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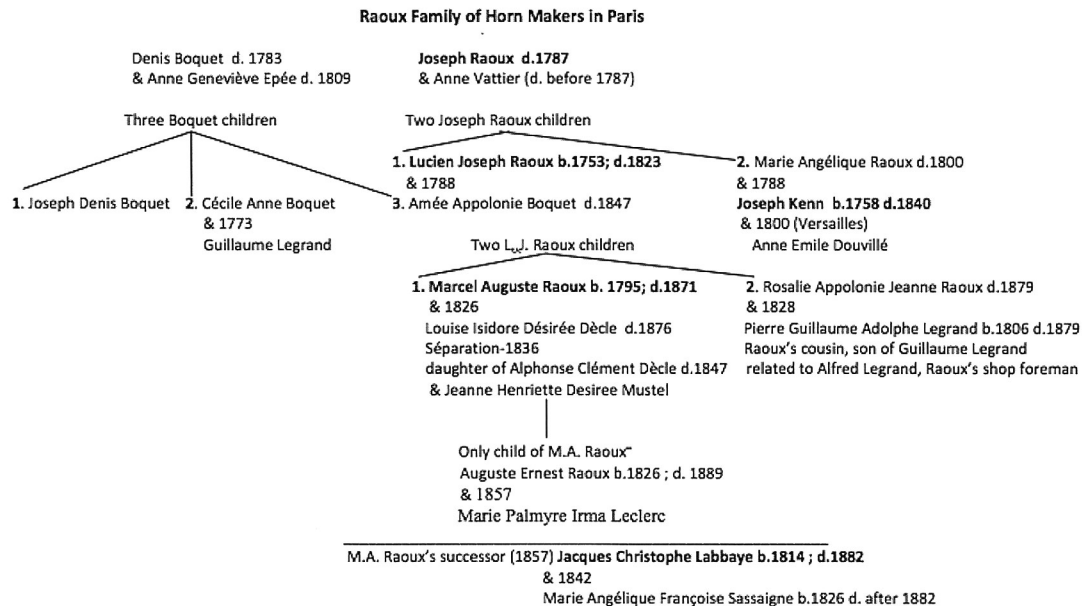
## The Raoux Family of Master Horn Makers in France: New Documents and Perspectives

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The Raoux family of master horn makers in France dominated horn manufacture during the time when its design was being transformed from the solo horn (*cor solo*) of the eighteenth century to the horn with pistons (*cor à pistons*) of the nineteenth century. Instrumental to this transformation were Lucien Joseph Raoux and his son Marcel Auguste Raoux. Working with leading Paris horn players, they aesthetically and technically defined the instrument recognized today as the French horn as an instrument uniquely capable of expressing a dual identity as both a brass and a woodwind instrument. Drawing upon research at the Archives Nationales in Paris as part of a larger study for the book, *Woodwind Makers and Players in France: New Documents and Perspectives*, this work brings to light documents heretofore unknown that form a new historical narrative of the Raoux family from the death of Joseph Raoux in 1787 to the death of his grandson, Marcel Auguste (M. A.) Raoux in 1871. These documents reveal with great detail M. A. Roux's family relationships, his instrument business and his personal and professional ties to the horn makers Denis Victor Courtois and Jacques Christophe Labbaye and the horn players Jean Joseph Kenn, Louis François Dauprat, and Joseph Meifred. His legacy is etched clearly in these engaging historical documents that serve to place the Raoux family and Marcel Auguste in particular, at the heart of the development of the modern horn. Thus, this new archival evidence traces three generations of the Raoux family of horn makers in Paris from the death of Joseph Raoux (1787) to M. A. Raoux's death (1871), while it brings to light new perspectives on the musical instrument trade in Paris during a time of social change, revolution, and fierce competition among instrument makers.

Documents presented here are largely from the Archives Nationales, Minutier Central in Paris, in addition to the *état civil* of the Archives de Paris and departmental archives. Together, they form a detailed picture of the Raoux family of horn makers (table 1) and their musical instrument business in Paris, which from 1790 was located on the rue Serpente. Importantly, the Raoux family played a central role in the development of

TABLE 1. Genealogical chart of the Raoux family of horn makers who ran the musical instrument business from the death of Joseph Raoux (1787) to the death Marcel Auguste Raoux (1871) and showing the firm's successor, Jacques Christophe Labbaye.



the horn in France especially as the designers and lead manufacturers of the “French horn.”<sup>1</sup>

**Joseph Raoux dies; his two children are the sole heirs, November 21, 1787.<sup>2</sup>**

A document of certificate and transport dated November 21, 1787 establishes that Joseph Raoux, maker of instruments in Paris died in that city September 21, 1787 at his home, Place du Louvre, Saint Germain l’Auxerrois. He was living there with his two children, Lucien Joseph and Marie Angélique, though his wife, Anne Vattier, had died some years earlier. The document states that no inventory was taken after his death and sets the value of his estate at 28,000 livres, which was to be inherited in equal shares by his two children. It stipulates that Marie Angélique should transfer to her brother her share of inheritance and he would reimburse her in cash: 200 livres paid that day, 6,600 at end of April 1788, 3,000 at the end of February 1790 and at end of February 1792, and finally 1,200 livres in the same period of the preceding payment. As it turned out, Lucien Joseph Raoux did not make the first payment until May 7, 1788. By that time, his sister had married Jean Joseph Kenn,

1. The article is organized by document. Information within each section is derived from the document cited in the subheading, including any direct quote not marked otherwise.

I. Abbreviations for citations

a. Abbreviations are used to cite document sources.

AN - Archives Nationales, Paris:

MC - Minutier Central, Paris

AJ13 – Archives of the Opéra de Paris

AJ37 – Archives of the Conservatoire de Paris

AP - Archives de Paris

EC – Etat civil (birth, death and marriage records) V3E (to 1859) V4E (after 1860)

AD - Archives Départementales (followed by name of department)

References for documents of the AN are given according to AN standard format: AN, MC, followed by etude, box (liasse) number and date.

II. Musical instrument terminology

French terms for musical instruments, their parts, and mechanisms are given as they appear in the MC documents for the purpose of organological clarity and accuracy.

III. French translation

Translation of the French archival documents to English follows the original French text as closely as possible to best convey the meaning, legal terminology, and historic contexts. French words commonly used in English and that appear in general English dictionaries are not, for the most part, translated to English.

2. AN, MC LXX-82. 21 November 1787, Certificate (Notoriété) & Transport of succession rights, Dlle Raoux and her brother.



musician at the Académie Royale de Musique, who accepted the payment on behalf of his wife. The document is signed by the three parties: M. A. Raoux, L. J. Raoux, and J. Kenn.

**Lucien Joseph Raoux marries Amée Appolonie Boquet, January 13, 1788.<sup>3</sup>**

Less than two months after the settlement of his father's estate, L. J. Raoux married Amée Appolonie Boquet, daughter of the deceased Sieur Denis Boquet, master carpenter (d. 1783), and Dlle Anne Geneviève d'Epée, his widow living in Paris on the rue de Beaune parish Saint Sulpice in a house she purchased in 1777, located across from the hotel of the musketeers. The marriage contract shows that L. J. Raoux was still living at his father's residence. "Being present S. Lucien Joseph Raoux, maker of musical instruments son emancipated of deceased S. Joseph Raoux, also maker of musical instruments in Paris and deceased Dlle Anne Vattier, living in Paris Place du Louvre parish Saint Germain l'Auxerrois." The marriage celebration took place in front of the church according to civil rules and regulations and in the presence of their parents and friends. Friends and family of the future wife present for the marriage were:

Sr Joseph Denis Boquet master butcher in Paris, brother, and Veronique Delornne his wife,  
 Dlle Ann Boquet, sister; De Magdelaine D'Epée, maternal aunt,  
 Sr Laurent D'Epée, maternal uncle,  
 Guillaume LeGrand master butcher in Paris, brother-in-law and Dlle Cecile Anne Boquet, his wife,  
 Sr François Louis Delorme master charcutier in Paris and Marie Nicole Mallard his wife,  
 S. Pierre Giffard master pastry chef in Paris and Germain Fournier, his wife and also  
 Sr Germien Andrieux locksmith in Versailles maternal uncle of the future wife

L. J. Raoux brought to the marriage the value of his instrument business, his personal belongings and monies from the estate settlements of his father and mother which together totaled 31,775 livres and included two houses and wooded land located in Bièvre le Chatel, Roule de Versailles that he sold July 25, 1795, for 3,683 livres. Relative to the total sum, the future husband noted that he owed his sister 14,000 livres according to

3. AN, MC XLIV-600. 13 January 1788, Marriage contract between M. Raoux [Lucien Joseph] and Mlle Boquet [Amée Appolonie Boquet].

the terms of the transport made after the death of his father. Madame Boquet gave her daughter, the future wife, a gift of 6,000 livres to bring to the marriage, of which 2,000 livres was in clothes and other personal effects and 4,000 livres in cash inherited from her father. The marriage contract shows that L. J. Raoux worked with his father in the instrument business at Place du Louvre and at his father's death, continued there as master of the workshop.

**Marie Angélique Raoux marries Jean-Joseph Kenn, a leading horn player in Paris, April 13, 1788.<sup>4</sup>**

Only three months after the marriage of L. J. Raoux, on April 13, 1788, his sister married the horn player, Jean Joseph Kenn. Thus, within eight months of Joseph Raoux's death, both of his children had married. Marie Angélique's marriage to one of the leading horn players of the time, a friend and colleague of her father and brother, was quite in keeping with French family traditions in the arts and métiers (trades). The marriage took place in Versailles as Marie Angélique was living there with her uncle, Sr Jean Andrieux:

Present were: Sieur Jean Joseph Kenne [sic] musician of the Académie Royale de Musique, ordinarily in Paris rue Saint Denis parish of Saint Nicolas des Champs, being this day in Versailles, son of deceased Sieur Christophe Philippe Kenne [sic], tailor of clothes in the town of Deux Ponts and Anne Marie Siglerine, his wife, on the one hand, and Demoiselle Marie Angélique Raoux, living in Versailles rue de la Paroisse, parish Notre Dame chez Sieur Jean Andrieu her uncle, master locksmith in the same city, daughter emancipated of deceased Joseph Raoux, maker of instruments in Pairs and Anne Vattier his wife, on the other hand. . . . In the presence of the said Sieur Andrieu, of S. François Marcel Douvillé, ordinary of the music of the King and Dlle Anne Andrieu his wife, first cousin of the said future wife.<sup>5</sup>

4. 4. AN, MC CII-541. 13 April 1788, Marriage contract, Marie Angélique Raoux and Jean Joseph Kenn.

5. Furent present S. Jean Joseph Kenne, musicien de l'Académie Royale de Musique, demeurant ordinairement à Paris rue Saint Denis paroisse de St. Nicolas des Champs étant ce jour à Versailles majeure fils de défunt S. Christophe Philippe Kenne, tailleur d'habits en la ville du Deux Ponts et d'Anne Marie Siglerine son épouse, d'une part. Et Demoiselle Marie Angélique Raoux, demeurant à Versailles rue de la paroisse, paroisse Notre Dame chez le S. Jean Andrieu son oncle maître sellier en la même ville, majeure fille de défunt Joseph Raoux, facteur d'instruments à Paris et d'Anne Vattier son épouse, d'autre part.... En presence du dit Sieur Andrieux, du S. François Marcel Douvillé, ordinaire de la Musique du Roi et Dlle Anne Andrieux son épouse, cousine germaine de la dite future épouse.

Serving as witnesses were François Marcel Douvillé, ordinary of the music to the King, and Dlle Anne Andrieux his wife, first cousin of Marie Angélique. Kenn brought to the marriage a total of 2,400 livres while Marie Angélique bought 13,800 livres, the sum she inherited from her father's estate, 2,200 livres in cash and personal items such as jewelry, clothes, and bedding, and from her inheritance on the mother's side, an annual revenue of 400 livres. The 13,800 livres was the amount owed to her by her brother, L. J. Raoux, which she inherited from her father, and had transferred to her brother according to the terms of the 1787 transport described above.<sup>6</sup>

**Kenn's second marriage to Dlle Douvillé, cousin of the deceased Dlle Raoux, Versailles, July 28, 1800 (fig. 1).<sup>7</sup>**

Kenn's marriage was short-lived as Marie Angélique died January 23, 1800. Within a few months of her death, he married for a second time with Anne Emilie Douvillé who was about twenty years old, the daughter of François Marcel Douvillé and his wife, who had served as witnesses to Kenn's first marriage. The wedding took place in Versailles on July 28, 1800. Kenn is described as a Professor at the Conservatoire of music, age forty-two, born at Deux Ponts in Germany and living in Paris rue Hautteville no. 26 division Poissonnière third arrondissement, which means that he had moved from the 1788 address he had shared with Marie Angélique Raoux, who had met Kenn when she was living at the home of Kenn's future wife, her cousin, on the rue du Couronnu no. 62 in Versailles. Among the witnesses to Kenn's marriage with Dlle Douvillé are Louis Joseph Francoeur, former administrator of the Théâtre des Arts, rue St. Martin no. 57 and Lucien Joseph Raoux, who kept close ties with his friend and colleague Kenn, throughout his life.

**Kenn dies in Fontainebleau, February 16, 1840, where he was living in a house owned by the Raoux family.<sup>8</sup>**

At age eighty-two, Kenn died in Fontainebleau on February 16, 1840. A pensioner of the Académie Royale de Musique, he left an estate valued at 2,374 francs, to his widow, Anne Emile Douvillé, who died in Fontainebleau six years later, September 12, 1846. Although the house in Fontainebleau in which he resided had been owned by L. J. Raoux and

6. Ibid.

7. AD of the Yvelines, EC.

8. AD of Seine-et-Marne, EC and successions, 143Q11.

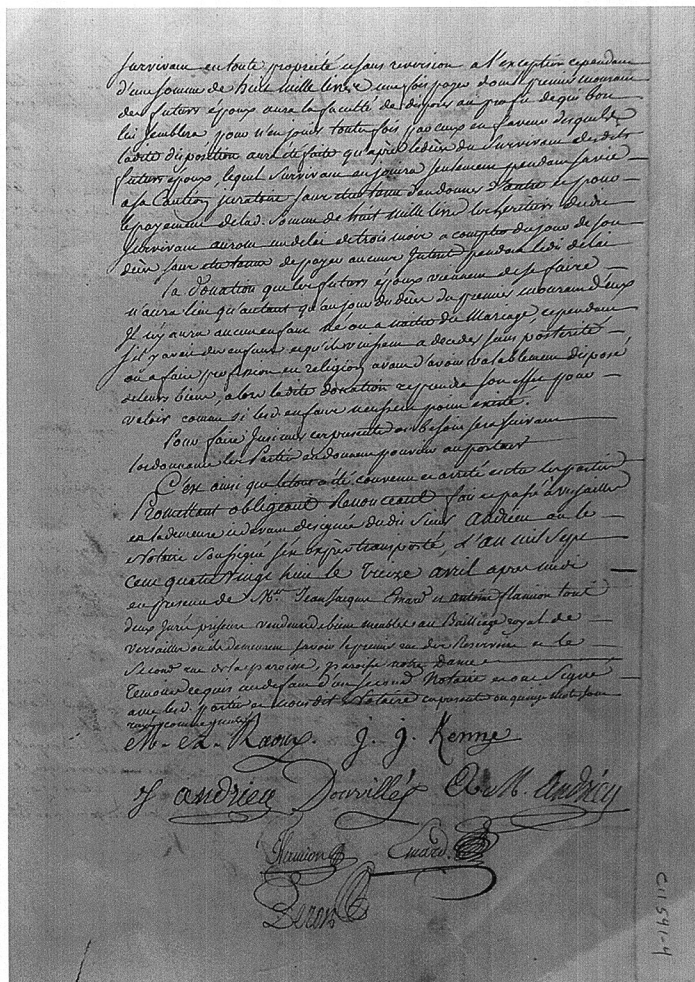


FIGURE 1. Marriage Contract, Marie Angélique Raoux and Jean Joseph Kenn – April 13, 1788, last page with signatures. Photo by the author.

then inherited by his two children at Raoux's death in 1823, Kenn lived out his life there by virtue of usufruct from his first marriage to Marie Angélique Raoux and his friendship with the Raoux family.

### **Raoux writes to the Opéra about horns made for Buch, Kenn, and Duvernoy.<sup>9</sup>**

A letter by L.J. Raoux to the administration of the Opéra shows that he was making horns for the two leading players of that institution, Buch and Kenn, as well as making horns for Frédéric Nicolas Duvernoy (b. Monbéliard, October 16, 1765; d. Paris July 29, 1838). Professor of horn at the Conservatoire from 1790, Duvernoy was a renowned soloist, and important composer of horn music and a *Méthode de Cor* (1802). Raoux's letter reads:

Paris, the 23 Nivose 10th year [13 January 1802]

One can deliver them without cases

Citizen

I have the honor of advising you that I have had transported to the Opéra the two cases that were at the shop of the Citizen Debouche Gainier, rue St. Honoré no. 277 in order to advise on the way of sending the two horns that I made for the Citizens Buch and Kenn, not only couldn't the horns be sent there but the cases are worth nothing – they are broken and in the worst condition. I beseech you to let me know if I must deliver the horns without cases as they will be finished the 5<sup>th</sup> of next month – I asked about all that must be done – they told me 20 days – the horn of Citizen Frédéric Duvernois (sic) is finished and in its case.

I salute [you] in high esteem

Raoux [Lucien Joseph]

rue Serpente<sup>10</sup>

9. AN AJ13-52 13 January 1802. Letter holograph, Paris 23 Nivose year 10, M. A. Raoux to the Opéra administration. Letter envelope, "to M. Célérier Administrator of the Theater of the Republic and of the Arts at the Opéra."

10. Letter holograph, L. J. Raoux to the Opéra - Paris ce 23 Nivose an 10ième – on peut les livrer sans étuis – J'ai l'honneur de vous donner avis que j'ai fait transporter de l'Opéra les deux étuis chez le Citoyen Debouche Gainier rue St Honoré no. 277 pour aviser aux moyens de faire aler [sic] les deux cors que j'ai fait pour les Citoyens Buch et Kenn, non seulement les cors n'y peuvent aler [sic] mais les étuis ne valent rien ils sont brisés et dans le plus mauvais état, je vous prie de me faire savoir si je dois livrer les cors sans étuis qui seront fini le cinq du mois prochain j'ai demandé le tous qu'il faudroit pour en faire il m'a dit vingt jours, le cor du Citoyen Frédéric Duvernois [sic] est fini dans son étui. – Salut en haute [sic] estime – [signed] Raoux – rue Serpente.

The letter shows that the Opéra was purchasing horns from Raoux and that he was making them to specification for the solo horn players of the Opéra. Significantly, the model of horn being supplied to Kenn, Duvernoy, Buch and later Dauprat, and Gallay, was the cor solo, first made by Raoux around 1780. When Dauprat won his premier prix at the Conservatoire in 1797, the instrument given to him by that institution was a cor solo made by Raoux, which is now in the collections of the Musée de la Musique in Paris. Importantly, the cor solo designed by Raoux (fig. 2) featuring five crooks in G, F, E, E-flat, and D with newly styled mounts, and being suited perfectly to the technique of hand stopping used by virtuosi, ushered in the golden age of the French school of horn making and playing. Moreover, it sparked new interest in composing for the horn, as evidenced by the vast corpus of horn music composed during Raoux's time. Although Dauprat worked closely with Raoux father and son on improvements to the horn, his writings make clear his insistence that changes to the horn's manufacture and mechanism be subservient to its quality of sound and range of expression in ways that reflect the French aesthetic and predilection for tonal color and nuanced expression.

**Inventory after death, Madame Vve Boquet (Anne Geneviève D'Epée), widow of Denis Boquet (d. 1783), January 28, 1809.<sup>11</sup>**

When L. J. Raoux's mother-in-law, Anne Geneviève D'Epée (mother of Amée Appolonie Boquet and widow of Denis Boquet), died January 23, 1809, she had been living at the Raoux residence on the rue Serpente no. 11 with her daughter, Cécile Anne and son-in-law, Guillaume Legrand. Also living there were L. J. Raoux and his son, Marcel Auguste, and daughter, Marie Angélique. Heirs to Mme Vve Boquet's estate were her daughter married to L. J. Raoux, Amée Appolonie Boquet, her brother, Joseph Denis, and sister, Cécile Anne. Each was named as an inheritor for one third of their parents' estate. Although the material goods left by Mme Vve Boquet came to a total value of only 350 francs plus cash on hand at 1007.50 francs, the item of greatest value was a house on the rue de Beaune, faubourg St. Germain vis à vis the hotel of the musketeers that had been purchased by Denis Boquet and his wife for 27,000 livres. Seeing that L. J. Raoux had taken

11. AN, MC XLIII-652. 28 January 1809, Inventory after death of Madame Boquet [Anne Geneviève D'Epée].



FIGURE 2. Cor solo by Marcel Auguste Raoux made c. 1826, the year he married. On loan to Victoria and Albert Museum. Made for a left-handed player, this instrument “originally belonged to Giovanni Puzzi (1797–1876) an Italian-born virtuoso, whose career flourished in both Paris and London. He could boast of having been employed by both Napoleon and the Duke of Wellington, and this horn is said to have been presented to him by the King of France, most likely Charles X (reigned 1826–1830).” Photo courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum. See color photo p. 228.

in his mother-in-law and her three children, the house on the rue Serpente must have been a lively environment for his musical instrument business.

### Testament holograph, November 1, 1820, and death record of Lucien Joseph Raoux.<sup>12</sup>

Lucien Joseph Raoux died January 27, 1823 at his home on the rue Serpente. His testament, written November 1, 1820, in but a few words reveals the true expression of his love and devotion to this wife, Amée Appolonie Boquet. Delivered to the notary February 4, 1823, it reads, “This is my testament—I give and bequeath to my dear wife, all—that which the law permits me to dispose of, made in Paris this first November 1820—by me [signed] Lucien Joseph Raoux.”<sup>13</sup>

L. J. Raoux’s death certificate states that he died at age seventy, therefore, he was born in 1753, so that he was sixty-seven when he wrote his testament, probably seeing his health failing. 1820 was likely the year he

12. AN, MC CVIII-991. 4 February 1823, Deposit of the testament [holograph], Lucien Joseph Raoux, [signed Lucien Joseph Raoux, 1 November 1820], and AP-VE3-801, death record, L J Raoux, 26 January 1823, Paris, 11th arrondissement.

13. Testament holographe, L. J. Raoux - Ceci est mon testament - Je donne et legue à ma chère épouse tout ce dont la loi me permet de disposer, fait à Paris ce premier novembre mil huit cent vingt par moi [signed] Lucien Joseph Raoux.

turned over the instrument business to his son, Marcel Auguste. That date both follows French family tradition and agrees with M. A. Raoux's statement in his own testament of 1865 that he had worked forty-five years in his musical instrument business. In light of this documentation, the attribution of a good number of Raoux horns needs to be reconsidered, as horns made 1820 or later, most likely represent the work of Marcel Auguste rather than their current attribution to L. J. Raoux. Issues with dating and attribution can be seen with several Raoux horns in the collections of the Musée de la Musique in Paris, for example: a trompe de chasse and trompe de lièvre attributed to Joseph Raoux that the Musée dates ca. 1800 is after Joseph's death. Similarly, a cor naturel made in 1828 is attributed to Lucien Joseph (d. 1823), while the horn he made for Dauprat in 1797 is stamped, "L.J.R" (Lucien Joseph), and others are stamped simply, "Raoux à Paris."

Further, Joseph Raoux's death date and his son's birthdate (1753) seem to indicate that Joseph was born ca. 1715, which means that horns of his mark were made ca. 1740–1775 rather than "end of the eighteenth century" as the Musée indicates. In a form letter by Raoux dated 1859, he states that, "for 200 years my firm exists from father to son [i.e., ca. 1660–1860] and that it was patented as supplier to all sovereigns who succeeded."<sup>14</sup> In light of his new information, the following dates are proposed for the makers of the Raoux family firm:

Marcel Auguste	1795–1871
Lucien Joseph	1753–1823
Joseph	1715–1787
Joseph père	1660–1740

After L. J. Raoux's death, his two children, Marcel Auguste, age twenty-eight, and Rosalie Appolonie Jeanne, age fourteen, would continue to live at home with their mother, Mme Boquet.

#### **Inventory after death of Lucien Joseph Raoux, February 25, 1823.<sup>15</sup>**

The inventory after death of L. J. Raoux was taken on February 25, 1823. It was made at the request of Mme Amée Appolonie Boquet, his widow, who was living in the family house in Paris, rue Serpente, no. 11,

14. See p. 152 for translation and full discussion of this letter.

15. AN, MC CVII-991. 25 February 1823, Inventory after death, Lucien Joseph Raoux.



where her husband died on January 27, 1823. Mme Boquet acted as the legal representative of her minor daughter, Dlle Rosalie Appolonie Jeanne Raoux, born during her marriage to L. J. Raoux November 8, 1809, while Marcel Auguste Raoux, her son, emancipated, age twenty-eight, represented himself and is described as "maker of instruments for the King and the Royal Theaters, living in Paris on the said rue Serpente no. 11," where he was born August 21, 1795. Following a ruling of the Justice of the Peace of the 11<sup>th</sup> arrondissement made February 4, 1823, M. A. Raoux and his sister were named as the sole, equal heirs of their father's estate. The inventory was taken in the presence of M. Jean Jacques Pacaud, retired chancellor of the consulate in Paris of the United States of America, rue de Sully no. 10, in name and surrogate guardian of the minor Raoux.

The inventory represented the worldly possessions of L. J. Raoux and his wife from the house on the rue Serpente. The house had been acquired by Raoux and his wife during their marriage and served as both their residence and Raoux's workshop. The building, located at the intersection of this narrow street and the Boulevard Saint Michel, still stands today. Raoux purchased it from the Community of the Chartreux. The sale was adjudicated on December 9, 1790 by the Municipal Officers of Paris for the price of 18,203 livres based on the estimation and designation of the house, including a colored plan made by experts of the National Assembly on August 3 of that year. The bureau of national domains of the Seine certified full payment of the house December 18, 1795. The family occupied the ground floor and the first floor, with floors two, three, and four occupied by lodgers described in the inventory under monies owed the estate (*déclarations actives*). The inventory lists the following lodgers:

The rent due since the first of January last for lodging on the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor occupied by Dlle Liard at 140 francs per year; another lodging on the third floor occupied by Dame Buchon, another at the same price since the same date; and, an apartment on the 4th floor occupied by Dame Bunon at the price of 80 francs per year.<sup>16</sup>

16. 1. Les loyers échues depuis le premier janvier dernier d'un logement au deuxième étage dans la maison ou il est présentement procédé, occupé par la Dlle Liardet à raison de cent quarante francs par an. D'un autre logement au troisième étage occupé par la D. Buchon, sur le même pris, depuis la même époque. Et d'un appartement au quatrième étage occupé par la D. Bunon à raison de quatre vingts par an.

Mr. Joseph Gabriel Derbanne, auctioneer and sales representative (Commissaire Priseur, vendeur), was charged with the inventory and evaluation of goods for the floors occupied by the Raoux family:

**The cellar** (la cave) with its entrance by the kitchen, contained eighty bottles of table wine and 200 empty bottles priced at 70 francs; a cubic meter of fire wood at 30 francs.

**The kitchen** (la cuisine), located on the ground floor was lit by a window on the court having its entrance by the dining room. Its contents were priced together at 127 francs.

**The dining room** (salle à manger) on the ground floor with a window on the court—a wood bed, three mattresses, two old covers, and a bolster priced at 35 francs.

**A small room** on the first floor with a window on the street contained a sofa in cherry wood with yellow velvet of Utrecht priced at 25 francs.

**The bedroom** (chambre à coucher) with a window on the street, was a grand room, judging by its contents, among which are described: a secretary, two round tables, a painted wood bed with three mattresses, four wood chairs with straw seats, an armoire, a built-in cupboard that contained L. J. Raoux's clothing, and a small pendulum clock in marble and ivory of an old model, all priced together at 902 francs.

**The Salon** was next to the bedroom having two windows on the court. Among its contents are about thirty engravings under glass in wood frames with gold leaf priced at 150 francs, silver for dining weighing 972 grams priced at 198 francs, a pendulum clock in white marble with columns and gold-plated brass in a glass case priced at 72 francs. The salon's contents were priced together at 770 francs.

**The workshop** was located on the ground floor with windows on the street. Its contents are described as follows:<sup>17</sup>

In the atelier on the ground floor with windows on the street	
50 files, 20 scrapers, 40 hammers of wood and iron, 10 anvils of iron, 40 mandrills, all priced together at	45 francs
25 kilograms of laminated copper in plates and half worked, all priced	50 francs

17. Dans l'atelier au rez de chaussée, éclairé sur la rue – Cinquante limes, vingt grattoirs, quarante marteaux, de bois et fer, dix bigorner de fer, quarante mandrins, prisé le tout quarante cinq francs – 45. Vingt cinq kilogrammes de cuivre laminé, en planches et à moitié travaillé, prisé cinquante francs . . . 50. Deux établis, un tour, prisés vingt francs – 20. Deux trompes de chasse et quatre trompettes, prisées ensemble cent dix francs . . . 110

Two workbenches, a lathe, all priced	20 francs
Two hunting horns and 4 trumpets – priced together	110 francs
Cash on hand [dernier comptants]	1,540 francs

The pricing of the instruments and tools totaled 205 francs. Mme Vve Raoux noted that in the secretary of the salon had the cash on hand at the death of her husband totaling 1,540 francs that she would use to pay monies owed by the estate listed under *déclarations passives*. The total value of the house contents was 3,739.50 francs, which represented only about one-tenth of the total inventory value, the rest coming from his instrument business, inheritance, real estate, and interest income totaling 31,774 francs, the same sum that L. J. Raoux brought to his marriage in 1788, including what he had inherited from his father.

Under monies owed to the estate (*déclarations actives*) for instruments furnished by Raoux and also for repairs total 2,457 francs:

to the maison militaires of the King	1,100 francs
to S.A.R. le Duc de Bourbon	850 francs
to the Académie Royal de Musique	140 francs
to the Théâtre Royale de l'Opéra Comique	25 francs
to Mr. Dybouville	72 francs
to Mr. Meifred [Joseph]	135 francs
to Mr. Archinard	15 francs
and to Mr. le Comte de Choulot	120 francs

Of monies owed by the estate, the largest amounts due were 1,822 francs for taxes owed on the sale of goods, 400 francs for the wine merchant, 300 for the tailor, and 300 for the doctor. The domestic, Adèle, was owed 120 francs for six months of wages, which brings some perspective to relative living costs at this time. Although by law L. J. Raoux's estate was to be divided equally between the two children, this was delayed since neither was married and both were living at home. Added to this was a mutual donation made between Raoux and Mme Boquet stating that the house and property went to Mme Boquet in usufruct. Thus, the estate was not settled until after her death in 1847, when the estate of Joseph Raoux was also settled as no inventory was taken immediately after his death. This situation proved to be problematic for M. A. Raoux since dividing the estate in equal shares with his sister twenty-four years after his father's death created a large cash deficit for his musical instrument business still located on the rue Serpente no. 11.

**Marcel Auguste Raoux marries Louise Isidore Désirée Dècle, March 25, 1826 (fig. 3).<sup>18</sup>**

Three years after his father's death, Marcel Auguste Raoux married. By then, he was in command of his father's business and horns made after about 1820, the date of L. J. Raoux's testament, are very likely by Marcel Auguste, given that he was already running the business at his father's death. The contract describes him as a "maker of horns, living in Paris rue Serpente no. 11, patented for the present year under the no. 1290, son of age of M. Lucien Joseph Raoux deceased and of Dame Apollonie Boquet, his wife, today his widow." The widow Raoux, also living on the rue Serpente no. 11, was representing her son in his marriage to Louise Isidore Désirée Dècle, the minor daughter of Charles Clément Dècle, proprietor, and Dlle Jeanne Henriette Désirée Mustel, living together on the rue du Roule no. 15. Raoux brought to the marriage:

1. His business of maker of horns that he exploits currently on rue Serpente no. 11 together with the merchandise, tools and utensils for their manufacture,
2. Monies owed to the business
3. Cash on hand together with the furniture and clothes for his personal usage; all of these objects included in the articles described above are evaluated by the parties at the sum of 32,000 francs, of which 16,000 francs only apply to the value of the business and its merchandise.
4. The quarter in rights belonging to him in a house situated in Paris rue Serpente no. 11 in which he lives. The house coming from the community that existed between M. Raoux, his deceased father, for which he is inheritor for one half and the said dame Apollonie Boquet, today his widow.
5. Half of a claim of 8,000 francs dependent upon the said succession [of his father] is owed by mortgage to him on a house situated in Fontainebleau of which the usufruct belongs to a very old person [This refers to Jean Joseph Kenn, then age 68] will be brought together in ownership, at the death of the beneficiary

M. Raoux declares that the succession of his father has not yet been liquidated and the goods that he amassed in the succession are tied up by the effects of usufruct made to his mother according to the terms of her marriage contract. And finally, the totality of his contribution is mortgaged by a sum of 16,000 francs which contribution was justified to the future wife and to her father and mother who recognize this fact. [He owed 8,000 francs to his sister's share of rue Serpente no. 11 and 8,000 francs was owed to him on the house in Fontainebleau.] The future husband declares that the succession

18. AN, MC LXXXIII-92. 25 Mach 1826, Contract de Mariage entre M. Raoux [Marcel Auguste] et Mlle Dècle [Louise Isidore Désirée Dècle].

dans la Convention du mariage, arrêté enjoint  
 de M<sup>rs</sup> Genevieve Françoise M<sup>lle</sup> Dèce fille de M<sup>rs</sup> Jacques François  
 Dèce, Grand-mère maternelle de la Dèce  
 de M<sup>rs</sup> Amélie Louise Guellebaud, M<sup>lle</sup> Muffel, Grand-mère  
 maternelle de la Dèce  
 de M<sup>rs</sup> Alphonse Étienne Dèce Fils de la Dèce  
 de M<sup>rs</sup> Raoux Joseph Boquet, Docteur en médecine, ami de la  
 famille de la Dèce  
 de M<sup>rs</sup> Louis Julien Oullette du Hautnet, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur  
 promiscuité ami de la famille de la Dèce  
 de M<sup>rs</sup> Pierre Julien Dèce, professeur de chant et de l'organe, ami de la Dèce  
 de M<sup>rs</sup> Dèce  
 de M<sup>rs</sup> Cevelier, Lieutenant Général de l'Armée de terre, ami de la Dèce  
 de M<sup>rs</sup> Nicolas Apollonie femme Raoux, L'ami de la Dèce  
 de M<sup>rs</sup> Paul Célestin Fabre, avocat, ami de la Dèce

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Dont acte, fait à Paris le 25 Mars 1826, à l'heure  
 quatre heures, en la demeure de M<sup>rs</sup> Dèce, en tant que Dèce  
 Indiqué et grand-père garant assisté de M<sup>rs</sup> Dèce  
 Le Kingt Cinq Mars mil huit cent vingt six.  
 Nom de la présente Convention en cas de mariage signé au bas Notaires  
 ajoutés. Louis Dèce

Les trois rayons de la  
 de la page de la Dèce  
 de la page quinze  
 sous la Dèce  
 L. J. D.

J. B. D. M.  
 a B. D. M.  
 a Boquet  
 g. f. molette  
 Muffel  
 Dèce  
 Fabre  
 M. Dèce  
 M. Dèce

FIGURE 3. Marriage contract, 25 March 1826, Raoux and Dèce, last page with signatures of witnesses. Photo by the author.

of his father has not yet been liquidated and that the goods brought together from the succession were given by donation in usufruct made to his mother according to the terms of her marriage contract.<sup>19</sup>

The father and mother of the bride put together a gift of 28,000 francs, each contributing half, and made an advance of future inheritance of their estate at 5% per year. They also gave linens, clothes, jewelry, and diamonds comprising their daughter's trousseau, including a piano by Petzold and music books. The parents of Dlle Dècle declared that, according to article 1082 of the civil code, their estate was to be divided equally between their daughter and son, M. Alphonse Clément Dècle, while the widow Raoux similarly declared that her estate would be inherited equally by her son and daughter.

### **M.A Raoux's sister marries M. Legrand, July 7, 1828.<sup>20</sup>**

On July 7, 1828, Mlle Rosalie Appolonie Jeanne Raoux, age nineteen, sister of M. A. Raoux, married Pierre Guillaume Adolphe Legrand, merchant and butcher, living in Paris on the rue Mouffetard no. 103, 12<sup>th</sup> arrondissement, son of age of M. Jean Guillaume Legrand, retired butcher, and Dame Marie Louise Sophie Dubuisson, his wife. The marriage took place at the Raoux family home on the rue Serpente no. 11

19. Apport du future – Le future époux apporte aud mariage et se comsttue en dot:

1. Le fonds du commerce de facteur de cors qu'il exploite en ce moment rue Serpente no. 11, ensemble les marchandises tant brutes que confectionées, outils et ustenesiles propre à leur fabrication

2. Les créances actives dépendant dud. fonds du commerce

3. Ses dernier comptant, ensemble les meubles meublant, habits, linges et hardes à son usage personnel; tous lesquelles objets comprise aux articles cidessus sont évaluées par les parties à la somme de trente deux mille francs, dont seize mille francs seulement s'appliquant à la valeur du fonds et de l'achalandage.

4. Le quart en doits à lui appartenant dans une maison située à Paris rue Serpente no. 11 dans laquelle il demeure lad. Maison provenant de la communauté existait entre M Raoux son père décédé dont il est héritier pour moitié et lad. D. Appolonie Boquet aujourd'hui sa veuve.

5. La moitié d'une créance de huit mille francs dépendant de lad. succession due par hypothèque sur une maison située à Fontainebleau et dans l'usufruit appartenant à une personne fort agée se réunirra à la nue propriété, au décès du jouissant. Déclare le future époux que la succession de son père n'a pas encore été liquidée et que les biens par lui recueillir dans lad succession sont grevés de l'effet de la donation en usufruit faite à sa mère aux termes de son contract de mariage.

20. AN MC CVIII 1030. 7 July 1828, Marriage contract between Mlle Rosalie Appolonie Jeanne Raoux and M. Pierre Guillaume Adolphe Legrand

where Dlle Raoux was living with her mother and brother. The latter served as witnesses for the bride, as did her friends, Jean Jacques Pacaud, retired Chancellor of the consulate of the United States of America, and his wife. Dlle Raoux brought to the marriage her inheritance from her father that consisted of 9,000 francs, half the value of the house rue Serpente no. 11, half the value of the house in Fontainebleau where Kenn was residing, 2,000 francs in cash on hand, a trousseau of 2,000 francs, and 2,000 francs in household goods. The parents of M. Legrand each gave their son half of 20,000 francs in advance of the marriage, of which 17,000 francs was based on the father's business as a butcher and 3,000 francs from a security bond that would be turned over the day of the marriage celebration. Thus, in traditional fashion, the business was transferred from father to son. The future husband brought 8,000 francs in personal goods.

**Mme Dècle leaves Raoux in 1832, a formal inventory of separation follows February 24, 1836.<sup>21</sup>**

In 1832 Mme Dècle left the Raoux residence and in 1833 sought a judicial separation and property division (*séparation de corps et biens*). Her case went before the third chamber of the Civil Tribunal of the First Instance of the Seine on December 14, 1833. The judgment was confirmed with an amendment by the Court of Cassation by decree of the Royal Court of Amiens on January 21, 1836. Following the court settlement, Mme Dècle requested an inventory of the community of goods she shared with Raoux and that the property be divided between them according to Paris law and to their marriage contract.

The inventory of separation presents a unique look into the house on rue Serpente no. 11. From February 24–26 the rooms where the family resided were inventoried as follows: the cellar, a little woodshed in the court, an alcove, a little antechamber on the first floor with a window on the rue Serpente, a study with a wardrobe, a bedroom on the same floor overlooking the rue Serpente, and a salon on the same floor with two windows on the court. Items inventoried in the salon included his wife's Petzold piano priced at 800 francs and one lot of music at 50 francs, an oak worktable, 22 francs, and two painted porcelain vases at 72 francs. On 1 March, the inventory continued with pricing of Raoux's workshop tools and merchandise as follows:

21. AN, MC III-1491. 24 February 1836, Inventory after separation of estate property (*corps et biens*) of the S. and Dlle Raoux [Louise Isidore Désirée Dècle].

In an atelier of the house rue Serpente lit by a double window on the street –

52. A forge, a bellows, a vice and several fragments of instruments used for scrap – priced - 50 francs

In another store (magasin) separated by an alley of the house no. 11 and which depends on that of no. 13 lit by two windows on the street and another little one on the court.

53. A workbench of five meters long by 66 containing a large grindstone on two supports, a bureau in black wood – priced 22 francs

54. 70 dowels mounted on pegs - priced 12 francs

55. Ten meters of shelves, twelve feet of ruined tools in wood and in bad condition, a stove in faïence, ten small pictures in their frames, a wall clock with a watch movement, five old chairs and a foot stool, all priced – 40 francs

56. A bust of M. de LaRocheffoucault and an Apollo - priced 2 francs

57. About fifteen kilograms of iron used for ruined tools priced 8 francs

58. Three ophicleides, four bells (pavillons) for ophicleides, four clarions with keys, two ordinary clarions - priced 240 francs.

59. A horn with pistons, a horn with pistons complete, an ordinary horn, two horns not finished, two horns by chance incomplete, two cornets by chance incomplete, four ruined hunting horns, five unfinished hunting horns, a random buccin, a trombone not finished, one lot of pieces put in the rubbish as defective - priced 520 francs

60. Nineteen hunting horn bells, sixteen bells for trumpets, three cornets with bells, a cornet with three pistons, a cornet with two pistons, six planks of copper weighing twenty kilograms, patterns for fabrication, a box of mouth-pieces, one lot of iron hammers and of wood hammers, two files, scrapers and mandrills, twenty-five trumpets, priced 460 francs

In another atelier lit by a window on the court of no. 13

61. A forge and a bellows, one lot of fifty kilograms of lead and one lot of fifteen kilograms of scrap iron, a charcoal burner containing some coal, all priced 70 francs

62. Three buckets, two stoneware pots filled with vitriol [sulfuric acid], a table in bad condition and two brackets, priced 4 francs

In another atelier relative to the house no. 11 lit [by window] on the street

63. A workbench full of draws, thirty dowels for instruments with borers, a ruined tool in wood and eight foot stools – all priced 55 francs

64. A forge, two bellows, a bench for pulling with its borers, six finishers, a foot of oak, seven anvils, two piles of things, three anvils, four oil lamps, one lot of iron mandrills weighing fifty kilograms, one lot of hammers in iron and in wood, two old workbenches, priced together 204 francs

65. Four wood blocks, one lot of fragments of discarded pieces, an old iron stove and its pipes, several wood shelves, priced together – 30 francs



66. Four trumpets not finished, 42 bells for the cornet, 13 bells for hunting horns, a lot of fragments of instruments being made, a lot of limes and scrappers, priced 210 francs

The total of the pricing - 1,927 francs<sup>22</sup>

22. Suivent les ustensiles et marchandises dépendant du fonds de facteur d'instruments à vent qu'exploite M. Raoux.

Dans un atelier de la maison rue Serpente éclairé par une double croisée sur la rue -

52. Une forge, un soufflet, un étai et quelque fragments d'instruments mis au rebut prisés cinquante francs - 50.

Dans un autre magasin séparé par l'allée de la maison no. 11 et qui dépend de cette no. 13 alumé par deux croisées sur la rue et une autre petite sur la cour.

53. Un établi de cinq mètres de long sur soixante six contient de large meule sur deux tuteur, un bureau en bois noir, prisés - vingt deux francs - 22

54. Soixante dix chevilles montées sur travers - prisées douze francs - 12

55. Dix mètres de tablettes douze pieds de perte outils en bois et un mauvais état, un poêle en faïence, dix petits tableaux dans leur cadres, un catel avec mouvement de montre, cinq vieilles chaises et un marchepeid prisé le tout quarante francs - 40.

56. Un buste de M. de LaRochefoucault et un Apollon prisés deux francs - 2.

57. Environ quinze kilogrammes de fer servant à perte outils prisés huit francs - 8.

58. Trois ophicleides, quatre pavillons d'ophicleides, quatre clarions à clefs, deux clarion d'ordinaires, prisés deux cent quarante francs - 140.

59. Un cor à pistons complet, un cor ordinaire, deux cors non terminés, deux cors de hazard incomplets, deux cornets de hazard incomplets, quatre trompes de chasse ruine, cinq trompes de chasse non terminées, un buccin de hazard, un trombone non terminé, un lot de pièces mise au rebut comme défectueux, prisés cinq cent vingt francs - 520.

60. Dix neuf pavillons de chasse, seize pavillons de trompettes, trois cornets de pavillons, un cornet à trois pistons, un cornet à deux pistons, six planches de cuivre pesant vingt kilogrammes, patrons pour la fabrication, une boîte d'embouchures, un lot de marteaux de fer et de marteaux en bois, deux limes, grattoirs et mandrins, vingt cinq trompettes, prisés quatre cent soixante francs - 460.

Dans un autre atelier éclairé par un croisée sur la cour du no. 13

61. Une forge et un soufflet, un lot de cinquante kilogrammes de plomb et un lot de quinze kilogrammes de feraille, une charbonnière contenant de charbon, prisé le tout soixante dix francs - 70.

Dans la cour de no. 13

62. Trois seaux, deux pots de grès rempli de vitriol, une mauvaise table et deux crochets, prisé le tout quatre francs - 4.

Dans un autre atelier dépendant à la maison no. 13 éclairé sur la rue -

63. Un établi garni de tiroirs, trente chevilles de l'instruments avec traverser, un perte outil en bois et huit tabourets, prisé le tout cinquante cinq francs - 55.

64. Une forge, deux soufflets, un banc tirer avec les perces, six finisseurs, un pied de chenne, sept bigorners, deux tas et trois bigorneaux, quatre quinquets, un lot de mandrins en fer pesant cinquante kilogrammes, un lot de marteaux à fer et bois, deux vieux établis prisé le tout deux cent quatre francs - 204

65. Quatre billets, un lot de fragments de pièces de rabut, un vieux poêle en fonte et ses tuyaux, plusieurs tablettes en bois prisés trente francs - 30.

Following the pricing of the atelier, the listing of the papers began with the marriage contract, including a detailed statement of what Mme Raoux had brought to the marriage, and ending with a statement by Mme Raoux and her lawyer:

And, by Madame Raoux assisted by M. Lavaux, lawyer, responded that according to the terms of the marriage contract of the parties, the business establishment (*fonds de commerce*), tools and merchandise are part of the what M. Raoux brought [to the marriage] and are reserved to him according to article 6 of the said contract, that consequently, he has the right to the return in cash of the said *fond de commerce* and formally opposes the estimation that cannot have any useful result.

From which, the parties not having been able to agree are requiring M. Chandru one the notaries in Paris undersigned to present himself next Thursday 3 March present month, before M. the President of the *Tribunal civil de la première instance de la département de la Seine*, for a court hearing before a judge (*audience des référés*) at the Palace of Justice [in effect to have an immediate ruling by the judge as what will take place to resolve their differences].<sup>23</sup>

After hearing the lawyer of each party present his case, the President of the *Tribunal civil* ruled by ordinance that an inventory by experts should proceed in three days. The parties chose two experts to estimate the musical instrument business. Raoux chose Louis François Dauprat, member of the Conservatoire, whereas M. Lelong, lawyer for the Tribunal of the Seine, chose Denis Victor Courtois, maker of musical instruments in brass living in Paris rue de Caire no. 21. Raoux said that he did not oppose the court ruling. Dauprat and Courtois agreed to represent the

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66. Quatre trompes non terminées, quarante deux pavillons de cornets, treize pavillons de cors de chasse, un lot de fragments d'instruments en confectionnement, un lot de limes et grattoirs prisé le tout deux cent dix francs – 210.

Total de la prisee des ustensiles et marchandises dix neuf cent vingt sept francs – 1,927.

23. Et par M<sup>de</sup> Raoux assisté de M. Lavaux, avoué, a été répondu qu'aux termes du contract de mariage des parties, le fonds de commerce, ustensiles et merchandise font parté des apports de M. Raoux et lui sont réservés propre par l'article six dud. contrat, qui en consequence et a droit à la reprise en nature dud. fonds du commerce et s'oppose formellement d'une estimation qui ne peut avoir aucun résultat utile.

Sur quoi les parties n'ayant pu se mettre d'accord on requis M. Chandu, l'un des notaires à Paris soussigné de se transporte jeudi prochain trois mars present mois pardevant M. le president du tribunal civil de première instant du département de la seine tenant l'audience des référés au Palais de Justice, à l'effet d'être ordonné par lui ce qu'il appartiendra.

parties and said that in order to determine the state of Raoux's business, past and present as well as the benefit presumed resulting from it, they asked to see Raoux's registers including receipts to determine the level of gains and losses (e.g., annual expenses for lodging, payment of workers at his workshop and outside, the purchase of materials, pension, the upkeep of his son, and wages for domestic help and food).

**Dauprat and Courtois, experts in the evaluation of Raoux's instrument business.**

The analysis, written in the hand of the notary, is of particular importance for its candor not only about Raoux's business but also for the insights it brings to the state of the musical instrument trade in Paris in the 1830s.

Considering that the revolution of 1830 nullified the patents accorded previously to the father of S. Raoux and continued to his son until the aforementioned period of 1830 exclusively be it for hunting and the princes be it that of the royal theatres and the conservatoire of music, be it finally for military musical instruments for the garde du corps and the garde royale as well as for the regiments of the line. They think in their advice and conscience that the business of the said Sieur Raoux could not be in the state of prosperity that it was before the events that were gained from the annual fixed and assured supplies before the said events of the year 1830.

That they consider besides and contradictorily to the observations of Mme Raoux, wife, that if the ateliers of her husband had received several increases and if the number of his workers is larger today than in the past, this does not infer a benefit of prosperity for the commercial house of her husband – here's why

1. Because the number of makers of musical instruments was augmented more and more since about 15 years, the competition had the inevitable result of forcing each maker and notably the said S. Raoux, to make a reduction more or less considerable to the prices, and that each of them still could not from then on balance their expenses and receipts with a mediocre profit when things were good, as by the large quantity of products fabricated, beyond that, the obligation of a premises much expanded, of a massive additional workload, of having also the raw materials and materials suitable for manufacture.

2. That if the brilliant reputation, justly acquired by the father and equally accorded to the son by several artists, it is natural that it be disputed by his colleagues, to which is joined even by many musicians, who, run to obtain the greatest discounts of the aforesaid colleagues, thinking that they must justify the preferences that are accorded to them, by diminishing the renown of the said S. Raoux as well as the good quality of his instruments.

3. That if the patents of M. Raoux, in regard to the Royal theaters, the Conservatoire, the chapel, the regiments, were favorable to him as well as the ones coming from the Minister of the interior, from the list of civilians, the gentleman of the chamber, the others of the ministry of war, it is no longer thus today that each musician of the said theaters, each music director of the said regiments, has the liberty of taking his notable or all that seems to him and that one and the other addresses himself more willingly to the maker who presents to him the particular personal advantages greater than those than they find at the shop of S. Raoux, whose prices despite their discount remained higher and at the same time the profit weaker than the prices and profits of his colleagues.

Finally, establishing a balance of the sales and expenses during the 10 years of sales from 1 January 1823 to 31 December 1835, and taking the proportional average of one and the other, they have found that the level of sales, good and bad, can be set at 26,000 francs and that of expenses at 24,500 francs. Therefore, we conclude that the business establishment as under the name of Raoux, at the time of having been able to prosper since the year 1830, must, to the contrary, have been affected by the events of that time, and was in a state of collapse by all the advantages that it lost since this time, and that in the end, the business establishment of the said S. Raoux can only be estimated at the value of 3,000 francs, the merchandise having descended to a common level and the name of Raoux having lost a part of its moral value.<sup>24</sup>

24. Expert testimony of Dauprat and Courtois for the evaluation of M.A. Raoux's musical instrument business. March 31, 1836. Consideront que la revolution de 1830 a anéanti les brevets accorder autrefois au père dud S. Raoux et continuer au fils jusqu'à la susdite époque de 1830 exclusivement soit pour fourniture d'équipages de chasse, au bois, et aux princes, soit pour celles des théâtres royaux et au conservatoire de musique, soit enfin pour instruments de musique militaire aux garde du corps et à la garde royale ainsi qu'aux regiments de la ligne.

Ils pensent dans leur avis et conscience qu la maison dud. Sieur Raoux ne saurait être dans l'état prospère où elle était avant les événements que l'ont prise de ses fournitures annuelles fixes et assurées, antérieurement aux dits événements de l'année 1830.

Qu'ils ont considéré en outre et contradictoirement aux observations de Mme Raoux, femme, que si les ateliers de son mari ont reçu quelques agrandissements et si le nombre de ses ouvriers est plus grand aujourd'hui que par le passé, elle n'en peut infère une surcroît de prospérité pour la maison commerciale de son mari, attendu:

1: Que le nombre des facteurs d'instruments de musique s'était augmenté de plus en plus depuis quinze années environs, la concurrence a eu pour effet inévitable de forcer chaque fabricant et notamment led S. Raoux, à fasser un rabais plus ou moins considérable sur des prix, et que chaque d'eux encore ne peut désormais balancer ses dépenses et recettes avec un médiocre bénéfice quand il a bien, que par la grande quantité des produits fabriqués delà, l'obligation d'un local plus

### Dauprat, a friend and colleague of the Raoux family.

Dauprat's role as an expert in the pricing of Raoux's musical instrument business given in the inventory of separation points to his close relationship with M. A. Raoux, as does the document of certificate (notoriété) made at the death of Mme Boquet, Raoux's mother, in 1847.<sup>25</sup> In that document, Dauprat served as the main witness and signatory and is described as a pensioner of the state, age sixty-six, living in Paris rue des fossés Saint Victor no. 19. The other witness was M. Coulon, an architect living in Paris rue de place St. André des Arts, no. 30. Dauprat also signed as witness to the death record (*acte de décès*) of Mme Boquet in which she is described as a proprietor (owner of the property on the rue Serpente), age seventy-eight, born in Paris, widow of Lucien Joseph Raoux, living at the rue Serpente, no. 11.

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vaste, d'un surcroit de masse d'avoir comme aussi de matière première et matériaux propres à la fabrication.

2: Que si la brillante réputation, justement acquis au père, et également accordée au fils pour quelques artistes, il est naturel qu'elle lui soit disputée par ses confrères, aux quels se joignent même beaucoup de musiciens, qui, courir d'obtenir de plus forte remises des susdits confrères, pensent devoir justifier les préférences qu'ils leur accordent, en amoindrissant le renom dud S. Raoux ainsi que la bonne qualité de ses instruments.

3: Que si les brevets de M. Raoux, à l'égard des théâtres Royaux, du Conservatoire, de la chapelle, et des régiments, lui étaient favorables lorsque les uns ressortirent du ministère de l'intérieur, de la liste civile, des gentilhommes de la chambre, les autres de ministère de la guerre, il n'en est plus ainsi aujourd'hui que chaque musicien dud théâtres, chaque chef de musique des dites régiments a la liberté de prendre ses notamments ou tous lui semble et que l'un et l'autre s'adressent plus volontiers au fabricant qui lui présente des avantages particulières personnels plus grande que ceux qu'ils trouverait chez led S. Raoux, dont les prix, malgré leur rabais sont restés plus élevés et au même temps les remises moins fortes que les prix et remises de ses confrères.

Enfin - établissant une balance des ventes et dépense pendant les dix années écoulée du premier Janvier 1823 au trente un Décembre 1835, et prenant la moyenne des proportionnelle des unes and des autres.

Ils ont trouvé que le chiffre des ventes bon ou mal en pouvait être fixe à 26,000 francs et celui de dépenses à 24,500 francs, dont ils ont conclu que la Maison commerciale comme sous se nom de Raoux, lors d'avoir pu prospérer depuis l'année 1830, à du, au contraire se ressentir des événements de cette époque, et périliter par tous les avantages qu'elle a perdu depuis ce temps; et qu'en définitive, le fonds de commerce dud S. Raoux ne peut être estimé qu de la valeur de trois mille francs, l'achalandage étant descendu au niveau commun et le nom du Raoux ayant perdu une partie de sa valeur morale.

25. AN MC III-1557. 21 October 1847, Notoriété Mme Boquet, widow Raoux.

### **Inventory after death of Dauprat's wife, Flore Armand, December 16, 1830.**<sup>26</sup>

Dauprat married Marie Antoinette Flore Armand in Versailles on August 30, 1818. The marriage was short lived, as Dlle Flore died at age thirty-three, November 14, 1830. The inventory made after her death names Dauprat's two children as heirs to the estate: Anne Antoinette Louise Dauprat (b. Dec. 13, 1819) and Louis Jules Eugene Dauprat (b. Jan. 3, 1825). It presents a detailed view of the Dauprat residence in Paris on the rue de Breda no. 12. Items of particular interest describe Dauprat's instruments, music, library and engravings.

In a room serving as a study:

A piano by Roller dated 1819, a music stand, four chairs in leather covered in yellow velvet – 110 francs

50 volumes containing instrumental and vocal music - 40 francs

In the salon:

Eleven engravings and lithographs under glass and in wood gold-leafed frames, portraits, the countryside and other [subjects] – 10 francs

Two small paintings in oil and one lithochrome – 9 francs

In the small library:

139 volumes bound format in 8, in 12, in 18 leaves of which are the works of Delille, Essays of Montaigne [Michel de], literary works of Boileau, Racine, Molière, Rousseau, Montésqieu and others – 25 francs

18 volumes in 18 in paper binding including le voyage d'anacharis – 3 francs

The works of Voltaire edition of Denoël, dictionary of la Fable in two volumes, Caractères de la Bruyère [Jean] and a lot of brochures not meriting description – 20 francs

Musical instruments used by M. Dauprat

Two old horns not being used and two horns more modern in their boxes and cases – 200 francs<sup>27</sup>

26. AN, MC XVII-1199. 16 December 1830, Inventory after death of Mme Dauprat [Flore Armand].

27. Inventory, Mad<sup>e</sup> Dauprat. Dans une piece servant de la cabinet –

Un piano de Roller mil huit vingt dix neuf, un pupitre de musique, quatre chaises fournis de cuir et couverte en velour jaune, prisé le tout la somme de cent dix francs - 110

Cinquante volumes contenant musique instrumentale et vocale prisé la somme de quarante francs – 40

Dans une pièce ensuite servant de salon –

Onze graveurs et lithographes sous verre et dans leur cadres de bois dorés –portraits, paysage et autres, prisé le tout dix francs – 10

Deux petits tableaux à l'huile et une lithochrome – 9

Dans la petite bibliothèque ci devant inventoriée cent trente neuf volumes reliés formt in octavo in douze et in dix-huit, dont les oeuvres de Delille, Essais de

Two experts were called to give their advice for the pricing of the music plates belonging to M. Dauprat: Jean Auguste Blangy, artist, member of the Académie Royale de Musique, living in Paris rue Breda no. 12 [the same address as Dauprat], and M. Daniel Jelensperger, professor of composition at the Conservatoire living in Paris rue du Helder no. 25.

Here follows the [engraved] music plates

1,182 plates of music engraved on pewter and 167 small plates in pewter also engraved – all priced on the advice of the said experts – 1,290 francs.

The total of all items inventoried came to 3,592.60 francs, so that Dauprat's music plates amounted to 36% of the total value, illustrating the importance of his music publishing business.

The section under declaration enumerates Dauprat's earnings since the death of his wife and monies still owed. This shows that he was earning 361.65 francs per month.

M. Dauprat declares that since the death of his wife he took in income for his appointments as artist of the Académie Royale de Musique as follows:  
200 francs for the month of September – 200

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Montaigne, oeuvres de littérature, oeuvres de Boileau, Racine, Molière, Rousseau, Montesquieu et autres prisé le tout vingt cinq francs – 25

Dix-huit volumes in dix-huit brochés dont le voyage d'anacharis prisé trois francs – 3

Les oeuvres de Voltaire, Éditions de Denoël, dictionnaire de la Fable en deux volumes, Caractères de la Bruyère et un lot de brochures ne méritant description prisé le tout vingt francs – 20

Instrument de musique à l'usage de M<sup>r</sup> Dauprat

Deux anciens cor hors de service et deux cors plus modernes dans leur boîtes et étuis prisé tous quatre deux cent francs – 200

Suivent les planches de musique

Onze cent quatre vingt deux planches de musique gravées en étain et cent soixante sept petites planches d'étain aussi gravées prisé le tout de l'avis des dits experts la somme de douze cents quatre vingt dix francs – 1290

Déclare M. Dauprat que depuis le décès de son épouse il a touché pour les appointements comme artiste de l'académie royale de musique savoir –

Deux cent francs pour le mois de septembre arrière – 200

De meme somme pour le mois d'octobre – 200

Comme professeur du conservatoire cent soixante et un francs soixante cinq centimes pour le mois d'octobre – 161.65

Paraille somme pour le mois de novembre – 161.65

Et en outré qu'il a touché pour le mois de novembre comme artiste de l'Opéra la somme de deux cent francs – 200 [total] 923.30

qu'il lui est du par l'administration de l'Opéra et par le conservatoire de musique le mois courant de son traitements.

and the same sum for the month of October – 200

As professor at the Conservatoire 161.65 francs for the month of October – 161.65

The same sum for the month of November – 161.65

And also, he took in for the month of November as an artist of the Opéra, the sum of 200 francs

[Total] 923.90 francs.

Also, that he is owed by the administration of the Opéra and of the conservatoire de Musique the current month of his salary.<sup>28</sup>

### **Certificate (Notoriété) and deposit of the death record of Louis François Dauprat, December 5, 1868.<sup>29</sup>**

The inventory of Mme Armand takes on greater importance in that a document of notoriété (certificate) indicates that no inventory was taken after Dauprat's death. It reveals that Dauprat, then age eighty-seven, was living with his daughter, widow of M. Charles François Joseph Jouannin, on the rue de Four Saint Germain, no. 36, while his son was living in Nice, on the rue Chauvin where he was proprietor of the Maison Fontaine. Dauprat's children were the sole, equal heirs of his estate.

### **Raoux and Dauprat, establishing the French school of horn making and playing.**

As a student at the Paris Conservatoire from its inception in 1795, Dauprat studied with Jean Joseph Kenn who was then solo horn in the capital's major musical institutions including the Paris Opéra. With Kenn's marriage in 1788 to Lucien Joseph Raoux's sister, he became a member of the Raoux family, which no doubt served to connect Dauprat with L. J. Raoux, master maker to the King and supplier of horns to the Conservatoire. It is evident from the above documents that Dauprat's relationship with the Raoux family continued with Marcel Auguste as a working musical partnership at a time when Dauprat occupied the key solo horn positions in Paris while Raoux held a virtual monopoly as the supplier of horns to the most important Parisian musical institutions. Thus, during the first part of the nineteenth century, Raoux and Dauprat were recognized as the central figures of horn making and playing, not only by virtue of their positions but also by the unsurpassed qual-

28. Ibid.

29. AN, MC XVII-1352. 5 December 1868, Certificate (Notoriété) after death of Louis François Dauprat, and deposit of the death record.



ity of their work as evidenced in their instruments, pedagogical writings, and music. Also of note is the French/German collaboration Raoux and Dauprat enjoyed with the Germans Kenn, Meifred, Habeneck, and Reicha, all of whom were connected through the Paris Conservatoire, where the fruit of their artistic vision was realized through the the new nineteenth-century sound of the Société des Concert du Conservatoire and the wind quintets of Reicha and Dauprat. Similarly, French-German ties are documented in *Great Flute Makers of France, the Lot and Godfroy Families*, showing that both families worked closely with Theobald Boehm.<sup>30</sup> The article “Frédéric Triebert, Designer of the Modern Oboe,” documents Triebert’s German heritage and also shows that he collaborated with Boehm on the bassoon.<sup>31</sup> Importantly, from Raoux’s musical collaborations and friendships, the natural horn was transformed to a solo orchestral and chamber instrument that came to define the French horn’s sound and aesthetic as well as its technical attributes and music literature and in so doing established the French school of horn making and playing. This is further seen in Dauprat’s musical compositions for the horn dedicated to his Conservatoire colleagues, Reicha, Habeneck, and Raoux and to each, he dedicated solo works for horn. Dauprat’s “Thème Varié suivi d’un Rondeau” for the horn with accompaniment, opus 24, is “dedicated to his friend Raoux.”<sup>32</sup> Dauprat’s influence was also transmitted through his illustrious Conservatoire students, Jacques François Gallay and Joseph-Jean-Pierre-Emile Meifred, who were both major contributors to horn pedagogy and design. Meifred (b. Colmars, Basse Alpes, Nov. 22, 1791; d. August 28, 1867),<sup>33</sup> makes his preference for the cor à pistons clear in his *Méthode de Cor* (1840) and includes an illustration of a *cor à pistons* made by Antoine Halary (fig. 4). Meifred became professor of this instrument at the Conservatoire, and the list of suppliers of musical instruments to the Conservatoire for 1853 shows that Halary supplied a cor à piston while Raoux supplied the *cor*

30. Tula Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France, the Lot and Godfroy Families* (Tony Bingham, London, 2003).

31. Tula Giannini, “Frédéric Triebert, Designer of the Modern Oboe, Newly Found Archival Documents Featuring the Inventory and Auction of his Musical Instrument Enterprise” in *Liber amicorum Isabelle Cazeaux Symbols, Parallels and Discoveries in Her Honor*. The Festschrift Series No. 19. (New York: Pendragon Press, 2005).

32. Title page transcription: Thème Varié, suivi d’un Rondeau, Composé pour le Cor, avec Accompagnement de Piano, et Dédié à son Ami Raoux, par DAUPRAT, Opéra 24, à Paris chez ZETTER et Comp<sup>nc</sup> Rue du Helder, N<sup>25</sup>.

33. AN, Léonore, dossiers of the Legion of Honor, Meifred.

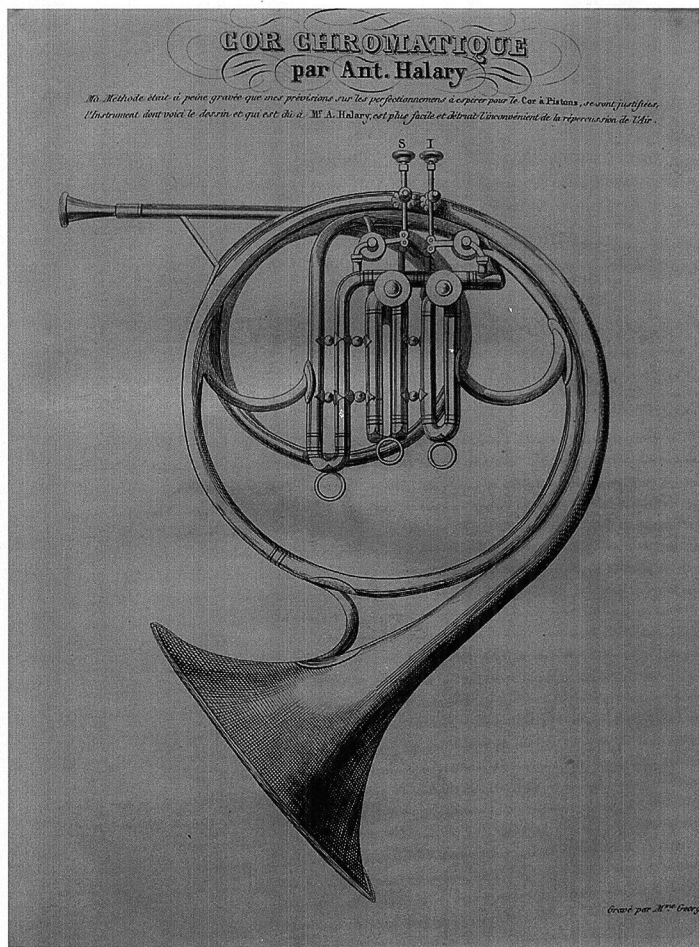


FIGURE 4. From *Méthode pour le Cor Chromatique, ou à Pistons* (1840), by Joseph Meifred. Illustration showing the *Cor à pistons chromatique* by Antoine Halary.

*d'harmonie*.<sup>34</sup> Dauprat took up the question of the *cor à piston* in his *Traité* (1826). The title page reads:<sup>35</sup>

Of the Horn with Pistons - A summary of a Treatise (Traité) - theoretical and practical of this instrument, Composed by Dauprat (in 1826 [handwritten] - Professor of the horn at the Ecole Royale de Musique. (\*) Note. Examination made of the horn with two or three pistons brought from Germany, one must reject them because of the inconveniences that they present and that one explains in the Treatise. Thus, it is only a question here of the horn with two pistons perfected by M. Meifred, member of the Académie Royale de Musique, and on which one now focuses attention. The instruments of this genre are made by M. Antoine [Halary] rue Mazarine in Paris.<sup>36</sup>

The *Traité* and other writings of Dauprat show that his important contribution to the transformation and development of the horn during the first half of the nineteenth century was in establishing a French school of horn playing that was not only achieved through his *Méthode de Cor* but also through his work with Raoux, father and son, on developing the French horn that would define the instrument's pedagogy, technique, and aesthetic of sound and musical performance. Thus, the question of pistons was more a technical issue. Through these efforts the horn now served as both a brass and a woodwind instrument, now acquiring the capacity for subtle, nuanced playing and the ability to maintain its tonal qualities throughout its enormous range, thus ushering in a new era of solo horn playing. Meifred played a lead role in the adoption of the horn with pistons in France and introduced the first Conservatoire class in that instrument. Meifred was named as a member and Chevalier of the French Legion of Honor December 10, 1849, signing his acceptance on a letter written March 17, 1850 by Auber, then director of the Conservatoire.<sup>37</sup> L. J. Raoux's 1823 inventory (see above) shows that Meifred purchased horns from him.

34. Ibid.

35. Du Cor à Pistons – Extrait – d'un Traité théorique et pratique de cet Instrument, Composé par, Dauprat [en 1826] Professeur de Cor à l'École R<sup>le</sup> de Musique, (\*)Nota. Examen, fait des Cors à deux et trois Pistons envoys d'Alemagne, on a dû y renoncer à cause des inconveniens qu'ils presentment et qu'on explique dans le Traité. Il ne s'agit donc ici que du Cor à deux Pistons perfectionné par M<sup>r</sup> Meifred, Membre de l'Académie R<sup>e</sup> de Musique, et sur lequel on est fixé maintenant. Les instruments de ce genre sont fabriqué par Mr Anthoine, Rue Mazarine, à Paris. Déposé à la Dir<sup>on</sup> – Prix: 3<sup>fr</sup>. – A Paris, Chez l'AUTEUR, Successr de Zetter et C<sup>ie</sup>, rue Breda, No 12, faub. Montmartre [Dauprat's address]

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

**Denis Victor Courtois, Expert for the 1836 Inventory, and his son, Denis Antoine Courtois.**<sup>38</sup>

The Courtois family of brass instrument makers, after Raoux, was ranked among the best makers in Paris. Table 2 summarizes records of the Conservatoire for payments made to suppliers of instruments awarded to students, showing that in the 1830s and 40s instruments made by Courtois frères and by Raoux were being purchased. Significantly, Raoux is listed for the cor d'harmonie while Courtois is listed for the trumpet. In the 1836 inventory, Denis Victor Courtois signed as Courtois frère (heretofore Denis Victor had not been a recognized Courtois maker); his son, Denis Antoine Courtois (working under the name Antoine Courtois) appears in the list for the years 1847 and 1853. The records of Conservatoire payments to instrument makers also indicate that the price of a Raoux horn held steady at 240 francs, the same price paid for a cor à pistons by Halary, while a Courtois trumpet was 150 francs. By comparison, other instruments suppliers were paid as follows:

Violin by Gand	480
Tulou flute	130
Buffet clarinet	130
Triebert oboe	130
Triebert bassoon	130

It is likely that Antoine Laurent Courtois, named below, was Denis Antoine's brother, considering that he signed as "Courtois frère" and was his contemporary.<sup>39</sup>

The year 1814, 22 March, at two in the morning before the mayor of the 5th arrondissement, is present, M. Denis Victor Courtois, maker of instruments, living rue du Caire no. 25 quarter of Bonne Nouvelle, who presents to us a male infant born this said day at three in the morning – and of him declaring with Elizabeth Angélique Bizet his wife that they have given the first names of Denis Antoine. In the presence of Antoine Laurent Courtois, age 39, maker of instruments living rue des Vieux Augustins no. 94 and François Joseph Kuder age 50, tailor, living rue de Caire no. 25.<sup>40</sup>

38. AN, AJ37-53. Lists of suppliers to the Paris Conservatoire, 1831–1853.

39. Ibid.

40. AP, Extrait du Registre des Actes de 5 mars 1814 – Naissance de l'an 1814 [birth record, Denis Antoine Courtois] L'an mil huit cent quatorze le vingt deux mars à deux heures – est comparé, M' Denis Victor Courtois facteur d'instruments demeurant rue de Caire no. 25 quartier Bonne Nouvelle, lequel nous a présenté un enfant du sexe masculine né le dit jour à trois heures du matin de lui déclarant et d'Elizabeth

TABLE 2. Paris Conservatoire payments made to suppliers of instruments awarded to students.

Year	Maker	Instrument	Price (francs)	Signature
1831	Raoux	d'un cor d'harmonie	240	Raoux
1835	Courtois	d'une trompette	150	Courtois frères
1840	Raoux	d'un cor	240	Raoux
	Courtois	d'une trompette et d'un trombone	300	Courtois frères
1847	Raoux	d'un cor	240	Raoux
	Courtois	d'une trompette	150	Antoine Courtois
1853	Raoux	d'un cor d'harmonie	240	Raoux
	Halary	d'un cor à pistons	240	Halary
	Courtois	d'une trompette et d'un trombone	300	Antoine Courtois

On May 18, 1843, Denis Antoine Courtois married Anne Justine Melanie Halé, a florist (b. Paris, July 11, 1822), living with her father on the rue de Caire no. 15, daughter of Louis Casimer Marcellin Halé, painter on glass, and Pierrette Mélanie Morel, his wife, deceased. At the time of marriage Victor Denis Courtois was retired and living in Ménil Théribus (Oise), and his wife was deceased. Denis Antoine Courtois retired to Clérmont (OISE) rue Saint André no. 2, where he died at age sixty-seven, December 16, 1881. His wife, Mme Halé, died October 24, 1876 at age fifty-four in Paris, rue Marais no. 88 where she and Denis Antoine had been living. Serving as a witness at her death was Auguste Mille, maker of musical instruments, living in Paris rue des Marais no. 99. When Denis Antoine retired, Auguste Mille became foreman and then successor under the name Courtois et Mille.<sup>41</sup> An invoice by Courtois to the Opéra states that in 1860 Antoine Guillaume Dieppo (b. 1809; d. Dijon, Feb. 16, 1878) trombone solo at the Opéra and professor of trombone at the Conservatoire, purchased a new trombone, receiving a 30 francs credit for his old instruments. This was done in response to the lowering of pitch at the Opéra and Conservatoire to A=435. The invoice notes that Courtois had recently moved his business from the rue de

Angélique Bizet son épouse et duquel il a donné les prénoms Denis Antoine. En présence de Antoine Laurent Courtois âgé de trente neuf ans facteur d'instruments demeurant rue de Vieux Augustins no. 94. Et François Joseph Kuder âgé de cinquante ans tailleur demeurant rue du Caire no. 25.

41. AP, EC Denis Antoine Courtois – birth, death and marriage records.

Caire no. 21 to 88, rue des Marais St Martin to accommodate increased business.<sup>42</sup>

**Testament, holograph, Mme Boquet, widow of Lucien Joseph Raoux, January 27, 1846 (Table 3).**<sup>43</sup>

Mme Boquet's testament reveals her deeply-held personal sentiments about her children and her husband and speaks to the strong value she placed on family ties that she now saw were breaking apart. She pleads for her children to regain their closeness and mutual respect, expressing her hopes for the future and her wish that her children get along and importantly, that they not exclude from the family Raoux's son, Auguste Ernest, despite their misgivings. The document shows she had tried to repair her son's marriage to no avail as well as an effort to justify giving him 4,000 francs more than she had bequeathed to her daughter. The testament also reveals that, although Raoux would have preferred to move his business to the Right Bank where his colleagues in horn making had workshops, at this mother's insistence, he remained at the rue Serpente because she did not want to leave the family home, a decision that had fairly dire consequences for Raoux's business. [See Table 3 for transcription and translation.]

**Raoux purchases rue Serpente no. 14, March 16, 1847.**<sup>44</sup>

Not long after Mme Boquet wrote her testament, March 16, 1847, Raoux purchased a grand house on the rue Serpente no. 14 from Catherine Adélaïde Sophie Lavaux, Comtesse de La Gorce, widow of Jean Baptiste Clair Guyenot, which the Comtesse had inherited at her husband's death. The sale to Raoux was made for the sum of 42,600 francs, which would be divided in five equal shares among the seller, Mme Lavaux, and her heirs. The property, with a carriage entrance to the building on the rue Serpente, was comprised of a cellar, ground floor, two square stories, a third floor attic having a shared court with rue Serpente no. 16, and another building at the back of the court of the same elevation as the one on the street. There was also a principal building on the left side that was three stories extending the full depth

42. AN, MC AJ13-450. 21 June 1860. Denis Antoine Courtois to M. Dieppo [Antoine], Professor of the Imperial Conservatoire of music [and solo trombone of the Opéra].

43. AN, MC III-1555. 27 January 1846, Testament holograph Mme Boquet, Vve Raoux.

44. AN, MC III-1555. 16 Mars 1847, Sale to M. Raoux, a house, rue Serpente no. 14.

TABLE 3. Testament holograph of Amée Applonie Boquet, the widow Raoux, January 27, 1846

<p><b>Première page</b>  Cecy est mon Testament - 27 Janvier 1846  Je remercie mes enfants du bon et sincère attachement qu'ils m'ont toujours témoigné tout tois - Je regrette bien de ne pouvoir leurs laisser de fortune mais ils savent que cela n'a pas dépendu de leur père n'y de moi. Je n'aurais pas fais de testament n'ayant que deux enfants que j'aime également, il n'y aurait pas en besion de lire décrit après moi, le peu que je leur laissais aurait été partagé par moitié mais les malheurs que mon fils à éprouver par sa séparation avec sa femme malgré toutes les instances qu'il a fait près d'elle, ainsi que les démarches qu'on fait pour lui, ses parents et amis afin de les réunir s'il était possible, n'ayant pas réussi, je vais expliquer les raisons qui m'ont déterminé à faire mon testament.</p> <p>les voici</p> <p>Mon fils ma toujours payé un loyer cher par la distribution de son local, il s'est trouvé forcé de s'agrandire, par la nécessité d'avoir d'avantage d'ouvriers - Il m'avait proposé plusieurs fois de transporter son établissement dedans un autre quartier, il croyait avoir pour ses affaires plus d'avantage, ('il avait peut être raison) j'ai toujours résitée à ne pas me déplacée - je craignias d'éprouver trop de chagrin en quittant ma maison il s'est déterniné à ne plus m'en parler et à augmenter son loyer considérament en prenant tout le rez de chaussées des deux maisons voisine, ce que lui laisse une partie de son habitation inutile, et ce déplacement lui à couté énormément par tout les francs necessariare à ses ateliers - de plus il s'est chargé des impositions qui me regardent - après moi il n'a donc plus rien à espérer et ne peut compter que dans lui même par son travail et son intelligence.</p>	<p><b>First page</b>  This is my Testament - 27 January 1846  I thank my children of good and sincere attachment that they always have shown me - all three -I very much regret to not have been able to leave them a fortune but they know that this did not depend on their father nor on me - I would not have made a testament having only two children that I love equally, it would not have been necessary to read this after me, the little that I leave them would have been divided by half but the unhappiness that my son has experienced by his separation with this wife despite all the efforts that he made on her behalf, as well as the necessary steps that one made for him, his parents and friends -finally to reunite them if that was possible, not having succeeded, I am going to explain the reasons that convinced me to make my testament.</p> <p>Here they are</p> <p>My son always paid me an expensive rent based on the distribution of his commercial premises, he found himself forced to expand, by the necessity of having more workers. He proposed to me several times to transport his establishment to another district, he thought this would have advantage for his business, (he perhaps was right) I always resisted, not wanting to move I feared experiencing too much aggravation in leaving my house- he decided to no longer speak to me about it and to augment his rent considerably in taking all the ground floor of the two neighboring houses, which left him with part of his living space useless, and this relocation cost him enormously for all the francs needed for his ateliers and further he was responsible for taxes which concerns me - it seems to me, he has thus nothing to hope for and can only count on himself by his work and his intelligence.</p>
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TABLE 3 *continued*

Deuzieme page	Page 2
<p>La charge entière de son fils est un lourd fardeau pour sa position car son avenir n'est encore qu'en esperence Dieu veuille conserver longtems une bonne santé à mon fils afin qu'il puisse être assez heureux pour caser le sien convenablement et qu'il doit par suite reconnaissant de tout les sacrifices qu'a fait son père à lui seul, puiseque sa mère à refuser de participer à aucun frais pour son éducation et ses besoins - J'espère mes chers enfants que vous trouverez de la justice à moi de dédommager mon fils par une réciprocité d'amitié et d'affection que je sais qu'il me portait (malgre la vivacité de son carectère) que je dois excuser puisequ'il y avait beaucoup de rapport avec le mien, mon fils ne m'a pas quitter depuis son naissance toutes ces considerations me font lui leguer une somme de quatre mille francs hors et avant tout partarge - ma fille et son mari connaissant la position passé, et l'avenir de leur frère trouveront naturel que moi mère j'augmente à mon fils la petite portion de son modique heritage n'ayant plus maintenant d'autre prétention de famille qui n'est plus la sienne - Mes enfants se rappelant ce que je leur ai donné à l'epoque de leur mariage ne veront en plus que deux mille francs que je donne à leur frère je pense et j'espère mes chers enfants que ma volonté dernière ne causera entre vous aucun nuage, et que le souvenir de votre tendre père dont vous connaissez la bonté du cœur, vous direz que je remplie aujourd'hui ses intentions pour son fils vu les malheurs qu'il a éprouvé vous savez combien il aimait ses enfants.</p>	<p>The entire cost for his son [Ernest Auguste] is a heavy burden for his position because his future is only but a hope God willing - conserve for a long time good health for my son - finally that he can be happy enough to set himself up properly and that he must as well remember all the sacrifices that his father made for him only, since his mother [Mme Dècle] refused to participate in any of the costs for his education and his needs. I hope my dear children that you will find for me some justice to compensate my son by a reciprocity of love and affection that I know that he carried for me (despite the turbulence of his character) which I must excuse since he had much in common with mine, my son has never left me since his birth, all of these considerations make me bequeath to him a sum of 4,000 francs - and outside of and before all property division - my daughter and her husband knowing the past situation and the future for their brother - will find it natural that me - mother, that I augment for my son the little portion of his modest inheritance - now having no longer any pretention of family that is no longer his. My children remembering what I have given them at the time of their marriage and an additional 2,000 francs that I gave to their brother. I think and hope my dear children that my last wishes will not cause among you any dissention, and that the memory of your tender father of which you know the kindness of his heart, you will say that I fulfill today his intentions for his son, seeing the sadness that he experienced - you know how much he loved his children.</p>



TABLE 3 *continued*

<p><b>Troisieme page</b>  et que souvent son chagrin était pour leur avenir n'ayant pas été assez heureux pour leur laisser une meilleure position pour moi mes chers enfants je vous demande</p>	<p><b>Third page</b>  and that often his chagrin was for their future not having the happiness to leave them in a better position. For me my dear children I ask of you insistently to come together as much as</p>
<p>instamment de vous rapprochez le plus possible ensemble malgré la différence des caractères, vous êtes bon tout trois tâchez l'un et l'autre de vous en passer les années vous feront réfléchir et calmeront - j'espère les petite ridicules que vous pouvez vous trouvent maintnenat ayant perdu votre père et moi, rien ne vous reste qui puisse nous remplacer il n'y aura donc qu'un bon accord entre vous trois qui pourra adoucir la perte éternelle que vous avez faite - C'est le dernier souhait que je vous ferais si j'ai le temp de vous dire un dernier adieu. Il me reste enore quelque chose à vous dire, c'est le désire que j'ai que nom petit fils Ernest Raoux le conduise toujours bien avec vous, pour mériter votre amitié. J'espère qu la nouvelle carrière va lui donner au peu d'émulation et qu'il tâchera par son activité à réparer les longues années d'études qu'il a négligé, je vous engage beaucoup à lui écrire souvent le forcer de vous répondre - cet entretien de correspondance pourra lui être favorable et le rendra peut être un jour digne d'appartenir à sa famille. Je finis mes chers enfants en vous embrassant de tout mon cœur et vous souhaite de longues années une bonne santé et tout le bonheur que vous méritez, mon gendre que je regarde comme mon second fils [M. Legrand] sera j'espère toujours le conciliatuer, c'est à lui à qui je m'adresse pour l'harmonie que je désire entre mes enfants</p>	<p>possible despite the difference of characters, you are good all three - endeavor one and another to spend the years making you reflective and calm, I hope the little ridiculousness that you could find now having lost your father and me, nothing is left for you that could replace us. There will thus only be a good relationship between you three that could lessen the eternal loss that you have made. This is the last wish that I will make for you if I have the time to say to you a last goodbye - I still have a few things that I want to say to you - it is the desire that I have - that my grandson, Ernest Raoux always conducts himself well with you in order to merit your friendship - I hope that the new career is going to give him a little respect and that he will endeavor by his activity to repair the long years of study that he neglected, I beseech you very much to write to him often forcing him to respond to you. This discussion of correspondence might make him favorable and will give him perhaps a proud day to belong to his family- I finish my dear children - in embracing you with all my heart and wishing you many long years of good health and all the happiness that you merit, my relative that I regard as my second son will I hope always be the conciliator [M. Legrand], it is to him that I look to for the harmony that I desire between my children.</p>
<p>Votre tendre mère et meilleur amie  Veuve Raoux 27 Janvier 1846  il y a aujourd'hui vingt trois ans que nous avons eu le malheure de perdre votre Bon Père</p>	<p>Your tender mother and best friend  the Widow Raoux 27 January 1846  It is today 23 years that we have had the misfortune of the loss of your good father</p>

of the court and a staircase four stories high in the back to the left of the court.

**Mme Dècle's mother dies in 1847, the same year as Raoux's mother.**<sup>45</sup>

When Mme Dècle's father, Charles Clément Dècle, died April 24, 1842, she and her brother, Alphonse Clément Dècle, were the sole heirs of his estate. His inventory after death was made April 29 of that year. His widow, Jean Henriette Désirée Mustel, mother of Mme Dècle, died January 21, 1847. With the liquidation of her parents' estate evaluated at 155,460 francs, Mme Dècle inherited 75,710 francs, slightly less than her brother's share of 79,750 francs. Before the liquidation proceeded, Raoux had to sign a document stating that he understood and accepted that Mme Dècle and her brother were the only heirs of their parents' estate so he would not make a claim against it. The Dècle estate included a house on the rue de Roule no. 15 valued at 70,000 francs and a house and land in Paris on the rue de Clichy no. 29 evaluated at 35,000 francs.

Clearly, Raoux had married into a well-to-do family, and, seeing that his wife had left him after only six years of marriage, her action was likely a result of his difficult character that his mother had noted in her testament. Raoux's mother and Dècle's mother both died in 1847, just a few months apart. For Mme Dècle, the liquidation of her parents' estate brought her significant wealth, while for Raoux, it meant that the value of the family house on the rue Serpente, his place of business, would be divided between himself and his sister, a legal necessity that caused significant hardship and financial maneuvering. When L. J. Raoux died, no division of property had been made between M. A. Raoux and his sister because Mme Boquet continued to reside at family house to which she had title by usufruct.

**Certificate (Notoriété) after the death of Mme Boquet Vve Raoux - October 21, 1847.**<sup>46</sup>

Madame Boquet died May 12, 1847, age seventy-eight, at her home in her apartment on the rue Serpente no. 11. Witnesses at her death were Louis François Dauprat, then a pensioner of the State, living in Paris rue des Fossé Saint Victor no. 15 and Pierre Guillaume Adolphe Legrand, M. A. Raoux's brother-in-law. A copy of her death record was attached to

45. AN, MC LXXXIII-325. 4 March 1847, Liquidation of the estate of Madame Dècle

46. Op. cit. Certificate (Notoriété), 21 October 1847. Mme Boquet, Vve Raoux.

the document of notoriété. An inventory after her death was not taken, as she left everything to her two children, each for one-half shares.

#### **Division of the estate Mme Boquet - December 10, 1847 - III-1558.<sup>47</sup>**

On December 10, 1847 an accounting of the Mme Boquet's estate was made indicating the division of property between Raoux and his sister, Mme Legrand, which by law had to be divided equally with the exception made by Mme Boquet in her testament that Raoux would receive one-half share plus 4,000 francs. In the end, Raoux's share came to 7,629.62 francs while his sister's share was 3,629.63 francs with an additional 1,760.60 from sales and interest, divided equally. The document of liquidation presents estimated values that were "amicably" made by the parties and indicates what each heir would receive in francs from the total:

1. Furnishings and personal effects	1,109.50
2. Cash on hand	1,363.30
3. An annuity (rente)	10,303.05
4. Income from annuities and arrears	244.00
Total	13,019.85

Against this sum, expenses were subtracted: 110 francs to pay Mme Boquet's doctor, 1,448.85 for funeral costs, miscellaneous expenses of 201.75 for a total of 1,760.60 francs. This left 11,259.25 for inheritance. Although the house on rue Serpente no. 11 was to be divided equally between Raoux and his sister, it was not included in the accounting.

#### **Raoux moves to rue Serpente no. 14 and rents no. 11.<sup>48</sup>**

The real estate registers of Paris for rue Serpente no. 11 show that on May 24, 1848 Raoux leased the entire house (*toute la maison*) to D<sup>elles</sup> Hassenfranz and Vasseur for the sum of 1,300 francs. The following entry in the register reads, "Lease no. 151 to Ch. Labbaye, 15 years from October 1, 1857 for the sum of 2,000 francs and an annual charge of 50 [francs] = 2050 francs and 200 francs one time payed." A small inserted note states that Labbaye had already invested 8,000 francs in the house. Concurrent with leasing rue Serpente no. 11, Raoux moved to the grand house he had purchased in 1847 at rue Serpente no. 14. The cadastre

47. AN, MC III-1558. 10 December 1847, Liquidation [of the estate of Mme Boquet, widow Raoux between M.A. Raoux and Mme Legrand, his sister].

48. AP, DQ18, Cadastre (real-estate registers of Paris), and D1P4, dossiers of the streets of Paris for 1852, 1862 and 1876.

shows that rue Serpente no. 11 had been renumbered by 1851 so that no. 11 became no. 9 and no. 8 no longer existed. The 1851 register entry gives Raoux as the proprietor of no. 9 noting that he is living on the same street, no. 14.

**Auction sale of the rue Serpente no. 11, July 27 and 29, 1850; Raoux pays his sister her half share.<sup>49</sup>**

Because by 1850 Mme Legrand, Raoux's sister, still had not received her share of the family house, she initiated legal proceedings against Raoux. As a consequence, on July 27 and 29, the house was auctioned and in the end, Raoux bought the property for 13,050 francs payable in four months at 5% interest. He then had to pay his sister 6,502.5 francs, which he did immediately following the sale so that the house remained under his ownership. The legal action from his sister testifies to the family pressures placed on Raoux after Mme Boquet's death; that is, his sister wasted no time in making legal claims against him for her share of the of the family house, even though her husband was a wealthy businessman.

**Jacques Nonon, flute-maker in Paris, loans Raoux 2,000 francs.<sup>50</sup>**

On February 26, 1849, in advance of the auction, Raoux borrowed 8,000 francs against his rue Serpente properties to assure that he would have the funds to pay his sister. Of the 8,000 francs, 6,000 francs were borrowed from Eugène Armand Formager and 2,000 francs came from Jacques Nonon, maker of musical instruments, living in Paris, rue des Martyrs, no. 27.<sup>51</sup> By May 21, 1851 Raoux had repaid the loan in full.

**Raoux letter and price-list (1859).<sup>52</sup>**

A form letter attached to the price-list of the Raoux firm, submitted to the Opéra in 1859, indicates that Raoux offered a wide range of brass instruments for the military and for amateurs, including Sax-horns (fig. 5). He notes that he had been a long-time horn player with the Théâtre Italien. His stationery displays his medals and awards for the Paris 1849

49. AN, MC III-1569. 27 et 29 July 1850, Auction sale by court order (Adjudication) of rue Serpente no. 11].

50. AN, MC III-1563. 26 February 1847, Obligation, M. Fromager and M. Nonon to M.A. Raoux.

51. Nonon was then a partner in flute-making with Jean Louis Tulou at that very address.

52. AN, AJ13-450 1860, Price list, Raoux.

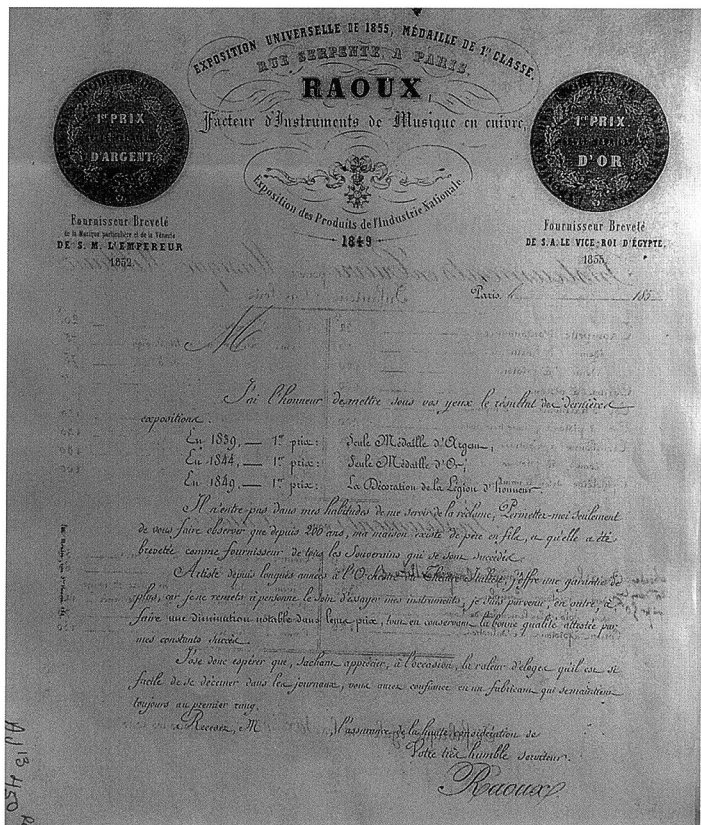


FIGURE 5. Form letter, 1859, by Raoux to the Opéra administration. Photo by the author.

and 1852 exhibitions and his first prize gold medal for the 1855 Universal Exhibition. He writes:

M. - I have the honor of putting before your eyes the result of the last expositions.

In 1830 - 1st prize - only silver medal

In 1844 - 1st prize - only gold medal

In 1849 - the decoration of the Legion of Honor

It is not often that I make self serving claims, allow me only to have you observe that for 200 years my firm exists from father to son, and it was patented as supplier to all the sovereigns that succeeded.

Artist for many years in the Orchestra of the Théâtre Italien, I offer a guarantee furthermore, because I offer all persons the consideration of trying my instruments, I reached out, besides to make a notable reduction in their price, all in conserving the good quality attested to by my constant success.

I dare therefore to hope that, knowing to judge, should the opportunity arise, the value of praise that is so easy to award oneself in the journals, you will have confidence in a maker who maintains always the first rank.

You receive M. the assurance of the highest consideration

Your very humble servant – Raoux<sup>53</sup>

### **Testament holograph of Marcel Auguste Raoux, 9 February 1865.<sup>54</sup>**

Raoux deposited two holograph copies of his testament with M. Coulon, the notary. There are some minor differences between the two copies, one dated Paris, January 8, 1865 and the other dated February 9, 1865. The latter is transcribed and translated in table 4 and is the one the notary wrote into the inventory. At Raoux's death, both copies were signed by the President of the Tribunal of the Seine and registered in Paris with the 11<sup>th</sup> bureau, July 8 and 16, 1871.

Raoux's testament reveals that the sale of his business went to purchase a life annuity (*rente viagère*) so he could support himself in good fashion in his retirement and last years. He goes on to say that he sold the house on the rue Serpente no. 9 and that the money went to his son and sister. He gave his son his medals and decorations and left his long-

53. M. J'ai l'honneur de mettre sous vos yeux le résultat des dernières expositions. En 1839 – 1er prix: Seule médaille d'Argent – En 1844 – 1er prix: Seule Médaille d'Argent – En 1848 – 1er prix: La Décoration de la Légion d'honneur. Il n'entre pas dans mes habitudes de me servir de la réclame, Permettez-moi seulement de vous faire observer que depuis 200 ans, ma maison existe de père en fils, et qu'elle a été breveté comme fournisseur de tous les Souverains qui se sont succédés.

Artiste depuis longues années à l'Orchestre du Théâtre Italien, j'offre une garantie de plus, car je ne remets à personne le soin d'essayer mes instruments, je suis parvenu, en outre, à faire une diminution notable dans leur prix, bien en conservant la bonne qualité attesté par mes constants succès.

J'ose donc espérer que, sachant apprécier, la valeur d'eloges qu'il est si facile de se décerner dans les journaux, vous avez confiance en un fabricant qui se maintient toujours au premeir rang. Recevez, M., l'assurance de la haute considération de – Votre très humble serviteur – Raoux.

54. AN, MC XXIX-1278. 23 June 1871, Legal deposit of the testament holograph of M. Raoux [signed in Paris, 9 February 1865].

TABLE 4. Testament holograph of Marcel Auguste Raoux, February 9, 1865.

<p><b>page première</b>  Testament de M.A. Raoux  J'avais en 1859 fait un testament. J'ai cru devoir y faire des changemens à la suite de la maladie grave que je viens d'éprouver je ne dois pas tarder d'avantage à donner acte de mes dispositions. Je revoque tout testament antérieur. Ma volonté est de reposer près de ma bonne mère qui par sa tendresse a adouci mes chagrins de famille après plusieurs tentatives pour ramener Madame Raoux. J'ai du y renoncer, ma conduite avant et depuis notre separation (1832), je puis ajouter l'estime dont j'ai toujours été entouré me dispensent de toute justification. Seul, j'ai subvenu à l'entretien et à l'éducation de mon fils, je le dit à regret jamais. il n'a répondu à mes esperances, je lui ai pardonné une faute grave commise à l'age de quatorze ans et que pourrait compromettre son avenir. J'ai épuisé pour le faire arriver tous les moyens et protections son insouciance a toujours paralysé mes efforts. J'en appelle à ses souvenirs, tous les papiers qui le concernent sont dans une de mes cartons, qu'il les relire s'il a oublié. Il sont sans interruption depuis l'age de cinq ans jusq'à trente. Des qu'il les atteint, il a voulu se marier. Je pensait que sa position ne le lui permettait pas encore, je voulais qu'il attendit ayant l'intention de lui faire un cautionnement pour une place de percepteur. J'ai exigé un délai de six mois. Il a passé outre me faisant sommation par notaire en Janvier 1857. Il avait trente ans depuis le 15 Décembre précédent. Je fus plusieurs années sans entendre parler de lui enfin en 1862 il m'écrivait me</p>	<p><b>first page</b>  Testament of M.A. Raoux  I had in 1859 made a testament. I thought I must make some changes to it. Following a grave illness that I had just come down with, I must not wait to address my situation to take action to put things in order.  I revoke all earlier testaments. My wish is to rest near my good mother who by her tenderness lessened my family sadness – after several tries to bring back Mme Raoux - I had to renounce my conduct before and since our separation (1832), I can add the esteem with which I was always surrounded exempts me from all justification. Alone, I have provided for the upkeep and education of my son. I say this never having regrets. He has not lived up to my hopes, I forgave him a grave fault committed at the age of fourteen and which could have compromised his future. I am tired of finding all ways and protections for him - his carelessness has always paralyzed my efforts. I call to his memory all the papers that concern him are in one of my cartons that he reread them and that he not forget. They are without interruption since the age of five until thirty. When he attained that age, he wanted to marry. I thought that his position would not yet permit him to do so. I desired that he waited having the intention of securing him a position as a government tax collector. I required a delay of six months. He went ahead none the less making me pay by notary in January 1857. He is 30 years old since the 15 December preceding. I had several years without hearing any news from him – finally in 1862 he wrote to me</p>
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time worker M. Alfred Legrand (related to his sister's husband) four sterling silver settings. His testament shows that his mother recognized he was a difficult person and that this was likely the reason his wife left. Raoux indicates his wife left in 1832 and although he and his family made great efforts to bring her back, their effort was to no avail, as she took legal action in 1833.

His testament exposes a man who, by the end of his life, saw his great accomplishments fade under the pressures of finance, industry competition, and family feud, and a man who lived in a state of melancholy while

TABLE 4 *continued*

<p><b>page deuxième</b>  témoignant le désir de me voir, j'y consentis et depuis cette époque je le reçois ainsi que sa femme avec la quelle il paraît faire bon ménage. J'ose espérer que ma soeur et son mari qui est mon cousin n'oublieront pas que mon fils est leur plus proche parent et que malgré l'adoption</p>	<p><b>second page</b>  showing the desire to see me, I consented to it and since that time, I also receive his wife with whom he seems to make a good couple. I dare to hope that my sister and her husband who is my cousin will not forget that my son is their closest relative and that despite the</p>
<p>qu'ils ont faite d'une jeune fille étrangère, ils se rappelleront sans doute les recommandations contenues dans le testament de notre mère. Voici ma modeste position. Fatigué des suites d'un procès ruineux pour toute mon industrie dont j'étais le représentant, voulant après quarante cinq ans de travail prendre du repos, j'ai cédé mon fabrication bien déchuée de sa valeur par les resultats de ce procès. J'avais cependant conservé le ler rang dant toutes les expositions. J'ai vendu également la maison rue Serpente 14 ainsi que le terrain que j'avais été forcé d'acheter quelque mois avant. Cette vente n'a pas été avantageuse vu les exigences ordinaires de la ville. Après avoir payé la maison car j'en était debiteur, payé le terrain à la ville, j'ai pu réunir une somme de quarante mille francs. J'ai alors demandé à la bonne amitié de M. Coulon avoué de vouloir bien prendre cette somme à charge de me servir une rente viagère de quatre mille francs. C'est un service ajouté à tous ceux qu'il m'a déjà rendu. Cette combinaison était indispensable pour que je puisse jouir dans mes dernières années d'une modeste aisance après tant de travail. Je laisse a mon fils plus que je n'ai reçu, ayant acheté la maison rue Serpente 9 et payé à ma scœur la moitié de la valeur de la dite maison.</p>	<p>adoption that they made of a young foreign girl, they will no doubt recall the recommendations contained in the testament of our mother. Here is my modest position. Fatigued by the series of a ruinous process for all of my industry of which I was the representative, wanting after 45 years of work to take some rest, I ceded my fabrication much depreciated of its value by the results of this legal proceeding. I had however conserved the first rank in all the exhibitions. I have sold equally the house on the rue Serpente 14 as well as the land that I had been forced to buy several months before. This sale was not advantageous seeing the ordinary requirements of the city. After having paid for the house because I was a debtor, paying the land to the city, I could bring together a sum of 40,000 francs. I then asked my good friend M. Coulon, attorney, to be so kind as to take that sum as a responsibility to serve for me as an annual annuity of 4,000 francs. It is a service added to all those that have already paid back. This combination was indispensable in order that I would be able to enjoy my last years in modest comfort after so much work. I leave to my son more than I have yet received before buying the house rue Serpente 9 and paying my sister half of the value of the said house.</p>



TABLE 4 *continued*

<p><b>page troisième</b>  M. Coulon sait que ma sœur et son mari ont exigé que cette vente eut lieu. Je m'en suis rendu acquéreur à la crié - quant à la mère de mon fils [Madame Declé], elle ne peut de mon vivant disposer que de son revenu, que fera t'elle après moi.... Je prie mon bien ami Coulon mon exécuter testamentaire d'accepter mes tableaux. Je n'en excepte que les portraits de famille et le Christ destiné a mon sœur, à la condition expresse qu'après ma sœur et son mari, ces tableaux retournant à mon fils. Mon beau frère et sa femme n'ayant pas d'enfant et la jeune fille qu'il leur a plu d'adopter est une étrangère pour ma famille. Je lègue à mon ancien ouvrier Alfred Legrand quatre couvert d'argent comme souvenir d'affection. J'avais eu l'intention de comprendre parmi les tableaux légués à mon ami Coulon mes médailles et décorations, j'ai réfléchi que ces objets devraient rester à mon fils. Pour rendre moins pénible les années qu'ils me faudra encore passer dans la solitude, je reporte chaque jour mes pensées sur mon excellent père si faible pour son auguste et sur ma chère bonne mère dont sa vive tendresse ne s'est jamais rallentie à tout deux mes plus doux souvenirs. Le double de ce testament est déposé chez M. Coulon. Je désire qu'après l'avoir lu, lecture soit faite de celui de ma mère, il est dans la même enveloppe que celui-ci.  [Signé] Raoux.  Paris le 9 Février 1865  Fête de ma mère  M. Coulon est aujourd'hui Greffier en chef de la Cour de Cassation, Janvier 1865 – il demeure boulevard Haussmann n. 101.</p>	<p><b>Third page</b>  M. Coulon knows that my sister and her husband are obligated that this sale takes place. I rendered myself acquirer of it at auction – as for the mother of my son, she can, during my lifetime, only dispose of her income, that will be hers after me. .. I pray that my good friend Coulon, executor of my testament accepts my paintings. I only made the exception of the family portraits and the Christ destined for my sister, on the express condition that after my sister and her husband, these paintings are returned to my son. My brother in law and his wife not having a child, and the young girl who they were pleased to adopt is a stranger to my family. I bequeath to my former worker Alfred Legrand four silver place-settings as souvenir of affection. I had the intention to include among the paintings bequeathed to my friend Coulon my medals and decorations, I thought that these objects must remain with my son. To make less painful the years for which I must still spend in solitude, I report each day, my thoughts about my excellent father so weak for his majesty and think about my dear good mother whose lively tenderness never diminished – to both of them my most sweet memories. The copy of this testament is deposited at the shop of M. Coulon. I desire that after having read it, a reading be made of the one [testament] of my mother, it is in the same envelope that this one is in.  [Signed] Raoux  Paris 9 February 1865  Birthday of my mother  M. Coulon is today Chief Registrar of the Court of Cassation, January 1868. He lives at boulevard Haussmann no. 101</p>
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dreading his last years in loneliness, isolated from the work and world of horn-making he loved and to which he had so passionately dedicated his life. The royal privilege for supplying musical instruments to the royal court that had been enjoyed by his father and grandfather was severely compromised with the July Revolution of 1830, a scenario so vividly expressed by Dauprat and Courtois in the 1836 inventory of separation.

Despite his misgivings about his son, he seems to have had a sudden change of heart in that the first version of his testament leaves his medals and decorations to his friend Coulon, whereas the revised testament leaves them to his son, Auguste Ernest.

**Inventory after death, Marcel Auguste Raoux, August 9, 1871.**<sup>55</sup>

Raoux died June 3, 1871 at age seventy-six in his apartment on the Boulevard Saint Michel no. 38 at 9 o'clock in the morning. His inventory is addressed to his son, M. Auguste Ernest Raoux, his sole and unique heir, who was living in Paris, Batignoles rue des Termières 27 and was employed as a government tax inspector. M. Auguste Ernest had been born December 15, 1826, nine months after Raoux's marriage. Ignoring his father's dictum against marrying, on April 14, 1857 he had married Dlle Marie Palmyre Irma Leclerc.<sup>56</sup> Mme Dècle, although separated from Raoux, was present as a witness and as an interested party, based on the terms of the marriage contract. The inventory notes that she introduced the demand for a separation of "corps et biens" against her husband for which judgment had been made by the Civil Tribunal of the Seine and by the court of appeal of Amiens on January 21, 1836, by which the separation was definitively pronounced. Following this judgment, the inventory of property dependent on the marriage was taken by M. Chadru, notary, February 24, 1836, but no accounting or liquidation took place between M. and Mme Raoux.

The inventory of household goods found in Raoux's apartment on the Blvd. St. Germain no. 38 shows that nothing remained of the musical instrument business, no doubt owing to its sale to Labbaye in 1857. Each room of the apartment was inventoried separately in the following order: Antechamber, Salon (containing a console piano in rosewood at 250 francs, the highest priced item in the household inventory), bedroom, study, maid's room, kitchen, and cellar. Items inventoried by category were: linens, a man's clothing, silver and jewelry, and the objects bequeathed to M. Legrand priced at 120 francs and to M. Coulon at 100 francs, which are given in his testament. The total pricing of household items came to 2,983 francs.

55. AN, MC XXIX-1280. 9 August 1871. Inventory after death of M. Raoux.

56. AP, EC. Birth record, 15 December 1826 ; attached to birth record, Courbevoie, 26 June 1874, mayor of Courbevoie certifies the marriage of August Ernest Raoux.

The inventory's section of "analysis of the papers" begins with Raoux's marriage contract. This is followed by a section of declarations made by Mme Dècle in reference to the marriage contract by which she claims that she was still owed a significant sum of money, despite the fact that the estate had been divided and settled according to the separation and court settlement of 1836. Against this claim, her son, Auguste Ernest, stated that there were valuable items not included in inventory and pointed to silver, diamonds, and furniture which Raoux had set aside for his wife and that when Mme Raoux left the conjugal home, she took these with her. Her claims were judged to be null by the Tribunal de la Seine that affirmed the 1836 separation settlement.

Section seven describes the account book of M. Raoux. It is a register bound in green boards on which Raoux wrote his expenses from January 15, 1857, the date he left his business. It documents all the changes and modifications made to his estate and their value, which made up his personal fortune as well as monthly and yearly expenses. Raoux continued with the account book until October 15, 1858, with an account balance 40,000 francs when he deposited the book with M. Coulon.

Section 11 concerns Raoux's legal battles with Sax and the "documents relative to a continuing process against the 'Maison Sax de Paris,' makers of musical instruments and without verdict up to the present." Reference is made to receipts requested and pronouncements at the occasion of the process against the deceased delivered by the administration of registrations October 3 and 26, 1860. The others refer to the opposition delivered by hand to the deceased by M. Viel creditor of M. Sax as well as noting writ of summons, letters, memoirs, conclusions, notes, etc.

The two key sections of the inventory are Raoux's testament and section 12 detailing the sale and transfer of his business to Jacques Christophe Labbaye. Labbaye (b. Paris rue Croix des Petits Champs no. 25, October 15, 1814), the son of Jacques Michel Labbaye and Ann Désirée Pedot, married Marie Angélique Françoise Sassaïgne, daughter of François Félix Marie Sassaïgne and Angélique Caroline Adelaïde Chenotte, on August 18, 1842. He died September 21, 1882 at his home on the rue Larcépède no. 4. His wife, Mme Sassaïgne, age fifty-six, was then retired and living in Rueil Seine et Oise.<sup>57</sup> Section 12 of the inventory begins as follows:

57. AP, EC. Jacques Christophe Labbaye - birth record, 15 October 1814, Marriage record, 18 August 1842, Labbaye and Sassaïgne and, death record, 22 September 1882.

Transfer of the Musical Instrument Business (Fond de Commerce)  
to Jacques Christophe Labbaye  
Location of the Business (Maison) of the Rue Serpente no. 9  
Agreement of 21 September 1868

Section 12 details the transfer and sale under private signature of Raoux's instrument business to Jacques Christophe Labbaye, maker of musical instruments, living in Paris rue de Caire no. 17, on June 20, 1857. The sale of the Raoux business was made in consideration of an annual annuity (*rente viagère*) of 2,400 francs per year, stipulating quarterly payments of 600 francs each to be paid on February 15, May 15, August 15, and November 14 of each year. There was a lease agreement between them by which Raoux leased a section of his house on the rue Serpente no. 9 to Labbaye for 2,000 francs per year beginning October 1, 1857, and where Labbaye now would locate part of his business. The real estate records describe Labbaye's lease and area of the house at no. 9 as follows: Entering from the alley door on the ground floor, no. 1<sup>er</sup> a-g of the alley, a boutique - in the back an atelier with fireplace and covered court. The record notes that Labbaye is a maker of musical instruments in brass with his "principal establishment rue de Caire no. 17 [later crossed out and changed to no. 33]."

Three pieces which are - The first, one of the double originals of an act under private signature dated in Paris the 20 June 1857 and registered in Paris the 23rd of the same month, folio 170, by the receiver of the bureau of acts under private signature that concern the rights and the terms of what M. Raoux has ceded and sold to M. Jacques Christophe Labbaye, maker of musical instruments in Paris, rue du Caire no. 17, the business enterprise and the manufacture of musical instruments, that was exploited there as well as a house in Paris on the rue Serpente no. 14, with the merchandize for sale in the store, at the reserve price or at that of the experts. This sale is made in consideration of a *rente viagère* of 2,400 francs stipulated payable in four equal terms of 600 francs each, the fifteen February, fifteen May, fifteen August and fifteen November of each year.<sup>58</sup>

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On 28 December 1874, Labbaye, living at rue des minimes no. 14, filed his birth record with the Hôtel de Ville in Paris; this record verifies that his father was Jacques Michel Labbaye and not Jacques Charles Labbaye as indicated in Langwill Index. At the time of his birth, he was living with his parents at Croix de Petit Champs no. 25.

58. Trois pieces qui sont: La premier d'un des double originaux des actes sous signatures privées en date à Paris du vingt juin mil huit cent cinquante sept. Enregistré à Paris le vingt trois du même mois folio 170 par le receveur du Bureau des Actes sous signatures privées qui aperçu les droits, aux termes duquel M Raoux a cédé & vendu à M. Jacques Christophe Labbaye, fabricant d'instruments de musique à Paris, rue du

Raoux gives Labbaye power of attorney, July 9, 1859, to settle all outstanding accounts.<sup>59</sup> The power of attorney, drawn up two years after Raoux sold his business to Labbaye, gave Labbaye full authority to act on his behalf in all matters of finance and commerce from January 15, 1857. When Raoux sold his firm to Labbaye, the terms and conditions were made under private signature and are revealed in his inventory after death. A combination of events led to the sale, which can be traced to the reasons presented by Courtois and Dauprat in the 1836 inventory of separation, as well as to issues of inheritance in connection with the family property on the rue Serpente that served as the establishment (*maison*) of the Raoux musical instrument business and was owned by his mother until her death in 1847 when it passed to Raoux and his sister in equal shares.

In the presence of M. Marcel Auguste Raoux, maker of musical instruments, chevalier of the Legion of Honor, living in Paris, rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, no. 62 who by these, presents, constitutes for his legal representative, M. Jacques Christophe Labbaye, maker of musical instruments in Paris rue de Caire no. 17 to whom he gives power to act in his name to take and receive all sums that can be due to him since the 15 of January 1857 for the affairs of commerce by such persons that might be - notably, by the minister of finance, the minister of State, the Prefecture of the Seine, the Viceroy of Egypt, the Opera and by other debtors. To present all bills and invoices, affirming all claims, collecting all warrants of payment in taking the total sum, signing all mandates and pay sheets of all sums received, give bills and receipts, to consent to all intentions. In the case of difficulty or default of payment exercise all legal proceedings, constraint and diligence necessary - summon and appear before all competent judges and tribunals - obtain all judgments and decrees and execute all ways and means of the law.<sup>60</sup>

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Caire no. 17, le fonds du commerce et la fabrique d'instruments de musique qu'exploitait le cédant alors dans une maison à Paris rue Serpente no. 14 avec les marchandises à prendre en magasin à prix de reserve ou à deux d'experts. Cette vente a été faite moyennant une rente viagère de deux mille quatre cents francs stipulé payable en quatre termes égaux de six cents francs chaque.

59. AN, MC III-1600, 9 July 1859. Procuration [letter of attorney] M. Raoux to M. Jacques Christophe Labbaye.

60. Procuration, 9 juillet 1859. A comparu M. Marcel Auguste Raoux, ancien Légion d'Honneur, demeurant a Paris, rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, no. 62 - Lequel a par ces présentes constitué pour son mandataire, — M. Jacques Christophe Labbaye, fabricant d'instruments de musiques, demeurant à Paris rue du Carire no. 17 - Auquel il donne pouvoir de pour lui en son nom toucher et recevoir toutes sommes qui pouvant lui être dues depuis le quinze janvier mil huit cent cinquante sept pour affaires de commerce par telles personnes qui se sont notamment par le ministère des finances, le

In a letter dated July 21, 1860, Labbaye, acting as Raoux's special representative, wrote to M. Martin, Registrar of the Opéra, saying the he would reduce the regular price of a horn from 280 francs to 200 francs in reference to the Opéra's order for four horns that were needed to adjust to the change of pitch in Paris in 1859, officially lowering it to A=435 (fig. 6). He also offered to take back the horns in service at 70 francs each. The letter is written on Raoux's stationery and shows that Labbaye was located on the rue Serpente. Labbaye notes, "The business as you see is not important, but the honor that my establishment (*maison*) continues to be the supplier of your administration convinced me to propose to you a reduction of 80 francs on my regular price, and to prove to you that I treat you as I do an artist. The price although reduced does not influence anything about the quality of the instrument for which you will surely want to entrust me with the execution."<sup>61</sup>

Following the inventory description of Raoux's agreement with Labbaye, his son, Auguste Ernest, made a number of declarations showing that even after Raoux's death, Sax was still trying to exact monies from his estate: "There is accounting to do with M. Labbaye because of the sums owed by him. Since the death of his father he has only received accounting on the location for a sum of 500 francs. The surplus of the sums owed by M. Labbaye is stopped by an opposition made by the house of Sax (la Maison Sax)."

### **Success and struggle mark Raoux's business and personal life.**

Raoux's life seems to have been marked by conflict and unhappy personal relationships. Through his early years that he spent working alongside his father, he reaped the benefits of the royal privilege bestowed on his father and continued to enjoy after his father's death. Beginning with the turmoil of the Revolution of 1830 and its negative impact on the mu-

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ministère d'Etat, la préfecture de la Seine, le Viceroi d'Egypte, l'Opéra et par tous autres débiteurs – Présenter tous mémoires et facteurs affirmer toutes créances – Retirer tous mandats de paiement en toucher le montant, signer tous mandats et émargement – De toutes sommes reçues donner quittance et décharge consentir toutes mentions – En cas de difficulté ou à défaut de paiement, exercer toutes poursuites, contraintes et diligence nécessaires, citer et comparaître devant tous juges et tribunaux competent, obtenir tous jugemens et arrêts, les faire exécuter par toutes voies et moyens de droit – Aux effets ci-dessus passer et signer tous actes, substituer, élire domicile et généralement faire le nécessaire.

61. AN, AJ13-450, 21 July 1860. Letter by Labbaye as special assistant to Raoux addressed to M. Martin, General Register of the imperial theater of the Opéra.



FIGURE 6. Orchestral horn [cor d'orchestre] by Labbaye, University of Edinburgh Collections with their description: Inscribed on bell opposite stay "J. C. LABBAYE / FACTEUR DES THEATRES NATIONAUX / A PARIS" surmounted by medallion with "INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION LONDON 1862" around periphery and "1862 / LONDINI HONORIS / CAUSA" within . . . M. A. Raoux stamp below inscription. Inscribed on bell garland "RAOUX, FOURNISSEUR DU CONSERVATOIRE, RUE DES MINIMES NO. 14, PARIS." Photo courtesy of University of Edinburgh Musical Instrument Museums. See color photo p. 229.

sical instrument trade as detailed in the expert testimony of Courtois and Dauprat for the 1836 inventory of separation, a series of unfortunate events plagued Raoux's personal life and business: his wife left in 1832 and despite all his efforts, their differences could not be reconciled. From the 1840s until his death, he found himself embroiled in the French wind establishment's battle against Adolphe Sax. His relationship with his sister, Mme Legrand, was strained by her law suit against him to obtain her share of rue Serpente no. 11, and finally, he was alienated from his son, Auguste Ernest, and went for years without seeing him, until 1862. When his wife, Mme Dècle, died May 13, 1876, age seventy, at her home at rue Lemercier no. 11, 17<sup>th</sup> arrondissement, Ernest Auguste, their son, signed as a witness to her death record. A few years later, his

sister, Rosalie Appolonie Jeanne Raoux, age sixty-nine, died October 20, 1879 at her home in Paris, rue du Cherche Midi no. 97. Her husband, Pierre Guillaume Adolphe Legrand, retired, age seventy-three, was present as a witness. After Raoux's death his son, Ernest Auguste became proprietor of the house rue Serpente no. 9 (the old no. 11). He died there February 25, 1889. His widow, Marie Palmyre Irma Leclerc, continued to live at rue Sepente no. 9 by virtue of her one half share in usufruct. The other half was inherited by Marie Inès Louise, her daughter with E. A. Raoux, the great-grand daughter of M. A. Raoux who was divorced from her husband, Victor Ernest Jules Fernaud Cathelinat when she died October 10, 1930.<sup>62</sup>

**The Raoux business on the rue Serpente during 67 years, 1790 to 1857, was home to the manufacture and development of the "French" horn in Paris.**

Raoux notes in his testament that despite difficulties, he was still able to attain the highest ranks at Paris industry exhibitions and at the Universal Exhibitions. His medals are displayed prominently on his stationery, and as he writes in his testament, after careful thought, he reserved them for his son to inherit. Indeed, they were his most prized possessions. Steeped in the French traditions and aesthetics of horn making, having learned his art from his father, Lucien Joseph—a horn maker of the highest rank who was schooled by his father, Joseph Raoux—the instruments of the Raoux family that we preserve and cherish today make real the Raoux family's accomplishments and magnificent contributions to horn making. Brought to life in period performances where one might hear the music of Dauprat played on a horn by Raoux, be it solo, chamber music, or wind quintet, one is transported by the sound of the Raoux "French" horn to nineteenth century Paris during the golden age of wind instrument making and playing.

62. AP D1P4 1095, Fichier des rues de Paris.