans! Out comes the pretty one, out comes the ugly one, out comes the dwarf with his jacket of skin. The little he-dwarfs were angry, because some one pinched the she-dwarfs." There is another called the

*Toro*, of which the words are not very interesting; and the *Zapatero*, or shoemaker, was very well danced by a gentleman who accompanied himself, at the same time, on the guitar.<sup>319</sup>

Perico

*Mexican Airs – Perico,*  
as written down by Frances Calderón.

El Afforado

*Mexican Airs – El Afforado,*  
as written down by Frances Calderón.

Jarave Palamo

*Mexican Airs – Jarave Palamo,*  
as written down by Frances Calderón.

Los Enanos

*Mexican Airs – Los Enanos,*  
as written down by Frances Calderón.

319. *Ibid.*

Supposing that General Santa Anna did not find time to be fêted by those Texas Mexicans who had retired to their farms and ranches, “apparently to idly observe the war” as Sam Houston bitterly remarked, he may simply have invited the ladies of San Antonio to a “día de campo” (a day in the country). Mrs. Calderón informs us that such events were a common form of amusement, “in which, without any peculiar arrangement or etiquette, a number of people go out to some country place in the environs, and spend the day in dancing, breakfasting, walking about, etc.”<sup>320</sup>

“We danced a great deal, quadrilles, waltzes and Spanish country-dances,” remembered Mrs. Calderón, describing the “día de campo” she was invited to at Tacubaya (Mexico) in February 1840. She added:

The music consisted of a band of guitars, from which the performers, common men, and probably self-taught, contrived to draw wonderfully good music, and, in the intervals of dancing, played airs from the *Straniera* and *Puritani*.<sup>321</sup>

The general may have offered musical concerts to what remained of the inhabitants of San Antonio de Bexar faithful to the Mexican cause. These performances could have been easily organized with “military bands of music, playing beautiful airs from the operas” like the two Mrs. Calderón heard at a bull-fight in Mexico City in January 1840.<sup>322</sup> Musicians might also have been present at cock-fights organized for El Presidente, “cock-fighting being a favourite recreation of Santa Anna’s,”<sup>323</sup> Mrs. Calderón notes.

Mexican dances provided easy and spontaneous entertainment to Santa Anna’s soldiers.

[These] dances resembled, in a slight degree, the *fandango* and *arabe* of Spain, but were more clumsy, and the pantomimic action less energetic and striking. Some of the dances were descriptive of the different trades

320. Sam Houston’s speech is quoted in Crisp, James E. *Sleuthing the Alamo*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

321. Calderón De La Barca, Frances. *Life In Mexico. op. cit.*

322. *Ibid.*

323. *Ibid.*

and professions. *El Zapatero*, the shoemaker; *el Sastroncito*, the little tailor; *el Espadero*, the swordsman, &c., were among those in the greatest demand; the guitar-players keeping time and accompanying themselves with their voices in descriptive songs.<sup>324</sup>

There were also Indian dances, judged by Mrs. Calderón to be "not ungraceful, but lazy and monotonous."<sup>325</sup>

Giacomo Constantino Beltrami, aware of the erotic power of these dances, wrote in *Le Mexique*, published in Paris in 1830:

Mexican women dance especially gracefully, for they do so without affectation, unlike the ladies of a certain fashionable land who lower their eyes, as if they were on their way to church, and never meet the gaze of their partner, as if they were going to give up men and enter a convent.<sup>326</sup>



*Bailando el Jarabe*  
Postcard, J.G. Hatton, Mexico, 1890s – Author' collection.

The sender wrote: "The Jarabe is a regional dance of Mexico, like for example the Minuet in France."

No dance, however, was mentioned more frequently by contemporary accounts than the *fandango*, another very old dance of Spanish origin.

324. *Ibid.*

325. Ruxton, George Frederick Augustus. *Adventures in Mexico*, *op. cit.*

326. Calderón De La Barca, Frances. *Life In Mexico*. *op. cit.*



The dancing could take place inside or out and was performed with the couple facing each other, hand elevated, tripping lightly a few steps forward, then a few backwards, and round and round.<sup>327</sup>

- Spanish Roots of the Fandango

I have waited until now to speak of the fandango in greater detail, because I believe that during the actual siege of the Alamo, all the non-Mexicans had been driven out of the town or into the Fort. The era of “mixed” dances, in which Anglo-Americans drank, gambled, fought, and danced alongside the Mexicans, had ended, giving way to a time of “genuine” Mexican fandangos.

On his way to Santa Fe in 1807, the American explorer and soldier Zebulon Pike halted at the village of Agua Caliente whose "population consisted of civilized Indians, but much mixed blood," and comprised about five hundred inhabitants.

Here we had a dance, which in general terms is called the fandango; but there was one which was copied from the Mexicans, and is now danced in the first societies of New Spain, and had even been introduced at the court of Madrid.<sup>328</sup>

Considering that many of Santa Anna’s soldiers came from the countryside and were of Indian origin, it is conceivable that the same type of peasant ball entertained the denizens of San Antonio de Bexar’s military camp. But the roots of the fandango lie in Spain.

First cited in writing in the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Spain, and commonly danced in nearly all of the country’s provinces, as well as Portugal, the Fandango could be performed by a single dancer, a gentleman and his lady, or as a square dance with four couples.

Father Marti, dean of the Alicante chapter, wrote of the Fandango in 1712:

327. Beltrami, Giacomo Constantino. *Le Mexique*. Paris: Crevot, 1830.

328. Hall, Basil. *Extracts from a journal, written on the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, op. cit.*



*A fandango, 1855*  
Steel Engraving by Casimiro Castro and Julian Campillo  
Mexico – Private collection.

You know the Cadiz dance, famous for so many centuries for its whimsical steps, and still performed today, in all the residential areas of the city, to the applause of everyone watching; it is not only a favorite pastime for Negresses and other women of little standing, but also among the most honest and well-bred women. The steps are danced sometimes by a man, sometimes by a woman, and sometimes by several couples. The dancers follow the tempo of the music with the slightest wiggling of their bodies.<sup>329</sup>

Casanova was also sufficiently impressed by the Fandango dancing he had seen at a costume ball in Madrid in 1767 to commit it to his diary:

Every man and his lady danced face to face, never doing more than three steps, rattling castanets in time to the music, and accompanying it with postures that were as lascivious as possible. The men's movements visibly symbolized successful love, and those of the women pantomimed consent, delight, ecstasy, and pleasure. To my eyes, it seemed that a woman could refuse nothing to a man with whom she had danced the *fandango*.<sup>330</sup>

329. Pike, Zebulon Montgomery. *Journal of a tour through the interior provinces of New Spain*, op. cit.

330. Quoted in Vuillier, Gaston. *La Danse*, Paris, Hachette, 1898.



*Voyage en Espagne*  
Steel engraving by Gustave Doré (1832-1883)  
France – Author's collection.

• II •

**SAN ANTONIO ROZE**





## Chapter 1

# ROSE'S METAMORPHOSES

### MOSES ROSE ACCORDING TO WILLIAM P. ZUBER

Much has been written about Moses Rose, the only man to leave the Alamo before Santa Anna's forces overwhelmed it. The first account of how he escaped by jumping over the wall during the final days of the siege was written by William P. Zuber, a member of the family who helped him soon afterwards.

Reproduced here are excerpts from some of Zuber's biographical assertions about Moses Rose, written decades after his anti-hero's death:

"An Escape from The Alamo," 1873:

Moses Rose, a native of France, was an early immigrant to Texas, and resided in Nacogdoches, where my father, Mr. Abraham Zuber, made his acquaintance in 1827. I believe that he never married... In 1830, I saw him several times at my father's residence, in what is now San Augustine County. He was then about forty-five years old, and spoke very broken English.<sup>1</sup>

1. Zuber, William Physick, and Zuber Mary Ann. "An Escape from The Alamo." Galveston: Texas Almanac, Richardson, Belo and Co, 1873. Reproduced in Hansen, Todd (ed.). *The Alamo Reader: A Study in History*. Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 2003.

Letter to General William Steele, 1877:

Moses Rose, in 1836, was, as I suppose, about fifty years old... He was a citizen of the town of Nacogdoches... Rose was, if I am not mistaken, but a poor scholar, if a scholar at all." <sup>2</sup>

"Biographies of Texas Veterans," circa 1890:

Moses Rose was a native of France; he had been a soldier in Napoleon's army in the invasion of Russia and the retreat from Moscow. He was one of the early settlers at Naco[g]doches, Texas, and that was his home, as long as he lived. Mr. Frost Thorn, of Nachitoches, Louisiana, generally kept four wagons running between the two towns, carrying cotton and other produce to Nachitoches and returning with goods for Nacogdoches. He arranged with settlers on the road to repair his wagons, and supply his teamsters with provi[n]der and provision's, on short credit. Rose's duty was to bear the money and to pay the debts thus contracted. At the same time, he carried the mail between the two towns on private contract, there being no Government mail on this route. Hence I infer that he was trustworthy. My father visited Texas in 1827, and became acquainted with Rose at Nacogdoches. He also knew him later, and he believed him to be an honest truthful man. I also knew him in what is now San Augustine County in 1830." <sup>3</sup>

"The Escape of Rose from the Alamo" 1901.

I must admit that, after years of reflection, I arrived at the opinion that in my first writing on this subject as published in Richardson's *Texas Almanac* for 1873 I erred in stating Rose's service in the French army; and I wish to explain how did so. My father was then afflicted with deafness, and was very liable to misunderstand many things that were told to him. Learning that Rose had served in Napoleon Bonaparte's army, he understood him to say that he had served under that general in Italy, as well as in Russia, and so I then stated; but my mother, whose hearing was unimpaired, did not hear him say that he had served in Italy, though she did hear him say that he had served in the invasion of Russia, and on the retreat from Moscow. On later reflection, I infer that my father was mistaken regarding the service in Italy. Remembering his habits, I now believe that Rose told him something which he had

2. "William Zuber, letter, 1877." Reproduced *in ibid.*

3. Zuber, William Physick. Undated manuscript [c. 1890?] *in* William P. Zuber Papers. Austin: Center for American History. Reproduced *in ibid.*

learned of the Italian campaign, and my father inferred that he had served in it also.”<sup>4</sup>

## STEPHEN, LEWIS, LOUIS, MOSES...

Long before the life of a Louis Rose of Nacogdoches had been documented by Robert B. Blake in the 1930's, elements of William P. Zuber's story about Moses Rose published in the Texas Almanac seem to have leaked into the Alamo stories with which Madam Candelaria (1785-1899) entertained her visitors. William Corner, who interviewed her in 1888, reported:

With reference to a man whom many regard as an imposter (sic) and of whom no one had ever gleaned anything authentic, Señora Candelaria said she could endorse him as another child of the Alamo. She remembers his frightened condition during the bombardment. 'He clutched her dress as children do,' trying to hide his face.”<sup>5</sup>

Another story about Rose Madam Candelaria offered years later is reported by a Mrs. Brown who visited Texas with her father and mother as a child. Fortunately for us, she recorded her memories in writing. I choose to reproduce them in full.

Grandfather had two brothers who fought in the Mexican War and afterwards were given land grants in Texas. Mother also had two uncles who were killed in the Battle of Saltillo.

When a young girl, I with my father and mother, visited the cemetery at Saltillo where they were buried. At that time my father had gone to Mexico to attend the dedication of the only Protestant church in the whole dominion of Mexico. It was the Baptist Church in Monterrey.

Also on that trip we met and talked with Señora Candelaria, the Mexican woman who was Bowie's nurse in the Alamo.

4. Zuber, William Physick. "The Escape of Rose from the Alamo." Austin: Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association, July 1901. Reproduced *in ibid.*

5. Corner, William (ed.). *San Antonio de Bexar, a Guide and History*. San Antonio: Bainbridge and Corner, 1890.



She was blind at that time and talked through an interpreter. She, with Mrs. Dickerson and a child and a German named Rose, were the only people to escape the bloody massacre in the garrison. When Travis drew a line across the floor and asked all who were willing to die fighting to cross the line, Rose was the only man who did not respond, saying he would like to try to escape. Travis gave him permission and he made his escape by dressing himself in a dead Mexican's clothes and as he spoke Spanish fluently, finally managed to scale the wall. After doing so he traveled all night through the dense prickly pear; and when he finally arrived in a farm house he was in great agony.

The family took him in and spent several days picking the thorns from his flesh, but after several days he took a fever and died there. Before dying, he made a statement of all that had transpired before the fall of the Alamo.

In this statement he said that a mine had been planted beneath the Alamo to be touched off when the Mexicans had rushed the building, and when the Americans had given up all hope of escape, Dickerson was detailed to set off the mine when he received the signal, but he was killed before the signal was given, so the mine was never set off. Each member of the family in whose home Rose died went before a Notary and testified to the exact statement he had made before dying.

This full statement of Rose, with the names of the family that tended him, was published in the old Texas Almanac in 1842 or 1844 and is the most authentic history we have of what really happened in the south upper story room of the Alamo before it fell."<sup>6</sup>

Note that in the document above, Rose has become a German, and he dies soon after his arrival at his benefactor's farm. These two assertions, to my knowledge, appear nowhere else and contradict Zuber's story, provided they were indeed printed in the Texas Almanac for 1842 or 1844—issues that unfortunately are missing from the Alamo's library.

6. Forty-five lines typed on two pages, given to Mr. Carlos Davila of Davila Engineering Co. of Oklahoma City by Mrs. Brown, a former employee, 10-15 years earlier, as stated in a handwritten note dated March 1994 and signed *Dorothy*.

Note. "ZUBER" was later added in script by an unknown hand above the typed words *The* and *family* in "The family took him in and spent several days picking the thorns from his flesh."

Courtesy of "Daughters of the Republic of Texas Library at the Alamo," San Antonio.



*Madam Candelaria*

Photo by Tomas Moro, 1898  
San Antonio – U.S.A.

From the collection of Michael J. Young.

## LOUIS "MOSES" ROSE ACCORDING TO ROBERT B. BLAKE

“For the first thirty-eight years of the twentieth century,” wrote Thomas Ricks Lindley, “William P. Zuber’s story of Moses Rose’s alleged escape from the Alamo was an unsubstantiated tale accepted by few historians.”<sup>7</sup> Then in 1939 “came a thunderbolt,” in Walter Lord’s own words<sup>8</sup>. Texas archivist Robert B. Blake had uncovered land grant statements from the Nacogdoches County Courthouse containing elements that seemed to verify Zuber’s story.<sup>9</sup> Because

Blake appears to have believed him, he assumed that a Stephen and a Lewis or Louis Rose who, in their day, had signed testimony about Alamo defenders to the Board of Land Commissioners, were but one and same old Frenchman whose real name was Louis Rose. According to Blake, it was the very Rose described in the *Texas Almanac for 1873*, “Moses” becoming a nickname given to him by the Alamo defenders for his great age, 50.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, had “Moses” been Rose’s real middle name, the French spelling “Moïse” would probably have been used on records, unless he was of German origin<sup>11</sup> as Mrs. Brown asserted in her letter.

7. Lindley, Thomas Ricks. *Alamo Traces*, *op.cit.*

8. Lord, Walter. *A Time to Stand*, *op. cit.*

9. Blake, Robert Bruce. “A Vindication of Rose and His Story,” in Dobie, J. Frank, Boatright, Mody C. and Ransom, Harry H. (ed.). *In the Shadow of History*. Detroit: Folklore Association, 1939.

10. Robert B. Moore, 55, was the oldest Alamo fighter at the time.

11. Could Moses Rose have been part of the community of German Jews who gathered in Nacogdoches between 1826 and 1836? See Rochlin, Harriet and Fred. *Pioneer Jews: New Life in the Far West*. Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000.

Be that as it may, here are large excerpts of Robert B. Blake's assumptions about Louis Rose's life as found in an undated typed manuscript<sup>12</sup>:

For sixty-seven years the account given by Rose of the last speech of Colonel Travis to his companions in the Alamo has been the storm center of criticism among Texas historians. No corroboration by survivors was possible, and after a time the more conservative historians began to regard the account as a figment of the imagination—some attributing it to the fertile imagination of William P. Zuber, others to the romancing of the old Frenchman.

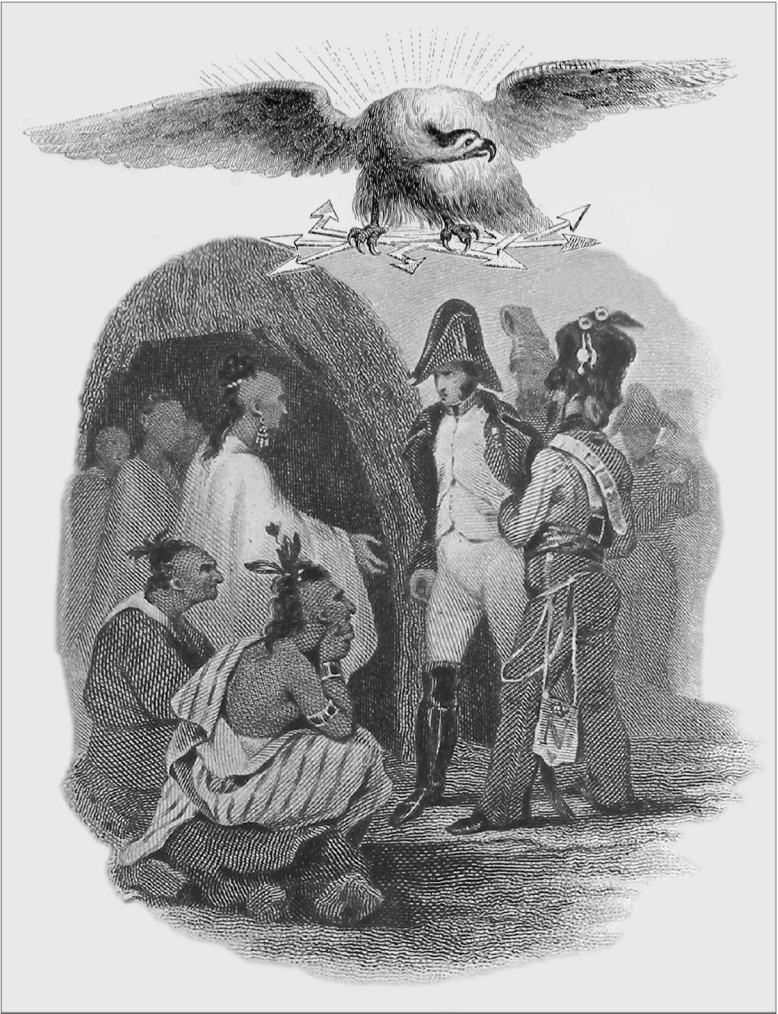
Rose was probably born in France<sup>13</sup> about 1785. He was an enthusiastic follower of the "Little Corporal" in his triumphant invasion of Russia; endured the hardships of the disastrous retreat from Moscow, through the snow and intense cold of the Russian winter of 1812; doubtless following the vicissitudes of Napoleon Bonaparte's career to its disastrous termination on the field of Waterloo. My surmise then is that Rose attached himself to the band of refugees under command of General Lallemand, seeking a home in the New World.<sup>14</sup> Instead of proceeding with Lallemand to the settlement on Trinity River, Rose probably came to Louisiana, remaining there until Haden Edwards recruited men in November, 1826, for the Fredonian Rebellion, when he came to Nacogdoches – 1826 being the date he came to Nacogdoches according to his own testimony.

After the Fredonian fiasco, Rose remained in the neighborhood of Nacogdoches, probably living the greater part of the time among the Mexican population until the Battle of Nacogdoches, on August 2nd, 1832, when Adolphus Sterne and James Carter became acquainted with him. Especial significance is attached to their statement that they became acquainted with Rose in 1832, because the little band of seventeen Texans who captured the entire Mexican garrison on August 3rd, 1832, was led by James Carter and piloted by Adolphus Sterne.

12. Blake, Robert B. "Documents from Nacogdoches County Records Relating to Moses (Louis) Rose." Undated typed manuscript [1940], in the Robert Bruce Blake Collection. Austin: Center for American History. [Excerpts]

13. Kellman, Steven G. "The Yellow Rose of Texas," *Journal of American Culture* 5, no. 2. Norfolk: Virginia Wesleyan College, 1982.

14. Note. Blake writes: "For corroboration of Zuber's statement that Louis Rose was a Frenchman, we must rely mainly upon tradition handed down here in Nacogdoches, that he was a Frenchman and spoke very broken English."



*Le Champ d'Asile* (General Lallemand's settlement in Texas)  
Steel engraving by Alfred Johannot (1800-1837)  
France – Author's collection.

Following the Battle of Nacogdoches, and his definite alignment with the American element there, Louis Rose became a more definite fixture in Nacogdoches County, or Department as it was then known. John Durst employed him in the operation of his saw-mill near the site of the Old Presidio, east of the Angelina River; and Frost Thorn at his saw-mill south of Nacogdoches. Soon after the departure of Thomas J. Rusk's company for the siege of Bexar, about the middle of September, 1835, the old roving "soldier of fortune" spirit was again aroused in Rose. October 7, 1835, he borrowed what money he could from Vicente Cordova, who was later to head the Cordova Rebellion,

pledging his household goods and personal belongings as security for the loan. Needing still more cash, he sold his Walke ranch west of the Angelina river to the same party, purchasing his necessary supplies, horse, etc., he left Nacogdoches during the latter part of October, 1835, headed for Bexar, probably in company with other volunteers from Nacogdoches.

During the tedium of the siege of Bexar, many of the volunteers from Nacogdoches returned to their homes, dissatisfied with the inaction; but Rose and many others remained until the capture of the city, when he and more than a score of other Nacogdoches volunteers were left with the garrison there, afterwards retiring to the Alamo upon the approach of Santa Anna's army.

Louis Rose was always ready to stay with his comrades as long as there was a chance of victory, but like the typical soldier of fortune, when the situation became absolutely hopeless, as disclosed by Travis to his men on March 3rd, 1836, he was ready to beat a retreat, as his hero had done in Moscow in 1812.

I feel it useless to follow Rose through the siege of the Alamo, his escape to the home of the Zubers near the Brazos, and on to Nacogdoches, where he arrived about the first of May, 1836; and will now undertake to relate some of the anecdotes and traditions of his later years.

Soon after the Revolution, Louis Rose operated a meat market, located about half a block east of the Old Stone Fort, facing the narrow street or alley, now known as Commerce Street. Across the alley was the old Mexican bull-pen, where bull-fights were held in the early days, enclosed with a high board fence. Mr. Sam Reid relates two incidents which occurred during the operation of that market, which are indicative of the temperament of Rose. Mr. Reid stated that one day John R. Clute, who had come to Nacogdoches from New York prior to the Revolution, and was a well-known character here following the Revolution, dropped into Rose's market to raise a rough house and complain of some unusually tough beef he had gotten there. Rose became enraged at Clute's complaint, turned around to get a loaded shot-gun hanging on the wall of the market, when his customer, seeing what Rose was reaching for, leaped for the street, vaulted the high fence around the bull-pen and disappeared before Rose could fire. Moses turned, placed the gun back on the rack and said, "Oh, well; he has gone; I will let him go." Mr. Reid further stated that he had on several occasions heard the acquaintances of Rose ask him: "Mose, why didn't you stay there in the Alamo with the others?" and his invariable reply was: 'By god, I wasn't ready to die.'

On another occasion described by Mr. Reid, when a customer was complaining of the toughness of his beef, he grabbed the man, seized a Bowie knife, sharp as a razor, lying on his cutting block, and drew it across the customer's stomach, cutting entirely through his clothing, though barely drawing blood from his body, and Rose told him, with an oath, 'If you come in here complaining again. I'll cut you half in two.'

Rose is described by those who knew him as being illiterate, and he always signed his name with his mark. Tradition states that he was of a restless, roving disposition; never remaining in one employment for very long at a time. During the early forties he is said to have left Nacogdoches, first going to Natchitoches, Louisiana, and finally drifting to the home of Aaron Ferguson, near Logansport, Louisiana.

Aaron Ferguson's daughter—the step-mother of Mr. R. L. Brown's mother, who married a man by the name of Walker—re-remembered Rose, seeing him many times on her visits to her father's home, after her marriage and removal to Harrison County, Texas, this daughter stated that the old man was a great deal of trouble during the latter years of his life, because of the chronic sores caused by the cactus thorns in his legs, picked up during his flight from the Alamo, as described by W. F. Zuber at a later date; and that for some time prior to his death, at the age of sixty-odd years, he was bed-ridden by reason of those chronic sores.<sup>15</sup>

## LIEUTENANT LOUIS ROSE, THE YELLOW ROSE OF TEXAS

In 1982, Steven G. Kellman, professor of comparative literature at the University of Texas at San Antonio, brought fresh grist to the mill by publishing a short study, "The Yellow Rose of Texas,"<sup>16</sup> in the *Journal of American Culture*. Kellman believed that the xeroxes of military documents he had obtained from the *Services Historiques de la Défense* in Vincennes, France, showed that "Moses, né Louis"<sup>17</sup> was Lieutenant Louis Rose (*sic*), born in Laferée, Ardennes, on May 11, 1785.

15 Note. There is no trace of any "Rose" in either the list of *Champ d'Asile* denizens put together by one of the survivors and published some years after the events, or in the index of a book about the other settlement of Imperial refugees, "La Vigne et l'Olivier," in Demopolis, Alabama.

16. Blake, Robert B. "Documents from Nacogdoches County Records Relating to Moses (Louis) Rose," *op. cit.*

17. Kellman, Steven G. "The Yellow Rose of Texas," *Journal of American Culture* 5, no. 2. Norfolk: Virginia Wesleyan College, 1982.

Two different first names – Stephen and Lewis or Louis <sup>18</sup> – plus a nickname, Moses – for the same man now explicitly identified by Professor Kellman as an officer in Napoleon’s army brought questions to my mind. My personal curiosity was all the keener because a Napoleonic veteran in my family, Capitaine Charles Gouget, had saved the life of a Lieutenant Louis Roze (note the different spelling) during the disastrous campaign of Spain. It is also important to note that my father René, Émile, Moïse (“Moses” in French) Dôle, was baptized “Moïse” in accordance with the wishes of his uncle Charles Dôle, whose godfather was Capitaine Gouget.

Could Lieutenant Louis Roze be the same Rose (emphasis added) who had been branded the “coward,” the “traitor of the Alamo,” or the “Yellow Rose” by some Texas historians? My quest for the truth soon began.



*Warrior Monks, Campaign of Spain*  
Drawing by Auguste Raffet (1804-1860)  
Engraved from the original by Bernard  
France – Author’s collection.

18. *Ibid.*



## TWO NAPOLEONIC OFFICERS

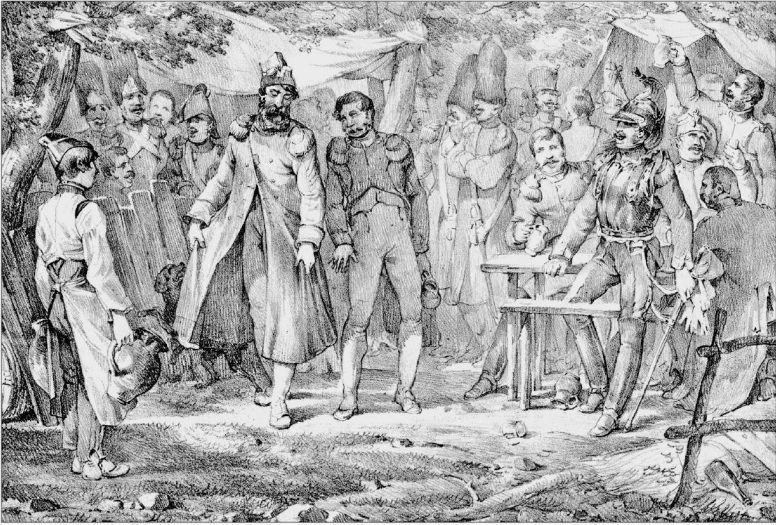
My father René Émile Moïse Dôle was born in 1902, in Dôle. His uncle and godfather, Charles Dôle, whom he remembered fondly, was a pious man and an avid Bible reader. He was nicknamed "Jésus-Christ" for his long red beard.

As a child, my father had loved listening to his Uncle Charles describe the exploits of his great-uncle, Capitaine Charles Gouget, who had spent a decade serving in the Napoleonic wars. He, in turn, passed the tales down to me. Often, he repeated a tragic, if somewhat grotesque story, dating back to the days of the disastrous Spain Campaign. It was about a pair of pants which almost cost its owner, a young infantryman named Louis Roze, his life. One night, as the dashing youth was serenading a noble Spanish girl at her balcony, a party of armed monks stole out from the dark. Brandishing knives, they shouted: "Kill him! He raped our Holy Sisters!" For Roze was clad in makeshift trousers cut from the thick grey sackcloth normally used for nuns' robes. He would undoubtedly have been butchered by the pious guerrilleros, had not Brigadier Gouget happened to be riding by. Although alone and recovering from a recent wound, he bravely drew his sword and galloped to rescue his fellow Frenchman, shouting orders at the same time, as if he were leading a cavalry squad. The bluff worked, and the monks disbanded after a short struggle with the supposed vanguard horseman.

Charles Gouget had helped Louis Roze escape from jeopardy dire. The two soldiers were the same age. They came from neighboring provinces in eastern France and comparable rural families. Instantly, they became friends. Moreover, like Marshal Ney, both played the flute fairly well, and were able to take full part in the rare opportunities for music and dancing offered by campaign life.

The one-hundred-and-fifty-year-old story of the birth of their friendship in a rescue from rabid Spanish monks still thrilled me when I was in my early teens, spending summers in Dôle with my father's elder sister, Tante Mathilde. She lived to the age of 103, and was kind enough to repeat the family legend occasionally, at my request.





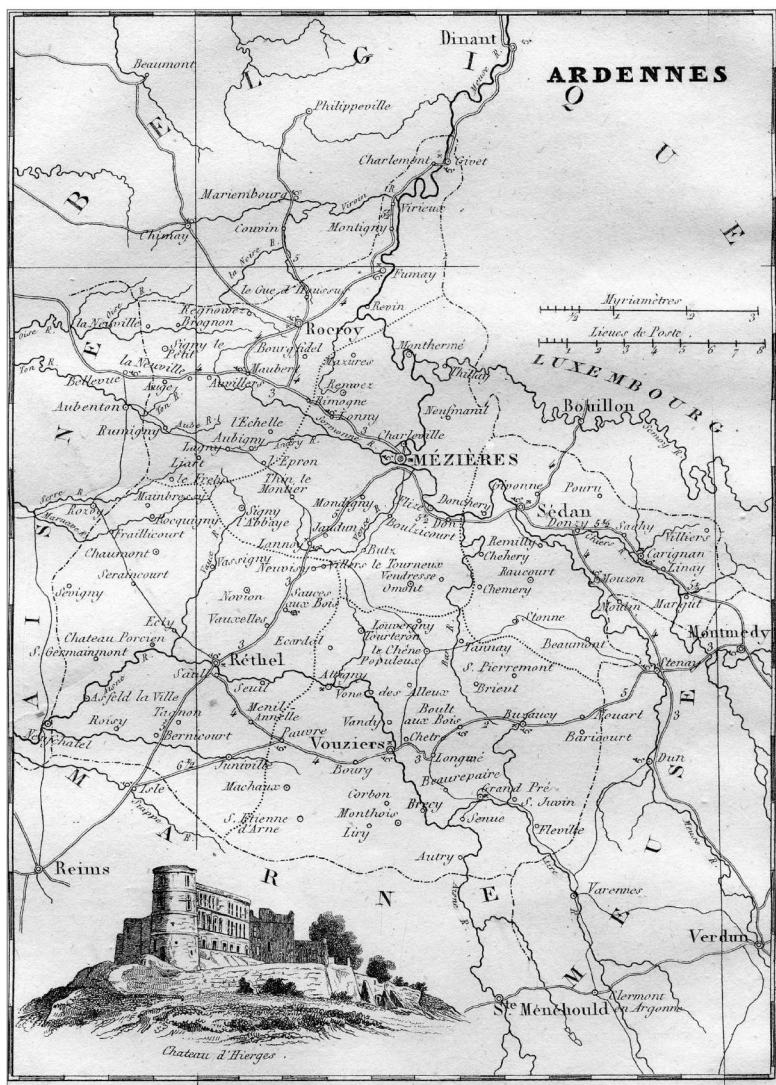
*Napoleon's soldiers on bivouac dancing the Minuet*  
Lithograph by François-Séraphin Delpech (1778-1825)  
France – Author's collection.

I was determined to find out exactly who this good friend of Capitaine Charles Gouget actually was. In order to retrace the life of Louis Roze, I consulted his military records at the French Archives Historiques de la Défense in Vincennes, as well as the dossier on his Légion d'Honneur at the Archives Nationales in Paris. At the same time, my assistant Stéphane Vielle went to work collecting and studying various official documents concerning him.

Upon completing this research, we understood that there had been a case of mistaken identity. There was no way Louis Roze, born in La Ferré, could have been the Louis Moses Rose of Nacogdoches and the Alamo, for a simple and obvious reason: the Louis Roze born in the Ardennes had never crossed the Atlantic.

I therefore invite you to become acquainted with the events in the life of Louis Roze, imperial officer and Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur. I am more grateful than words can express to Stéphane Vielle for her meticulous analysis of the large number of documents I collected, as well as for the establishment of the Roze genealogy.

## Chapter 2 THE REAL LOUIS ROZE



*Ardennes – La France pittoresque, Paris, 1835*  
France – Author's collection.

**ROZE: OFFICIER D'EMPIRE,  
CHEVALIER DE LA LÉGIION D'HONNEUR**



*Village of La Férée*  
**Louis Roze was baptized in this church**  
**Postcard, 1890s – France – Author's collection.**

Louis Roze was born on May 11, 1785 in La Férée (sometimes spelled Lafferée), in the département of Les Ardennes, canton of Rumigny, arrondissement of Rocroy. His birth was duly registered in the corresponding records.

Louis Roze was the son of:

Pierre Roze, who was born on April 28, 1735 in Luzoir (Aisne), and died on August 16, 1802 in Mont-Saint-Jean (Aisne), employed by the Royal Farms.

and

Marie Magdeleine Henaux, who died on December 10, 1800 in Hannape.

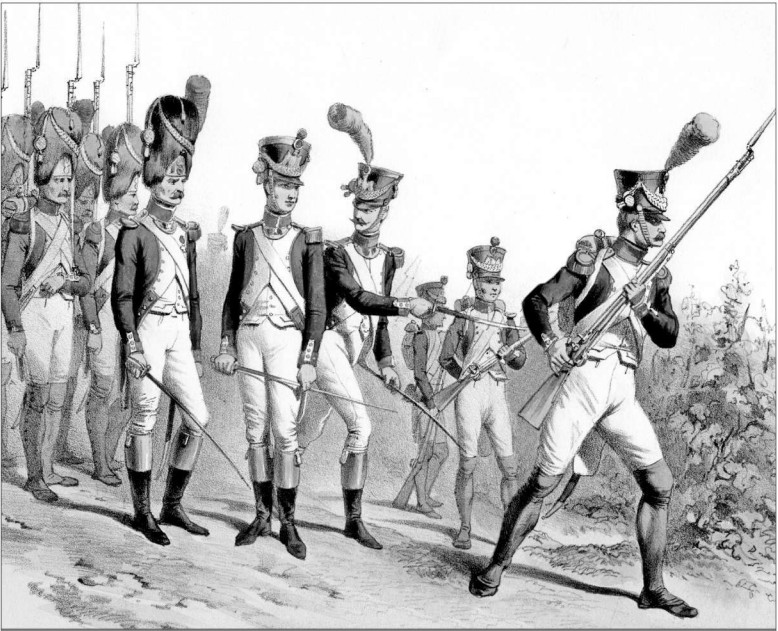
Louis Roze began his military career as a conscript in the Year 14 (1805), assigned to the 101e Régiment d'Infanterie de Ligne and appointed supply officer on January 21, 1807. He was then promoted to the rank of sergeant in 1809 and that of sergeant-major in 1810. In 1812, he was appointed warrant officer and then second lieutenant in

1813. Finally, he was discharged as a lieutenant by virtue of a certificate signed December 16, 1813.

Louis Roze was a valiant soldier who served in the campaigns of 1806, at Gaeta; those of 1807, 1808, 1809, and 1810 in the armies of Naples and the Tyrol; in 1811 and 1812 in the army of Portugal; in 1813 in that of Spain; and finally in 1814 in the Grand Army.

Louis Roze was named a Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur while serving as aide de camp to Général Montfort (certificate dated March 12, 1814). However, on this certificate, his name is misspelled "Rose." Fortunately, the error was corrected two years later by a "procès-verbal d'individualité" dated December 24, 1816 *"for the purposes of registering Members of the Ordre Royal de la Légion d'honneur on the new rolls and Official Lists."*

A distinguished soldier, Louis Roze was presented by his superiors throughout his career as a valiant officer. For example, the evaluations



*Infanterie de Ligne, 1806*  
Litograph by Alfred de Marbot (1812-1865)  
France – Author's collection.

*“very good judgment in every way,” “serving well, knowing how to obtain obedience, well built, and highly disciplined,”* issued by the major in command of his regiment enabled him to be promoted from warrant officer to second lieutenant. Later, the recommendation for promotion to lieutenant describes him as *“in possession of all the qualities and good conduct”*; *“this officer is highly disciplined and his devotion earns him his superiors’ respect.”* Brigadier General Baron Jacques de Montfort himself praised Roze abundantly, filing two requests that he be granted Louis Roze as aide de camp: *“I chose this officer because he has the qualities necessary for the task I require of him,”* duties Louis Roze carried out for six months.

In the registry of officers of the 101<sup>e</sup> Régiment d’Infanterie, Lieutenant Louis Roze was described as possessing the following physical characteristics: height 1m67 (about 5’6”), oval face, medium-sized mouth, round chin, light brown hair.

In 1815, the 101<sup>me</sup> Régiment was dissolved. Louis Roze was transferred to inactive status and granted a half-pension. Hoping to start a family, he requested permission to marry from the Army Staff. At the time, he was living in the village of Brunehamel, in the department of Aisne.

Permission was granted, and Roze was married on September 9, 1816 in Brunehamel (Aisne) to Julie Lucile Flamain, daughter of Louis Amateur Flamain and Marie Elisabeth Boulnois, born on April 23, 1796 in Brunehamel, died on April 4, 1877 in Braine (Aisne). The marriage certificate bears Roze’s honorific title (the Légion d’Honneur) and military rank (lieutenant).

The next year, being head of a family—his first son, Louis Jules, had been born on June 11, 1817—Louis Roze applied to the army for a retirement pension. As a result, on February 15, 1817, the Field Marshal in command of the department of Aisne, Vicomte Obert, addressed a report to the Retirement Pension Bureau of the War Ministry, suggesting that Louis Roze, who had been receiving a half-pension since July 1, 1815 (and would continue to do so until July 1, 1818), be granted a special retirement pension.





*L'Aisne*  
 La France: Atlas illustré par M. Vuillemin. Paris, 1848  
 France – Author's collection.



*Village of Brunehamel*  
 Louis Roze and Lucile Flamain were married in this church  
 Postcard, 1890s. – France – Author's collection.

However, on August 16, 1817, the War Ministry appointed Louis Roze Lieutenant in the 3<sup>e</sup> Bataillon de la Légion du Département du Finistère, 27<sup>e</sup> Régiment d'Infanterie, in Nantes.

This assignment put the officer in a difficult personal position, because upon marrying, he had acquired the office of tax collector in order to provide for the future of his family. If he were obligated to return to military service in this regiment, he would be forced to abandon his family, and they would be in financial distress. In a letter dated December 11, 1817, Louis Roze, residing in Brunehamel with his wife and son, reiterated his request. The status he was applying for must *“enable him to serve the office as tax collector, acquired with his wife’s dowry, counting on this compensation for his services”* (the retirement pension). Nevertheless, he was willing to submit to orders as a loyal soldier of the King, remarking that *“if I cannot obtain it (the retirement pension), I am ready to make every sacrifice patiently, for my king and country, to whom my arm is still devoted, as it is inseparable from the cause of every good Frenchman, and I await the orders that will be given to me.”*

The War Ministry again refused his request, and in a letter dated February 16, 1818, *“enjoins him to be ready to join the legion to which he belongs.”*

Faced with a finicky military administration, Army Inspector Mazel petitioned them again, adding a letter of recommendation specifying that *“his return to civilian life having been employed in acquiring the position he now occupies to support his wife and family, they would be devoid of resources for subsistence if he were forced to return to active military service (in the 3<sup>e</sup> bataillon de La Légion).”* By 1818, Louis Roze was a veteran of twelve years, three months, and six days of services, deducting interruptions and not including the campaigns.

At the end of this difficult administrative procedure, Roze was finally granted the special pension for five years, starting on July 1, 1818 and ending on June 30, 1823, while he lived in Festieux. His *“550-franc half-salary is converted to a special pension of the same amount starting on July 1, 1818.”*



*Town of Festieux*

**Louis Roze lived with his family in a similar dwelling  
Postcard, 1890s. – France – Author's collection.**

He exercised his office as tax collector in Braine and Paars, where two more children were born: Hector Eugène, in 1820 (died in 1821) and Charles Emile, in 1825.

To any observer, the foregoing constitutes circumstantial proof that Louis Roze, a married man with children to raise, and the holder of a government office, had absolutely no reason to abandon the life he had made for himself to embark on an adventure in America.

Now, let us examine the irrefutable proof that Louis Roze could not have been physically present in Texas on the date of the battle.

Sifting through and scrutinizing the official records and documents of the various towns where Louis Roze resided, Stéphane Vielle finally did indeed discover two documents mentioning his name as a witness to various events in civilian life which occurred during the period that interests us. On June 5, 1833, Louis Roze acted as a witness to the christening of the daughter of Paul Masure, notary in the town of Braine. A few years later, on August 30, 1837, he was one of the witnesses on the death certificate of the wife of Paul Masure, then named as a former notary.

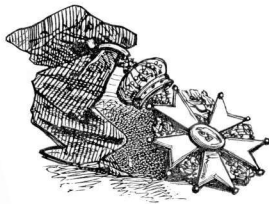




*Town of Braine – 15<sup>th</sup>-century homes*  
**Louis Roze acted as tax collector and died in this small town**  
**Postcard, 1890s. – France – Author’s collection.**

Louis Roze died on May 25, 1851 in Braine, and the certificate was signed and witnessed by his friend Paul Masure. The document again mentions that Roze was a Chevalier de la Légion d’Honneur and native of Laferrée.

We shall therefore conclude this study with the formal assertion that Louis Roze (misspelled “Rose” by Dr. Kellman,) son of Pierre Roze and Marie Magdeleine Henaux, born May 11, 1785 à La Férée, never set foot in Texas or at the Alamo.





Registre n° 2

101<sup>ème</sup> Régiment  
82<sup>ème</sup> Régiment en 1814.

redésigné 101<sup>ème</sup> Régiment en 1815.

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Registre

des

Services des Officiers

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3<sup>ème</sup> Volume

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1812-1815.

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LR 3 - Title page, Service Record of the Officers of the 101st Régiment, volume 3.

R  
T A B L E.

| NUMEROS<br>des<br>Pages. | NOMS ET PRÉNOMS.              | NUMEROS<br>des<br>Pages. | N <sup>o</sup> des<br>Hommes. | NOMS ET PRÉNOMS. | NUMEROS<br>des<br>Pages. |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|
|                          | R                             |                          |                               | R                |                          |
|                          | Hausselet Major               | 2.                       |                               |                  |                          |
|                          | Hochbrune capit. <sup>e</sup> | 3.                       |                               |                  |                          |
|                          | Hicour cap. <sup>e</sup>      | 21.                      |                               |                  |                          |
|                          | Hosignoli St                  | 70.                      |                               |                  |                          |
|                          | Hortaud (Andr <sup>e</sup> )  | 120.                     |                               |                  |                          |
|                          | Hocagel adrien                | 141.                     |                               |                  |                          |
|                          | Rigolos aut. <sup>e</sup>     | 148- <sup>vi</sup>       |                               |                  |                          |
|                          | Robillard Jean michel         | 167                      |                               |                  |                          |
|                          | Raux Jean nicolas             | 190                      |                               |                  |                          |
|                          | Roze Louis                    | 192                      |                               |                  |                          |
|                          | Riviere Jean                  | 236                      |                               |                  |                          |
|                          | Rivel antoine                 | 339                      |                               |                  |                          |
|                          | Roussel Auguste               | 331                      |                               |                  |                          |
|                          | Roussel                       | 328                      |                               |                  |                          |
|                          | Roubillard, F. mine           | 325                      |                               |                  |                          |
|                          | Roult M. Hippolyte            | 307                      |                               |                  |                          |
|                          | Roch antoine                  | 308.                     |                               |                  |                          |
|                          | Rouille (spechtbaum)          | 314                      |                               |                  |                          |
|                          | Ricard Auguste                | 102                      |                               |                  |                          |
|                          | Roux Joseph                   | 147                      |                               |                  |                          |
|                          | Rouil Louis cédès             | 151                      |                               |                  |                          |
|                          | Rose Jean St                  | 160                      |                               |                  |                          |

LR 4 - Page from the Service Record of the Officers of the 101st Régiment;  
Roze's name is in 10th position.

| NUMÉROS D'ENREGISTREMENT<br>ET SIGNALEMENTS<br>des<br>SOUS-OFFICIERS ET SOLDATS.  | D A T E S<br>de l'arrivée au Corps des Recrues<br>LEUR QUALITÉ,<br>LEUR DERNIER DOMICILE,<br>ET LEUR PROFESSION.   | NUMÉROS<br>des<br>BATAILLONS<br>ou<br>Escadrons,<br>ou des<br>Compagnies. | GRADES<br>et<br>DATES TERMINATIONS<br>à ces grades:<br>ACTIONS D'ÉCLAT,<br>et<br>BREVETS D'HONNEUR.  | D A T E S ET MOTIFS<br>DE SORTIE DU CORPS.<br>DÉCÈS.<br>SERVICES ANTERIEURS.<br>BLESSURES,<br>ET CAMPAGNES DE GUERRE.  |
|---|--|---|--|--|
| N° 147.<br>(nom)<br>Roze<br>et<br>de Roze<br>à la Roche<br>canton de Bannay<br>département d'Alger<br>ville d'un autre d'Alger<br>viage de front<br>cheveux<br>particularités | Arrivé au Corps le 25 Mars 1806.<br>enrôlé volontaire<br>incorporé, venant d'Alger<br>conscrit de l'an 10.<br>remplaçant un conscrit de l'an 10<br>du département d'Alger<br>compris sur la liste de désignation du canton de Bannay sous le N° 10.<br>son dernier domicile était à Montebello<br>département de l'Algérie<br>profession Cultivateur | 1er Bataillon<br>Volontaire<br>1er Comp.<br>1er Bataillon<br>1er Comp.    | 1er Bataillon le 11.<br>Janvier 1807.<br>1er Bataillon le 11.<br>Janvier 1807.<br>1er Bataillon le 11.<br>Janvier 1807.<br>1er Bataillon le 11.<br>Janvier 1807. | 1er Bataillon le 11.<br>Janvier 1807.<br>1er Bataillon le 11.<br>Janvier 1807.<br>1er Bataillon le 11.<br>Janvier 1807.<br>1er Bataillon le 11.<br>Janvier 1807. |

LR 5 - Page 275 of the Service Record, volume 3, with information on Roze.

**NOTICE pour servir à l'historique du Corps.**

(10)

Le Régiment fut levé par le Roi le 25 Mars 1806 au 7. a été organisé à Besançon le 25 Mars an 7.

Il a été formé au moyen de 2 Bataillons levés de 58 et 80. Le Régiment se composa de 20. 1/2 Bataillon levés, des Compagnies de l'an 7 des Bataillons de la Vienne et de Doubs et de Belfort levés de près de Strasbourg et de Phalsbourg.

En l'an 8. il a reçu les Compagnies des départements de la Vienne.

Le 2. pluviôse an 8. il a été à la bataille de Bataillon auxiliaire de la Haute Marne.

En l'an 9. il a reçu les Compagnies de la Haute Vienne.

En l'an 10. Il est à Besançon.

En l'an 11. Il est au département de l'Yonne, levés des ans 10. 11. & 12.

En l'an 12. Il est au département de l'Yonne levés des ans 10. 11. & 12.

En l'an 13. Il est au département de l'Yonne levés des ans 10. 11. 12. & 13.

En l'an 14. 1806 Il est au département de l'Yonne levés des ans 10. 11. 12. 13. & 1806.

En 1806. Il est au département de la Moselle levés de 1806.

En 1807. Il est au département de l'Yonne levés de 1807.

En 1808. Il est au département de la Moselle levés de 1808. & 1809 et 3 ans de service -

En 1809. Il est au département de l'Yonne levés de 1809.

Le Régiment est parti de Besançon le 25 Mars an 7. pour se joindre à l'armée en Alsace ou plus tard le 1er Germinal même année.

Il a fait les Campagnes des ans 7. 8. & 9. aux armées de l'Alpe, de Belfort et de Hollande, celles de Vendémiaire an 11 et l'an 11 à l'armée d'Italie et 8. corps de la Grande armée. l'Armée de Naples.

Il a pris part aux Batailles de Biberach et de Stockach le 13 et 14. févral an 8. De Marengo le 25. prairial. même année et de Caldiero. le 8. brumaire an 11.

Il a fait les sièges de Kehl et de Gaeta.



NOTICE pour servir à l'historique du Corps.

Le 82<sup>e</sup> régiment a été organisé à Coulon le premier mois 1814  
en vertu de l'arrêté du Roi du 12 mai 1814.

Il a été formé du 10<sup>e</sup> Régiment de ligne, du 1<sup>er</sup> bataillon du 116<sup>e</sup>  
régiment de ligne, du premier bataillon du 8<sup>e</sup> Régiment de travailleurs  
de la Grande garde, du détachement de recrutement du 117<sup>e</sup> régiment  
de ligne.

Il a reçu en décembre 1814 & janvier 1815 les soldats rappelés des  
dépâtements des Basses Alpes, de l'Arpèyon & du Gard.

Les 1<sup>er</sup> & 2<sup>e</sup> bataillons de guerre sont partis de Coulon le 21  
Avril 1815, pour se rendre à l'armée du Rhin, ils ont été bloqués pendant  
la campagne de 1815, dans le place de Truffvriac & s'élevèrent  
qui ils ont été licenciés le 11 septembre, en vertu de l'arrêté du Roi  
du 3<sup>e</sup> Mars 1815.

Le régiment a repris le 1<sup>er</sup> Corps en mai 1815.

Le 2<sup>e</sup> bataillon est parti de Coulon le 2<sup>e</sup> May pour se rendre à Orléans  
où il est arrivé le 17<sup>e</sup> Juin suivant; il est parti de cette dernière ville  
le 29 Juin & s'est rendu à Chambray-le-Vieil, dans le 2<sup>e</sup> département  
de deux jours, & il a été licencié à Tours le 27 septembre  
1815.

LR 6, 7, and 8 - Notes on the history  
of the 101st Régiment d'Infanterie de Ligne.





N<sup>o</sup>. Régiment

Mémoire De proposition a un Emploi De sous Lieutenant  
 vacant au régiment en faveur de M. Roze (voir) ci-joint & son  
 affiché, le 11 mai 1813. à l'Office de département Des Ardennes

| Proposition   | Detail Des services et Campagnes   |
|---|--|
| <p><sup>Augulle</sup><br/>                 M<sup>o</sup>. <del>Roze</del> <sup>Roze</sup> sous lieutenant<br/>                 actuellement en promotion au<br/>                 grade de lieutenant en remplacement<br/>                 de M<sup>o</sup>. <del>Roze</del> <sup>Roze</sup> Capitaine</p>   | <p>Admis au 101<sup>o</sup> Régiment le 23 mars 1806.<br/>                 fourrier le 21 Janvier 1807.<br/>                 Sergent le 1<sup>o</sup> Décembre 1809.<br/>                 Sergent major le 1<sup>o</sup> Janvier 1810.<br/>                 adjudant le 26 août 1810.<br/>                 a fait la Campagne de 1806, 1807,<br/>                 1808, 1809 et 1810, l'armée de Naples<br/>                 et en 1811, et 1812 à celle d'Espagne<br/>                 est entré au siège de Gaites en 1806.<br/>                 Certificat pour être membre Du<br/>                 Conseil d'administration, le present chef<br/>                 de Service<br/>                 au Régiment de Major Liraos le<br/>                 avant de Sahamangue le 19 Mars 1812.</p> |
| <p>Je propose<br/>                 M<sup>o</sup>. Roze adjudant sous officier,<br/>                 servait bien, sachant se faire<br/>                 obéir, est d'un bon caractère<br/>                 bonne tenue et d'une excellente<br/>                 conduite, mérite le plus que<br/>                 je puisse lui faire.<br/>                 Le Major Commandant le<br/>                 régiment D'Harien</p> | <p>Le Major Commandant<br/>                 le chef de son<br/>                 D'Harien<br/>                 D'Harien<br/>                 D'Harien<br/>                 D'Harien<br/>                 D'Harien</p>   |
| <p>J'approuve la proposition ci dessus et<br/>                 supplie son Excellence le<br/>                 Ministre de la guerre de remplir<br/>                 cet emploi selon son désir.<br/>                 M<sup>o</sup>. le Major<br/>                 le général de brigade<br/>                 Baron Meun</p>   | <p>Le 1<sup>o</sup> Février 1813.<br/>                 N<sup>o</sup> 113</p>   |

**LR 10** - Memorandum recommending Warrant Officer Roze for promotion to the rank of second lieutenant: "Mr. Roze, serving well, knowing how to obtain obedience, well built, highly disciplined, and whose conduct is excellent, deserves the position I am soliciting for him," (opinion of the Major d'Harien, regimental commander). "I approve of the above proposal, and beg His Excellency the War Minister to fill this position according to the wishes of the Major." (opinion of Brigadier General Baron Meun)  
 Annotation at the bottom of the page:  
 Appointed second lieutenant by decree on February 5, 1813.



Extrait des Registres de Naissances de la  
Commune de La Férée

2

L'an de Grace mil sept cent quatrevingt cinq le  
onze de mai j'ai signé Jean Baptiste Léon Notaire public  
au diocèse de Laon & de Soissons, au Bailliage de Laon & de Soissons  
avec de Comencay accouchés, le fils de Pierre Roze employé dans  
le ferme, au village de Laferrière, & de Marie Heneaux son père  
de mère mariés habitants de cette paroisse sus susdite  
au quel on a porté le nom de Louis le garçon a été Louis Doyent  
La Bourne, & la marraine Jeanne Marguerite Heneaux femme de  
Grand teneur de Longpaul du côté maternel habitants de cette paroisse  
qui ont signé avec moi le jour sus dit & en présence de  
Doyent J. M. Heneaux

Département  
des  
Ardennes  
Commune  
de La Férée



Certifié par moi adjoint de Soissons en Laffreres du main  
de present Extrait si dessus véritable, fait a Soissons le  
dernier jour Complémentaire de L'an onze de La République  
françoise.

Baré  
adjoint

Vu pour légalisation pour le  
jour de l'effet de son arrondissement de  
arrondissement de Soissons



LR 11 - Excerpt from the birth register of the municipality of La Férée, certifying the birth of Louis Roze, son of Pierre Roze and Marie Heneaux, on May 11, 1785. Signed by deputy mayor Baré on September 17, 1803.

1.<sup>er</sup> Bataillon du 101.<sup>er</sup> Régiment.

Mémoire de Proposition d'un Emploi de Lieutenant en faveur De Monsieur Roze Lieutenant d.

| Proposition   | Services & Campagnes.   |
|---|---|
| <p>M.<sup>r</sup> Guyon ayant été nommé Capitaine -<br/>Adjudant Major au 1.<sup>er</sup> Régiment d'Infanterie Légère</p>                          | <p>N.<sup>o</sup> à la guerre (Médaille) le 11. mai 1808.<br/>Jubilé au 101.<sup>er</sup> Régiment le 31. mai 1806.</p>   |
| <p>J'ai l'honneur de proposer pour le rang de Lieutenant</p>  | <p>Jeune le 29 Janvier ..... 1807.<br/>Jeune le 1.<sup>er</sup> Décembre ..... 1809.</p>  |
| <p>M.<sup>r</sup> Roze, Lieut. Lieutenant ayant tenu les qualités de Lieutenant et une bonne conduite.</p>  | <p>Jeune Major le 1.<sup>er</sup> Janvier ..... 1810.<br/>Jeune Capitaine le 26. Juin ..... 1812.<br/>Jeune Lieutenant le 1.<sup>er</sup> Janvier ..... 1813.</p> |
| <p>Et officier de 1.<sup>er</sup> Classe en vertu de son Mérite par sa bonne tenue, l'obéissance, la fidélité et l'activité dans ses fonctions.</p> | <p>Et fait des campagnes des 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809 et 1810 à l'Armée de Naples, de l'Armée de 1811, 1812 et 1813 à l'Armée d'Espagne.</p>                        |
| <p>Le chef d'Etat Major du 101.<sup>er</sup> Régiment</p>   | <p>S'est trouvé en France de Juin 1806.</p>   |
| <p><i>Perot</i></p>   | <p>Certifié par nous Membres du Comité d'Administration le Président -</p>  |
| <p>Proposant la proposition et nommé provisoirement le 16. Décembre 1813.</p>   | <p>Le 29 Janvier 1814</p>   |
| <p>M.<sup>r</sup> Duc de Dalmatie</p>   | <p>Le 29 Janvier 1814</p>   |
| <p>Confirmer dans le grade de Lieutenant par décret du 29 Janvier 1814 par son rang du 16. Décembre 1813.</p>                                       | <p><i>Perot</i></p>   |
| <p><i>Perot</i></p>   | <p>Simement</p>   |

LR 12 - Memorandum recommending Warrant Officer Roze for promotion to the rank of lieutenant: "Mr. Roze is in possession of all the qualities and good conduct. This officer is highly disciplined, and his good service deserves the respect of his superiors." The promotion is confirmed in the lower left-hand corner: "Recommendation approved, provisionally appointed December 16, 1813." (signed by the Imperial Marshal, the Duke of Dalmatia) Annotation in the margin: "confirmed in the rank of lieutenant by decree on January 29, 1814 to have held rank since December 16, 1813."

| <i>Roze Louis sous lieutenant</i>    |  |                       |              |             | <i>192</i>  |   |
|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------|--------------|-------------|---|---|
| NOMS<br>DE BAPTÊME<br>ET DE FAMILLE. | DÉTAIL DES SERVICES.   | DATES.                |              |             | CAMPAGNES<br>ET<br>BLESSURES.   | NOMINATION<br>dans un autre CORPS,<br>RETRAITE ou MORT.   |
|                                      |  | Jours.                | Mois.        | Années.     |   |   |
| <i>Roze<br/>Louis</i>                | <i>Né à Lafrière, département<br/>des Ardennes le</i>                      | <i>11</i>             | <i>mai</i>   | <i>1785</i> | <i>a fait les campagnes suédoise<br/>des ans 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809 et 1810</i> | <i>activité le 1<sup>er</sup> août<br/>1814, rattrapé en<br/>mai 1805 &amp;<br/>décembre 1809</i> |
|                                      | <i>Soldat au 101<sup>er</sup> régiment le</i>                              | <i>25</i>             | <i>mars</i>  | <i>1806</i> |   |   |
|                                      | <i>Caporal fourrier le</i>   | <i>24</i>             | <i>juin</i>  | <i>1807</i> | <i>à la suite de sa blessure</i>  |   |
|                                      | <i>Sergent le</i>  | <i>1<sup>er</sup></i> | <i>sept.</i> | <i>1809</i> | <i>1811 et 1812 à celle<br/>de Portugal 1808</i>                                | <i>70e 1805</i>   |
|                                      | <i>Sergent major le</i>  | <i>1<sup>er</sup></i> | <i>juin</i>  | <i>1810</i> |   |   |
|                                      | <i>Ajouté sous officier le</i>   | <i>26</i>             | <i>avril</i> | <i>1812</i> | <i>en Espagne et 1814 le<br/>grande armée et le<br/>au siège de Gironne</i>     | <i>10<sup>e</sup> régiment d'au<br/>le 2<sup>o</sup> de<br/>Paris</i>                             |
|                                      | <i>Sous lieutenant par décret du<br/>M. le Maréchal Duc de Dalmatie le</i> | <i>5</i>              | <i>fév.</i>  | <i>1813</i> |   |   |
|                                      | <i>Confirmé par décret du<br/>Membre de la légion d'honneur le</i>         | <i>16</i>             | <i>juin</i>  | <i>1815</i> |   |   |
|                                      | <i>29</i>  | <i>janv.</i>          | <i>1816</i>  |             |   |   |
|                                      | <i>12</i>  | <i>mar.</i>           | <i>1814</i>  |             |   |   |

| OBSERVATIONS. |  | DATES. |       |         |
|---------------|--|--------|-------|---------|
|               |  | Jours. | Mois. | Années. |
|               |  |        |       |         |

LR 13 - Page from the record listing second lieutenant Roze's ranks and campaigns.

2<sup>e</sup> Division  
Etat Major  
M. Roze (Caid) lieutenant au  
101<sup>e</sup> rég<sup>t</sup> de ligne  
Demande pour Aide de camp.

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

LR 14 - Cover of General Montfort's dossier requesting Louis Roze as aide de camp.

ministère de la guerre  
 Bureau des  
 Etats-majors

Brevets, Le premier Janvier 1814.

212  
 13 J. 15

A Monsieur le  
 Conseiller

Monsieur Lagier mon aide de camp, ayant reçu le  
 le-ordre de Votre Excellence, rejoint le 82<sup>e</sup> Régiment,  
 dans lequel il avait été nommé Capitaine; J'ai l'honneur  
 de vous prier, de vouloir bien m'accorder pour le remplacer,  
 Monsieur Roche, Lieutenant au premier Bataillon du  
 101<sup>em</sup> Régiment.

J'ai l'honneur d'être

De Votre Excellence

Cet officier n'est  
 point encore confirmé dans  
 le grade de Lieutenant  
 Bailleur M. r. Lagier  
 vient de son rezouard  
 aide de Camp du Général  
 Montfort.

Le très humble et très respectueux  
 serviteur  
 D<sup>u</sup> G<sup>énéral</sup> M<sup>ontfort</sup>  
 7<sup>me</sup> D<sup>iv</sup> 7<sup>me</sup> D<sup>iv</sup> 7<sup>me</sup> Division  
 Armée d'Espagne

LR 15 - Letter dated January 1, 1814, from General Montfort, brigadier general, 7<sup>th</sup> division of the army of Spain. He requests Roze be appointed his aide de camp.

Annotation in the margin: "this officer has yet to be confirmed in the rank of lieutenant; besides, Lagier has just been reappointed General Montfort's aide de camp."

Ministère de la guerre  
Bureau de L'Etat-major

Provins le 10 Mars 1814

Monsieur

J'ai l'honneur de réiterer à votre Excellence  
la demande que j'ai faite le premier  
Janvier dernier, de m'accorder Monsieur  
Kosse (Soud) Lieutenant au premier  
Bataillon du 101<sup>e</sup> Régiment de ligne  
pour aide de camp. J'ai fait choix de  
cet officier, parcequ'il possède les  
qualités nécessaires à l'emploi que je  
demande pour lui.

J'ai l'honneur d'être  
de votre Excellence

le très humble & obéissant  
& respectueux Serviteur

Genl MONTFORT

Genl de Brigade  
Genl de  
Genl de

or 1837  
Kosse  
17 mars

LR 16 - Letter reiterating General Montfort's request, dated March 10, 1814:  
"I chose this officer because he has the qualities necessary for the task I require of him."

2<sup>e</sup> DIVISION.

MINISTÈRE DE LA GUERRE.

BUREAU

du *Etat Major*

RAPPORT FAIT AU MINISTRE

le 29. Mars 1814

M<sup>e</sup> le Général de Brigade Montfort,  
qui est employé au 7<sup>e</sup> Corps, renouvelle  
la demande qu'il a déjà faite, pour que M<sup>e</sup>  
Roze (Louis) Lieutenant au 1<sup>er</sup> Régiment  
de ligne, lui soit accordé pour aide de camp.  
La 1<sup>re</sup> demande n'est point parvenue  
au Bureau.

M<sup>rs</sup> Gilbert et Lagier ont été  
Commissionnés Aides de camp de M<sup>e</sup>  
le Général Montfort; mais depuis 1812,  
le 1<sup>er</sup> ne figure plus sur les États de Situation.

On propose en conséquence à Monseigneur  
de nommer M<sup>e</sup> Roze à l'emploi  
d'aide de camp, près du Général Montfort,  
et d'inviter cet Officier Général à faire  
convoiter ce qui est devenu M<sup>e</sup> Gilbert.

Si Monseigneur agréé cette proposition,  
il est prié de signer la commission d'aide  
de camp et les lettres ci-jointes.

(Lefebvre)

Le Chef du Bureau

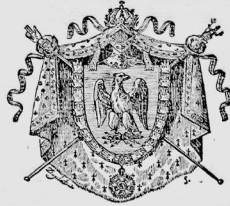
C<sup>te</sup> Martini

LR 17 - Report from the army chiefs of staff, registering General Montfort's second request to have Roze appointed to replace Gilbert (serving alongside Lagier) as aide de camp.



Ministère  
de  
la Guerre.

Commission d'Aide-de-camp.



D'après l'Autorisation de l'Empereur,

Le Ministre de la Guerre, conformément  
aux Arrêtés des 16 Vendémiaire et 14 Brumaire an 9,  
et sur la demande de M. le Général de Brigade  
Baron de Montfort

Nomme M. Rose (Sous) Lieutenant au 105<sup>ème</sup>  
Régiment de ligne

à l'emploi d'Aide-de-camp auprès d'eu Général

Il jouira du traitement affecté à son grade

A Paris, le

Le Ministre de la Guerre,

**LR 18** - Aide de Camp Commission, according to the Emperor's authorization. Official letter bearing the emperor's royal seal, appointing Roze as aide de camp to Brigadier General Baron de Montfort. No specific date (1814.)

Ministère  
de la Guerre.

*Etat Major*

*Note*  
pour le Bureau de l'Infanterie

Par décision du  
Le Ministre a nommé aide de camp de M<sup>r</sup>  
le Général de Brigade Baron de Montfort,  
M<sup>r</sup> Roze (Louis) Lieutenant au 101<sup>ème</sup>  
Régiment de Ligne.

Le Bureau de l'Infanterie est invité à  
adresser à celui des Etat Major le service  
et campagne de M<sup>r</sup> Roze

Paris le  
Le Chef du Bureau

LR 19 - Following the appointment of Louis Roze, lieutenant in the 101st Régiment de Ligne, as General Montfort's aide de camp, the chiefs of staff "request that the infantry staff send Mr. Roze's service and campaign record."

1.<sup>re</sup> DIVISION.

LÉGION D'HONNEUR.

Paris, le 14 Mars 1814.

LE GRAND-CHANCELIER, MINISTRE D'ETAT,

*Duplicata*  
A Monsieur *Roze (Louis)*  
Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur, aide de Camp de M<sup>r</sup> le général Montfort.

L'EMPEREUR ET ROI, en Grand-Conseil, vient de vous nommer Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur.

Je m'empresse et je me félicite vivement, Monsieur, de vous annoncer ce témoignage de la bienveillance de SA MAJESTÉ IMPÉRIALE ET ROYALE, et de la reconnaissance de la Nation.

*Signé N. G. C. Comte de la Chapelle*  
*Pour copie conforme*  
*Le Chef de la première Division*  
*Am. Luvy*

N<sup>o</sup> d'ordre.  
*17392.*

LR 20 - Duplicate of patent 47392 appointing Louis Rose (*sic*) aide de camp to Monsieur le Général Montfort, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur.

47393.

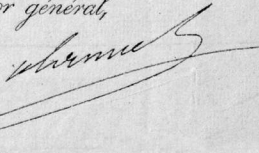
Soissons le 12-mars 1814.

A Monsieur Rose, Louis, aide de camp  
du Général Montfort.

Je vous prévient, Monsieur, que l'Empereur,  
par Décret de ce jour, vous a nommé Chevalier  
de la Légion d'Honneur.

Sa Majesté m'autorise à vous donner cet avis  
provisoire, en attendant celui que vous recevrez  
officiellement de M. le Grand-Chancelier.

Le Prince Vice-Connétable,  
Major général,



LR 21 - Provisional order appointing Louis Rose (*sic*) aide de camp  
to General Montfort, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur,  
by Imperial decree at Soissons, March 12, 1814:

*I hereby notify you, sir, that the Emperor  
by decree on this date has appointed you Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur.  
His Majesty has authorized me to give you this order,  
Provisional in anticipation of the one you shall receive  
Officially from the Grand Chancellor.*

*Signed by the Vice-connétable,  
Major Général*

Garde Nationale

Monsieur, Lieutenant au 4<sup>e</sup> Bataillon  
du 101<sup>e</sup> Régiment;

A Son Excellence le Ministre  
de la Guerre.

3<sup>108</sup>/<sub>10</sub> ans

Excellence.

Etat des services de campagne de  
Monsieur ROZE (Pierre) Lieutenant  
né le 11 mai 1788 à La Force  
Département de l'Andalous

Service 1804

|   |              |
|---|--------------|
| admis au 101 <sup>e</sup> Régiment le ...       | 2 Juin 1806. |
| Caporal Supérieur de 1 <sup>er</sup> Classe     | 1807.        |
| Sergent de 1 <sup>er</sup> Classe               | 1809.        |
| Sergent major de 1 <sup>re</sup> Classe         | 1810.        |
| adjudant sous-officier de 2 <sup>e</sup> Classe | 1812.        |
| Sous Lieutenant de 1 <sup>er</sup> Classe       | 1813.        |
| Lieutenant de 1 <sup>er</sup> Classe            | 1813.        |
| Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur le             | 1814.        |

Wounded

à suite d'attaques de 1806, 1807, 1808,  
1809, et 1810 à l'Armée de Naples et  
en Espagne, 1811 et 1812 à l'Armée de  
Portugal, 1813 en Espagne, et  
1814 à la grande Armée  
à l'été au siège de Gironne 1814.

(Declaration)

Qu'il m'honneur de dire que les services énumérés  
sont conformes aux mémoires du régiment  
et que j'ai eu l'honneur de faire parvenir  
ses mémoires respectifs à Monsieur le Comte  
de Paris, le Maréchal de Camp, et  
au Maréchal de Camp, et  
au Maréchal de Camp, le 1814.

Comme je n'ai jamais cessé de lui être  
fidèle, et que le appel fait par son Excellence  
de l'Empereur de l'officier de l'attachement  
de Paris, qui de Paris combattre pour la cause  
du Roi, je me suis pressenti de jurer et  
n'ai rejoint l'armée que le 3<sup>108</sup>/<sub>10</sub> services,  
je renouvelle donc la même demande  
à Son Excellence et la prie d'observer la bonté  
d'observer mes services, par le en marge  
et de Comptes sur mon dévouement, et  
mon attachement à sa Majesté.

J'ai l'honneur d'être  
de son Excellence  
Le très humble et obéissant serviteur  
F. ROZE  
R

Champs Elysées le 4 Août 1814

LR 22 - Handwritten letter dated August 4, 1814, from lieutenant Roze of the 4<sup>th</sup> bataillon du 101<sup>st</sup> regiment, seeking an assignment to Louis XVIII's guard: "to offer my services to his majesty." "Already, when he entered the capital on May 3, 1814, I was honored to present him with a petition in which I sought an assignment to his guard." "I therefore make a second request to His Excellency and beg him to be so kind as to observe my service record, noted in the margin, and to rely upon my devotion and commitment to his majesty."



Extrait du Registre de Naissance de l'état Civil  
de la commune de La Férée, Canton de Hamigny  
Arrondissement de Nouvi - Département de l'ardennes.

Le 11 sept 1785 quatrevingt Cinq le 11 mai  
Je soussigné Jean Baptiste Edme Beichez prêtre de la lieu de  
La Férée, ai baptisé dans l'église de la lieu  
avec la cerémonie accoutumée le filz de Pierre Roze  
Employé dans la ferme du roi de la lieu de La Férée  
et de Marie Magdelaine Benaux de peu de peu mariés  
Ensemble, habitans de cette paroisse, né aujourd'hui  
auquel on a imposé le nom de Louis, le parain à été ben  
Cyprien Cultivateur, Hamiraine, épouse Marqueline  
Benaux son épouse, grande  tante de l'enfant de cette  
maternelle, habitans de cette paroisse qui ont signé  
avec nous le jour, mois et an que de sus.

*[Handwritten signature]*

Du pou. y. M. Benaux.  
*[Signature]*

Je soussigné gardien des minutes de l'état Civil  
de la commune de La Férée, certifie à tous le qu'il appar  
tient que l'extrait ci dessus est conforme à l'original  
du registre, et que soi doit être ajouté ainsi  
qu'au contenu du présent.

La Férée le 22 Décembre 1844.

*[Signature]*  
Desailly Maire



nous joins au certificat de peu de peu  
Certifions que la signature ci dessus  
est celle de M. Desailly maire de

LR 23 - Certified copy, dated December 22, 1814, from the birth registry of the municipality of La Férée recording the birth of Louis Roze on May 11, 1785.

101<sup>st</sup> RÉGIMENT D'Infanterie de Ligne  
21<sup>e</sup> année

ÉTAT des Services de M. ROZE (Louis)  
Lieutenant né à Paris  
Département de l'Ardennes le onze mai 1785

| Détail des Services.  | Campagnes, Blessures et Actions d'éclat.        |
|---|---|
| Soldat au 101 <sup>st</sup> Régiment d'Infanterie le 25 Mars 1806 | a fait celle de ans 1806, 1807                  |
| Caporal fourrier le 21 Janvier 1807                               | 1808, 1809 & 1810 à l'armée de Naples           |
| Sergent le 1 <sup>er</sup> Décembre 1809                          | 1 <sup>er</sup> en Tyrol, 1811, 1812 à celle de |
| Sergent-major le 3 <sup>o</sup> Janvier 1810                      | Portugal, 1813 en Espagne                       |
| Officier breveté le 26 Août 1812                                  | 1814 à la grande Armée                          |
| Second Lieutenant le 5 Février 1813                               | à être au Siège de Gaëta en                     |
| Lieutenant le 16 Décembre 1813                                    | 1806  |
| Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur                                  |   |
| le 12 Mars 1814   |   |

Vu par Nous Sous-Inspecteur  
aux Revenes,

*Mazel*

CERTIFIÉ véritable par nous Membres  
du Conseil d'administration.

A Chambrier le vingt-neuf 1815

*Le Chef de Bataillon*  
*Le Major*  
*Vintuk*

LR 24 - Service record for Lieutenant Louis Roze,  
of the 101<sup>st</sup> Régiment d'Infanterie de Ligne, as of August 20, 1815.  
Signed by Second Logistics Inspector Mazel.

Rank and date

Soldier in the 101<sup>st</sup> régiment March 25, 1806  
Supply Officer, January 21, 1807  
Sergeant, December 1, 1809  
Sergeant-major, December 1, 1810  
Warrant officer, August 26, 1812  
Second lieutenant, February 5, 1813  
Lieutenant, December 16, 1813  
Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, March 12, 1814

Campaigns, wounds, and feats of bravery

Campaigns of 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809  
and 1810 in the Army of Naples  
and in Tyrol, 1810, 1812, in that of  
Portugal, 1813 in Spain  
1814 in the Great Army  
was at the siege of Gaëta in 1806

## RAPPORT PARTICULIER

Sur M. *Roze Louis* Lieutenant  
 au 101<sup>e</sup> Régiment de ligne  
 qui s'est présenté à la Revue de l'Inspecteur général passée  
 le huit janvier 1816

|                           |  |                                    |    |    |
|---------------------------|--|------------------------------------|----|----|
| Noms et prénoms.....      | <i>Roze Louis</i>  |                                    |    |    |
| Grade.....                | <i>Lieutenant</i>  |                                    |    |    |
| Date de la naissance..... | <i>Né le onze Mai 1785,</i>                              |                                    |    |    |
| Services.....             | <i>Admis au 101<sup>e</sup> Rég<sup>t</sup> de ligne</i> | <i>le 29 mai 1806</i>              |    |    |
|                           | <i>Environ</i>   | <i>le 14 janvier 1807</i>          | 2  | 9  |
|                           | <i>Sergent</i>   | <i>le 25<sup>e</sup> 1809</i>      | 2  | 10 |
|                           | <i>Sergent-Major</i>                                     | <i>le 1<sup>er</sup> Mars 1810</i> | 1  | 1  |
|                           | <i>Adjutant-Major</i>                                    | <i>le 26 sept 1812</i>             | 2  | 7  |
|                           | <i>Lieutenant</i>  | <i>le 1<sup>er</sup> Mars 1813</i> | 1  | 1  |
|                           | <i>Jusqu'au 6<sup>ème</sup> mois Septembre</i>           | <i>1815</i>                        | 4  | 8  |
|                           | TOTAL des services.....                                  | 19                                 | 5  | 6  |
| Campagnes.....            | <i>A fait les Campagnes des années 1806, 1807, 1808,</i> |                                    |    |    |
|                           | <i>1809 &amp; 1810 à l'armée de Naples et en Egypte</i>  |                                    | 5  |    |
|                           | <i>Batailles de 1811 &amp; 1812 en Crétinéal</i>         |                                    | 2  |    |
|                           | <i>Batailles de 1813 en Espagne</i>                      |                                    | 1  |    |
|                           | <i>Batailles de 1814 et l'Armée de France</i>            |                                    | 1  |    |
|                           | TOTAL des campagnes.....                                 | 9                                  | 11 | 0  |
| Instruction.....          | <i>Bonne</i>   |                                    |    |    |
| Moralité.....             | <i>Bonne</i>   |                                    |    |    |
| Principes.....            | <i>Bon</i>   |                                    |    |    |
| Fortunes.....             | <i>Voit</i>  |                                    |    |    |

S'il est marié

LR 25a - Evaluation of Mr. Roze, Louis, lieutenant in the 101<sup>st</sup> regiment, who reported to the Inspector-General's Review, examined on January 8, 1816. Review of service record and campaigns.

Instruction: Good  
 Morality: Good  
 Principles: good  
 Fortune: None

|  |  |
|--|--|
| S'il est marié ou non marié.   | Non  |
| Combien d'enfants.....   | Sept   |
| Physique.....  | Fort   |
| Opinion de l'Inspect. gén. <sup>al</sup>   | <p>Cet officier pense bien, il a de la tenue, il annonce de l'instruction, je le crois susceptible d'être placé.</p> |
| <p>CERTIFIÉ par nous M<sup>al</sup> de camp com<sup>te</sup> le Dept. de Seine<br/> <i>L'inspecteur</i><br/> chargé de la Légion départementale.</p> |  |
| A  | <p>Joissans le 20 Mars 1816</p> <p><i>J. Yvers</i></p>   |

**LR 25b** - obverse of the evaluation in 25a:  
the document is certified by Field Marshal Yvers, who notes:  
*"this officer has integrity, discipline, and learning;  
I believe he is apt to receive the assignment."*



M. le, officier en non activité  
Lieutenant d'Infanterie, Chevalier  
de la Légion d'Honneur, résidant  
à Brunehamel, Dept de l'Aisne.

à Son Excellence  
Monsieur le Duc de Richelieu  
Ministre de la Guerre.

Monsieur.

Demande de la permission de  
Contracter un Mariage

M. la demande ci-dessus ensemble le Certificat par lequel j'ai couronné, et Désirant contracter  
D. M. le M. de Brunehamel, Chevalier  
de la Légion d'Honneur, appartenant  
à une famille honnête et qui elle aura ma  
fortune qui y est de valeur a plus de  
Cent mille francs et de Revenu, je  
M. le Maréchal de Camp Commandant  
le Département de l'Aisne et  
D. M. le M. de Brunehamel, Chevalier  
de la Légion d'Honneur, appartenant  
à une famille honnête et qui elle aura ma  
fortune qui y est de valeur a plus de  
Cent mille francs et de Revenu, je

Pour j'ai en son activité de grade  
Organisation de la Légion de l'Aisne, a  
M. le M. de Brunehamel, Chevalier  
de la Légion d'Honneur, appartenant  
à une famille honnête et qui elle aura ma  
fortune qui y est de valeur a plus de  
Cent mille francs et de Revenu, je  
M. le Maréchal de Camp Commandant  
le Département de l'Aisne et  
D. M. le M. de Brunehamel, Chevalier  
de la Légion d'Honneur, appartenant  
à une famille honnête et qui elle aura ma  
fortune qui y est de valeur a plus de  
Cent mille francs et de Revenu, je

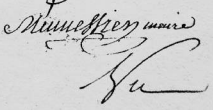
Je prie  
Monsieur le  
Maréchal de Camp  
Commandant  
le Département  
de l'Aisne  
de vouloir bien  
me faire  
savoir  
ce que  
je dois  
faire  
à cet  
égard.

Brunehamel le 1<sup>er</sup> Juillet 1816.

Je prie  
Monsieur le  
Maréchal de Camp  
Commandant  
le Département  
de l'Aisne  
de vouloir bien  
me faire  
savoir  
ce que  
je dois  
faire  
à cet  
égard.

LR 26 - Letter from Louis Roze dated July 1, 1816, requesting permission to marry (in his place of dwelling, Brunehamel) "I am honored to draw His Excellency's attention to my effort to fulfill the government's wishes with respect to its officers in the choice of my future spouse, whose education is on a par with the morality and affluence of her parents."

The request is approved in the margin, signed by Field Marshal Yvers, commandant of the Aisne department, dated July 5, 1816.

Département de laisne  
 Arrondissement de  
 Laon  
 Comme de Brunhamel, de Brunhamel, arrondissement de Laon  
 Département de laisne, Certifie que  
 Monsieur Roze (voir) Chevalier de la  
 Légion d'Honneur Lieutenant d'Infanterie en non  
 activité résidant dans la dite commune nous  
 a déclaré qu'il était dans l'intention d'épouser  
 Mademoiselle Julie Julie Flamain, fille  
 d'un amateur flamain et d'Elizabeth Vachon  
 habitant de la dite commune, profession de  
 Marchand Drapier, que ladite demoiselle a  
 reçu une éducation distinguée qui se porte à  
 la moralité et à l'état de sa fortune  
 qui se proposent de lui faire une dot de  
 trois à quatre mille francs outre les provisions  
 Certaine qu'elle peut espérer par la suite  
 qui pourront être de deux à quinze mille  
 francs.  
 Delivré à Brunhamel le 1<sup>er</sup> Juillet 1846.  
 Munessier Maire  




LR 27 - Letter from Mayor Munessier, of Brunhamel, certifying that Louis Roze, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, inactive Infantry Lieutenant, residing in Brunhamel, has published his intentions to marry Julie Flamain, daughter of Louis Flamain, draper.

*3<sup>ème</sup> Division*  
*Muzeaux*  
*de*  
*L'Etat Civil de M<sup>lle</sup>*  
*de*  
*Comie*

approuvé le 19. juillet 1816  
 par le Général de Division

Monsieur,

J'ai l'honneur d'adresser à Votre Excellence, une demande de M. ROZE, Lieutenant d'Infanterie, en non activité à Brumecourt, Département de l'Aisne, à l'effet d'être autorisé à Contracter un mariage avec M<sup>lle</sup> Julie Siret Flaman, de la dite Commune,

il résulte des pièces produites que cette Dame appartient à une bonne Famille, et qu'elle aura une fortune évaluée à plus de Quatre Cents francs de Rente. C'est pourquoi je supplie Votre Excellence, de donner son Consentement à ce mariage.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec  
 Respect,

Monsieur,  
 De Votre Excellence.

Le plus humble et très  
 obéissant serviteur  
 Le Maréchal de Camp Commandant  
 le Département de l'Aisne.  
*Yvers*

Le 19. Juillet 1816.

LR 28 - Letter from Field Marshal Yvers, commandant of the Aisne department, enclosed with the request for permission to marry (annotated "approved" and dated July 19, 1816 at the top) "The documents I was shown prove the Lady is of good breeding and will have an income estimated to be 400 francs from her estate. For this reason, I beg Your Excellency to give his consent to this marriage."





# 101<sup>e</sup> Régiment d'Infanterie de Ligne

## Etat

des Services de Monsieur ROZE (Louis)  
 Lieutenant, né à Laforce, arrondissement de Coevry, Département  
 des Ardennes, le onze mai mil huit cent quarante cinq. —

| Detail des services.                                 | Campagnes, Blessures et actions d'éclat |
|--|---|
| Élevé au 101 <sup>e</sup> Régiment le 25 Mars — 1806 | a fait celle de ans 1806, 1807, 1808,   |
| Caporal fourrier le 21 Janvier — 1807                | 1809, & 1810 à l'armée de Portugal,     |
| Mergent le 1 <sup>er</sup> Décembre — 1809           | et en Egypte, 1811, 1813 (Bataille de   |
| Sergent major le 1 <sup>er</sup> Janvier — 1810      | portugal, 1813 en Espagne à celle       |
| Adjudant sous officier le 26 Août — 1813             | de pyramides 1814 à la prise de         |
| Sous Lieutenant le 3 <sup>e</sup> Février — 1813     | Perwez, à été au siège de Gauthier      |
| Lieutenant le 16 Décembre — 1813                     | en 1806.                                |
| Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur                     |   |
| le 19 Mars — 1814                                    |   |

Certifié véritable par nous Membres du Conseil  
 d'Administration  
 à Champdenier le vingt deux mil huit  
 cent dix huit. et signé

Le Major Revel  
 Le Chef de bataillon Gros, Le Chef de bataillon Bel,  
 Le Capitaine Mazel.

Le Logis inspecteur  
 Chavrat

LR 30 - 101<sup>e</sup> Régiment d'Infanterie de Ligne, certified copy of Roze's service record (details of ranks and campaigns), dated August 20, 1816, signed by the members of the Board of Directors at Champdenier, Major Revel, Battalion Commander Gros, Captain Vincent, Battalion Commander Bel, Logistics Inspector Mazel; authenticated by Logistics Inspector Chavrat.

GRANDE  
CHANCELLERIE.

1.<sup>re</sup> DIVISION.

1.<sup>er</sup> BUREAU.

ORDRE ROYAL  
DE LA LÉGION D'HONNEUR.


FORMULE DU SERMENT.

JE JURE d'être fidèle au ROI, à l'honneur et à la Patrie;  
de révéler à l'instant tout ce qui pourrait venir à ma connaissance, et qui serait contraire au service de SA MAJESTÉ et au bien de l'État; de ne prendre aucun service et de ne recevoir aucune pension ni traitement d'un Prince étranger, sans le consentement exprès de SA MAJESTÉ; d'observer les lois, ordonnances et réglemens, et généralement faire tout ce qui est du devoir d'un brave et loyal Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur.

A Amubancel le vingt Décembre 1816.

Vu pour légalisation de la signature  
de M. Roze

Le Directeur impérial  
Cavaort



LR 31 - Oath of loyalty to the Légion d'Honneur, signed by Louis Roze and dated December 20, 1816: "I hereby swear loyalty to the King... to forego any assignment, pension, or salary from a foreign prince without His Majesty's consent..."



PROCÈS-VERBAL D'INDIVIDUALITÉ

Pour servir à l'Inscription des Membres de l'Ordre royal de la Légion d'honneur, sur les nouveaux Registres matricules et Listes officielles.

1.<sup>re</sup> DIVISION.

1.<sup>er</sup> BUREAU.

CE JOURD'HUI *vingt quatre* décembre mil huit cent *seize* par-devant nous  
*Louis Fourtau* Inspecteur aux revues,

Est comparu M. (1) *Roze Louis* exerçant d'Inspection en son caractère

demeurant à *Brunhamel Carime*

que nous déclarons bien connaître, nommé *Arvalius*  
de l'Ordre royal de la Légion d'honneur, le (2) *12 mars 1814*  
sous le n.<sup>o</sup> d'ordre (3) *47392*.

Ainsi qu'il résulte,

1.<sup>o</sup> De (4) *son brevet* de Membre de l'Ordre royal de la Légion;

2.<sup>o</sup> De son acte de naissance;

3.<sup>o</sup> De l'état de ses services;

Et 4.<sup>o</sup> (5).

lesquelles (6) *trois* pièces par nous paraphées demeurent annexées  
au présent.

Et qu'il a été (7) *inscrite* désigné sur (V. la note 4) *son brevet*  
de l'Ordre royal de la Légion d'honneur, sous les nom et prénoms de (8) *Roze Louis*

ses nom et prénoms devant être, d'après son acte de naissance, écrits ainsi sur les nouveaux  
registres matricules et listes officielles.

Nom *Roze* Prénoms *Louis*  
(9) (9)

En foi de quoi nous avons délivré le présent, qu'il a signé avec nous.

Fait à *Laon* le *24* décembre 1816.

(Signature du Requirant.)

*Roze*

(Signature du Certificateur.)

*Fourtau*

(1) Mettre les nom et les prénoms ou le grade du requérant.

(2) Mettre le grade dans l'Ordre royal de la Légion, et la date de la nomination.

(3) Mettre le n.<sup>o</sup> du brevet.

(4) Mettre si c'est un brevet, un certificat ou une lettre d'avis.

(5) Il est très-important, dans le cas où il y aurait des différences trop grandes, dans la désignation du nom et prénoms, entre le brevet ou la pièce qui le remplace, l'acte de naissance et l'état des services, que M. le Certificateur exige tel acte ou documents qui indiquent les circonstances qui ont donné lieu à ces erreurs, et mette l'Administration à même de reconnaître fidèlement sans difficulté. Dans ce cas, le procès-verbal sera remis par une explication nominative de ces circonstances, que l'acte et produits servirait à justifier.

(6) Mettre le nombre de pièces.

(7) Apposer le mot inscrit ou inscritement, suivant qu'il y a ou qu'il n'y a pas identité parfaite entre le brevet ou la pièce qui le remplace, et l'acte de naissance.

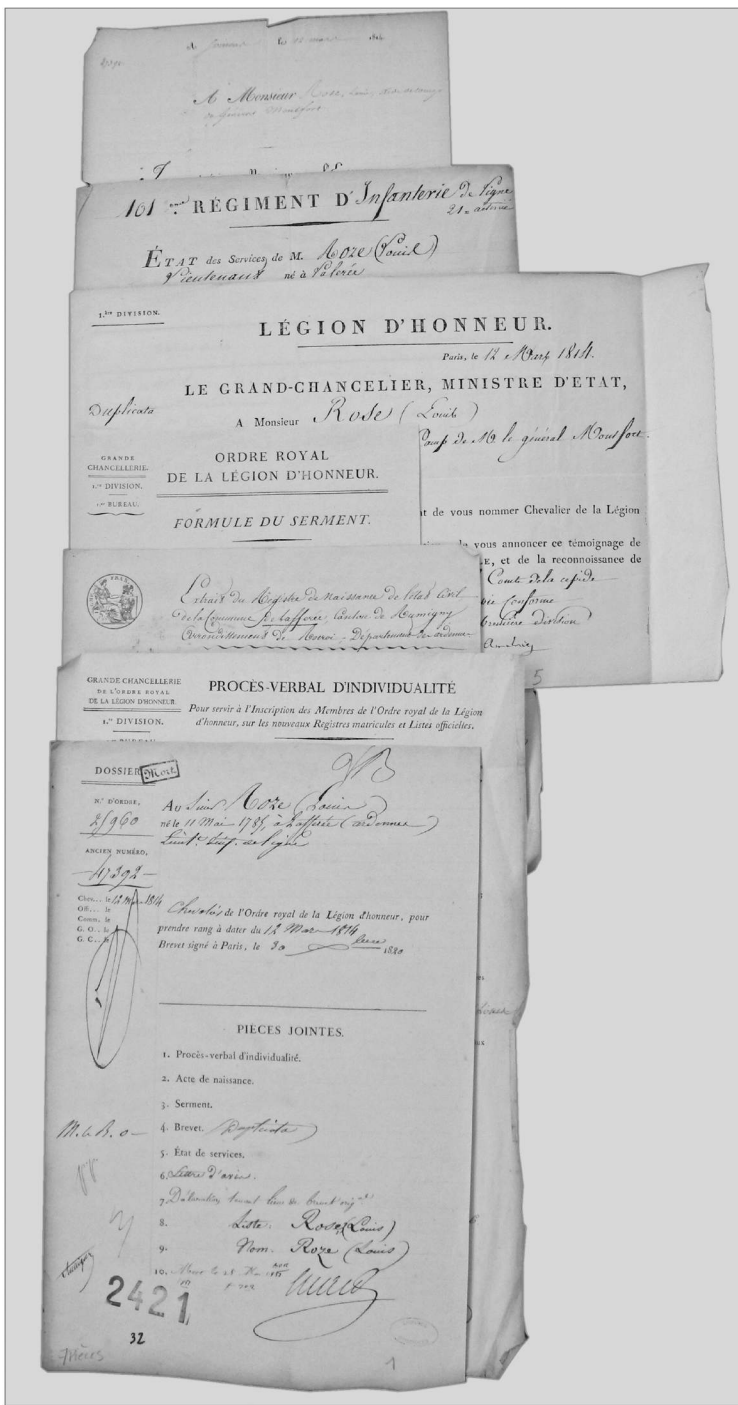
(8) Mettre les nom et prénoms comme ils sont écrits sur le brevet ou la pièce qui le remplace.

(9) Écrire les nom et prénoms régulièrement.

LR 32 - "Procès-verbal d'individualité," dated December 24, 1816, specifying: "on Louis Rose's (sic) patent, his name was mistakenly spelled Rose, and it is advisable to write his name Roze on the new official registers, lists, and rolls."







LR 34 - Set of six items in Roze's Légion d'Honneur dossier.

DOSSIER

*Morté*

N.° D'ORDRE,

*25960*

*AB*  
Au *Sieur ROZE (Louis)*  
né le 11 Mai 1788, à Hoffette (arrondissement)  
*Saint-Loup. seigneur*

ANCIEN NUMÉRO,

*47392*

Chev... le *12 Mars 1814*  
Offi... le  
Comm. le  
G. O... le  
G. C... le

*Chevalier* de l'Ordre royal de la Légion d'honneur, pour  
prendre rang à dater du *12 Mars 1814*  
Brevet signé à Paris, le *30* *juin* *1820*

PIÈCES JOINTES.

1. Procès-verbal d'individualité.
2. Acte de naissance.
3. Serment.
4. Brevet. *Reposita*
5. État de services.
6. *Lettre d'avis.*

*M. A. B. o*

*11/1*

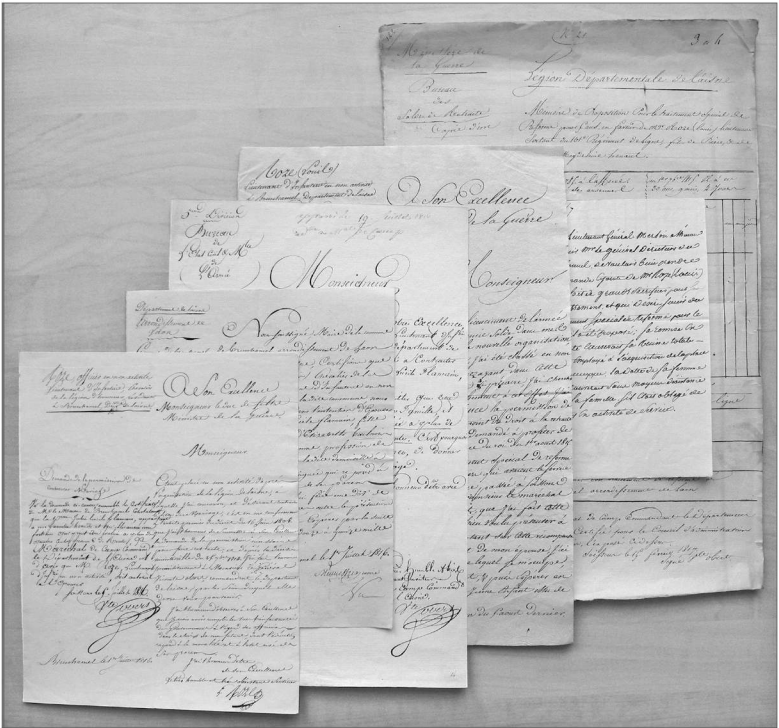
*M*

*Changement*

7. Déclaration, tenant lieu de brevet orig.<sup>al</sup>
8. Liste: *Roze (Louis)*
9. Nom: *Roze (Louis)*
10. *Mort le 25 Mars 1855*  
*1855* *F 722* *Morté*

**2421**

LR 35 - File n° 25960, listing the items justifying Roze's Légion d'Honneur medal, dated October 30, 1820.



LR 36 - Set of six documents concerning Roze's application for the right to a retirement pension.

Ministère de la Guerre

Région Départementale de l'Aisne

Bureau Départemental

Retraite & Dépense

Mémoire de Proposition pour le traitement spécial de réforme pour cinq ans, en faveur de N<sup>o</sup> 1032 (Soubé) (Grade) Lieutenant, veuf de 101<sup>o</sup> Régiment de ligne, fils de Pierre, & de Marie Magdelaine veuf de ...

30 ans, 9 mois le 11 mai 1785, à Saffreux au 1<sup>o</sup> 76<sup>o</sup> 1815, il a eu 30 ans 4 jours le 9 mai 1815.

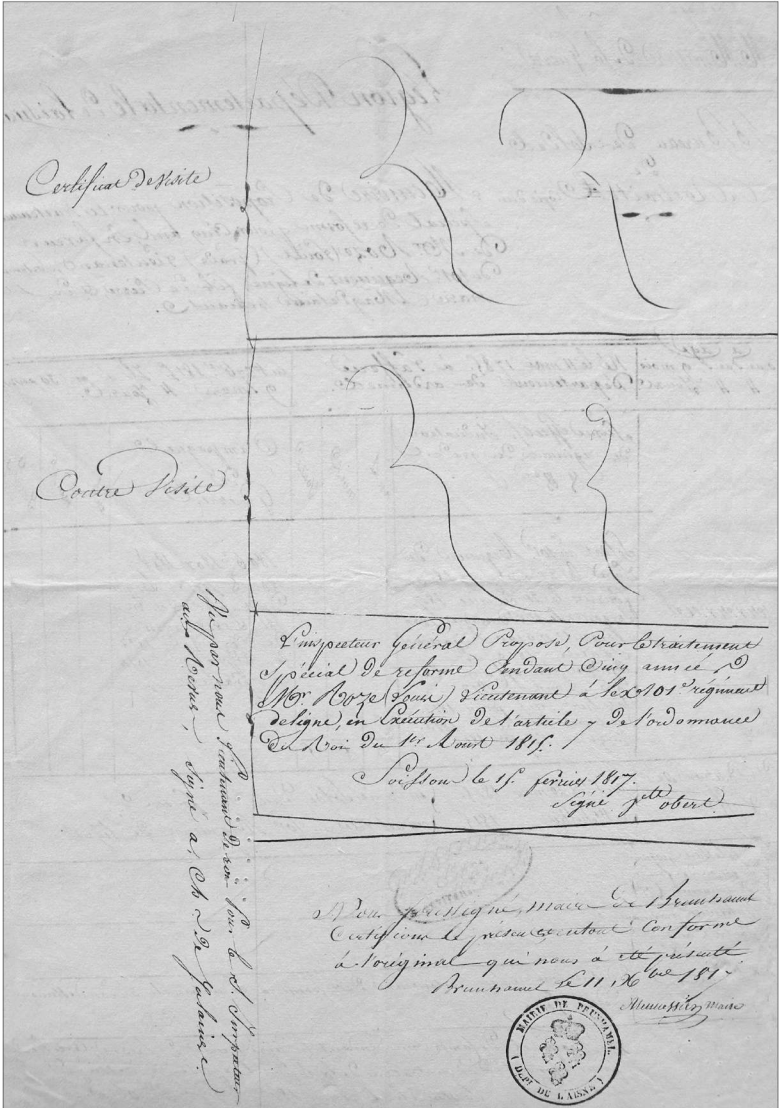
| Services  | Services Spéciaux, Indication de régimes, Des grades. | Campagne |      |       | Guerre |      |       |
|---|---|----------|------|-------|--------|------|-------|
|   |   | ans      | mois | Jours | ans    | mois | Jours |
| <p>Soldest au 101<sup>o</sup> Régiment de ligne le 2<sup>o</sup> mai 1806<br/>                     Service le 21 Janvier 1807<br/>                     Service le 1<sup>er</sup> Décembre 1809<br/>                     Service militaire le premier Janvier 1811<br/>                     Indemnité (ou officier) le 26 Août 1812<br/>                     (ou lui) le 1<sup>er</sup> Janvier 1813<br/>                     (ou lui) le 6 Juin 1813<br/>                     jusqu'au 13<sup>o</sup> Juin 1815</p> |   |          |      |       |        |      |       |
|   |   |          |      |       |        |      |       |

Retraite de Saffreux au 1<sup>o</sup> 30 mars 1815 en demi solde dans le foyer ou activité au 101<sup>o</sup> Régiment de ligne.

Platons pour ...  
 D'après ...  
 Informations pour ...  
 D'après ...

Domicile de ...  
 (D'après son traitement) De réforme à Brunhamel ...  
 Le Maréchal de Camp Commandant le Département de l'Aisne, Chef de ...  
 pour l'emploi de Démonstrateur de la ligne, le 1<sup>er</sup> Janvier 1817 et qui j<sup>o</sup> Obert.

LR 37a - Report on the recommendation for a retirement pension, dated February 15, 1817, concerning Louis Roze (residing in Brunchemel), for five years, signed by Field Marshal Obert, commandant of the Aisne department, in Soissons: "he wishes to receive his retirement pension in Brunchemel, "at home on half-salary from March 1 to 20 and on July 1, 1815, active in the 101<sup>st</sup> Régiment de Ligne."



**LR 37b** - Obverse of LR 37a, with the signatures of Obert and Julaine, royal lieutenant for the second logistics inspector, certified to conform to the original by the mayor of Brunehamel, Munssier, dated October 11, 1817.



Commune de La Férée  
Arrondissement  
de Roeroy

Extrait du Registre de l'état civil de la  
Commune de La Férée, arrondissement de Roeroy,  
Département de l'Ardenne.

Département  
de l'Ardenne

L'an mil sept cent quatrevingt dix le onze  
de mai, je soussigné, Jean Baptiste Emé Dieber  
notaire à La Férée de l'épiscopat de La Férée, ai baptisé  
dans l'église du lieu avec les cérémonies accoutumées  
le fils de Pierre ROZE, Employé dans le  
Cercle de Roeroy, au poste dudit La Férée, et  
de Marie Renaude, son père et mère, mariés  
ensemble habitans de cette paroisse, né aujourd'hui  
auquel on a imposé le nom de (Louis) le parrain  
a été Louis Du pont - pro prieux laboureur  
et la marraine, Jeanne Margueritte Renaude son  
pouse, grande tante de l'enfant du côté maternel,  
habitans de cette paroisse, qui ont signé avec  
moi le jour, mois et an susdits.

Signés Dieber, Du pont J. M. Renaud.

Je soussigné, Gardien du minute de l'état  
Civil de la Commune de La Férée, certifie à  
tout lequ'il appartiendra, que l'extrait  
ci dessus est conforme à l'original du registre  
et que son état y est ajouté ainsi qu'au  
contenu du présent.

La Férée le trois mars mil huit cent dix sept.

Joly  
notaire



LR 38 - Birth and baptismal certificate of Louis Roze,  
signed by Mayor Joly of La Férée (dated March 3, 1817.)

RANG.

16 décembre 1813.  
D. de 29 janv. 1814.

MINISTÈRE DE LA GUERRE.

BUREAU DE L'INFANTERIE.

*Roze*  
*29*  
*Quint. de l'Infanterie*  
*1000 No. 1000*

LÉGION du département du Finistère

29<sup>e</sup> RÉGIMENT D'INFANTERIE.

LIEUTENANT,

M. *Roze* *Louis*

nommé par décision du Roi du

(101)  
9 août 1817 au 3<sup>e</sup> bat.

LR 39 - Cover, military files of Lieutenant Louis Roze,  
27<sup>th</sup> Régiment d'Infanterie de Légion du Finistère.





M. de Louvoil  
 Lieutenant d'Infanterie en non activité  
 à Amiens, Département de la Somme  
 Demande  
 à jouir du traitement spécial  
 de réforme, pour lequel il a été  
 proposé par les articles 7 et  
 l'ordonnance du roi du 14<sup>ème</sup> août  
 1817.  
 Examiné cette pétition au  
 31<sup>ème</sup> / 12 / 1817  
 Répondre promptement.

Son Excellence  
 Le Ministre de la guerre  
 Monsieur

Ayant par suite du licenciement de l'armée  
 l'an 1817, été placé en non activité dans mes  
 foyers, & j'ai attendu la nouvelle organisation  
 pour suivre de laquelle, j'ai été classé en non  
 activité, & sans fortune ayant dans cette  
 position une existence précaire, j'ai cherché  
 à me former un établissement à cet effet, j'ai  
 obtenu de son Excellence la permission de  
 me marier, & n'ayant point de droit à la retraite  
 par ma femme, j'ai demandé à profiter de  
 l'article 7 de l'ordonnance du roi du 14<sup>ème</sup> août 1817  
 qui accordait le traitement spécial de réforme  
 pour faire au 5<sup>ème</sup> officier, qui avait la femme  
 veuve, c'est à la somme de 1200<sup>fr</sup> par an  
 le 19<sup>ème</sup> février 1817 par mesuriers Comarceval  
 de Comp. Noms d'obit, que j'ai fait cette  
 demande, & qu'il a bien voulu y accéder de  
 son Excellence, comptant sur cette récompense  
 de mes services & la dot de mon épouse, j'ai  
 acheté un emploi, avec lequel je m'occupe  
 me rend utile à l'état, & pour espérer en  
 travaillant élever un jeune enfant issu de  
 mon mariage.  
 Par décision du 1<sup>er</sup> février dernier

LR 41a - Handwritten letter from Louis Roze, dated December 11, 1817, on half-salary and subject to financial difficulties, requesting entitlement to special retirement benefits, because "relying on this reward for services and the dowry of my wife, I have purchased an office which is my occupation, makes me useful to the state, and gives me hope to raise our young child..."

Sa Majesté m'honorant de sa confiance m'a  
 nommé à un emploi de mon grade dans la  
 légion du génie au 3<sup>ème</sup> Bataillon, ayant  
 obtenu à monsieur le Ministre obtint lorsqu'il  
 m'en donna avis le 27 août, que m'étant été  
 déchargé du service par la demande et l'emploi  
 être admis à cet traitement spécial, par un  
 contrat de engagement, qu'il m'était  
 impossible de remplir si j'en étais privé,  
 que je le sollicitais tous jours, il me fit  
 l'honneur de me mander que son Excellence  
 avait décidé de s'opposer de venir, qu'il ne  
 serait point autorisé aux officiers qui avaient  
 été déclarés susceptibles d'être rappelés,  
 par suite de l'inspection qui ont eu lieu  
 après le licenciement de l'armée.

J'ai l'honneur d'observer à son  
 Excellence, que ma demande est antérieure  
 à cette décision, que j'ai sollicité toujours  
 la faveur; mais que cependant, si je ne  
 puis l'obtenir, je suis prêt à faire tout  
 le sacrifice particulier pour mon roi  
 et ma patrie, que mon bras leur est toujours  
 dévoué comme à la cause inséparable du  
 bon français, & que j'attends les ordres  
 qui me seront donnés.

Je suis avec le plus profond respect  
 De votre Excellence.

Votre humble & obéissant serviteur  
 L. Cordey

Brunsauvel 21<sup>ème</sup> Décembre 1817.

**LR 41b** - (obverse of the preceding letter, continued): "if I cannot obtain it (the retirement pension), I am ready to make every sacrifice patiently, for my king and country, to whom my arm is still devoted, as it is inseparable from the cause of every good Frenchman, and I await the orders that will be given to me." This letter is a response to the refusal dated July 25, 1817, described below in LR 43, specifying that "retirement pay will not be granted to officers requesting it, after they have previously been designated as suitable for a return to active service following the inspections which took place after the army was discharged in 1815..."

M. Morel

Le Lieutenant Général Meris à Monsieur  
se prie Mr le Général Directeur des  
personnel, de vouloir bien rendre  
la demande faite de Mr Roze (Rozin)  
qui a fait de grands sacrifices pour le  
Etat et le service, et qui désire faire un  
traitement spécial de réforme pour le  
quel il a été proposé; la remise en  
activité lui serait la peine totale -  
Ayant employé à l'acquisition de la place  
qu'il occupe, la dotte de sa femme  
et se trouverait sans moyen d'existence  
pour sa famille. Il est obligé de  
rester en activité de service.

M. Morel

LR 42 - Letter from Mazel, dated December 1817, endorsing Roze's request for a pension: "Were he to resume active duty, his family would go bankrupt, for he spent his wife's dowry to acquire the office he holds."

MINISTÈRE  
DE LA GUERRE.

1<sup>re</sup> DIRECTION.

BUREAU  
De l'Infanterie  
SECTION 2. - Retraite

MINUTE DE LA LETTRE ÉCRITE

par le Ministre

à M. Roze, Lieutenant au 3<sup>e</sup> Bataillon  
de la Légion de Finistère  
Le 16 Février 1818. - Bouchamel (Ardennes)

On répondra ainsi  
à la demande de  
traitement de réforme  
faite par M. Roze  
le 5<sup>e</sup> Février  
de la Légion de Finistère

J'ai reçu, Monsieur, la réclamation que vous m'avez  
adressée le 11 décembre dernier, tendante à être  
remplacé dans le cadre des 3<sup>e</sup> Bataillon de la  
Légion de Finistère, et à obtenir le traitement spécial  
de réforme pour lequel vous avez été proposé deux  
mois de Février 1817.

Je ne puis que ~~vous en informer~~ <sup>vous en informer</sup> à l'avis qui  
vous a été donné. D'après un ordre, par  
lequel M. de Camille, Chef de la Légion, a été  
chargé de la direction de la Légion, que le traitement spécial  
de réforme ne serait point accordé aux officiers  
qui n'auraient fait la demande, après avoir été  
d'abord désignés comme susceptibles d'être rappelés  
en activité par suite des inspections qui ont  
eu lieu après le licenciement de l'Armée en 1815.

Je regrette que cette circonstance ne me  
permette pas d'accueillir votre réclamation, et  
je vous prie de vous tenir prêt à rejoindre la Légion tout son fait  
après la première ordonnance qui vous en sera  
donnée. J'ai

LR 43 - Draft of a letter from the War Ministry, dated February 16, 1818, to Mr. Roze, lieutenant in the 3<sup>d</sup> Battalion of the Légion in Finistère, refusing his petition for retirement and enjoining him "to stand by, ready to join the legion to which he belongs," specifying that "retirement pay will not be granted to officers requesting it, after they have previously been designated as suitable for a return to active service following the inspections which took place after the army was discharged in 1815..."

N. 21

3 n 4

Ministère de la Guerre  
Bureau  
C. de  
Service de Recrutement  
Copie d'ordre

Région Départementale de l'Aisne

Mémoire de Proposition pour le traitement de retraite de  
Réforme pour l'ind. en faveur de M<sup>r</sup>. ROZE (Louis) habitant  
à l'Etat du 161<sup>e</sup> Régiment de ligne, fils de Pierre, & de  
Marie Magdeleine Bernart.

|   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| <i>De ans, 9 mois, 11 jours</i>                               | Né le 11 mai 1781, à Laffrèges<br>Département de l'auvergne  | au 1 <sup>er</sup> 1 <sup>er</sup> M <sup>r</sup> . d'au<br>30 ans, 9 mois, 11 jours |
| <i>Service</i>  | Carrière d'Officier<br>Indication des régiments<br>des gardes N <sup>o</sup> 10  | Compagnie de<br>Garde  |
|   | Objet en 1812 régiment de ligne<br>du 1 <sup>er</sup> mars 1816<br>passé le 21 janvier 1817<br>à l'Etat du 161 <sup>e</sup> Régiment de ligne<br>à l'Etat du 1 <sup>er</sup> mars 1818<br>jusqu'au 1 <sup>er</sup> Mars 1818 |  |
| <i>Position de l'Officier</i>                                 | au 1 <sup>er</sup> 1 <sup>er</sup> 20 mars 1817 en demi solde avec des surs<br>au 1 <sup>er</sup> 1 <sup>er</sup> 1 <sup>er</sup> M <sup>r</sup> . (en activité au 1 <sup>er</sup> Régiment de ligne)                        |  |
| <i>Statut concernant le<br/>père ou le fils de l'Officier</i> | }  |  |
| <i>Statut concernant d'autres<br/>Causes</i>                  | }  |  |
| <i>Observations</i>   | Détaché à l'Etat du 161 <sup>e</sup> Régiment de ligne à l'Etat du 1 <sup>er</sup> Mars 1818<br>à Brunchamel arrondissement de Soissons  |  |
|   | Le Maréchal de Camp, Commandant le Département<br>de l'Aisne, Certifie pour le Conseil d'Administration<br>de la Région, l'ind. de M <sup>r</sup> . ROZE<br>le 26 Mars 1818<br>Obert<br>signé J. Obert                       |  |

LR 44a - Report on the application for retirement pension, dated November 26, 1818, for Louis Roze (residing in Brunchamel,) for five years, signed by Field Marshal Obert, commandant of the Aisne department, in Soissons.



EXECUTION  
de l'Ordonnance royale  
du 20 mai 1818.

MINISTÈRE DE LA GUERRE.

[N.º 3.]

1.ª DIRECTION.

*N.º 579*

BUREAU de l'Intendance SECTION de personnel

*M.º Roze ( Louis )*  
*Lieutenant* en non-activité,  
promu à ce grade le 16 Décembre 1818  
né à Laferrière Dep. Ardennes le 11 Mai 1785  
entré au service le 25 Mars 1806 -  
réunit, au 1.ª juillet 1818, *Deuze* ans, *Deux* mois,  
*Six* jours de service, interruptions déduites et campagnes  
non comprises.

Conformément à l'article 7, titre II, de l'Ordonnance  
du 20 mai 1818, cet Officier, ayant renoncé volontairement  
au service, est admis à un traitement égal à la solde de non-  
activité de son grade, pour en jouir pendant *Cinq* années,  
à partir du 1.ª juillet 1818 jusqu'au 30 juin 1823 .

L'avis lui en a été expédié par lettre ministérielle, en date  
du *Mai 1819* .

LR 45 - Letter from the War Ministry, dated May 1819,  
granting an inactive duty salary for lieutenant rank,  
to last for five years until June 30, 1823.



# 101<sup>me</sup> Régiment d'Infanterie De ligne

Cas en Service et campagne de M<sup>rs</sup> ROZE (Sous)  
 Vieillard n<sup>o</sup> le 11 mai 1788, à Toulon, Département Du Var

| Service   | Campagne & Blessure   |
|---|---|
| Soldat au 101 <sup>me</sup> Régim le 21 mars 1806   | à fait cette campagne, 1806, 1807<br>1808, 1809, & 1810, à l'armée de<br>Naples, 1811, & 1812 à l'armée de<br>Portugal, 1813 en Espagne, et<br>1814 à la 2 <sup>de</sup> armée<br>a été au siège de Gênes<br>en 1806. |
| Sergent le 21. Janv. 1809                           |   |
| Sergent le 1 <sup>er</sup> Décembre 1809            |   |
| Sergent major le 1 <sup>er</sup> Janvier 1810       |   |
| Officier d'eff. le 26 août 1810                     |   |
| Sous-lieutenant le 3 Janvier 1813                   |   |
| Lieutenant le 16. Décembre 1813                     |   |
| Membre de la légion d'honneur le<br>Douze Mars 1814 |   |

Certifié véritable par nous membre Du conseil  
 d'administration du 101<sup>me</sup> Régiment  
 Toulon le 1<sup>er</sup> Mars 1814.

Suivies la signature de M<sup>rs</sup> Garreaux Sergent-major, Vincent Capte  
 Douai Chef de Bataillon, Gras Chef de légion Baillon Capte  
 & le Colonel D'Herbetz Latour

et en  
 Vous par nous sous signatures aux vobres  
 Signés Toulon

Vous soussigné Maire de la Commune de Roze  
 Arrondissement de Fontenay Département de Saône  
 Certifie le présent état de service de M<sup>rs</sup>  
 Roze Sous-lieutenant d'Infanterie de l'armée  
 de la dite Commune, conformément à l'original qui se trouve  
 à l'appui, qui lui a été délivré par le Conseil  
 d'administration de son Régiment le 1<sup>er</sup> Mars 1814.  
 Roze le 17 novembre 1821.

L. Baillon,



LR 46a - Service record for Roze, dated November 17, 1821, authenticated August 1, 1814, in Toulon. Signed at the bottom by Garreaux, Sergeant-Major; Vincent, Captain and Battalion Commander in Douai; Gras, division commander; Baillon, Captain, and Colonel D'Herbetz Latour.



N.° 54.

Naissance  
Louise Thérèse - Pauline.  
Masure.

Le 5 Juin huit cent trente trois, le cinq Juin, sept heures  
du soir.  
A Braine, nous Louis - Antoine, juge au Tribunal, maire de -  
l'office de l'Etat civil, et le vicaire de Braine.  
Acompagnés-m. Paul Masure, age de trente deux ans, notaire à -  
Braine, y demeurant.  
Ayant vu se présenter un enfant de sexe féminin, né à Braine,  
le 5 Juin, vers midi, sept heures du matin, de lui son père et de D. D. Chevalier  
à la Croix, son père, age de vingt deux ans; lequel enfant a été  
donné en premier nom de Louise - Thérèse - Pauline.  
Ayant vu acte de l'édit imprimé de moi. Georges Antoine -  
de Braine, notaire honoraire et par provision, age de vingt deux ans, -  
ayant obtenu de l'inspecteur de Braine, et en suite de la -  
d'homme et par ce que les Contables des Ecuries, age de quarante  
huit ans, tous deux demeurant à Braine.  
Et après lecture faite en . grand secret de la son acte  
ont signé avec nous: C. Masure, G. A. Masure

*(Signature)*  
C. Masure  
G. A. Masure

LR 48 - Page from the civil registry of the municipality of Braine dated June 5, 1833, indicating that Louis Roze, tax collector, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, residing in Braine, witnessed the birth of Louise Thérèse Masure, daughter of Paul Masure, notary.

202. 60.  
 Décès  
 Marie-Thérèse  
 Vanier  
 (marié.)



L'An mil huit cent trente sept, le  
 trente aout, une heure de relevé en la mairie de  
 Braine nous Claude OBIER marié & officier  
 de l'Etat civil de la Ville de Braine  
 ont comparu mon. Louis Roze,  
 Copieur au age de soixante trois ans, propriétaire, et Louis  
 Roze, age de cinquante deux ans, percepteur des Contributions  
 directes, tous deux demeurant à Braine.  
 Lesquels nous ont déclaré que le jour de la  
 mort est décédé à Braine, vers deux heures, mad.  
 Thérèse Vanier, age de cinquante sept ans, épouse  
 de Mr. Georges - Antoine Masure ancien notaire &  
 propriétaire demeurant au même lieu, maison  
 de Broisy (ancien) fille de Mr. Jacques François  
 Vanier et de M<sup>lle</sup>. Louise - Nicole - Genevieve Lhomme  
 Jamon, son Grand, tous deux décédés.  
 Et lesdits faits d'après les actes  
 comparés, ils l'ont signé avec nous.

C. Obier    Roze    Copieur

LR 49 - Page from the civil registry of the municipality of Braine dated August 30, 1837, indicating that Louis Roze, tax collector, residing in Braine, witnessed the death of Marie Thérèse Vanier, wife of Paul Masure, former notary, in Braine.

N<sup>o</sup> 50.  
 Décès  
 Louis Roze  
 (66 ans. - marié.)

Le Citoyen maire a été accompagné de son adjoint  
 et de son conseil municipal, et de son conseil de prud'hommes  
 et de son conseil de fabrique, et de son conseil de  
 fabrique de Braine.

ont comparu messrs. Paul Masure propriétaire, âgé  
 de cinquante ans, et Jean Paul Aretain pharmacien -  
 âgé de cinquante-cinq ans tous deux demeurant à Braine.

Lesquels nous ont déclaré que le vingt-cinq décembre  
 à dix heures et demie du soir et précédé de Braine au son  
 d'un m. Louis Roze, âgé de cinquante-six ans, propriétaire,  
 chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur et ancien percepteur de  
 Contrebande à Sireuil, natif de Laférée (Ardennes) époux  
 de Julie Lucile Flamain, fils de m. Pierre Roze -  
 résidant au mont Saint Jean, et de m. Marie Madeleine  
 Ainnaut, résidant à Hannapart (Ardennes)

Les comparus ont dit être amis du défunt.  
 Le défunt fait ils ont signé avec nous.

P. Masure J. P. Aretain



Death of Louis Roze  
 May 25, 1851 in Braine (Aisne)

*In the year eighteen-hundred-and-fifty-one, on the twenty-sixth of May, at one o'clock in the morning, in town hall and before us, François Eugène Lainné, mayor and city clerk of the city of Braine,*

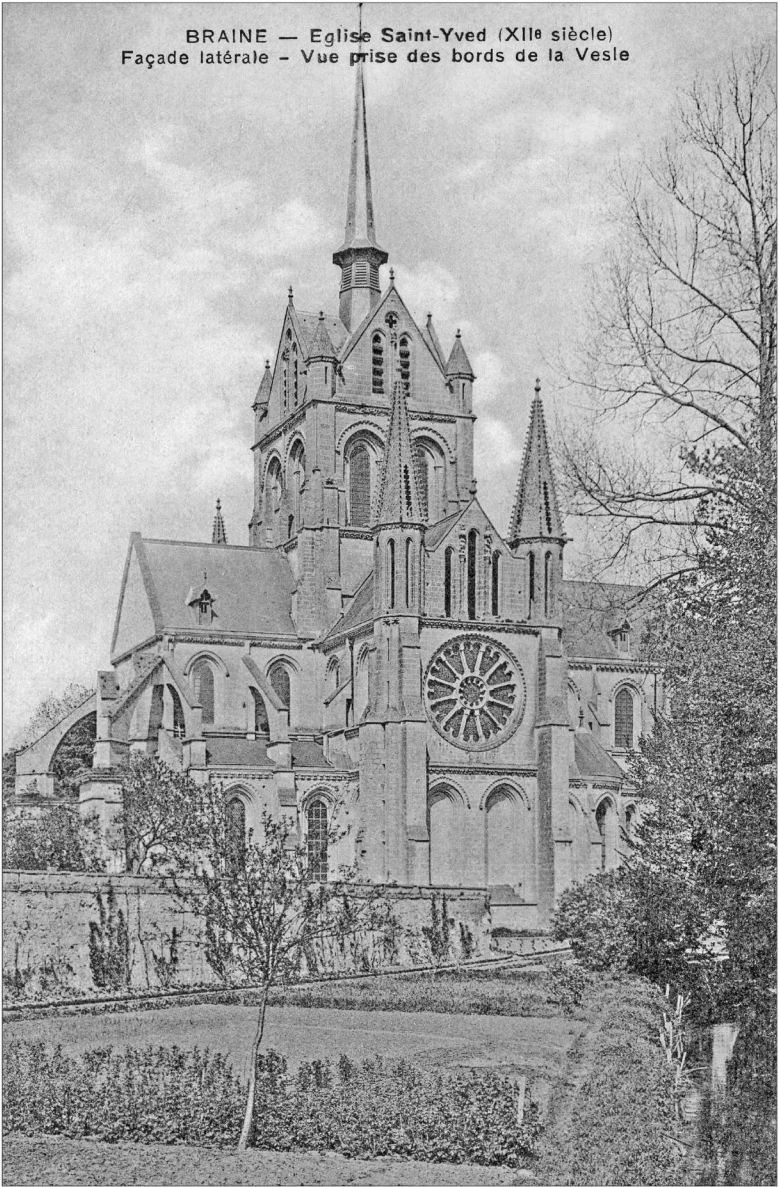
*Appeared Messrs. Paul Masure, landowner, fifty years old, and Jean Paul Aretain, pharmacist, fifty-five years old, both residing in Braine.*

*These two men declared the death, on the twenty-fifth of May, at ten o'clock in the evening, in Braine, in his home, at the age of sixty-six, of Mr. Louis Roze, landowner, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur and former tax collector, a native of Laférée (Ardennes), husband of Ms. Julie Lucile Flamain, son of Mr. Pierre Roze, who died in Mont Saint Jean, and of Ms. Marie Madeleine Ainnaut, who died in Hannapart (Ardennes).*

*The witnesses said they were friends of the dead man.*  
*Having read the statement, they signed it with us.*

LR 50 - Page from the civil registry of the municipality of Braine dated May 26, 1851, recording the death at his home in Braine of Louis Roze.

BRAINE — Église Saint-Yved (XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)  
Façade latérale - Vue prise des bords de la Vesle



*Braine – Église Saint-Yved*

Louis Roze's funeral service was celebrated in this church  
Postcard, 1890s. – France – Author's collection.

## MYSTÉRIOUS MOSES

In light of this evidence, how could anyone believe that this exemplary officer, whose military career was spotless, whose beautiful penmanship and flourished signature can still be admired, this loving and respected father, might have donned the ragged clothing of a loner and a rambler, been branded as a cowardly deserter and teller of tall tales, and stigmatized as such by two travelers from Nacogdoches soon after his claimed escape from the besieged fort ?

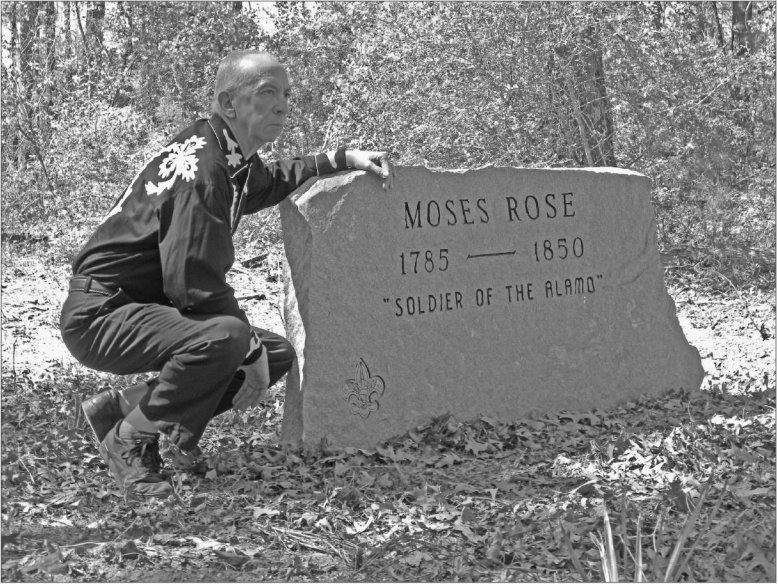
On his way home, from the Alamo, the first place on which he [Rose] found the inhabitants at home, was the residence of a Mr. Leaky, in Washington County. His legs were full of cactus thorns, & very sore; & he was greatly worn by traveling on foot. He asked, & obtained, of Mr. Leaky, permission to remain & rest for a while. He related, to Mr. Leaky & family, the particulars of what he last saw in the Alamo, & of his escape; in which they seemed to take great interest. He remained there two days; enjoying the hospitalities of house-room & board; & sleeping on his own blanket.



*A cactus in front of a stone wall at the Alamo.*  
Photograph by Gérard Dôle.

On the second evening, two men, whom Rose had never seen or heard of before, & who seemed to be utter strangers to the family, came to Mr. Leaky's, & spent the night. Mr. Leaky entertained them, with an account of Rose's adventures; in which they seemed to take great

interest. On the next morning, on their departure, they asked Mr. Leaky to walk with them. He went, & remained out about an hour; during which time, they told him that they were from Nacogdoches; that they knew that old Frenchman Rose, well; that it had not been more than ten days since he had left Nacogdoches; that he had never seen the Alamo; that he was an old lying impostor, who made his living by traveling, & telling big lies, to excite sympathy; & advised Mr. Leaky to ship him immediately. So saying, they mounted their horses, & rode away.<sup>19</sup>



**Gerard Dôle kneeling by the granite stone which marks the supposed final resting place of Moses Rose "Soldier of the Alamo."  
Photograph by Christine Dôle de la Guigneraye.**

Even Moses Rose's final resting place remains controversial. There is no tangible proof that the "Soldier of the Alamo" was buried in the Ferguson Family cemetery, located about four miles north of Logansport, Louisiana.

Trees and bushes had overgrown the small, long-forgotten graveyard in Funston woods. Few original grave markers remained when

19. "William Zuber, letter, 1877" in Hansen, Todd (ed.). *The Alamo Reader*, *op. cit.*



Raymond Powell, a member of the DeSoto Parish Historical Society, began searching for the tomb of the man who died as an invalid on the Ferguson farm at Castor Creek, about six and a half miles from Logan's Ferry (present day Logansport). Finally, discovering a grave in the Ferguson Family Cemetery marked only with a yucca plant, Mr. Powell convinced himself that it belonged to Moses Rose, for the yucca is "native to South Texas, had to be brought into Louisiana," as he told visitor Donald Jelinek. On the debatable strength of this clue, the DeSoto Parish Historical Society nevertheless erected a new granite stone and approved Moses Rose's supposed gravesite as a Historical Site.

Mysterious Moses, the only Alamo defender who declined to cross over the alleged "line in the sand" drawn by William B. Travis, choosing instead to slip out of the fort to safety just hours before the final assault, has haunted the nights of many Texas historians since. But if Rose's body lies a-mouldering in the grave, could his soul be marching on?

Writing of spooky experiences at the Alamo, Dr. James L. Choron asserted:

There have been literally dozens of reports of a lone man, dressed in the clothing of the time, carrying a long rifle, walking slowly toward San Antonio, from Nacogdoches. When passersby stop to investigate the strange sight, they are told only that he is trying to "get back to the Alamo, where he belongs". It is thought that this is the restless, guilty soul of Louis M. (Moses) Rose, the "coward of the Alamo", who, regretting his flight, is now damned for eternity to try and regain his honor by returning to the battle.<sup>20</sup>

Brrr! What a chilling encounter! But, as they say, "in France, everything ends with a song." So allow me to share these mischievous *mise en garde*<sup>21</sup> stanzas that my late Parisian friend Professeur Choron<sup>22</sup>

20. Choron, James L. *Dawn at the Alamo: A Ghost Encounter and Chilling Tales of Ghostly Experiences at the Alamo*. Online

<http://www.texasescapes.com/Paranormal/Alamo-Ghost.htm>.

21. *Warning* in French.

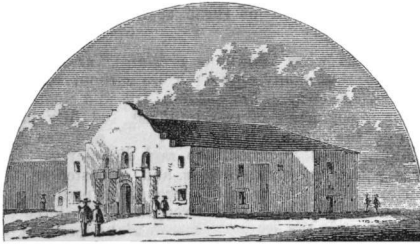
22. The late Professeur Choron was a renowned French humorist, co-founder of *Hara-Kiri*, a satirical French magazine similar to Harvey Kurtzman's *Mad*.

(not related to Dr. James L. Choron) would have whispered in your left ear:

When your path at midnight dark  
By the Shrine goes-es  
And someone whistles “wooo ooo”  
That’s Mysterious Moses!

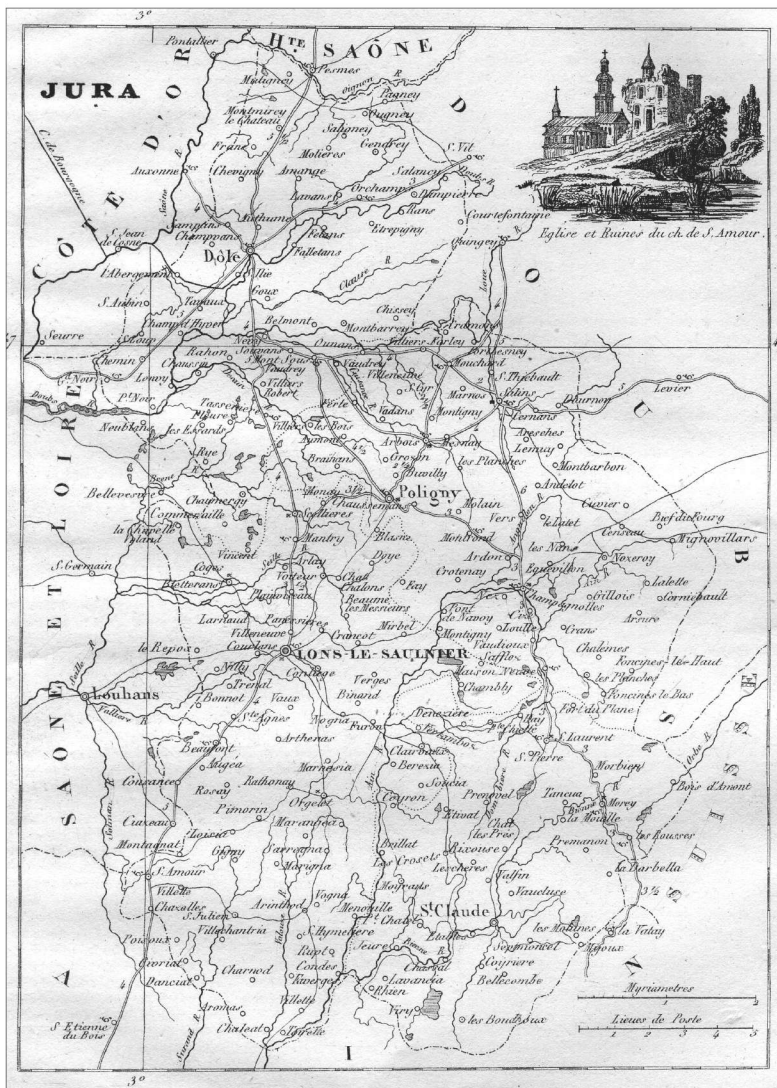
He sees all, he knows all  
He’s just been everywhere  
Some night he might wait for you  
In his San Antone’s lair.

Across from the Alamo  
Walk upon your toes-es  
If someone whistles “wooo ooo”  
That’s Mysterious Moses!





# Chapter 3 CHARLES GOUGET



**Jura – La France Pittoresque, Paris, 1835**  
Author's collection.

## **GOUGET: OFFICIER D'EMPIRE, CHEVALIER DE LA LÉGIION D'HONNEUR**

Charles Gouget was born on December 19, 1784, in Chaussin (in the Jura). His parents were baker François Gouget and his wife, Catherine Chaillet.

As the replacement of a conscript drafted by the lottery system, he was inducted into the 21st Regiment of Chasseurs à Cheval on November 1, 1805.

In 1808, he was promoted to brigadier. He attained the rank of sergeant on February 5, 1814. Discharged in 1815, and then called up for service again in the 9th Regiment of Chasseurs à Cheval on November 4, 1817, Gouget was promoted to second lieutenant in 1823.

His campaigns took him to Prussia first, in 1806; to Poland in 1807, and to Spain from 1808 to 1813. There, he was wounded by a lance blow to his left pectoral. He also saved the life of Second Lieutenant Louis Roze.

He then participated in the campaigns in France in 1814 and 1815, and returned to Spain from 1823 to 1824.



*Chaussin (Jura)*  
**Charles Gouget's native village**  
**France – Author's collection.**



*Chasseur à cheval, 1812*  
 Engraving by Hippolyte Bellangé (1800-1866)  
 France – Author's collection.

In an act of bravery, Charles Gouget rescued a woman from fire in Nîmes, on the night of October 25, 1821. This deed earned him a silver medal from His Excellency the Interior Minister.

| NUMÉROS D'ENREGISTREMENT<br>et<br>SIGNALEMENS.   | DATES<br>DES ENGAGEMENTS,<br>des réquisitions, des<br>conscriptions, des<br>incorporations,<br>et de l'arrivée au corps. | NUMÉROS<br>DES BATAILLONS<br>ou<br>ESCADRONS,<br>et des<br>COMPAGNIES. | GRADES.<br>DATES DES NOMINATIONS<br>et des<br>BREVETS D'HONNEUR. | DATES ET MOTIFS<br>DES SORTIES DU CORPS,<br>BLESSURES, GENRE DE MORT<br>ACTIONS D'ÉCLAT,<br>ET CAMPAGNES DE GUERRE. |
|--|--|--|--|---|
| <del>N<sup>o</sup> 803 Charles Gouget<br/>à Chaudry<br/>fils de ... et de ...<br/>né le 19 ...<br/>canton de ...<br/>département de ...<br/>taille d'un mètre 44 centimètres<br/>visage ovale ...<br/>yeux ... nez ...<br/>bouche ... menton ...<br/>cheveux ...</del> | Arrivé le 10<br>français au 14<br>...<br>...   | N <sup>o</sup> ...<br>...<br>...                                       | ...<br>...<br>...<br>...   | ...<br>...<br>...<br>...  |

*Military records: Description of Charles Gouget.*

Although a hardened soldier, he was again wounded by two sword blows during the retreat from Spain.

Evaluated as an officer with a record of “very good conduct and excellent habits,” he was recommended for membership in the Légion d’Honneur as Chevalier. The request is signed by Field Marshal Inspector Goumier and Lieutenant-General d’Ordonneau, and certified by Colonel Comte D’Hautpoul in Madrid, on August 22, 1824. Finally, on May 23, 1825, Charles Gouget became a Chevalier de la Légion d’Honneur.

Promoted to lieutenant in 1830, Gouget was then stationed in Belgium from August 13 to September 25, 1831, and from November 17, 1832 to January 4, 1833. He ended his career in 1838, in the 4<sup>th</sup> Regiment de Chasseurs à Cheval as a captain, a rank to which he had been promoted in 1837.

Still unmarried, Captain Gouget wished to retire, despite the fact that he had not attained the two years of seniority required in his rank. He nevertheless requested a retirement pension. His request was supported by Lieutenant General Lalaing d’Audenarde, Inspecteur Général de Cavalerie, who wrote that Charles Gouget “no longer has the physical strength necessary to fulfill the duties of his position suitably.” Gouget’s colonel added, “the veteran has always served loyally, in times of both peace and war.” Moreover, Field Marshal de Castelbajac notes that Charles Gouget “has only one horse, and cannot buy a second one.”

In the end, on February 1, 1839, Gouget was granted a retirement pension amounting to 1,520 francs.

Like many other courageous soldiers who fought alongside Napoleon 1st from 1792 to 1815, Charles Gouget was decorated with the Croix de Sainte-Hélène, created by Napoléon III in 1857 to reward the veterans still alive at the time.

In 1859, when Charles Gouget was pensioned off as a Chevalier de la Légion d’Honneur, he resided in Dôle, in the Jura. He remained there until his death on May 4, 1875.

N<sup>o</sup> M<sup>o</sup> 47

4<sup>ème</sup> Régiment de chasseurs à cheval



Gouget, Charles, Fils de Francis & de Catherine Chaillet,  
 Né le 19 Décembre 1784, à Châumberin Département du Jura.

| Détail des services -<br>Designation des corps ;<br>Interruption de service ;  | Grades<br>ou<br>emplois              | Dates des<br>promotions à<br>chaque grade ou<br>emploi. | Durée<br>des interruptions<br>de service. | Campagnes        | Observations                       |
|--|--------------------------------------|---|---|------------------|------------------------------------|
| M <sup>o</sup> 2 <sup>e</sup> Régiment de chasseurs à cheval   | 1 <sup>er</sup> 2 <sup>e</sup> 1805  | ans 1805  |   | 1806 en Suisse   | Étant sous-officier M <sup>o</sup> |
| "  | "                                    | "   |   | 1807 en Belgique | Boulogne en M <sup>o</sup> le      |
| "  | "                                    | "   |   | 1808             | "                                  |
| M <sup>o</sup> 5 <sup>e</sup> " id. (Angoulême)  | M <sup>o</sup> 1 <sup>er</sup> légis | 1 <sup>er</sup> Février 1814                            |   | 1809 en France   | Ministre des Intérieur             |
| "  | "                                    | "   |   | 1810 en Belgique | une médaille d'argent pour         |
| "  | "                                    | "   |   | 1811             | avoir dans le trait de Blau        |
| "  | "                                    | "   |   | 1812             | en 1811, avoir une fourmi          |
| "  | "                                    | "   |   | 1813             | de l'Indon Sim inconnue            |
| Rappelé en service par M <sup>o</sup> le Gouverneur de<br>la 1 <sup>re</sup> Div <sup>o</sup> Militaire dans le 2 <sup>e</sup> Régiment<br>de chasseurs à cheval | "                                    | "   | 2 ans 5 mois<br>11 jours.                 | 1814 en France   | Nismes -                           |
| "  | M <sup>o</sup> 1 <sup>er</sup> légis | 4 <sup>e</sup> 1817                                     |   | 1815 en France   | "                                  |
| "  | "                                    | "   |   | 1820 en Belgique | "                                  |
| "  | "                                    | "   |   | 1821 en Belgique | "                                  |
| "  | "                                    | "   |   | 1822             | "                                  |

**Décorations**  
 Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur le 23 mai 1839

**Actes de bravoure & citations**  
 Héros au camp de Sablon, le 16<sup>e</sup> 1806 à Quibœuf  
 Héros d'une campagne en France en Belgique en 1813 à la bataille de Grogne

**Distinctions Dates & motifs de la bonté de l'œuvre**  
 Arrêté la somme de cent francs de la somme de 1520 fr. par Ordonnance Royale du 24 février 1839 - Arrêté de contrôle le 17 mars 1839

Certifié par les membres du Conseil d'Administration.  
 à Chionsville le 17 mars 1839.  
 Signé le Colonel Duchotte, le Capitaine d'habillement Stilly, le Capitaine Penne, le Capitaine Jéme,  
 le chef d'Escadron Rippert, le Colonel Cécard, le Colonel Président Corcard -  
 Vu par nous Sous-Intendant militaire Signé Carmignox.

Pour Copie Conforme - le 1<sup>er</sup> Adjoint ffou se maire à Dôle le 13 juillet 1860

Jean Baptiste  
 de la commune de  
 M<sup>o</sup> H. Gouget, adjoint  
 au Maire de Dôle  
 Dôle, le 13 juillet 1860  
 Le Maire ffou

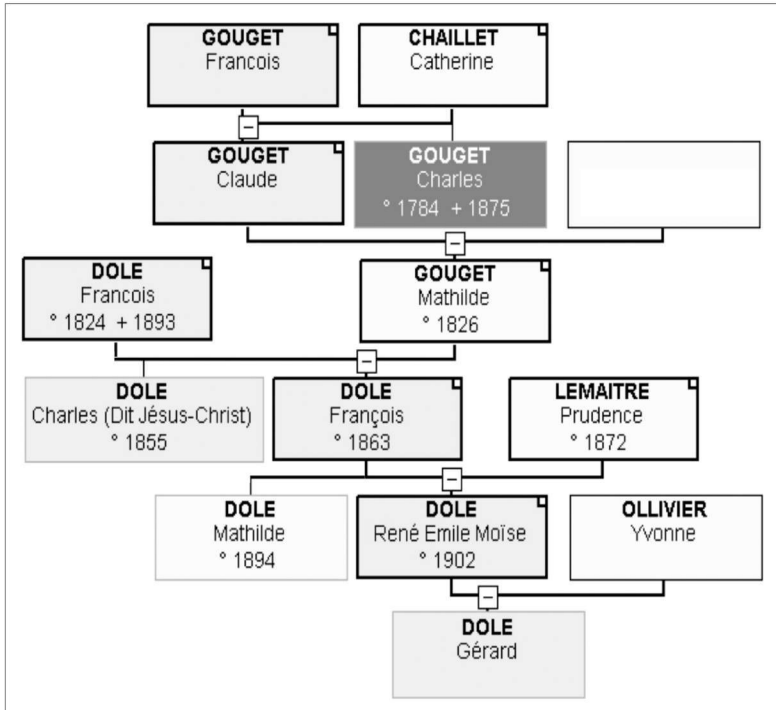



4<sup>ème</sup> Régiment de chasseurs à cheval  
 Charles Gouget's service record and rewards.





*Captain Gouget's medal for bravery,  
Croix de Sainte-Hélène, and Légions d'honneur  
Author's collection.*



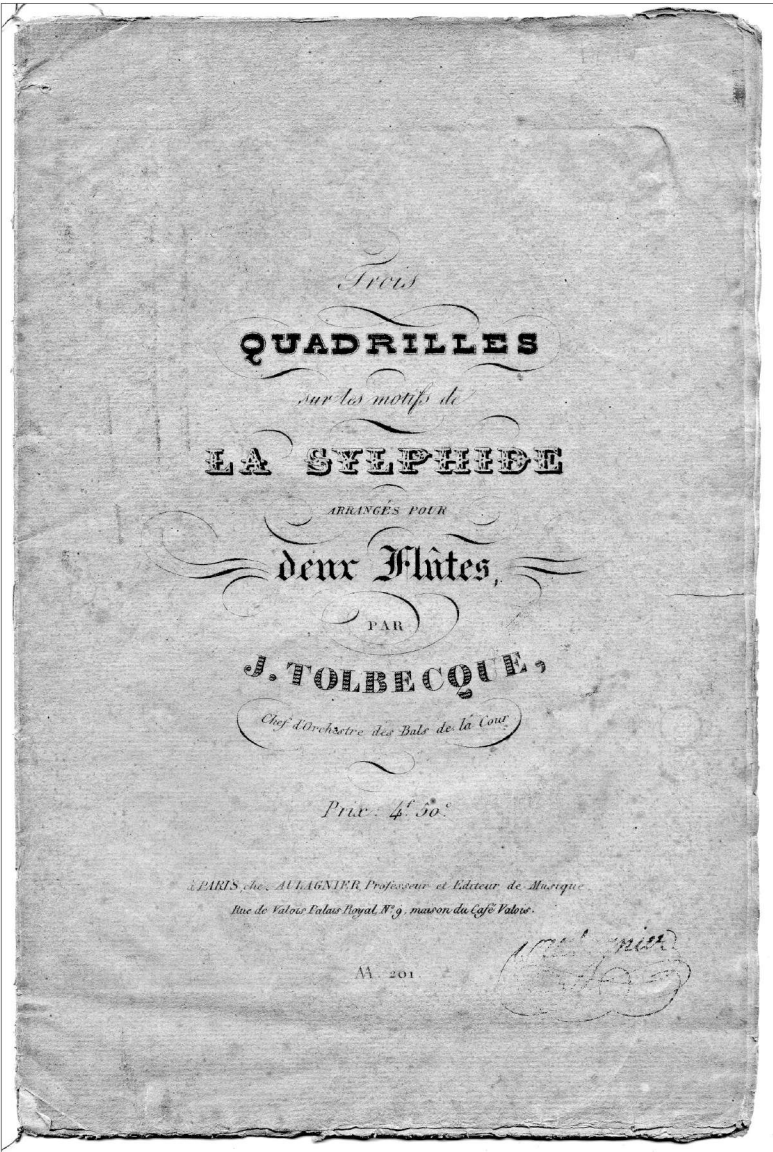
*Gouget-Dôle Family Tree.*



*François Dôle (1824-1893) posing with his young son Charles, later nicknamed "Jésus Christ," whose great uncle and godfather was Captain Charles Gouget  
Ambrotype, circa 1860 – France – Author's collection.*

*Biography and genealogy established by Stéphane Vielle.*

THREE QUADRILLES ARRANGED FOR TWO FLUTES



*Three quadrilles arranged for two flutes*  
by Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Tolbecque (1797-1869)  
Paris: Aulagnier, 1825 – Author's collection.  
This sheet music was found in Charles Gouget's papers.

1

PREMIER QUADRILLE,

Sur la SYLPHIDE.

arrangé

PAR

J. B. TOLBECQUE.

1<sup>re</sup> FLÛTE.

N<sup>o</sup> 1.  
Pantalon.

*f*

*Fin.*

*p*

*D.C.*

*Three quadrilles arranged for two flutes  
by Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Tolbecque.  
Figure n<sup>o</sup> 1: Pantalon.*

2

1<sup>re</sup> FLUTE

N<sup>o</sup> 2.  
Été.

N<sup>o</sup> 3.  
Poule.

The image shows a page of musical notation for two flutes. At the top left, the number '2' is printed. The title '1<sup>re</sup> FLUTE' is centered at the top. Below this, the first quadrille is titled 'N<sup>o</sup> 2. Été.' and is written in 2/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It consists of four staves of music. The second quadrille is titled 'N<sup>o</sup> 3. Poule.' and is written in 6/8 time with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). It consists of six staves of music. Various musical notations are present, including dynamics like 'F' (forte) and 'D.C.' (Da Capo), trills marked 'tr', and articulation marks like 'x' and 'y'.

*Three quadrilles arranged for two flutes  
by Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Tolbecque.*

Figure n<sup>o</sup> 2: Été

Figure n<sup>o</sup> 3: Poule.

N<sup>o</sup> 4.  
Pastourelle.

N<sup>o</sup> 5. Finale.  
danse  
des Sorcières.

Three quadrilles arranged for two flutes  
by Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Tolbecque.  
Figure n<sup>o</sup> 4: Pastourelle  
Figure n<sup>o</sup> 5: Finale, Danse des Sorcières.



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29 AVRIL 1836.

# JOURNAL DES DÉBATS

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JOURNAL DES DÉBATS. PARIS, FRIDAY, APRIL 29, 1836.

— We have received the New York newspapers up to the date April 8. They report the following news about matters in Texas :

“The *Red River Herald* dated March 16 prints the Declaration of Independence signed at the Convention, a document of remarkable import, staking a claim to Texas as a *free, sovereign, and independent State*.

“The account of Lieutenant-Colonel Travis’s valiant defense of Antonio, dated February 28 from Fort Alamo, in Bejar, Texas, and addressed to Major-General Sam Houston, commander-in-chief of the Texas Army, observes that the enemy entered the city of Bejar, in greater numbers, on February 23. Colonel Batres, Santa Anna’s sergeant-major, ordered Travis to surrender. He was answered by a cannon blast. Next, the enemy

— On a reçu des journaux de New-York jusqu’à la date du 8 avril. Ils donnent les nouvelles suivantes sur les affaires du Texas :

« Le *Red-River Herald*, du 16 mars, contient l’acte de la convention, document d’une rédaction remarquable, qui déclare cet Etat *libre, souverain et indépendant*.

« Le récit de la vaillante défense d’Antonio par le lieutenant-colonel Travis, daté du fort de l’Alamo à Bejar, Texas, 28 février, et adressé au major-général Samuel Houston, commandant en chef de l’armée du Texas, constate que l’ennemi entra dans la ville de Bejar, en nombre supérieur, le 23 février. Le colonel Batres, adjudant-major de Santa-Anna, lui fit sommation de se rendre. On lui répondit par une décharge de canon. Sur quoi l’ennemi commença un bombardement qui durait encore au moment où ces dépêches ont été écrites. Le colonel Travis, dès le commencement de l’attaque, dépêcha des exprès au colonel Fanning, à Goliad et aux habitants de Gonzalez et de San-Felipe. L’ennemi soutint un feu nourri de boulets et de mitraille. Sa perte fut considérable, et les Texiens ne perdirent pas un homme. Officiers et soldats se sont conduits avec le plus grand héroïsme. L’honorable David Crockett fut vu sur tous les points, animant par son exemple et ses paroles les soldats à faire leur devoir. Les assiégés s’approchaient graduellement de la citadelle, et le colonel s’attendait à une attaque générale. Il réclamait des secours immédiats, mais il est déterminé à s’enterrer, sous les ruines des remparts plutôt que de se rendre.

« *Nouvelles plus récentes.* — Un exprès arrivé le 2 mars d’Antonio, apporte la nouvelle que le colonel Travis, avec cent cinquante hommes seulement, avait continué avec une bravoure sans égale, à défendre la forteresse contre toute l’armée mexicaine; que le colonel Crockett était avec lui, et s’était particulièrement distingué; l’ennemi avait été repoussé avec une perte immense, et le colonel Fanning, de Goliad, avec 325 hommes, deux pièces de campagne et un grand nombre de citoyens volontaires qui s’étaient rangés sous son drapeau, était à deux journées d’Antonio. Le général Houston était sur le point de partir pour l’armée.»

began a bombardment which had not ended at the time these dispatches were written. As soon as the attack began, Colonel Travis dispatched couriers to Colonel Fanning, in Goliad, and to the townspeople of Gonzalez and San Felipe. The enemy sustained a lively fire of cannonballs and canister. Its losses were considerable, and the Texians did not lose a single man. Officers and soldiers conducted themselves with the greatest heroism. The Honorable David Crockett was seen at every post, encouraging the soldiers to do their duty by his words and deeds. The besieging forces were gradually approaching the citadel, and the colonel expects a general attack. He demands emergency reinforcements, but is determined to be buried under the ruins of the ramparts rather than surrender.

— *More recent news.* — A courier that arrived March 2 from Antonio brings news that with only one hundred and fifty men, Colonel Travis continued with peerless bravery to defend the fortress against the whole Mexican Army; that Colonel Crockett was with him, and distinguishes himself particularly; that the enemy was repelled with immense losses, and that Colonel Fanning, from Goliad, with 325 men, two field pieces, and a large number of citizen-volunteers who had rallied his flag, was two days from Antonio. General Sam Houston was about to join his troops.”

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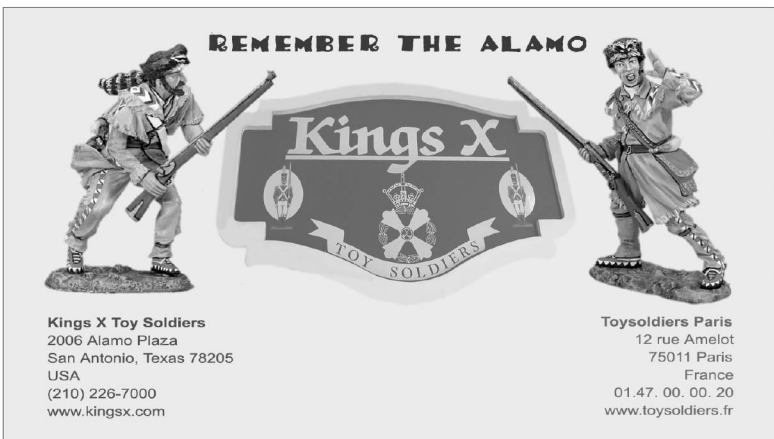
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GÉRARD DÔLE

# TEXAS 1836

MUSICAL ECHOES FROM  
THE ALAMO

FOLLOWED BY  
SAN ANTONIO ROZE

TRANSLATED BY ANITA CONRADE

Music and dance are only rarely mentioned in eyewitness accounts of the siege of the Alamo. But the joining together of men from diverse backgrounds, desperate, yet determined to go down fighting for the cause of freedom, would undoubtedly have given rise to a wealth of music and dances. The Alamo defenders could have shared them whole-heartedly, had the circumstances been less dramatic.

As it became clear to them that they were doomed, they probably thought back upon their lives, seeking courage and comfort from their memories. Perhaps the thought of a jolly celebration, with music and dances from a distant home, momentarily distracted them from their present predicament. In the absence of specific documentation, the only way to surmise the sort of tunes they might have sung, played, or danced to cheer themselves is to refer to their ancestral traditions.

In this book, Gérard Dôle, folklorist, field researcher and musician, took the liberty to wonder about David Crockett's fiddle, John McGregor's bagpipes, and, in general, the wealth of music and dance found in Texas at the time of its war for independence. He also unveils part of the mystery of Moses Rose, "Soldier of the Alamo."

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