

JUSTIN HOLLAND:

BLACK GUITARIST IN THE WESTERN RESERVE

By Barbara Clemenson

Justin Holland labored throughout his life for the advancement and the equal acceptance of himself and his race by white Americans. He employed the methods and the means used by other nineteenth century black leaders: self-betterment through education, respected employment, exemplary public and private deportment, participation in the antebellum organization of black leaders and their formal and informal activities to promote and protect their race, and membership in an international fraternal organization. And, although he was born in Virginia and spent his youth in Massachusetts, Justin Holland decided that Ohio's Western Reserve provided him with the most favorable environment and opportunities to fulfill his goals.

Justin Holland was born to free black parents in Norfolk County, Virginia on 26 July 1819, the oldest or second oldest of farmer Exum Holland's three sons and five daughters. The family lived near other free blacks in a neighborhood which also included whites of moderate means who owned a few slave families, and whites without slaves. Tobacco had first been the principle crop in Norfolk County, however over-production, depressed profits, and tobacco's depletion of the soil had forced agricultural diversification; so the Hollands and their neighbors most likely grew corn, cotton, Irish potatoes, grass, or fruits and vegetables as cash crops on small farms.¹

Justin Holland left Virginia for Massachusetts after his parents' deaths in 1833.² Several factors probably influenced his move.

The South was an increasingly unpleasant home for free blacks. Virginian whites had created a sizable free black population through wide-spread manumission, self-purchase, and court-granted freedom for many slaves after the Revolution as they were influenced by the War's ideals, Christian equalitarianism, and slaves' decreased value due to the decline in tobacco cultivation. However their liberal attitude toward blacks changed as the increased demand for slaves in the Deep South's cotton belt, combined with their decreased supply due to the restriction of the African slave trade, again made them valuable property. Virginian slave owners then justified slavery as a necessity, for, they contended, blacks were culturally inferior and unable to work without white supervision. Free blacks were not only a living reproach to this belief, but also an example of freedom to neighboring slaves. This was a dangerous prospect to whites in a county in which almost half of the population was black--especially after Nat Turner's insurrection and murder of fifty-one whites in one day in Southampton County, Virginia in 1831. Turner's revolt

caused the demise of remaining Southern manumission societies and organized emancipation movements, intensified Southern planters' fear of their slaves, and moved whites to increase legal segregation, restrictions and degradations of free blacks.³

In contrast to conditions in Virginia, the growing black population of Massachusetts enjoyed educational and economic opportunities for advancement. Holland's father had early recognized his son's musical talent, perhaps when Justin composed music for a words-only songbook he found when he was only eight years old; however Holland could not develop his ability in rural Norfolk County except by walking five miles on Sundays to a log meeting house to listen to and join in its music. Boston, however, "beyond a doubt...the leading city in musical matters, as far as this country [was] concerned," offered many opportunities for hearing music, and its schools and conservatories were open to all who could afford them.⁴ Holland heard Spaniard Mariano Perez perform on the guitar many times at Boston's Lion Theater, and decided shortly after moving North to earnestly study that instrument. Although Holland's biographer stated that "he then [never] dreamed of...becoming a teacher or professor of the instrument: he wished to learn music simply for his own amusement," it seems unlikely that Holland would have sacrificed his hard-earned money to pay for lessons, and his nights' sleep to practice, unless he saw music as a possible future career.⁵

Sometime before or during his stay in Massachusetts Holland changed his name from Justin Holland to William J. H. White. The reason for this change is as yet unknown. A William White became a prominent physician in Norfolk County during the nineteenth century, however it seems unlikely that Holland's name change was influenced by either him or his family since this William White was three years younger than Holland and did not live in the same township. The only "White" living near the Hollands in Norfolk County was an older free black man named Randol White. It is possible that Justin knew this man and that his name change had something to do with this acquaintance. Or perhaps the change was in some way connected with Azell White, a white musician and master of the Boston Brigade Band in Massachusetts. Whatever the reason for the change, Holland retained his original identity by using "J. H." as middle initials; and on 13 May 1847 he legally changed his name back to "Justin Holland."⁶

Holland spent eight years in the Boston area. Sources do not indicate his type of employment, however Holland stated that he made "a good living." He was able from his earnings to purchase room and board in a public house, pay one flute and two guitar teachers for music lessons, and save two hundred dollars for further education. He also became acquainted with some of the leading men in Boston and in nearby Chelsea, where he lived as one of only eleven blacks out of a total population of over two thousand, and as the only black in a rooming house boarding twenty-six people.⁷

In spite of Holland's economic success and musical training, Massachusetts could not provide him with the education he desired. For that he had to look to the Oberlin Collegiate Institute, founded in Ohio's Western Reserve in 1833 to provide in a Christian community a substantial education at the lowest possible rates to students of both sexes. The school had admitted blacks since

1835, when, due to the influence of anti-slavery professors and students who had left Lane Seminary in Cincinnati because of that institution's prohibition against the discussion of slavery, Oberlin's Trustees resolved "'that the education of the people of color is a matter of great interest, and should be encouraged and sustained in this Institution.'"⁸ Oberlin maintained this policy in spite of several attempts by the Ohio legislature to revoke its charter,⁹ and in 1840 Holland wrote to the school president for information on attending:

I have understood that the Institution under your charge offers facilities for coloured persons obtaining an education & the object of this is to enquire What the facilities, conditions &c. are--I, the writer of this am a coloured person about 20 years of age and have strove in vain to obtain a decent education for the difficulties i have to encounter are next to Insurmountable. i feel & see the importance of a decent education & would gladly make any sacrifice in my power if I could thereby obtain what i wish.¹⁰

After receiving a catalog, Holland realized that the two hundred dollars he had saved was insufficient to pay for his education, "which is the only reason," he wrote, "why I do not immediately join. I have therefore resolved to continue struggling [sic] untill [sic] I shall have laid up a sum sufficient for the purpose..." He asked about the manual labor system of working to pay for a portion of his expenses, and concluded by stating his "determination to persevere." This he did, for he attended Oberlin as a student in its Preparatory Department during the 1841-42 school year.¹¹

By this time Holland had apparently determined to make music, especially teaching the guitar, his future career. The guitar experienced a popular revival in the nineteenth century as a result of the development of the six-string guitar which replaced the more difficult six-course (double-stringed) instrument, and because of the performance and publishing of guitar masters such as Fernando Sor (1778-1839) and Dionisio Aguado (1784-1849). "Guitaromanie," an all-embracing mania for the guitar, swept throughout Europe until the 1830s as men, and especially women, both royal and middle-class, learned to play this romantic, portable parlor instrument by using the various *Methods* written by the masters. The guitar was introduced to England in 1815 after the Napoleonic Wars and continued its popularity there, and in America, throughout most of the century until it was replaced in drawing rooms by the pianoforte.¹² There was therefore a demand for guitar teachers in the United States, and fulfilling that demand would enable Holland to become a middle-class professional and place him in contact with white upper and middle class society. Consistent with his drive for learning in order to be fully educated in his profession, Holland travelled in Mexico for two years in the early 1840s to learn Spanish so that he might read the methods of Sor, Aguado and other Spanish guitarists in their original language. He returned to Oberlin in 1845, married, and shortly thereafter moved to Cleveland.¹³

Cleveland was a good place for Holland to establish himself in his profession. The 1840 population of 7,500 included enough individuals of sufficient means, leisure time and interest to support the fine arts; and this group of potential upper and middle class patrons grew as Cleveland's mercantile

economy expanded in the 1850s with the coming of the railroads and as it industrialized during and after the Civil War. The Cleveland Musical Society and the Sacred Music Society had been formed as early as 1832, and by 1850 Cleveland's formally organized musical associations included several bands and orchestras, choirs, and an appreciation society.¹⁴

Holland seldom performed in public, but instead concentrated on teaching. He composed and arranged guitar music for his students and published his work, mostly through the Cleveland firm, S. Brainard's Sons. Brainard's not only published Holland's music and provided for its local distribution through its Cleveland music store, but also advertised his work throughout the Midwest in its monthly publication, *Brainard's Musical World*. As a result, by the time Holland published his instructional *Methods* for the guitar in 1874 and 1876 he was recognized throughout the United States as one of the country's premier guitarists.¹⁵

Cleveland, however, was not only a good base for Holland because of its cultural advantages. It also provided many nineteenth century blacks with a comfortable home because of the white population's sympathetic attitude towards that race.

Cleveland's early New England settlers were not abolitionists, however they were anti-slavery. They formed the Cuyahoga County Colonization Society in 1827, the Cleveland Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, and the Cuyahoga County Anti-Slavery Society in 1837. And although they had basically permitted the capture and return of fugitive slaves without interference before 1830, after that time Cleveland's leading citizens, both black and white, increasingly aided captured fugitives and spirited them and others to freedom by means of the Underground Railroad. Justin Holland participated in this work.¹⁶

Cleveland's whites not only aided blacks passing through the city, though. They also lived, worked, ate, played, worshipped and educated their children with Cleveland's black citizens. Abolitionist James Freeman Clarke wrote that, "The feeling toward them [blacks] in Cleveland and throughout the Western Reserve is very kind, and there they do better than in most places;" and the *Cleveland Leader* stated that "[some of the] colored citizens of Cleveland...[are] old, intelligent, industrious, and respectable residents, who own property, pay taxes, vote at elections, educate their children in public schools, and contribute to build up the institutions, and to the advancement of the prosperity of the city..." White citizens' attitude permitted middle-class access to a large minority of the city's black population so that former slave, abolitionist and Cleveland resident William Wells Brown could note that, "The colored population of Cleveland will compare most favorably with an equal number of whites in any portion of Ohio." Although part of the reason for whites' accepting attitude might have been the small number of blacks they had to absorb into the community, perhaps most important were blacks' active attempts to earn acceptance through their deportment and organization.¹⁷

Justin Holland, the first black professional in Cleveland and a leader in its black community, lived among whites, acquired property, and carefully conducted himself in order to earn whites' respect. He wrote:

I adopted as a rule of guidance for myself, that I would do full justice to the learner in my efforts to impart to him a good knowledge of the elementary principles of music, and a correct system of fingering [on the guitar], as practiced by, and taught in the works of, the best masters in Europe. I also decided that in my intercourse as teacher I would preserve the most cautious and circumspect demeanor, considering the relation a mere business one that gave me no claims upon my pupils' attention or hospitality beyond what any ordinary business matter would give. I am not aware, therefore, that any one has ever had cause to complain of my demeanor, or that I have been in any case presumptive.¹⁸

His success was evidenced by the testimony Cleveland whites bore of him:

We have known him personally and bare witness to the excellency of his character and the superiority of his mind....He is a man with whom anyone might have associated....Whenever we have been in Cleveland we always made it a point of duty and pleasure to visit Mr. Holland, and we never left his presence without having enjoyed his genial manners and his interesting conversations. He was unassuming and modest, in fact, he was a perfect gentleman in all his ways and dealings. No doubt it is as great a gratification to those of our readers who play the guitar to hear so much good of a man whom they knew only by name, as it is to us to lay these facts before them.¹⁹

Holland also joined other black leaders assembling in local, state and national negro conventions to discuss and solve mutual problems. The first National Negro Convention convened in Philadelphia in 1830 in response to the threatened expulsion of blacks from Cincinnati by enforcement of the \$500 good-behavior bond requirement of Ohio's Black Laws. That city's blacks planned to move to Canada since most could not afford the bond, and they sent representatives East to raise money and support for their project. Leaders of these local gatherings organized the 1830 Philadelphia meeting. National conventions were held annually through 1835 when divisions among black and white leaders prevented another meeting until 1843. Justin Holland was appointed an assistant secretary of the 1848 National Convention held in Cleveland, and was one of five Cleveland delegates selected for the 1853 National Convention in Rochester, New York although apparently he did not attend since his name was not listed as a delegate in that Convention's *Proceedings*. He participated as a member of the National Council in 1854 and of the Ohio State Negro Convention in 1852, and was also secretary of "Colored Americans of Cleveland."²⁰

Early negro conventions strongly opposed emigration, believing that free blacks should remain in the United States even at the expense of their own betterment in order to fight for slaves' freedom. By the late 1850s and early 1860s, however, many of these same black leaders, including Justin Holland as well as national spokesman Frederick Douglass, supported emigration because of increased oppression, evidenced on the national level by the Fugitive Slave Law and the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Dred Scott decision, expatriation and

reenslavement laws in the South, discrimination and lack of welcome for blacks in the North, and Lincoln's emphasis on the preservation of the Union instead of the abolishment of slavery. Cleveland, although comparatively supportive of blacks, was not completely free of oppression even to respected blacks such as Holland who "...felt the ban that rests on his and more than once...alluded in conversation to the fact, that while everybody was kind to him, he realized that social bars were in his way of success." Liberia continued to attract the interest of these emigrationists looking for "some region where they can enjoy their 'inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,'" however attention increasingly focused on settlement in the Western Hemisphere, especially after national Representative Frank P. Blair, Jr. of Missouri proposed on 14 January 1858 that free blacks colonize territory in Central America which could be held as a United States Dependency. In 1859 national black leaders formed a "Central American Land Company," with Holland as its secretary, to investigate, purchase and plan for such a settlement. Central American colonization proved infeasible when it was opposed by foreign diplomats of those countries, but in 1858 Haiti offered free passage and aid for black settlers and emigrants began moving there. Holland himself lived in the West Indies during the Civil War, but evidently did not find there the opportunities he expected for after two years he returned to Cleveland.²¹

Holland was not solely occupied with music but was also an active Mason after joining Cleveland's Excelsior Lodge No. 11 in 1862. Black freemasonry began in the United States with the initiation of community leader and activist Prince Hall and several other blacks into an Irish Lodge of British soldiers stationed in Boston in 1775. When the troops left Boston they allowed the newly-formed black lodge to continue "the work of the craft" but not to confer Masonic degrees until they were chartered by the Grand Lodge in England, which occurred in 1784. Black masonry took the name of its first initiate after Hall's death in 1807 and expanded among the race's middle and upper classes who believed the two fundamental ideals of freemasonry: "'All preferment among us is by Real Worth and Personal merit only...' and 'We [will] admit [no one not] having a tongue of Good Report.'" Members hoped to use the Masonic organization to achieve full acceptance and end social discrimination by becoming equal members of this international fraternal organization and to show by their conduct that they were worthy to associate with whites.²²

Black Masons assured their conformity to acceptable white bourgeois moral standards by thoroughly investigating the personal and economic qualifications of prospective members. Candidates had to possess the intelligence to understand "the craft;" be clean, moral, sober and industrious; live with and support their families as proper husbands; have pasts free from criminal charges and degrading habits; and possess steady jobs and the economic means and security to maintain proper life styles and afford the fees and contributions required by the organization. Holland firmly believed that Masons must conform to these high moral standards. When he detected corruption in his local lodge Holland wrote two books exposing the situation, hoping to force expulsion of the culprits. When his lodge instead not only retained the men but also censored Holland for falsely accusing fellow-members and for exposing lodge matters to the public, Holland tendered his resignation for "...no honest and intelligent man with proper self-respect and a decent regard for the requirements of Christian

or civilized morality can remain in hearty fellowship with it if he understand certain of its teachings and the claim set up to the obedience of its members in relation thereto."²³

Although Prince Hall's Boston lodge had been chartered by the English Masonic Mother Lodge, white Masons in the United States refused to recognize the legitimacy of Prince Hall Masonry and with very few exceptions excluded blacks from their groups in spite of freemasonry's ideals of fraternity and brotherhood. Blacks therefore attempted to reaffirm their legitimacy and to force white Americans' acceptance of their lodges by seeking recognition from foreign Masons. The Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Ohio commissioned Justin Holland with this task in 1871. By 1877 Holland had obtained recognition for American blacks from Masons in Germany, France, Italy, Hungary, Peru and the Dominican Republic and had been appointed as the United States representative of the Grand Lodges of France and Peru. In spite of this recognition and these honors, and blacks' attempts to conform to middle-class standards, white American Masons continued rejecting the black fraternal organization.²⁴

Although Justin Holland was not able to fully realize his dream of total equality and acceptance of himself and his race, he came closer to its fulfillment in Ohio's Western Reserve than he probably would have anywhere else in the United States at that time. He was eulogized by both blacks and whites not only as a premier musician but also as an upright and outstanding individual after his death at his son's home in New Orleans, Louisiana on 24 March 1887. Yet, although Cleveland had provided Holland with a good home and a profitable career, his children did not remain in the city but moved to New Orleans. His son, Justin Minor Holland, worked there as a bricklayer until 1871 when he was appointed clerk in the United States Customs Office. Justin Minor remained in government service in New Orleans until his death in 1917 and was a leader in that city's black community. Holland's daughters, Catherine M. and Clara M., taught in New Orleans' black public schools in the late 1880s; and Justin's widow also lived there with her son. After Holland's death, apparently none of his family remained in Cleveland. What had changed to prompt these educated, middle-class blacks to leave the Western Reserve?²⁵

In industrializing Cleveland after the Civil War, whites began relegating blacks to the poorest-paying and least-desireable jobs as employment competition increased due to the large number of immigrant laborers pouring into the city while the proportional number of available skilled and professional positions decreased. At the same time they also increasingly restricted blacks to poorer residential areas. Blacks in Louisiana, however, enjoyed rare freedom from social prejudice and many opportunities for economic advancement, especially through government service, due to that state's unique history. So although the Western Reserve promised Justin Holland a compatible home when he decided to settle there in the 1840s, by the time his children grew up, deteriorating racial conditions in Cleveland made them realize that they could better establish themselves elsewhere.²⁶

Justin Holland, along with many other ambitious nineteenth century blacks, was attracted to the Western Reserve in the mid-nineteenth century because Cleveland's growing population, culture and economy, combined with its white

settlers' acceptance of his race, provided him with the means to act and organize for his betterment. Although he never achieved full equality and acceptance, Ohio's unique Western Reserve allowed Justin Holland to live, raise his family, teach, publish, work with other blacks to promote and protect his race, and earn national musical and international Masonic recognition with a degree of success that would have been inconceivable elsewhere at that time.

Notes

1. Justin Holland's death certificate as recorded in the Louisiana State Vital Records, Volume 90, page 1037 and abstracted by Wayne Everard, Archivist at the Louisiana Division of New Orleans Public Library in a letter to the author, 6 July 1989; U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1830 Federal Census. Microfilm M-19. Norfolk County, Virginia, Roll 197 (National Archives, Washington, D.C.), 319; James M. Trotter, *Music and Some Highly Musical People* (1880. Reprint. Chicago: Afro-Am Press, 1969), 116-117; and William H. Stewart, *History of Norfolk County, Virginia, and Representative Citizens* (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Company, 1902), 156-159.

2. Wm. J. H. White to Mr. L. Burnell, 1 June 1840, Oberlin College. Treasurer's Office, Correspondence, 1822-1907, Box No. 5. Oberlin College Archives, Oberlin, Ohio.

3. Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), 23-35, 84-88; Allan Peskin, Introduction to *North Into Freedom: The Autobiography of John Malvin, Free Negro, 1795-1880* (Kent: The Kent State University Press, 1988), 1-2; Stewart, 319; J. G. der Hamilton, "Nat Turner" in Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography Vol. XIX* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), 69-70.

4. June 1874 *Brainard's Musical World*, quoted in J. Heywood Alexander, *It Must Be Heard: A Survey of the Musical Life of Cleveland, 1836-1918* (Cleveland: The Western Reserve Historical Society, 1981), 32; Dominique-Rene de Lerma, ed., *Reflections on Afro-American Music* (Kent: The Kent State University Press, 1973), 173. The 1938 *Boston Almanac* listed seven musical societies in the city; while the 1841 *Boston Almanac* indicated seven manufacturers of musical instruments, ten pianoforte dealers, and thirty-three music teachers in Boston.

5. Trotter, 117. John Daniels, *In Freedom's Birthplace: A Study of the Boston Negroes* (1914. Reprint. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968), 17-29, 457; Philip J. Bone, *The Guitar and Mandolin: Biographies of Celebrated Players and Composers* (2nd ed. 1954. Reprint. London: Schott & Co. Ltd., 1972), 167-168; Trotter, 116-118.

6. Information on William White from Stewart, 494-495, 980-983. Randol White was enumerated as a free colored male between 55 and 100 years old, living by himself, in the 1830 Federal Census, Norfolk County, Virginia, Roll 197, 321. Azell White was listed as a white ("People of Color" were listed separately) musician in the 1836 *Stimpson's Boston Directory*, and as master of the Boston Brigade Band in the 1838 *Boston Almanac*. There is no record of a legal name-

change of Justin Holland to William J. H. White in Suffolk County, Massachusetts according to an employee there. Suffolk County, Massachusetts. Clerk of Courts. Unsigned, undated letter to author received 28 September 1989. The record of Holland's name change in the court journal is most interesting:

At this term comes the petitioner by his Solicitors & exhibits the notice published in this case [in the *Daily True Democrat* newspaper throughout April and May 1847], which is proved to the court. And thereupon this cause cause [sic] on to be heard upon the petition & testimony & was argued by counsel & the court being satisfied that the petitioner has brought his case within the provision of the Statute passed Feby 28th 1842 authorizing Courts of Common Pleas to change the names of persons on good cause shown, & being satisfied that the real name of the petitioner is Justin Holland and not William White [this phrase is written in and then crossed out in the journal] do order and decree that his name be changed--& that hereafter he be known and called by the name of Justin Holland and that he pay the costs of this proceeding to be taxed.

Cuyahoga County, Ohio. Court of Common Pleas Journal. Volume Q, February 2, 1846-May 30, 1847. Cuyahoga County Archives, Cleveland, Ohio. Although the Act of 28 February 1842 specified that "It shall be the duty of the clerk of the court of common pleas to keep a separate book for recording the proceedings under this act," a search through the Court of Common Please Record, Miscellaneous Court Records, and the Probate Court case files failed to reveal any such book or the petition in which Holland stated the reasons for this name change. *Acts of a General Nature, Passed by the Fortieth General Assembly of the State of Ohio, Begun and Held in the City of Columbus, Commencing December 6, 1841, and in the Fortieth Year of Said State*. Vol. XL (Columbus: Samuel Medary, 1842), 29.

7. White to Burnell, 1 June 1840, Oberlin College. Treasurer's Office. Wm. J. H. White to The Hon. President Mahan of the Oberlin Institute Ohio, 30 April 1840, *ibid.*, Box No. 5; Trotter, 117-118; U. S. Bureau of the Census. 1840 Federal Census. Microfilm M-704. Suffolk County, City of Chelsea, Massachusetts, Roll 196 (National Archives, Washington, D.C.); *Boston Almanacs* and *Boston City Directories*. The only free colored young man in Chelsea, other than six men at the U. S. Marine Hospital, lived with Charles M. Taft and twenty-four others. Charles Taft was listed in *Boston City Directories*, beginning in 1844, as keeper of the Cornhill Coffee House, a public house in Boston previously managed by an O. A. Taft. It seems likely that he previously operated the same type of business in Chelsea.

8. Quoted in J. H. Fairchild, *Oberlin. Its Origin, Progress and Results. An Address Prepared for the Alumni of Oberlin College, Assembled August 22, 1860* (Oberlin: R. Butler, Printer, News Office, 1871), 26.

9. See Clayton S. Ellsworth, "Ohio's Legislative Attack Upon Abolition Schools," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 21 (December 1934): 379-386.

10. White to Mahan, 30 April 1840. Oberlin College. Treasurer's Office.

11. White to Burnell, 1 June 1840, Oberlin College. Treasurer's Office. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute. 1841-2*. This is the only catalog in which William J. H. White/Justin Holland was listed as a student, although Bone stated that he was at Oberlin for two years (168), Russell H. David, *Black Americans in Cleveland from George Peake to Carl B. Stokes, 1796-1969* (Washington D. C.: The Associated Publishers, 1972), 120 wrote that "he was able to continue his studies at Oberlin for three years in 1841 but left before graduation;" and Trotter also suggested that Holland attended the school until at least 1844, when "his progress had been so good, that we find him one of the authors of a book of three hundred and twenty-four pages on certain subjects of moral reform" (118). H. Wiley Hitchcock and Stanley Sadie, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music* (London: Macmillan Press Limited, 1986), 410 identify this book as *Choral Reform*. *The National Union Catalog: Pre-1956 Imprints* (London: Mansell Information/ Publishing Limited, 1973) failed to reveal a book by that title under either the names Justin Holland or William White.

12. For the history of the guitar during this period see Tom Evans and Mary Anne Evans, *Guitars: Music, History, Construction and Players, From the Renaissance to Rock* (New York: Facts on File, 1977), 40-47, 117-119, 152-158; Frederic V. Grunfeld, *The Art and Times of the Guitar: An Illustrated History of Guitars and Guitarists* (New York: Collier Books, 1969), 163-208 [the guitar in Europe during the nineteenth century] and 229-248 [the guitar in America]; and Harvey Turnbull, *The Guitar from the Renaissance to the Present Day* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1974), 62-101.

13. Bone, 168. Holland's wife, listed as Daphine/Dalphine/Delphine Howard Minor in census records (1860 and 1870), New Orleans City Directories after Holland's death and her New Orleans death notice, and as Josephine in another census record (1850), was born around 1830 in Louisiana. U. S. Bureau of the Census. 1850 Federal Census. Microfilm M-432. Cuyahoga County, Ohio, Roll 672 (National Archives, Washington, D.C.), 345; U. S. Bureau of the Census. 1860 Federal Census. Microfilm M-653. Cuyahoga County, Ohio, Roll 952 (National Archives, Washington, D.C.), 38-39; U. S. Bureau of the Census. 1870 Federal Census. Microfilm M-593. Cuyahoga County, Ohio, Roll 1190 (National Archives, Washington, D.C.), 35. Minors from Louisiana were affiliated with Oberlin when Holland was there according to the *Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute, 1833-1850*. Delia M. Miner of New Orleans was a student in Oberlin's Young Ladies' Preparatory Department in 1841-42--the same year Holland attended; Lawrence W. Miner/Minor, listed as a resident of Oberlin, Ohio and New Orleans and Linwood, Louisiana, was a student intermittently at the school from 1839 to 1850; and Josephine H. Miner of Oberlin studied in the Ladies' Preparatory Department from 1846-1847. Since Holland was in Cleveland by April 1846 (the 28 February 1842 law required a person to live in a county for one year before petitioning to change their name, and according to the notice in the *Daily True Democrat* Holland's petition was filed on 9 April 1847) it seems unlikely that this Josephine was his wife. No record could be found of Holland's marriage under the names Justin Holland or William White in either Ohio or Louisiana as indexed by The Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Inc., *International Genealogical Index*, 1988 ed., Microfiche (Salt Lake City: The Genealogical Society of the Church

of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Inc., 1988). Several sources, including Russell H. Davis, *Memorable Negroes in Cleveland's Past* (Cleveland: The Western Reserve Historical Society, 1969), 15 and "Holland, Justin Miner" in David D. Van Tassel and John J. Grabowski, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 515-516, give Holland's full name as "Justin Miner Holland;" however Holland himself consistently used "Justin Holland." Some music, such as "We'd Better Bide a Wee" by Claribel, published in Cleveland by S. Brainard & Sons (no date), indicated the guitar arranger as "Justin Minor Holland," and this piece is attributed to "J. Holland" in *Universal-Handbuch der Musikliteratur*, Vol. XI (Wien: Pazdirek & Co., K. G., [1904-1910?]), 628, however this music was probably arranged by Holland's son, Justin Minor Holland, who "was also a skilful guitarist and, like his father, published many arrangements for the guitar." Bone, 168.

14. For Cleveland's population and general history at this time see Robert Wheeler, "Commercial Village to Commercial City: 1825-1860," in Van Tassel and Grabowski, eds., *Encyclopedia*, xx-xxix. For Cleveland's music history see F. Karl Grossman, *A History of Music in Cleveland* (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University, 1972), 9-16 and Alexander, 5-6.

15. Trotter, 120-123; Bone, 168; and Maud Cuney Hare, *Negro Musicians and Their Music* (1936. Reprint. New York: Da Capo Press, 1974), 206-207. Nathan Brainard brought his family to Cleveland in 1834 and opened his music store by 1837. The business took his son Silas' name by 1866. Brainard's began printing music after 1845 and published *Western Musical World* (1864-1868)/*Brainard's Musical World* (1869-1895) until it merged into *Etude*. Alexander, 29-30; William J. Weichlein, *A Checklist of American Music Periodicals: 1850-1900*, Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography, 16 (Detroit: Information Coordinators, Inc., 1970), 80. Holland's *Methods* were *Holland's Comprehensive Method for the Guitar* (New York: J. L. Peters & Co., 1874) and *Holland's Modern Method for the Guitar* (Cleveland: S. Brainard's Sons, 1876). Holland's obituaries testified to his renown: "The name of this musician is familiar to guitar players all over this country..." ("Justin Holland," *Brainard's Musical World* 24 (June 1887), 204); "...he stood foremost among the members of his profession, as his name is more widely known than any other American guitarist." ("Death of Professor Justin Holland," *The Cleveland Gazette*, 2 April 1887).

16. Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "Abolition and Antislavery in Hudson and Cleveland: Contrasts in Reform Styles," in David D. Van Tassel and John J. Grabowski, eds., *Cleveland: A Tradition of Reform* (Kent: The Kent State University Press), 91-112; Davis, *Black Americans*, 9-33; Malvin, 68-74, 79-82; William W. Brown, *Narrative of William W. Brown, A Fugitive Slave* (Boston: The Anti-Slavery Office, 1847), 109-110. According to Wilbur Henry Siebert, *The Mysteries of Ohio's Underground Railroad* (Columbus: Long's College Book Company, 1951), 267, Cleveland was the junction for seven major routes on the Railroad.

17. Clarke quoted in Kusmer, 17-18; U. S. Works Progress Administration in Ohio. District Four-Cleveland, Ohio, *Annals of Cleveland, 1818-1935. A Digest and Index of the Newspaper Record of Events and Opinions* Vol. 41: 1858 (Cleveland: Cleveland WPA Project 16823, 1938), 312; Brown quoted in Pranab Chatterjee, *Local Leadership in Black Communities: Organizational and Electoral Developments in*

Cleveland, in the Nineteen Sixties (Cleveland: School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University, 1975), 15. See David W. Demming, "A Social and Demographic Study of Cuyahoga County Blacks, 1820-1860" (Master's thesis, Kent State University, 1976), 1-20, 46-78, 160-167; Kenneth L. Kusmer, *A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland, 1870-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), 3-31; Peskin, 12-14, 16-17; Malvin, 56-57; and Frank V. Quillin, *The Color Line in Ohio* (New York, 1913), referenced in Demming, 23.

18. Trotter, 119. Demming, 49, 77; Chatterjee, 16; 1850, 1860 and 1870 Federal Censuses. It is interesting to note that although the 1850 census did not indicate the Hollands' color and the 1860 census noted their color as "M" ("Mulatto"), the 1870 census indicated it as "W" ("White").

19. "Justin Holland," *Brainards' Musical World* 24 (June 1887), 204.

20. "Report of the Proceedings of the Colored National Convention, Held at Cleveland, Ohio, on Wednesday, September 6, 1848," 3 and "Proceedings of the Colored National Convention, held in Rochester, July 6th, 7th and 8th, 1853," 5 in Howard Holman Bell, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the National Negro Conventions, 1830-1864*. The American Negro: His History and Literature (New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1969); *Annals of Cleveland*, Vol. 31: 1848, 74 and Vol. 35: 1853, 259; "Mass Convention of the Colored Citizens of the State [Ohio]," *Voice of the Fugitive*, 7 October 1852; "The National Council Meeting at Cleveland," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, 28 July 1854. For a history of the Negro Convention Movement see Howard Holman Bell, *A Survey of the Negro Convention Movement, 1830-1861*. The American Negro: His History and Literature (1953. Reprint. New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1969).

21. "Justin Holland," *Brainards' Musical World* 24 (June 1887), 204; "Hayti Inviting Free Negroes," *Cleveland Morning Leader*, 16 September 1858. Bell, *Survey*, 207-228; *Annals of Cleveland*, Vol. 41: 1858, 312-314; Vol. 42: 1859, 255-256; Vol. 45: 1862, 454; "The Colonization Scheme," *The Cleveland Morning Leader*, 23 September 1862; "Masonic Stealings," *The Cleveland Gazette*, 18 September 1886.

22. William A. Muraskin, *Middle-class Blacks in a White Society: Prince Hall Freemasonry in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 31-32. "Masonic Stealings," *The Cleveland Gazette*, 18 September 1886; Trotter, 128-129; Loretta J. Williams, *Black Freemasonry and Middle-Class Realities* (Columbia & London: University of Missouri Press, 1980), 2-42; Muraskin, 22-34. Trotter gave 1865 as the year Holland joined the Masons, as opposed to Holland's date of 1862.

23. "Prof. Justin Holland," *The Cleveland Gazette*, 14 August 1886. "Holland vs. Boyd and Clark," *ibid.*; "Prof. Justin Holland...The Holland-Clark Controversy," *ibid.*, 4 September 1886; "Our Masonic Department," *ibid.*, 11 September 1886; "Masonic Stealings," *ibid.*, 18 September 1886. The *National Union Catalog* lists Holland's two publications as "A few facts and considerations for the Colored masons..." (Cleveland, 1877) and "To whom it may concern! Have we a boodle gang among us? Over \$600 embezzled by the boodle gang...Shall our chapter be converted into a brotherhood of thieves, office seekers and boodlers?" (Cincinnati?, 1886), 374. The Chicago lodge supported Holland ("Our Chicago

Letter. Prof. Holland Justified," *The Cleveland Gazette*, 21 August 1886) and the editor of the *Gazette* also seemed to back Holland.

24. Before applying for membership to the British lodge, Prince Hall and fourteen other blacks had petitioned for admittance to white Boston's St. John's Lodge, the first Masonic lodge officially recognized by the Mother Lodge of England. They were refused membership. Two Cleveland blacks were members of white lodges in the 1870s and 1880s: Dr. Leonidas Wilson, a fair-complexioned dentist with a white clientele, and John H. Hope, a light man who even served as master of his lodge. Williams, 14, 96. Harry E. Davis, *A History of Freemasonry Among Negroes in America* (The United Supreme Council, Ancient & Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Northern Jurisdiction, U.S.A. (Prince Hall Affiliation), Incorporated, 1946), 110-117; Trotter, 128-129. Davis, 110, very carefully emphasized that although recognition was desirable, "it is not a matter of right; properly speaking, it is a matter of comity. There is no Masonic law or machinery compelling one grand body to recognize another against its will..."

25. *New Orleans City Directories*, Justin M. Holland's obituary in *The Times-Picayune*, New Orleans, 27 October 1917; "A Few of Louisiana's Prominent Colored Men," *The Cleveland Gazette*, 11 October 1884; "Some Race Doings," *ibid.*, 4 September 1886; Tab Lewis (Civil Reference Branch, National Archives, Washington, D.C.), Letter to author, 20 July 1989; Justin M. Holland file from Records of the Department of the Treasury, Records of the Division of Appointments, Records Relating to Customs Service Appointments, Records Relating to 'Customhouse Nominations,' New Orleans, Louisiana Customhouse, Box 112--"March 1871-December 1871," Record Group No. 56. National Archives, Washington, D.C..

26. See Kusmer, 35-90; "The Colored Race," *The Cleveland Gazette*, 23 October 1886; Hare, 235; H. E. Sterkx, *The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Louisiana* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1972); and John W. Blassingame, *Black New Orleans: 1860-1880* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973).

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