INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Written Music in Early Jazz

by

DAVID CHEVAN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1997

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UMI Number: 9807915

Copyright 1997 by
Chevan, David

All rights reserved.

UMI Microform 9807915
Copyright 1997, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.

This microform edition is protected against unauthorized
copying under Title 17, United States Code.

UMI
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

c 1997

DAVID CHEVAN

All Rights Reserved

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Music in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

15 September 1997
Date

Barbara L. Hampton
Chair of Examining Committee

16 sept 97
Date

Ann W. Atlas
Executive Officer

Carol Oja

John Graziano

Maurice Perress

Jeffrey Taylor

Howard Brofsky
Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work would not have been possible without the cooperation, advice and support of a great many people. This project originated from an assignment in a graduate course with Professor Howard Brofsky. Professor Brofsky, along with Steve Blum, counselled me on the formulation of this topic. Professor Blum critiqued and helped to reshape the many drafts during the preparation of this study. Professor Carol Oja stepped in during the final stages of the dissertation and provided a sharp critical eye as well as essential support and encouragement. Professor Barbara Hampton chaired the supervisory committee and directed the final revisions. Maestro Maurice Perress read and critiqued every chapter and I am grateful for his keen eye. Professor Jeffrey Taylor, who shares my passion for copyright deposit manuscripts, read every chapter and graciously spent hours discussing issues related to every aspect of this work. In addition, he provided me with copies of stock arrangements used in Chapter V. Many other members of the Ph.D. program in Music at the Graduate School of the City University of New York have provided me with ideas and all varieties of assistance during my graduate career. I am grateful to the Department and to the University for providing financial assistance in connection with this study.

Special thanks go to Samuel Floyd, Jr. who read, edited and published an early version of Chapter III and to Mark

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Tucker who read versions of Chapter IV and gave me an opportunity to read a portion of it to New York Chapter of the American Musicological Society.

Wayne Shirley of the Library of Congress provided me with access to every copyright deposit manuscript I requested. He gave freely of his time and never tired of my endless questions. Every visit to the Library of Congress turned up a new piece of "lost" jazz history and our trip to the copyright deposit warehouse in Landover, Md. where I found a manuscript written in James Reese Europe's own hand was one of the high points of this project. Bruce Raeburn, curator, and his staff at the William Ransom Hogan Archive, Tulane University were of enormous assistance to me, providing scores, recordings, oral histories and first-hand knowledge about John Robichaux and New Orleans jazz. Dan Morgenstern, Ed Berger and Vince Pelotte of the Institute of Jazz Studies, Rutgers University at Newark provided me with recordings, oral histories and valuable insight throughout this project. I am grateful for the opportunity the Institute gave me to present some of my findings at one of their round table discussions.

Vince Giordano and Jeffrey Magee provided numerous stock arrangements and shared their insights with me. Will Bartlett set the printed music examples in Chapters V and VI and made important editorial suggestions. There were many other scholars, collectors and musicians whose advice and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

support I wish to acknowledge, including: John Steiner, Tom Riis, Phoebe Jacobs, Michael Cogswell, Benny Carter, Artie Shaw, Willie James Humphrey, John R. T. Davies, Lewis Porter, Elliot Hurwitt, Guthrie Ramsey, Judith McCulloh, Phil Schaap, Loren Schoenberg, Dick Sudhalter, and Benny Waters. The members of my band, BASSOLOGY, Will Bartlett, Ronald Braggs, Sr., Warren Byrd, Jim Fryer, John Fumasoli and Ben Proctor, have provided me numerous opportunities to think about the issues raised in this dissertation in a concrete manner. They have also allowed me, to their occasional regret, to perform all of the stock arrangements discussed in Chapter V.

The Sinfonia Foundation provided a generous grant for my research.

My family provided me with an indispensable source of inspiration and support. My father, Professor Albert Chevan, challenged me to write more clearly with his rigorous questions and editorial comments. My mother, Janet Chevan, and my in-laws Robert and Gusta Abels provided me with support through their encouragement, nudging, love and baby-sitting skills. My sons, Jesse and Noah, have given me love, moments of joy and humor and an education not provided in graduate school. My wife, Julie, has seen me through every stage of this process and provided with a level of love and encouragement that is trivialized by words. She never once doubted my ability to accomplish this goal.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Introduction..... 1

II. Venues and Reading..... 10

III. Riverboat Music and the Streckfus Steamboat Line.... 90

IV. John Robichaux and his Bandbook..... 134

V. The Use of Stock Arrangements on Early Jazz Recordings..... 196

VI. The Copyright Deposits of Louis Armstrong..... 238

VII. Conclusions..... 307

Appendices

A. Types of Stock Arrangements in the John Robichaux Band Book..... 323

B. Transcriptions of Manuscript Arrangements in the John Robichaux Band Book..... 330

C. Stock Arrangements and Recordings Consulted for Chapter V..... 414

D. Structural Charts of Stock Arrangements and Recordings Analyzed for Chapter V..... 419

E. Copyright Deposit Manuscripts Submitted by Louis Armstrong, Lillian Hardin and Richard M. Jones, 1923-1930..... 464

F. Catalogue of Copyrighted Compositions by 85 Jazz Composers, ca. 1904-1930, Derived from Copyright Deposit Catalogue Information..... 490

Bibliography..... 521

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

LIST OF EXAMPLES

Tables

Table 3.1. Streckfus Steamboats 1884-1940..... 93

Table 4.1. Copyright Dates of Stock Arrangements: John Robichaux Collection..... 151

Table 4.2. Foxtrots in Robichaux collection..... 158

Table 4.3. Songs by local composers that contain internal evidence of performance by the Robichaux orchestra..... 162

Table 4.4. Uncut Stock arrangements in the Robichaux music collection..... 163

Table 4.5. Special Arrangements in Robichaux Collection. 170

Table 5.1. Relationships between stock arrangement and recorded performances..... 206

Table 5.2. Types of Introductions Used on Recorded Performances of Stock Arrangements..... 214

Table 5.3. Types of Endings Used on Recorded Performances of Stock Arrangements..... 217

Table 5.4. Changes to Formal Arrangement of Strains and Sections Used on Recorded Performances of Stock Arrangements..... 222

Table 5.5. Changes Inside the Strains and Sections of Recorded Performances of Stock Arrangements..... 225

Table 5.6. Embellishments of Published Line on Recorded Performances of Stock Arrangements..... 230

Table 5.7. Written vs. Embellished or Improvised Solos on Recorded Performances of Stock Arrangements..... 233

Table 5.8. Changes in Allotments of Solo Space on Recorded Performances of Stock Arrangements..... 235

Table 6.1. Copyright and Recording History of "'Lasses Candy," 1918-1921..... 246

Table 6.2. U. S. Copyright registrations for Lillian Hardin's "My Sweet Lovin' Man"..... 249

Table 6.3. Copyright and Recording History of Lillian Hardin's "My Sweet Lovin' Man," 1922-1923..... 251

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 6.4. Pieces Recorded by King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band in 1923..... 257

Table 6.5. Pieces Recorded by Louis Armstrong's Hot Fives and Hot Sevens..... 259

Table 6.6. 1923 Copyright Deposits of Louis Armstrong... 262

Table 6.7. Copyright and Recording Dates of Louis Armstrong's Compositions, 1923-1930..... 264

Table 6.8. A Comparison of Louis Armstrong's Copyright Dates With the Recording Dates, 1923-1930.. 268

Table 6.9. A Comparison of the Recording Key and Copyright Key of Louis Armstrong's Copyright Deposits, 1923-1930..... 271

Table 6.10. Louis Armstrong's Copyright Deposit Manuscripts, 1923-1930, Organized by Notational Hand... 274

Table 6.11. Variations of titles of Louis Armstrong's compositions between copyright deposit and the issued recording..... 277

Table 6.12. Copyright registrations of Lillian and Louis Armstrong for July 19, 1926..... 279

Table 6.13. Pieces Recorded by New Orleans Wanderers: July 13, 1926..... 281

Table 6.14. Pieces Recorded by New Orleans Bootblacks: July 14, 1926..... 281

Table 6.15. Comparison of Introductions on Copyright Deposits and Recordings..... 288

Table 6.16. Structural Comparison of the Copyright Deposit for "I am in the Barrel, Who Don't Like It?" and the Recording of "Yes, I'm in the Barrel"..... 293

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Music Examples

Example 4.1. Published Piano Arrangement and Robichaux's Orchestration for "The Memphis Blues"..... 177

Example 4.2. "Big Indian Chief" violin part..... 184

Example 4.3. Reordered Strains of "Faust Waltz"..... 187

Example 4.4 "Sing a Good Old Ragtime Song" Published violin and cornet parts and manuscript cornet part... 191

Example 5.1 "King Porter Stomp"..... 218

Example 6.1 "Cornet Chop Suey"..... 299

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this dissertation is to establish the presence and use of written music by jazz musicians between ca. 1900 and 1925. The presence of written music will be established through a critical review of existing first-hand accounts, including autobiographies and oral histories; studying a specific venue where written music was used; and by reviewing the band book of a hitherto neglected ensemble. The uses of written music are illustrated in two separate studies that compare existing written music with recordings made during the period in question. Perhaps the most significant result of this study is the irrefutable establishment of the presence of written music in early jazz. It should be further pointed out that this was a presence that coexisted with and supported the dominant oral jazz culture, not one that superseded it.

The viewpoint presented and developed here derives from research with archival source material, autobiographies and oral histories of musicians who performed during this period, and from sound recordings made between 1914 and 1930.[1] The activities that involved the use of written

---

[1] The biographies, oral histories, and recordings consulted are listed in the Bibliography and Discography. Research was conducted at three public archives: the Music Division of the Library of Congress, the Hogan Jazz Archive at Tulane University and the Institute of Jazz Studies at Rutgers University. Additional material was obtained from the private collections of Vincent Giordano and Jeffrey

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

music by early jazz musicians on and off the bandstand are the point of departure for this work.

The questions addressed encompass various facets of written music in early jazz. What kinds of written music did musicians read during this period? How and where did they learn to read music? In what types of venues were jazz musicians expected to be able to read music? What kinds of published music and notated manuscripts were used? To what extent do such documents still exist? What kinds of evidence can be produced to establish the use of specific written materials? What kinds of exchanges were there between the written and oral jazz practices? And, finally, how does the evidence of written music inform and add to our understanding of early jazz?

The historical literature on early jazz is pervaded by an emphasis on the value and presence of the oral tradition and recorded sources. Through observations of the perspectives of early jazz musicians and their written music a more balanced understanding of the period will emerge.

The use of written music in early jazz has been underplayed in the literature to a degree which necessitates making explicit the musical activities of the musicians and providing a critical examination of the written materials they encountered in various settings. There is an alternative view of written music in early jazz, which can

---

Taylor.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

explain its presence in specific musical and social contexts. The portrait that emerges of musicians who consciously employed both their reading and improvising skills contrasts with the calculated images of semi-illiterate unaffected geniuses that litter the historical landscape.

The questions raised and the ideas presented in the above paragraphs could well generate many studies. This dissertation attempts to draw some preliminary conclusions about the role of written music in early jazz through a series of five related essays. Each chapter is, essentially, a self-contained unit that is devoted to answering some aspects, but not all, of the questions posed above.

One topic that needs a working definition for this dissertation is the question of what is early jazz? This issue, in one form or another, has been the center of discussion in most studies on the subject. For example, in a provocative piece on the subject, William Howland Kenney has recently called for a more stringent definition of the term arguing that many jazz historians "have believed it better to leave the boundaries between jazz and nonjazz as vague as possible in order not to define jazz away."[2]

---

[2] William Howland Kenney, "Historical Context and the Definition of Jazz: Putting More of the History in "Jazz History," in Jazz Among the Discourses. Krin Gabbard, editor. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 100.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

While Kenney's argument has its merits, for the purposes of this study a broad definition seems necessary. The subject of early jazz needs to encompass the hot music played by small groups of New Orleans musicians in Chicago as well as the larger ensembles that performed published arrangements of, for example, hot jazz numbers, syncopated-dance-music with a jazz-tinge and waltzes. The central issue should not be whether such an ensemble performing a "sweeter," less "pure" style was playing jazz. Jazz scholars need to remain open to the widest possible realm of stylistic choices. What we should be asking, instead, is whether music scholars can construct a language that will encompass the wide realm of possibilities, choices and realities inherent in this art form.

Chapter 2 presents an overview of the ways that early jazz musicians recalled encountering and utilizing written music. The backdrops for these recollections are the social settings in which written music was used in some manner. The chapter is divided into two parts: in the first part the role of written music is reviewed within the context of the careers of three early jazz musicians; in the second part the role of written music in early jazz is reviewed with a focus on its role within specific venues. The three musicians discussed in the first part are: Raymond "Peg" Meyer, Garvin Bushell, and Clyde Bernhardt. All three musicians have written vivid memoirs that describe a wealth

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of diverse musical experiences. Like many of their peers, these musicians worked in a variety of situations, each one making unique demands upon their musical skills.

The second part of the chapter uses the observations and experiences of early jazz musicians to describe the types of written music they encountered in specific venues. A wide variety of learning experiences are explored: private study, study in music or public schools, and observation of a performance; working in dance bands; making recordings; and performing in non-jazz ensembles, such as marching bands.

Chapter 3 looks closely at early jazz musicians and written music in a specific venue: the excursion steamboats of the Streckfus Steamboat Line that traveled the Mississippi river between New Orleans, St. Louis and St. Paul from 1907 until the mid-1940s. Many aspects of the musical world of the river boat were similar to those of more stationary venues. Nevertheless, one reason this study is important is because the demands and expectations made by the Streckfus Steamboat Line were identical for white and black musicians. Further, with only a few exceptions, white and black groups played in an identical venue during the same historical time period to the same audience. Here, too, first-hand accounts of musicians who worked in this venue are utilized. This material is supplemented by interviews and correspondence with surviving employees of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the Streckfus Line. A brief autobiographical manuscript by Fate Marable, an African-American band leader who worked for the Streckfus Steamboat Line, written shortly before his death in 1947, supplies critical evidence for this study.

The memoirs of one white musician, "Peg" Meyer, were included in the first part of the chapter in order to demonstrate that certain types of experiences that involved written music in early jazz did not contain racial overtones. But there were other matters, such as the story told by Eubie Blake, that reveal how one's race and racial prejudice can have an influence over any issue in jazz, especially written music. Most of the musicians quoted in Chapters 2 and 3 are African-American. White musicians also played early jazz and their experiences are incorporated into this research. There are issues regarding the relationship between racial discrimination, racial identity and written music, and these issues will be addressed in this chapter and in Chapter 3.

Chapter 4 presents an overview of John Robichaux's life and his dance band music collection. Robichaux led a self-titled dance orchestra in New Orleans between 1893 and 1938. After his death it was discovered that, unlike most of his peers, Robichaux had saved nearly all the music he had acquired for his orchestra and not thrown it away when it became out-of-date. Following a brief biographical portion, the chapter describes and analyzes four aspects of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Robichaux's dance band music collection: 1) the genres of dance music represented; 2) how the collection displays its regional flavor; 3) notated manuscript arrangements; and, 4) revisions of published stock arrangements. This last category is of particular importance. These arrangements are the only written evidence found during this research that might be described as "doctoring," that is, the process of altering an existing part.

The only trained scholar to have conducted any systematic research concerning Robichaux is Karl Koenig. Much of the raw data collected by Koenig was donated in typescript form to the Hogan Jazz Archives at Tulane University. This material, primarily an assessment of the contents of Robichaux's band book by genre, proved to be a guiding influence on Chapter 4. More recently, Koenig has described Robichaux's importance in jazz history as twofold: "1) his activity in the New Orleans music scene from the turn of the 20th century and 2) the written accounts of his competition with Buddy Bolden."[3] It is Koenig's opinion that Robichaux's band had a direct influence on early New Orleans jazz bands. He believes that these musicians acquired their repertoires "mostly by listening to the 'legit' bands such as Robichaux."[4]

Chapter 5 examines the use of stock arrangements on

---

[3] Koenig, Trinity of Early Jazz Leaders, 9.

[4] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

recordings made by early jazz bands. Building upon the research of Jeffrey Magee and Mark Tucker, an attempt is made to sort out some of the relationships between stock arrangement and recorded performance in early jazz. By comparing recorded performances with the published stock arrangements, it is possible to establish that some recorded performances of early jazz involved the use of written music. A small sample group of 13 stock arrangements and 40 recordings was used as the basis for this study. The sample includes compositions by both black and white composers, and recordings by both white and black ensembles along with three European ensembles.

Chapter 6 uses the manuscripts of Louis Armstrong, deposited for copyright between 1923 and 1928, to learn more about his compositions and to answer some general questions about the role and process of copyright and early jazz musicians. One copyright deposit manuscript submitted by Richard M. Jones, the Chicago A and R man (artist and repertoire representative) for OKeh records, contains a clue to the untold stories that Armstrong's pieces may hold. On the front of one deposit, "Did She Fall or was She Pushed?," Jones wrote, "Armstrong Recording." Such captions are rarely, if ever, included in the copyright deposit manuscripts. This piece is notable because it has never been recorded by anyone, let alone by Louis Armstrong. It also raises questions about the intentions of jazz composers

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

who made copyright deposits for pieces they never recorded. In 1926 and 1927 Armstrong and Jones accompanied a number of blues singers on a series of recording sessions held in Chicago. For whom did Jones intend this piece, Louis or one of the singers?

There is so much of interest in the copyright deposit manuscripts made by Louis Armstrong in the 1920s that it is difficult to understand why they have not been analyzed earlier. One question that was not fully addressed in this chapter was who notated Armstrong's manuscripts. Some appear to have been written in his own hand, but more research is still needed. What is discussed is what can be learned from the Armstrong copyright materials held in the Music Division of the Library of Congress. For example, there are two manuscripts that were submitted for copyright, but were never recorded. In sum, this chapter illuminates why Armstrong is rightly called a "jazz composer" on the recent U. S. Postage Stamp.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter II

VENUES AND READING

The aim of this chapter is to identify some of the relationships between the use of notated music and various environments of the early jazz musician. This is accomplished by surveying a broad selection of autobiographies, oral histories and personal interviews of jazz musicians who grew up, studied, and performed during this period. It begins by looking at the careers of three musicians, Peg Meyer, Garvin Bushell, and Clyde Bernhardt, and then explores what musicians have said about the process of learning, performing, and sharing ideas about written music in a number of diverse situations.[1] These comments are, for the most part, restricted to activities that took place between 1900 and 1930.

The term "environment" is used here for the locations where musicians found opportunities to learn, teach, share, and internalize ideas relevant to the development of musical styles or concepts. These environments varied greatly, as did the activities associated with them. Throughout the United States jazz musicians were employed in ballrooms and

---

[1] Raymond "Peg" Meyer, Backwoods Jazz in the Twenties (Cape Girardeau: Center for Regional History and Cultural Heritage, Southeast Missouri State University, 1989); Garvin Bushell, Jazz From the Beginning, as told to Mark Tucker (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1990); Clyde E. B. Bernhardt, I Remember: Eighty Years of Black Entertainment, Big Bands, and the Blues, as told to Sheldon Harris (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1986).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

dance halls, restaurants and bars, cabarets, riverboats, vaudeville and movie theaters, circus tents, picnics and parades. There were formal and informal educational settings, including schools, band rehearsals, homes, halls and woodsheds where musicians gathered and practiced their newfound skills, and performed their music for one another. These settings were supported by formal and informal educators including teachers, friends, fellow musicians and, to some degree, audiences.

When I interviewed the New Orleans clarinet player Willie James Humphrey in 1988, much of our discussion centered around his tenure from 1925 to 1932 in the riverboat band led by Fate Marable. Without expecting to annoy him I asked if Marable had hired Humphrey because of his skills as a jazz musician. He replied, "You had to be a musician [his emphasis], cause that's the only way you could get on there, you had to know how to read." What was I to make of this strongly voiced statement? A number of possible strands of interpretation are available. One need only think of how Humphrey's words play against our notion of the historical tensions and social and musical disparities between the downtown blacks and "Creoles of Color" in Humphrey's native New Orleans. According to most histories it was the "Creoles of Color" who were the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

musically educated and sophisticated group.[2] The downtown blacks were, allegedly, trained by ear. Willie James Humphrey came from a family of former slaves with no known Creole blood. His father was a respected music teacher in the New Orleans area who taught young musicians to read as well as how to play their instrument.

Humphrey's statement can also be taken as an invitation to consider the early history of jazz from a slightly different perspective, that of environment. Many African-American jazz artists might have chosen different career paths if the doors to certain environments had not been closed to them. We could well speculate about the unrealized concert careers of Coleman Hawkins, a trained cellist who turned to the tenor saxophone, or of Milt Hinton, who spent most of his youth playing violin and was one of the youngest high school students of his day to make the All City Orchestra in Chicago.[3] These trained

---

[2] See, for example, James Lincoln Collier, Louis Armstrong: An American Genius (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 56-57; Lewis Porter and Michael Ullman, Jazz: From Its Origins to the Present (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1993), 23-24; Gunther Schuller, Early Jazz: Its Roots and Musical Development (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 70; Marshall Stearns, Story of Jazz (1956, rev. ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 63-66; Frank Tirro, Jazz: A History (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977), 72-75; Martin Williams, Jazz Masters of New Orleans (1967; reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1979), 9-10.

[3] John Chilton, The Song of the Hawk: The Life and Recordings of Coleman Hawkins (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 4, 6-7; Milt Hinton, Bass Line: The Stories and Photographs of Milt Hinton (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), 24-25.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

musicians, like those of earlier generations, did not simply quit reading music and become strictly ear players, though most were certainly capable of doing so. Most sought environments that would challenge all of their various skills, as readers, interpreters, and improvisors. They did not wish to be confined to a single category of music but thought of themselves, like Willie Humphrey, as "musicians".

PEG MEYER

From 1919 till 1927 Raymond "Peg" Meyer (b. 1903 in Oak Ridge, Missouri), a white jazz musician, played saxophone and led jazz groups that performed for dancing in Cape Girardeau, Missouri, as well as other towns in southeast Missouri, southern Illinois, and on riverboats along the Mississippi. Meyer moved to Cape Girardeau with his family when he was twelve. Music was an important part of the Meyer's family life. His father played accordion by ear with old-time fiddle groups, and most family gatherings included fiddle playing and singing. Peg Meyer began playing saxophone when he was sixteen, performing in the summer with the town band led by Dr. C. E. Schucert and with his high school orchestra. It was while performing with these ensembles that he was exposed to a more formal approach to music.[4]

His first professional group, the Melody Kings

[4] Meyer, Backwoods Jazz, Chapters 1-2.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(nicknamed the "Agony Four"), was formed by classmates from Cape Girardeau's Central High School. The instrumentation included soprano saxophone, violin, piano and drums with the two front men doubling on a number of additional instruments including the entire saxophone family, clarinet, banjo and trombone. Jess Stacy, the pianist in the group, later moved to Chicago and worked with Benny Goodman's big band in the 30s.

Meyer performed in an assortment of venues including medicine shows, vaudeville and movie houses. His ensemble experience included dance bands, pit bands, show bands, concert bands, the Central High School orchestra of Cape Girardeau, and the Southeast Missouri State Normal School band. His most elaborate reminiscences are about performing jazz for dancing. He and his ensembles played in local rent-halls, houses of Cape Girardeau's social elite, the National Guard headquarters, outdoor pavilions, pool rooms, riverboats, drugstores, and, once, in a courthouse. The rent-halls were often owned and operated by organizations such as the Elks or American Legion, but also included rooms in a town hall or a local high school. In his autobiography, Meyer includes four brief lists that give a picture of employment opportunities for musicians in Cape Girardeau and the locations of these sites:

1. Dance halls in Cape Girardeau in the early Twenties
2. Motion picture houses that used musicians

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3. Dramatic and Medicine shows

4. Tent shows[5]

Though his later ensembles relied primarily on published stock arrangements, Meyer's earliest bands played music both by ear and from arrangements they wrote themselves.

> There were no books on Jazz or any special arrangements available for musical lads in the backwoods in the Twenties. We had only a few arranged numbers, such as Fidgety Feet, Clarinet Marmalade, and Tiger Rag. So we spent a lot of time in the record shops listening to all of the new releases hoping to find some new pattern or style developed by some jazz great that we could imitate. Radio was just appearing, and one of the early features was live broadcasts of big bands from famous hotels and ballrooms. On nights when we were not playing somewhere we would sit for hours with our headphones listening to these broadcasts, stopping only when the pressure on our ears cut off the blood circulation. On removing the headphones the pain would give one a fit. But these activities were necessary for us to be producers of backwoods jazz.[6]

By 1925 Meyer's groups had acquired enough of a local reputation to place them on the lists of national music publishers. This meant that Meyer received free stock arrangements of the latest dance numbers. But the saxophonist noted that most stock arrangements did not produce all the pizzazz he needed to impress an audience.

> Most of the music arrangers in the Twenties worked for the motion picture industry, and this left the

---

[5] Meyer, Backwoods Jazz, 136-137. Meyer's lists include the names of the venues and street addresses. This information provides an interesting view of the musical life of Cape Girardeau and might be worthy of further research.

[6] Ibid., 44.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> backwoods dance orchestras with the standard arrangements of the publishers. This consisted of an introduction, verse, and chorus. Occasionally there was a Coda and a special ending which some of the groups would include. There were a few of the big bands and special small groups of selected super-greats which would make a recording of a special arrangement of one of the popular tunes. These arrangements were not released for public consumption, but some musicians would copy their special choruses. In the 1923-25 period I was fortunate to have a trombonist, Lynn Brumback, who had perfect pitch and who played with groups that made these special arrangement records. He was able to isolate the performance of each instrument, write it on manuscript paper, and within a few hours have the complete arrangement for us. With an amazing skill he could hear and write parts so complex we could not play them without a lot of woodshedding.[7]

Reading music was important to Meyer, but he did not perceive it as the only element necessary for being a good jazz musician.

> A good jazz musician in the Twenties had to be a talented individual, as there were few, if any, facilities for him to acquire a musical foundation . . . . I discovered very early that you must learn to play jazz from both books and internal feelings (emphasis mine). It is an elated emotion that seeks release in a rhythmical pattern and sympathetic phrasing which demands a thorough knowledge of chords and arpeggios supported by a relaxed dexterity that allows no voids or mental blocks in its production. Good jazz flows out of the musical instrument of a good musician like water out of a faucet. If the musician's exuberance is conveyed to dancers they receive an elated lift which inspires them to joyful and tension-free dancing.[8]

Meyer stopped leading bands in 1927. He continued to perform, but spent most his time organizing elementary school and secondary school bands throughout southern Illinois and southeast Missouri. He also worked for

---

[7] Ibid., 106-107.

[8] Ibid., 104-105.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

seventeen years as a salesman for Conn Musical Instruments before retiring to work as a musical instrument repairman at the Shivelbine Music Store in Cape Girardeau. He currently lives at the Lutheran Nursing Home in Cape Girardeau.

GARVIN BUSHELL

Unlike Peg Meyer, Garvin Bushell (1902-1991) managed to remain a musician for his entire career. He was born and raised in Springfield, Ohio. His family was musical. Two uncles played in circus bands, and Bushell began piano lessons around the age of seven. His musical education included solfège which helped him with his sight-reading.

> I was taught solfège from the beginning in grade school, and to this day I can look at a note and know the pitch before I play it.[9]

His first professional experience was playing clarinet along with one of his uncles in a circus band. In 1919 he moved to Harlem with his family. In order to meet other musicians and continue his musical education, Bushell joined a rehearsal band.

> In that group were some unknowns, most of them from Florida--I never heard of them after that. The way they played reminded me of my uncle's circus band.
>
> We'd usually have eight or nine guys: trumpet, trombone, clarinet, saxophone, piano, banjo, tuba, and drums. . . . Since there weren't dance arrangements then for saxophones and trumpets, the pieces we rehearsed were mostly pit orchestrations. We'd pull out one clarinet part, one sax part, and on like that. The piano player had a part, as a rule, and the bass

---

[9] Bushell, Jazz From the Beginning, 10.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> player faked. In fact, most everybody faked, since none of us could read that well. The style was very much what you hear on the early records--we called it "ragtime jazz".[10]

It was not long before he began to get work with local pick-up bands. But all the while Bushell continued to attend performances of local groups and pay attention to what these musicians were playing and how they were making the music work.

> I wasn't impressed with the bandleaders, per se. The individuals were the ones who impressed me, especially the trumpet and clarinet players. Usually there wouldn't be more than two clarinets in these bands; often they be bucking each other, fighting and cross-firing their lines. But one important player would take the solos. Ed Campbell did a lot of that. He wasn't much of a jazzman, but he was a very good reader.[11]

Sometime around 1921 Bushell met Perry Bradford. Bradford was impressed enough with Bushell's playing to include him in a number of recording sessions with Mamie Smith and her Jazz Hounds. Bushell soon became a member of Smith's band and the connection also brought him a number of opportunities to record with other blues singers. Bushell's discography, compiled by Mark Tucker, lists 19 recording sessions in 1921 and another ten the following year. Bushell recalled that many of these early recording sessions used written arrangements that left little room for the musicians to improvise.

---

[10] Ibid., 16-17.

[11] Ibid., 18.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> ...You had to read so much. You had no chance to put in anything of your own. I didn't want to read, because I figured I could play it better than they could write.[12]

Not all recording sessions were tightly structured. Bushell found more room for his own ideas when he backed up singers with Fletcher Henderson for Black Swan recording sessions.

> Fletcher was in charge of the record dates. He might pick the numbers in the office, present them to the vocalists,then we'd have a rehearsal and get it together. Often there were only two pieces of music, one for the piano and one for the trumpet (or violin). Sometimes everybody had a part.[13]

While on tour with Mamie Smith in 1921 Bushell heard King Oliver and his Creole Jazz Band in Chicago. He was "impressed with their blues and their sound".[14] He was also impressed with the reading skills of the Vendome Orchestra musicians.

> They could read--or some of them could, the ones who played the Vendome Theater. Chicago jazzmen had the advantage in those years of having a crack at theater music before the New York jazzmen did. They improved their ability that way, and so could read a little better than jazz musicians in the East.[15]

During the tour Smith's band grew from five to seven pieces. One of the new musicians was acquired in Kansas City.

---

[12] Ibid., 154.

[13] Ibid., 31-32.

[14] Ibid., 25.

[15] Ibid., 26.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> When we got there for the first rehearsal we met this youngster on saxophone who played all his parts and didn't miss a note. When we told him to take a solo, he took a tremendous one. We said, "What's your name?
> "Coleman."
> "Coleman who?"
> "Coleman Hawkins."
> He'd come over for the job from St. Joe. That was the first time I heard him play, and he never made a mistake--we had to read our parts when we played in the pit, and Hawk never hit a bad note. I believe he was playing the C-melody saxophone.[16]

Late in 1921 Bushell left Mamie Smith to join Ethel Waters' group. Bushell recalled that Waters did not read music, but he did not mention how the band arranged songs. After leaving Waters in 1922, Bushell backed up a touring vaudeville troupe, "Modern Cocktail".

In 1923 Bushell joined Sam Wooding's orchestra. The group backed a revue at the Nest, a club on 133rd Street in Manhattan. In 1924 the group moved to the Club Alabam where they accompanied an even larger and more elaborate show. This was an after-hours production that began just after the theaters let out, around 11:30 p.m. and the musicians often remained on the job till four in the morning.[17] Bushell felt that a key to the orchestra's success was the instrumental combinations used in the written arrangements.

> We had numbers where we used woodwinds and cello: I had an alto clarinet and there'd be two bass clarinets, and with cello playing the solo we sounded like a huge organ. Then we had a thing with bass saxophone, two baritones, and cello. Or our two trumpet players would double on mellophones. We had all sorts of

---

[16] Ibid., 27.

[17] Ibid., 52.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> combinations. The reed section was featured on "Mandy, Make Up Your Mind." On each chorus the reeds would switch--we'd have a trio of oboes, then bass clarinets, then sopranos. clarinets, and bassoon, flute, and oboe. People would just stand up and applaud.[18]

In 1925 Wooding's orchestra left for Europe to back up a revue, "Chocolate Kiddies". The tour lasted nearly two years and took the band as far as Russia. Much of the music for the show was composed by Duke Ellington. The band accompanied the singers and the acts and then performed onstage for the second half of the show. There were arranged parts for all the instruments, but the musicians were required to memorize all the music that was performed on stage. Wooding was influenced by Whiteman's idea of symphonic jazz, which meant that in addition to memorizing their parts the reed players were constantly changing their instruments to create new timbres. Bushell was impressed with Wooding's arranging techniques.

> In the reed section we'd change horns a lot, but Sam always gave us time in his arrangements. On those records, when you hear a modulation, the brass and rhythm are making it, and we'd be changing from saxophones to three clarinets or sopranos. We even did a thing with three oboes (although Gene Sedric and Willie Lewis couldn't do very much on the instrument). If the saxophones were playing a triad on our own, the lead voice might be on top. But if we were supporting the brass, you might have your first alto doubling the second trumpet part, the second alto doubling third trumpet, and then, to strengthen the lead, the tenor doubling first trumpet.
> Sam was something of a genius. He made his own arrangements, copied them and all. And he didn't have any training. He heard something, imagined what it

---

[18] Ibid., 53.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

was, and experimented until he got what he wanted.[19]

After two years of touring Europe, Wooding and his band sailed to South America in April, 1927. The band toured South America for four months before finally returning to the United States. While in Buenos Aires, Bushell made a performance error onstage that taught him how to turn such incidents into positive and even humorous moments.

> We were doing a number from La Bohème that featured a saxophone quartet . . . . I was playing lead, so I stepped forward to make the first eight bars, and Sam hit the arpeggio. The pit orchestra is just sitting there staring, you know, at the great American band that has come. I looked down at them and my mind went blank. Sam said "Hit It!" I don't know what to play. He hit the arpeggio again. I still don't know what to play. Pretty soon Sam sang the beginning of the phrase, and all of a sudden it came to me quick. But I was so excited that I played it too fast, and they couldn't follow me on the saxophone. By this time the guys in the pit were laughing and the audience was screaming. I must have looked so shocked. Afterwards the man just said, "Keep that number in, it's a sensation." And every time we'd do it, I'd pretend to forget. It was the biggest hit we had in the show.[20]

When he returned to the United States, Bushell discovered that the musical styles had changed and Wooding's arrangements, which emulated the Whiteman sound, were no longer in vogue. Bushell felt that Wooding's jazz arrangements "had a bit of ricky-tick in them," and he soon left the orchestra.[21] The remainder of 1928 and 1929 were spent touring in the pit band of Sissle and Blake's "Keep

---

[19] Ibid., 57.

[20] Ibid., 69-70.

[21] Ibid., 73.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Shufflin'" and recording with Bessie Smith.

During the 1930s Bushell worked with a number of major big bands. His performance career continued to thrive even as he began a second career as a private teacher. His later career included a recording session with John Coltrane in 1961. He eventually retired to Las Vegas where he died on October 31, 1991.

CLYDE BERNHARDT

Between 1923 and 1930 trombonist Clyde Bernhardt (1905-1986) worked in at least ten ensembles. He describes his experiences with these groups in his autobiography, often comparing and contrasting the different styles of the bands and leaders. Bernhardt was born and raised near Gold Hill, North Carolina. He displayed an early interest in music but did not acquire an instrument until he was almost 17. His interest led him to frequent the tent shows of Ma Rainey in Gold Hill and the Orpheum Theater shows after he moved to Badin, Pennsylvania. His decision to study music was supported by his mother and later by his aunt when he moved to Columbus, Ohio in 1922.

Bernhardt studied with many teachers, picking up different ideas along the way. His first teacher, Joe Vennie, in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, explained exactly what a good trombone player needed to know.

> He smiled and sat me down. "Now Clyde, you starting at the bottom and got a long, long way to go. There's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> much for you to learn: Keys. Breathing. Reading. You got to know time. Then tone. Syncopation. Technique. If you learn all that, perhaps then you'll be a good amateur."[22]

Albert Jones, Bernhardt's trombone teacher in Columbus, encouraged him to attend dances and "see what the big colored bands playing. Get right up and watch. Listen carefully. If they play something you like, remember it."[23] Even after he began playing jobs in 1923 Bernhardt continued taking lessons wherever he lived. While in Philadelphia in 1923 Bernhardt studied with a local trombone teacher, Professor Aaron Harris, who encouraged him to pursue his playing career for social reasons. "When you get older," he told me, "you are going to play in fine bands and meet colored society. You are going to be popular because you talk properly, and do not use profanity. And you always act like a little gentleman."[24]

Meredith Germer worked with Bernhardt on refining his technical skills including lip vibrato and breathing. He also focused on Bernhardt's reading skills.

> [Germer] showed me how to play syncopation and syncopated notes in common and cut time. That all been in my head, but when I saw it on paper, I didn't know how to bring it out. Taught me to read faster, like they did in the good dance orchestras.
> I bought some orchestrations of the latest dance music and practiced the trombone parts, then played it for Mr. Germer, very slow of course. . . . "I'm going to

---

[22] Bernhardt, I Remember, 35.

[23] Ibid., 36.

[24] Ibid., 42.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> prepare you," he said, "that when you leave Harrisburg, you will not have to come back."[25]

In 1923 Bernhardt moved to Ellwood City, Pennsylvania to live with his uncle and aunt. His cousin Bill led a band, the Ellwood Syncopaters, that played for local dances. On Halloween Bernhardt played the first professional music job of his life with the Ellwood Syncopaters.

> When we started to play, the young kids seemed to enjoy our songs and applauded loud after each number. Nobody in the band read music too much but we all had good ears, made up our harmony as we felt it. I been hearing the latest trombone players on records, musicians such as Herbert Flemmings in Johnny Dunn's Original Jazz Hounds, Miff Mole with the famous Memphis Five, Dope Andrews with Mamie Smith's Jazz Hounds.
> We did numbers like Mister Gallagher and Mister Shean; Yes, We Have No Bananas; Barney Google; It Ain't Gonna Rain No Mo'; and other popular syncopated tunes.[26]

In April 1925 Bernhardt left Ellwood City and returned to Harrisburg. He joined a rehearsal band led by Tillie Vennie, the daughter of his first trombone teacher. According to Bernhardt, Vennie's band was the best in Harrisburg. After four months of practicing with the rehearsal band she invited him to play with her orchestra. Bernhardt's relationship with the Vennie family made this an emotional performance.

> After about an hour of playing stock orchestrations and popular tunes, Tillie announced the band would take some jazz numbers. She called Sweet Georgia Brown and we hit it hard. When my part came up, Tillie pointed to me and I stood and took a hot solo just as I heard

---

[25] Ibid., 43.

[26] Ibid., 40.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> trombonists Miff Mole and Abe Lincoln do on records. Put my horn right in the megaphone and blew my heart out.
> Suddenly, the whole audience got in front of the bandstand and started to hollering and applauding. Tillie yelled for me to take another chorus. I didn't know what was happening.
> After the hot set, Tillie put her arm around me. "Oh, I wish my Papa was living," she whispered, "and could have heard you play."[27]

Bernhardt continued to work occasionally with Vennie as a replacement trombonist and soon began to fill in with other local bands, including Pearl Smothers' orchestra.

> There were also jobs coming in from Pearl Smothers' Orchestra and Priscilla Richard's orchestra, two other Harrisburg bands. Pearl was one hell of a piano player and just as popular in black clubs as Tillie, but didn't compare with her because she couldn't read music. Pearl depended on her good ear--after hearing something twice, she play it.[28]

In March, 1926, Bernhardt got his first full-time trombone position with Odie Cromwell's Wolverine Syncopators. Cromwell worked hard to make the band sound good, rehearsing the musicians repeatedly and keeping the

---

[27] Ibid., 47.

[28] Ibid., 51. The presence of three bands led by women in the Harrisburg area suggests that, in spite of the excellent research that has already been published, there is a need for further research on women and jazz in the less central regions of the United States. Linda Dahl acknowledges that there were numerous territory bands that included women members during this period. With so many groups to identify and research it is not surprising that the women mentioned by Bernhardt do not appear in the existing histories of women in jazz (such as Linda Dahl, Stormy Weather: The Music and Lives of a Century of Jazzwomen (1984; reprint, New York: Limelight Editions, 1989) or Sally Placksin, American Women in Jazz, 1900 to the Present: Their Words, Lives and Music (New York: Seaview Books, 1982).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

band book up to date with the current popular songs.

> Cromwell always checked Billboard magazine for the latest popular songs, and that is what he used. Ordered his music direct from Feist & Feist, the big publisher in New York, that all the leading orchestras were playing all over the country.[29]

But Cromwell didn't always have the band play the stocks as written; he would encourage the musicians to add new ideas.

> Milenberg Joys was the New Orleans Rhythm Kings' hot number--we had a stock arrangement on that but always improvised, adding a lot more to it. When we did Yes Sir, That's My Baby, the whole band would sing in unison while clapping on the off-beat. We always sounded like a band higher than our class.[30]

Playing in dance bands was rewarding, but Bernhardt sought other types of musical challenges. In 1926 he joined the Perseverance Brass Band led by James Jones.

> This was a well-known marching band with almost fifty members. We wore Army-type uniforms with a yellow stripe down the side of the pants, Army caps, and a shoulder strap with a filled water canteen attached. We played Poet and Peasant Overture and some popular Sousa marches at Elks conventions and parades over in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Atlantic City.[31]

1927 and 1928 found Bernhardt moving from band to band. He often stayed for only a few months at any job. One notable band was Henry P. McClane's Society Orchestra in Huntington, West Virginia.

> We worked a lot of social clubs, society affairs, and high class parties, both black and white. McClane's

---

[29] Ibid., 50.

[30] Ibid., 50.

[31] Ibid., 51.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> book had many heavy jazz numbers such as Black Maria, Beau Koo Jack, and Brainstorm.[32]

Like Cromwell, McClane bought most of the arrangements for the band from Feist and "sometimes we alternated with big-name bands from Detroit and New York, and that gave me confidence because I noticed they be playing the same stock arrangements as McClane."[33] The quality of the material and the band gave Bernhardt self-confidence as a player and as a reader. Because of the difficulty of the arrangements, reading was essential to members of McClane's band.

> If you didn't read by 1927 or 1928, you got left out. No place for you in a good-quality band. Even the stock arrangements of 1928 was different then [sic] four years before, and the pressure was starting to hit nonreaders hard.[34]

Bernhardt's ability on his instrument and his reading skills caught the attention of musicians in visiting bands that passed through Huntington. Bernhardt was encouraged to move to New York.

> One time McClane alternated with the Lloyd and Cecil Scott band. Cecil remembered me when I was a kid in '23 standing next to his band with my mouth open. He was surprised to see me working with McClane after only five years.
> Trombonist Dicky Wells was now with Cecil. Bill Coleman was on trumpet. They asked why I didn't come to New York.
> "Kid, you gonna miss out on a whole lot of stuff," Coleman said.
> "I don't think I can play good enough for New York," I said shyly.

---

[32] Ibid., 61.

[33] Ibid., 62.

[34] Ibid., 62.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> "You kiddin'?" he laughed. "You not Dicky Wells but you read better'n a whole lot of them cats working steady in New York."[35]

With encouragement from players like Bill Coleman, Bernhardt finally felt ready to try New York City. He made the move in September, 1928. He was hired for his first job there because he could read, take a good jazz solo, belonged to the musician's union, owned a black tuxedo with the appropriate accessories, and was recommended by a leading trombone player, Dicky Wells. Bernhardt was aware of his outsider status and his need to prove himself to the other musicians on the job. This need was reinforced by the treatment he received when he arrived to play and only two of the musicians on the bandstand spoke to him.

> Before the first set, Herb Cowens told me to lay out if I come to a hard part, not try any passage I couldn't play. There was no rehearsal.
> We played two sets. The music seemed like average arrangements--I saw no hard parts. As we started the third set, Cowens called some of his best jazz arrangements and I heard [Ray] Corn and [Bill] Lewis whispering loud that everybody going to see some good fun now.
> "This gonna be reeeeeel good," they were saying. "This boy's goin' back where he come from, fast."
> So Cowens stomped off a set that included Black Maria and Beau Koo Jack, difficult pieces that asked for your butt. But I knew right away they were the exact stock arrangements Henry McClane used, the latest songs ordered from Feist & Feist direct from New York City. When my solo part came, I stood up and easily played it note-for-note as written. And very loudly so that everybody could hear. Before I sat down I put in a little extra stuff especially for Corn and Lewis.
> After the set, Cowens came over. Said he knew I never seen those numbers because only New York bands played such hard arrangements, and here I read them all at

---

[35] Ibid., 62.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> first sight.
> Bill Lewis jumped up when he heard where I learned to play. "Man, all them Harrisburg niggers read as fast as you?"
> Ray Corn was slapping me on the back, said those numbers cut even the best sharks in town. I acted like I thought it was easy music--never told anyone I been playing those same arrangements for months and almost knew them by heart. Kept my mouth shut and nobody never found out . . . After word got around the Band Box about my fast reading, jobs started coming in. I could not understand that, because I saw other trombone players in town I knew was better then me. And they all starving.[36]

Bernhardt's skills enabled him to find the work he was most interested in playing. And by November, he was more interested in backing shows in clubs than playing dances. He found work in Richard Cheatham's orchestra at the Club Alabam in Newark. This group excited Bernhardt because of the quality of the ensemble.[37] It "could play behind acts, chorus girls, and full shows. Play in different tempos, different styles, and segue from one to another."[38] But within a month Bernhardt had made yet another move, this time joining the orchestra of the Whitman Sisters' troupe. This was a large troupe with "over thirty-five people in the show plus the band".[39] The band accompanied all the acts

---

[36] Ibid., 66-67.

[37] There is no information readily available about Cheatham. He does not appear to be related to the noted jazz trumpet player Adolphus "Doc" Cheatham.

[38] Ibid., 69.

[39] Ibid., 75.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

but was not featured on stage except for the finale.[40] When the orchestra played theaters with large house orchestras, the groups were combined, parts were doubled or alternated, and the sound, to Bernhardt's ears, was "terrific . . . so rich and heavy".[41]

After about a year on the road with the Whitman Sisters, Bernhardt felt homesick for New York and left the band. He made his way back to New York, once again moving from band to band, until he joined Honey Brown's Orchestra (later Willie Wilkin's band) at the Bamboo Inn. In 1931 Bernhardt toured with King Oliver's band. His career continued well beyond the scope of this study. He continued playing or practicing during the more lean years, rarely staying with any one band for more than a few years. For a period during the 1950s and 1960s he worked as a school janitor and only performed occasionally. His career was revived in the early 1970s when he led the "Harlem Blues and Jazz Band" and performed with the "Legends of Jazz". As a result he had a satisfying and varied career that lasted until his death in 1986.

Learning: First Encounters and Early Training

For many early jazz musicians an attraction to music and the idea of making music began before they were first

---

[40] Ibid., 78.

[41] Ibid., 78.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

formally introduced to a musical instrument. Some grew up in musical homes where family members were professional or amateur musicians, while others remember first hearing music at church, a parade, or elsewhere. They recall their attraction to the sounds musicians made and their desire to try to make such sounds themselves. Some musicians, such as Pops Foster, experimented with homemade instruments. Others, including Danny Barker and Clyde Bernhardt, formed kazoo groups with their friends and imitated the latest songs. The young Louis Armstrong began his professional musical explorations by singing in a street corner ensemble. These satisfying and positive experiences prepared the young jazz-musicians-to-be for their first encounters with real instruments and perhaps, to some extent, for their first encounters with notated music.[42]

A young person's early encounters with a musical instrument, when he or she first discovers its physical structure, sound, and then learns to play it, leave profound marks. For musicians growing up in a musical household these first experiences were usually facilitated by a family member, most often a parent or sibling. Often the family member became the child's teacher. Druie Bess (b. 1906),

---

[42] George "Pops" Foster, Pops Foster: The Autobiography of a New Orleans Jazzman as told to Tom Stoddard, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 2-3; Bernhardt, I Remember, 33; Danny Barker, A Life in Jazz ed. by Alyn Shipton, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 36; Louis Armstrong, Satchmo: My Life in New Orleans (1954; reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1986), 32, 34.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

received his instrumental training from his father and was taught to read by a family friend, Ed Duffy.[43] Later, he recalled the entire family playing at home "all standing up . . . all the numbers".[44] Eddie Durham was taught by his older brother to play musical instruments and read music.

> I could read [music] because my brother studied music. . . . He joined the army, which was the Twenty-fourth Infantry Division, the Rough Riders. So I used to go out to Mexico where he was stationed, on the border. . . . He'd get me a place in town and he would teach me some music. He started teaching me trombone and guitar. . . . and I could read.[45]

Pops Foster's first bass was a cello with strings made of "twine rubbed with wax and rosin." His first teacher was his brother, Willie Foster, who taught him to play and to read. Soon the Foster brothers and their sister, Elizabeth, were "playing lawn parties and birthdays in the afternoons and evenings."[46]

Barney Bigard received his first musical training from his Uncle Emile Bigard, a violinist and the leader of Kid Ory's Creole Ragtime Band. Emile Bigard began his nephew's

---

[43] Bess played trombone and his career included tenures with Walter Page's Blue Devils, the Jeter-Pillars Orchestra and Fate Marable's riverboat bands, see John Chilton, ed., Who's Who of Jazz (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Co., 1972), 33-34; Druie Bess, Interview by Peter Etzkorn and Irene Cortinovis, 5 November 1971, transcript, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis, 1-2.

[44] Bess, Interview by Etzkorn and Cortinovis, 3-4.

[45] Durham in Nathan Pearson, Goin' to Kansas City (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 5.

[46] Foster, Pops Foster, 3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

musical education by tutoring him from the Lazarus Music Book purchased from Sears and Roebuck. It was not until the young Barney had learned to recognize the note names and values that he was deemed ready to even begin playing an instrument. A second hand E-flat clarinet was then purchased.[47]

There were many ways for a young musician to obtain training on his instrument. Some early jazz musicians were self-taught, or relied less on formal instruction. Many others studied privately with teachers either in school or at home. Most African-American communities in urban centers seem to have had at least one general music teacher who taught many different instruments and was responsible for the training and musical skills of entire generations of players. In New Orleans and the surrounding Parishes this teacher was James Humphrey; in Chicago, Major N. Clark Smith; in Harrisburg, Joe Vennie; and in St. Louis, P. B. Langford.[48]

Many African-American musicians from St. Louis who came of age in the 1910s and 1920s remembered P. B. Langford with

---

[47] Barney Bigard, With Louis and the Duke: The autobiography of a Jazz Clarinetist (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 10-11.

[48] Burton William Peretti, "Music, Race, and Culture in Urban America: The Creators of Jazz" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1989), 74; Hinton, Bass Line, 22-23; Singleton Palmer, Singleton Palmer Memoir: Jazz in the St. Louis area: An Oral History Project, 1982, transcript, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, 7-8; Bernhardt, I Remember, 35;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

a special regard. Singleton Palmer began his music studies with Langford and recalled that the entire Langford family was musical. In addition to giving private instruction, Langford led the Odd Fellows Brass Band. The band rehearsed at the Union Hall on Wednesday nights. Langford saw to it that young musicians had an opportunity to learn their craft by sitting alongside the older, experienced players.

> What we would do, I would go take a lesson from him [Langford] and then, I think it was every Wednesday night down at the Union Hall . . . we would go down, us youngsters and he'd give us a few pointers then downstairs. Then, later on, upstairs, he'd carry us upstairs to sit beside the older musicians you know and play the marches. He had a darn good band, cause the older guys, they were really good musicians.[49]

Trombonist Robert Carter also studied with Langford. Carter's elementary school teacher, Harvey Sims, was inspired to form a concert band at the school. Sims asked Langford to be the bandmaster. It turned out that Langford needed to do much more than lead a band. He also taught the young children, en masse, how to play their instruments.

> He would come out to school. There were about twelve of us in the band, and he played an E-flat cornet, and he would take the little band part and he would make the position on the notes, how you make it on the horn. Then he'd play the part on his horn, and you'd follow him. And, actually, I learned how to play.[50]

But Carter found it difficult to solidify certain basic

---

[49] Ibid.

[50] Robert Carter, interview by Irene Cortinovis, 27 April 1973, transcript T-251, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis, 2-3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

formal concepts in the context of these group lessons. He did not learn to read with Langford, only how to play the positions on his instrument. Later, with the help of his schoolmate, Robert Johnson, Carter was able to arrive at a moment of conceptual awakening that startled him and left a strong and lasting impression.

> Most of the training that I have had has been with fellows . . . . Robert Johnson was one of the first guys that helped me. He said, "Come on. I'll help you," when he wanted me to join Bill Jeter's band. And that's it. Just been from playing with other musicians that can play, sitting down beside them. . . . as far as the time, knowing one note . . .I didn't really know. Like a quarter note gets one beat and a half note gets two beats, I didn't really learn that until I . . . . played with fellows like Robert Johnson. And he said, "Well, there's nothing to reading music. It's just a matter of arithmetic, and it just came to me like a bolt out of the blue." Well, it is . . .but I didn't know it. That's all there is to it, but I just don't know. And the amazing thing when my kids when they started off, having been trained, you know, they start right off reading music, and there's nothing to it.[51]

Vertna Saunders tells a similar story that suggests the importance of exchanges between younger and older, more experienced musicians. Saunders, a cornetist and trumpet player, was frustrated by his early attempts at learning to read music. He soon began to rely on his ear for learning the songs he liked. When his playing had developed and his lip strengthened he was invited to play with a local lodge brass band. They overlooked his inability to read and "just took a little time" with him. One evening, after brass band

---

[51] Ibid., 31.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

rehearsal, an older member of the band took Saunders aside.

> So there was a trombone player in this band that was a letter carrier. He had a very, very nice disposition and attitude about life, very, very nice. So he asked me after rehearsal one night, "How you getting along?" I said, "Well my lip seems to be coming along fine, but I just can't learn to read." So I'll never forget this statement as long as I live. He said, "Well, I don't see why you should have so much trouble with it." He said, "anytime you see "C," it's in the same place. It's the first... well, he played trombone and he told me this in the bass clef. He said, "Now you're in the treble clef," so he said, its the first space below the staff. If you here or in China. Its the same. "C." Its the same all over." I said, "Well, I thought "C" changed." He said, "Oh, no "C" never changes. He said, "What's on the first line of the staff?" I said, "Well, I don't know right now." He said, "E." Anytime you see "E," it's got to be on the first line." He said, "What follows E?" I said, "F." He said, "What is that?" I said, "The first space." He said, "Sure that's it." So I went on from there and he told me what instruction book to buy. I bought the instruction book. Of course, it would always take me a month or six weeks to get enough money to buy these things. So I bought the instruction book and I could understand it pretty well. Just by the man telling me about "C" was always in the same place.[52]

While the Original Dixieland Jazz Band claimed that they were untrained and unable to read music, they represented only one group of musicians from New Orleans. Beginning musicians in New Orleans were as conscientious as their counterparts in St. Louis and elsewhere. Young musicians sought out teachers who specialized on a single instrument, usually their own, or teachers who were generalists and taught a number of different instruments. One of the best known general music teachers in the New

---

[52] Vertna Saunders, Vertna Saunders Memoir: Jazz in the St. Louis Area: An Oral History Project, 1982, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, 9-10.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Orleans area was James Humphrey, whose legacy was passed on to his three sons.

Barney Bigard, Johnny Dodds, and Albert Nicholas studied clarinet with Lorenzo Tio in New Orleans. Nicholas noted that Tio "could teach as well as he could play," and most sources agree that Lorenzo Tio was an excellent clarinetist. Barney Bigard recalled that in choosing a clarinet teacher he had narrowed the field to two possibilities. One choice was a member of the John Robichaux Orchestra. In order to help Bigard make up his mind a friend suggested that he attend a performance of the John Robichaux Orchestra at the Lyric Theater and sit directly behind the clarinetist

> "because he always sits with his music stand facing towards the audience. I want you to watch him read his music. I couldn't see what he was driving at but come Monday we . . . sat directly behind [the clarinetist]. After a few bars it became clear that the old man never played one part of that music and I asked . . . what was happening. "He's playing by ear." "Well, I'll be damned," I replied.[53]

Bigard eventually found the teacher he was looking for in Lorenzo Tio. Bigard held Tio's teaching skills in high regard and, like Nicholas, indicated that these were a reflection of Tio's skills as a performer.

> Tio . . . could transpose. He was a great reader, even by today's standards. He had real fast execution and he could improvise--play jazz in other words--on top of all the rest. He would even make his own reeds out of some kind of old cane. Yes, Lorenzo Tio was the man in

---

[53] Bigard, With Louis and the Duke, 12-13.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

those days in the city of New Orleans.[54]

Bigard was struck by Tio's ability to impart his ideas in a unique manner to every student. He noted that no two students of Lorenzo Tio play in the same style.

The Dodds brothers were concerned with the development of their musical skills and studied with a number of New Orleans teachers. Warren "Baby" Dodds recalled that his brother, John, studied with Lorenzo Tio and Charles McCurdy. That Johnny Dodds was studying craft and not improvisation may be surmised from Bigard's observations that McCurdy was "quite a musician, but he wasn't a jazz player." Bigard noted that McCurdy could play anything written, but was not able to improvise, "it just wasn't in him."[55] "Baby" Dodds began his studies with Dave Perkins but soon switched to Walter Brundy who taught him "the fundamentals of reading music." According to Baby Dodds this interest in formal studies was not common among the musicians of the uptown African-American community. Reading music, in New Orleans, was more common with the Creole community, and Dodds felt that he and his brother were exceptions.[56]

Studying with a private teacher meant encountering

---

[54] Ibid., 17.

[55] Warren "Baby" Dodds, The Baby Dodds Story as told to Larry Gara (1959, reprint, Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 14; Bigard, With Louis and the Duke, 17.

[56] Dodds, Baby Dodds Story, 7-8, 13.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

unique and often differing views of performance and performance practice. Pete Patterson's mother anticipated the need for her son to be aware of these alternative approaches to the instrument and sent her son to five teachers including Hattie Jones, a graduate of a New England conservatory.[57] Although most music ensembles were separated along racial lines, early jazz musicians found that private teachers were ready and willing to teach anyone with an interest in music. Some white musicians studied with African-American teachers and the reverse was also true. Pete Patterson, an African-American, was playing at the 19th Century Club when he was approached by the white conductor of the Orpheum Theater, Dr. Bojes. Bojes invited Patterson to his studio for private lessons.

> He said, "Don't worry whether you have any money or not, because I'm going to give them to you free. . . . So, I went over, and he . . . taught me. . . he gave me eight lessons, and he didn't charge me anything. But I would have . . . he would have taught me longer, but, you see, I was in music playing, and that was my living then. . . . He gave me three or four of those lessons which were nothing but scales, you know. He said that that was some of the best exercises you can have on the piano is to have those scales. . . . he explained some theoretical parts at times, and he would come up and show me, probably in diacritical marks . . . . Like I come upon a phrase and would have an Italian word there that meant thus and so. Or German . . . or they would have French. Well, he would tell me what that meant. "Allegretto" and "Allegro" and all like that, you know.

---

[57] Patterson does not identify Hattie Jones' school as the New England Conservatory, but rather a New England conservatory. "Pete" Joseph Patterson, Interview with Pat Immekus, 3 April 1974, transcript T-325, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> He taught me all that, because I wasn't well aware of that, you know. I hadn't been playing that type of music that high up, you know.[58]

Patterson's experience was rewarding, and not unique. For example, while in Paris, Garvin Bushell studied with Henri Selmer.[59] Peg Meyer recalled that whenever Fate Marable's boat would dock in Cape Girardeau, Jess Stacy, a white man, would be invited on board for a piano lesson. According to Meyer,

> Fate would have Jess come on the boat and play for him; and in the process teach him how a pianist should play with a band, how to fill in the holes in the ensemble, and how to back up a band member who was taking a chorus.[60]

Schools and Other Formal Settings

In addition to studying music privately, some early jazz musicians were able to continue their musical education at school. This usually consisted of playing in a school band or orchestra, or occasionally, of group lessons such as those taken by Robert Carter in elementary school.[61] In these settings students learned to read music and develop their ensemble skills. Most of these school experiences began during the high school years, although Vertna Saunders, Leon King and Robert Carter began their studies in

---

[58] Ibid., 4-6.

[59] Bushell, Jazz From the Beginning, 68.

[60] Meyer, Backwoods Jazz, 101.

[61] Carter, interview with Cortinovis, 2.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

elementary school.[62] Peg Meyer believes that playing in his high school orchestra developed his strong interest in music. He found it beneficial for improving his reading skills. Leon King's first ensemble experience was playing in his high school orchestra in East St. Louis. The ensemble regularly played through various orchestral overtures, and King noticed that his playing and ensemble skills improved dramatically.[63] When Druie Bess began Lane Tech High School in Chicago he already had considerable experience playing the trombone. He was pleased to find a teacher there who could guide him further with the instrument. Bess's trombone skills were so good that he was not permitted to play in the band; he had to play in the orchestra.[64]

Musicians might also leave home to attend school where they could continue their music studies. Among others, Lil Hardin studied music at Fisk University and E. A. McKinney received his music education at Tuskegee Institute between 1903-1906. Louis Armstrong remembered being introduced to the cornet during his court-ordered stay at the Home for Colored Waifs in New Orleans, and Jabbo Smith, Gus Aiken,

---

[62] Saunders, Vertna Saunders Memoir, 3; Leon King, Leon King Memoir: Jazz in the St. Louis Area: An Oral History Project, 1982, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, 5; Carter, interview with Cortinovis, 2.

[63] King, Leon King Memoir, 5.

[64] Bess, interview with Etzkorn and Cortinovis, 4.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Tommy Benford and Cat Anderson were among the many young boys who learned their craft while playing in one of the Jenkins' Orphanage Bands in Charleston, South Carolina.[65]

E. A. McKinney recalled performing in three ensembles run by the music program at the Tuskegee Institute: the preparatory band, the concert band and the orchestra, all led by S.W. Grisham. In addition, McKinney studied all of the brass instruments. He specialized on the trombone, but also became familiar with the alto horn, trumpet, valve trombone and French horn. McKinney found himself rehearsing for some ensemble almost every day of the week and noticed his reading skills improve to the point where he was good enough to tour with the school band.[66]

P. B. Langford's band at the Union Hall and the Odd Fellows Brass Band in St. Louis were only two of the ensembles that were offshoots of local societies. Many St. Louis musicians felt that the bands sponsored by local lodge chapters were important learning opportunities for young musicians. Similar stories have been told about the

---

[65] Armstrong, Satchmo, 35-48; Jabbo Smith in Chip Defaa, Voices of the Jazz Age: Profiles of Eight Vintage Jazzmen (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 192-195; for more information about the Jenkin's Orphanage and its bands see John Chilton, A Jazz Nursery: The Story of the Jenkins Orphanage Bands of Charleston, South Carolina (London: Bloomsbury Book Shop, 1980).

[66] E. A. McKinney, interview by Pat Immekus and Irene Cortinovis, 15 March 1974. Transcript T-316. Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis, 1, 7-8.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

importance of bands and societies and organizations in New Orleans, and further research would most likely turn up comparable groups in other American urban centers. Among the organizations that supported bands that included young musicians were the Knights of Pythias, the Elks, the Masons, and the American United Knights and Daughters of Africa. In St. Louis, the Knights of Pythias band was led by William Blue; Sammy Long and Dewey Jackson were two of his students.[67]

Informal Studies with Peers and Older Musicians

While early jazz musicians learned a great deal from their teachers in school and at private lessons, much of their education took place in less formal circumstances. It was noted earlier that Robert Carter and Vertna Saunders did not learn to read music from a teacher but from an informal and spontaneous lesson by another musician. These experiences mirror those of many other early jazz musicians who were profoundly affected by a few well chosen remarks by a gifted peer or an older musician.

Pops Foster spoke highly of the advice of his brother Willie. According to Foster, it was his brother who taught him and a number of other young New Orleans musicians the

---

[67] McKinney, interview by Pat Immekus and Irene Cortinovis, 37; Saunders, Vertna Saunders Memoir, 8; Sammy Long, telephone interview with Irene Cortinovis, 18 April 1973, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis, 1, 3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

fundamentals of musical notation.[68] Vertna Saunders remembered that a single encounter with Lamar Wright led to a complete change in the way he shaped his lips on his mouthpiece, and a performance with Scofield Brown helped a great deal with reading manuscript.[69] Louis Armstrong credits David Jones with showing him how to "divide the notes so that whenever Fate [Marable] threw a new arrangement I was able to cope with it".[70]

Young musicians might also seek help from other performers. Vertna Saunders was so fascinated by Bix Beiderbecke's solo in the Paul Whiteman Band recording of "Sweet Sue" that he had an uncle drive him from Leavenworth, Kansas to Kansas City to ask Beiderbecke how to execute one of the musical figures. African-Americans were not permitted in the theater where the Whiteman band was performing. Therefore, Saunders had to wait outside backstage for about twenty minutes until the band left the building.

> So when their program was over . . . . Bix was about the last one to come out and I knew him right away. But he had a blond lady swinging on his arm and pulling on him. Well, he was going to pass me by. I said, "Hello, Bix," and he looked down at me. I guess I was about twelve or thirteen . . . . He looked down and I said, "I want to see you for one thing." So he stopped. He said, "What do you want to see me about?" So I

---

[68] Foster, Pops Foster, 3, 82.

[69] Saunders, Vertna Saunders Memoir, 14-15, 30.

[70] Armstrong, Satchmo, 182.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> said, "I want to know..." and I hummed real quick. I hummed his solo in "Sweet Sue." I said, "I'd like to know how you get that sound." And he said, "How does it sound to you? I said, "Well you ba, ba, ba, da, be, da, da, (hums) just like that. . . . He laughed and he said, "You hold the second valve half way down." I was as happy as I could be. So he give me a little pat on the head and left. . . . I went home and I practiced that thing and got it just like his solo.[71]

Learning by Observing Performances

The earliest jazz musicians began their studies before there were recordings to use as models. As a result, observing musicians in performance was crucial to the development of the young musician. Clyde Bernhardt was told by his teacher, Albert Jones, to go out and watch other musicians perform. Bernhardt then found he could recognize when musicians were taking solos that weren't written in the music.[72]

Garvin Bushell recalled going to cabarets to learn songs by watching the singers perform. They would sing one chorus at every table and not finish the song until they'd circled the entire room. "If you didn't know the song when she started, you would by the time she'd completed her rounds."[73]

Milt Hinton sought out Wellman Braud, Duke Ellington's bass player, whenever the group was in Chicago. "And if I

---

[71] Saunders, Vertna Saunders Memoir, 11-12.

[72] Bernhardt, I Remember, 36-37.

[73] Bushell, Jazz from the Beginning, 19-20.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

saw him warming up, just before a show, I'd get as close as possible so I could watch every one of his moves. I was always hoping he'd . . . . teach me something new."[74] As a young boy, Leon King would go to a dance hall in Collinsville, Illinois every Saturday night and stand in the window to watch Charlie Creath's band. He knew that Creath had the best musicians, including Zutty Singleton, but he never met them. King paid close attention to the numbers and tried hard to learn them. He also noticed that the entire band was reading music.[75]

Preston Jackson would go to the Royal Gardens in Chicago to hear King Oliver's band and sit behind Honore Dutrey. He observed how easily Dutrey would play the cello parts from stock arrangements on his trombone. In between performances Dutrey would show Jackson fine points on the horn.[76] Peg Meyer was impressed with Jess Stacy's dedication to practicing and musical development.[77] Garvin Bushell and Ben Webster were taken by the technique and sound of two trumpet-playing brothers, Joe and Russell Smith. Bushell was impressed with Joe Smith's embouchure and his lyrical style, and described it in positive terms as

---

[74] Hinton, Bass Line, 29.

[75] King, Leon King Memoir, 11-12.

[76] Jackson in Nat Shapiro and Nat Hentoff, eds., Hear Me Talkin' to Ya: The Story of Jazz as Told by the Men Who Made It (1955, reprint, New York: Dover, 1966), 97.

[77] Meyer, Backwoods Jazz, 100.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"white".[78] Unfortunately, he never explained what he meant by this pointed choice of terminology.

Some younger musicians were sensitive to their technical weaknesses and hid them until they were compelled to improve. Vertna Saunders remembered that other musicians would make fun of him when they found he could not read. To compensate, he practiced by ear and was able to fake his way through rehearsals and performances until an older musician explained the intricacies of music notation to him.[79] Jimmy Harrison went back to the woodshed for some intense practicing after Fletcher Henderson fired him for not being up on his reading. When he returned, able to read, Henderson rehired him.[80]

Those musicians who wished to develop their reading skills would often acquire and study method books or sheet music. Elijah Shaw bought "all the literature I could pertaining to drumming". In addition he worked with a copy of George Hamilton Green's theory and study on xylophone.[81] Buster Bailey and his friends would learn the new popular tunes by purchasing the most recent copy of Etude magazine.

---

[78] Bushell, Jazz From the Beginning, 34.

[79] Saunders, Vertna Saunders Memoir, 5-6, 9-10.

[80] Bernhardt, I Remember, 62.

[81] Shaw in Irene Cortinovis, interview with four jazz musicians: Eddie Johnson, Elijah Shaw, Chick Finney, Eddie Randle, 20 August 1971, transcript T-010, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis, 35.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Peg Meyer remembered that it was difficult to find written music except for pieces recorded by the Original Dixieland Jazz Band. He and his companions would transcribe ideas from records or listen to radio broadcasts using crystal headsets.[82]

Words of Encouragement and Deprecation

The demanding process of becoming an accomplished musician was stressful and many early jazz musicians sought encouragement in their development from friends, teachers, fellow musicians and family members. Learning and developing the skills of music reading was often a difficult task with few immediate rewards. These words of encouragement were a source of inspiration and enabled the musicians to feel comfortable and to continue pursuing their dreams of becoming accomplished jazz musicians. But more often than not young musicians heard words of discouragement, making their dreams that much harder. Clyde Bernhardt's cousin Birdie never gave him any support.

> The moment I walked in [the house], she started giving me a hard time. "You think you gonna be a musician?" "Yes I do." "You ain't never gonna learn to play nothin'," she say. But cousin Charles stood up for me. "Why'n hell don't you leave the boy alone, Bird?" "Cause he too dumb, that's why. He ain't gonna go no further then right now." Whenever I practiced and ran my scales, she stick her fuzzy head in the door and imitate me: "Toot-toot, toot-toot, toot-toot." Whatever sound I made, she mug it. "Tooooooot-tooooooot!"[83]

---

[82] Meyer, Backwoods Jazz, 44.

[83] Bernhardt, I Remember, 41-42.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bernhardt was fortunate because professional jazz musicians like Bill Coleman and Dicky Wells heard him play, praised his skills and gave him the confidence to make the move to New York City.[84] But praise might be equally faint from one's fellow musicians. Danny Barker describes the initiation period of the young New Orleans musicians as quite difficult.

> One of the bitter experiences you had to tolerate in silence was that the old veterans saw to it that a youngster did not get a big head, or that his reputation did not exceed his ability. No matter how well you mastered your instrument in the presence of these veteran pros, the comment was always the same, "Some day that boy is going to make a good musician." This "some day" business would be very unnerving, especially after you had sat in one of the many jazz bands, played well, maybe sensationally, and shook up the listening public. Then you would hear this "some day" statement said with apparently indifferent expression. But if you looked at the older band member's faces, you could see expressions of contempt, jealousy and fear--of a potential rival.[85]

The first words of encouragement a musician might expect to receive were from his parents. Gus Perryman's mother supported his musical development from his first piano lesson at the age of six. "She always told me that I could do it. She saw the potentialities in me and . . . that I had talent. . . . I was an idol of my mother . . .of all the family. And she kept me in music."[86] When

---

[84] Ibid., 62.

[85] Barker, A Life in Jazz, 33.

[86] Gus Perryman, Interview by Irene Cortinovis, 27 April 1972, transcript T-106, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Perryman's mother attended her son's first piano recital, she sat behind the piano to show her support.

> When it came time to play my solo, I shall never forget, I played "Moonlight Reverie," and my mother was back behind the piano beating the time, so I wouldn't play too fast or too slow. . . She really was, a living metronome. But I was thankful that she lived long enough for me . . . . to hear me play, and play the piano not as a beginner, you know. . . . I always practiced when she told me. She took pains with me and she could see that it was in me.[87]

For Vertna Saunders and Robert Carter support came from friends and bandmates. Carter recalled that "most of the training that I have had has been with fellows," while Saunders had similar experiences with many of the musicians he met.[88] For all of these musicians a kind, supportive word of encouragement reinforced the hard work and practice that took place on a daily basis.

Marching Bands

During the first quarter of this century brass marching bands were an important element in the African-American societies and organizations in most Midwest and Southern cities. Many young musicians, such as Singleton Palmer and Robert Carter, were given their first instrumental lessons under the auspices of these organizations and they learned

---

Missouri-St. Louis, 1-3.

[87] Ibid., 3.

[88] Carter, interview with Cortinovis, 31; Saunders, Vertna Saunders Memoir, 9-10, 30.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

many of the fine points of their instrument by observing the older members of the brass bands perform.

The best-known jazz-related activity of the brass marching band was its function in the city of New Orleans at funerals. There are numerous accounts of New Orleans brass bands, sometimes as many as three or four, accompanying the funeral party to the cemetery with slow marches and solemn hymns. The bands would remain outside the gates of the cemetery until the mourners completed the burial. Once the party was outside the gate the band, cued either by the drummer or the lead trumpet, would "put their music in their pockets and everybody started wailing."[89] The musicians in the New Orleans brass bands were clearly comfortable both reading their parts and making up new ones.

While they may have been less common, practices similar to those in New Orleans were reported for funerals in St. Louis and Kansas City. Lawrence Denton remembered that, during the summer in Kansas City, he kept busy playing funerals on almost a weekly basis.[90] Robert Carter and E. A. McKinney describe elaborate funeral marches to the St. Louis cemeteries. As a young boy Robert Carter would frequently fill in for musicians who had to work during the time of the funeral procession. E. A. McKinney began

---

[89] Barker and Towles in Shapiro and Hentoff, Hear Me Talkin' to Ya, 16, 20-21.

[90] Denton in Pearson, Goin' to Kansas City, 18.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

playing in these parades around 1904. He remembered that the band might play a hymn or, quite frequently, "General Sherman's Funeral March" on the way to the cemetery. Then, "after the funeral had gone on, then that's when we'd swing around and get into it." "Getting into it" in St. Louis during the early part of the century meant playing ragtime on the way back from the cemetery.[91]

Marching bands were a frequent sight on the streets of St. Louis. During the 1910s, Singleton Palmer remembered seeing at least one parade every Sunday. The effect of these bands on some young boys was strong enough to create, in effect, a St. Louis version of the second line. When Palmer was a young boy he followed a band for so long that he became lost and had to be brought home by a policeman.[92] The repertoire of the bands varied considerably. Some bands only played marches and pieces from the standard brass band literature while others included circus music, overtures, ragtime, waltzes and, occasionally, jazz.[93] E. A. McKinney remembered these parades:

I can recall having played Labor Day parades, you know,

---

[91] Carter, interview with Cortinovis, 3-7; McKinney, interview with Immekus and Cortinovis, 17-20, 23-24; Carter's description of the St. Louis Societies and their fraternal burial societies paints an image that is quite similar to accounts of New Orleans activities.

[92] Palmer, Singleton Palmer Memoir, 9.

[93] Bernhardt, I Remember, 51; Carter, interview with Cortinovis, 9; Denton in Pearson, Goin' to Kansas City, 18; McKinney, interview with Immekus and Cortinovis, 15.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> and I had played with orchestras and bands that, well, would be in the middle part of the parade. It was on the sidelines and people, looking at the parade, I could hear 'em say, "Oh, here's a colored jazz band!" And you'd see 'em; they'd been back resting against the wall, and they'd close in, close into the parade and, of course, we played jazz for marching, too.[94]

The number of societies and the demand for players was so great that musicians frequently played in more than one band. In the St. Louis area, for example, musicians played in bands for at least seven societies: the American United Knights, Daughters of Africa, Elks, Knights of Pythias, Odd Fellows, the Masons and United Brethren Fellowship. The brass bands played for a variety of functions including church ceremonies, picnics, advertisement for society events and, perhaps most significantly, the holiday parades.[95]

Most of these marching bands were made up either entirely or primarily of reading musicians. Edmond Hall's father played in the brass bands before the turn of the century, and at that time improvisation was not typically found. Musicians were expected to execute a perfect performance, as written. Danny Barker's grandfather, Isidore Barbarin, would discuss the relative merits of individual performances with his friend and fellow musician, Mr. Taton.

---

[94] McKinney, interview with Immekus and Cortinovis, 14-15.

[95] Palmer, Singleton Palmer Memoir, 8-9; McKinney, interview by Immekus and Cortinovis 14-15, 37; Saunders Vertna Saunders Memoir, 8.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> I heard them on the front steps discussing music and musicians very critically. The alto and baritone horns walked in front of the three cornet players in the brass band, and they would hear very closely and clearly who was and was not playing to perfection. . . . Musicians who replaced regular members of both of the great brass bands knew beforehand that when they were handed the music parts to be played that all the ears in the bands were listening sharply at what they were playing, whether right or wrong. My grandfather and Mr. Taton were subject to much contemptible talk, "The two old so-and-sos."[96]

Individual musicians whose reading and performing skills were exemplary were praised and held up as examples for young musicians. The skills of clarinetist Lorenzo Tio have already been discussed. In the New Orleans marching circle the acknowledged master on cornet was Manuel Perez.

> Manuel Perez was . . . . the idol of the downtown Creole colored people. To them nobody could master the cornet like Mr. Perez. When this brass band played a march, dirge or hymn it was played to perfection--no blunders. Many of these marching musicians only played in brass bands, never in dance or jazz bands.[97]

Similarly, high praise was handed out to Buddy Johnson, the trombonist for the Onward Brass Band.

> [Isidore Barbarin] would smile when Mr Buddy Johnson's name was mentioned; he would smile proudly with a sort of deep, inner secrecy. "Buddy is the greatest parade and reading trombone player who ever placed a 'bone to his mouth."[98]

In New Orleans, to be considered a good reading musician was genuine praise. There were some marching bands that did not read, but most bands used written music at

---

[96] Barker, A Life in Jazz, 27.

[97] Ibid., 26.

[98] Ibid., 64.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

least some of the time.[99]

Circus and Tent Show Bands

Some early jazz musicians spent a portion of their career performing in groups that accompanied traveling entertainment such as circuses, minstrel shows, carnivals and tent shows. Most of these jobs paid well and were sought after by the better musicians. The music played by these bands served a number of different functions. Upon arriving in a new town, most traveling entertainment troupes would advertise their arrival with a parade. Before the show began the band performed overtures and light classics. During the show the musicians would accompany the acts, and between the acts the virtuoso musicians would perform solo features. Following the performance the musicians would play exit music and later, on occasion, present music for dancing. As a result, the musicians who played in these bands were expected to be able to perform a wide variety of music.[100]

Garvin Bushell spent the summer of 1916 touring with the sideshow band for the Sells-Floto circus. The band consisted of African-American musicians from most of the southern states and was led by the arranger, H. Qualli

---

[99] Towles in Shapiro and Hentoff, Hear Me Talkin' to Ya, 16.

[100] Barefield, Denton, and Shaw in Pearson, Goin' to Kansas City, 7-8, 9, 31-32; Bernhardt, I Remember, 8, 23-26; Bess, interview with Etzkorn and Cortinovis, 4-8; Bushell, Jazz From the Beginning, 11-12.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Clark. Since the ensemble was not the principal band for the circus, the repertoire only consisted of marches, popular songs, ragtime, and a few blues numbers.[101] The concert band that played for the show usually had twelve to fifteen musicians, but when a parade took place the sideshow musicians and amateur musicians were added to the ensemble so that the band could consist of anywhere from 50 to 75 players.[102]

The musicians read their parts from stock arrangements and band scores. There were few special arrangements written for these traveling ensembles.[103] Musicians who demonstrated a higher level of virtuosity were featured in solo spots. Druie Bess remembered playing trombone for carnivals and minstrel shows.

> I played straight band music and played trombone solos. . . . I played "Annie Laurie" with about four variations. . . . "Sole of the Surf" was another number that was a trombone solo. I played several of them. I can't think of all of them.[104]

After joining a traveling carnival, one drummer was told by the bandleader that he would have to play a solo feature.

> This bandleader he sent off and got a drum solo that he wanted me to play. At that time it was the only drum solo that I knew of . . . . "Oh You Drummer." So every

---

[101] Bushell, Jazz From the Beginning, 11-12.

[102] Meyer, Backwoods Jazz, 119.

[103] Bess, interview with Etzkorn and Cortinovis, 2-3.

[104] Ibid., 8.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> morning after we have our breakfast . . . . I would have to go back in the baggage car and practice this drum solo. And he would stand back there with me, and one time I kept making mistakes so much, he went outside and got half a brick, and said, "You'll make this passage or I'll take this brick and bust your brains out." Then I memorized that solo and he used to play a trombone solo first. He used to play "Old Kentucky Home" and Variations. It was a trumpet solo that used to be played by Herbert Clark . . . and he played this trumpet solo on his trombone and after they introduced him and he played his solo, they would introduce me and the spieler, the announcer of the show would say, "Now, we're going to have the famous Tennessee kid drummer to do "Oh You Drummer" on the Drums." And then I would step out in the middle of the circle . . . . and play, "Oh You Drummer."[105]

Although most circuses relied solely on published scores, there were some occasions where original arrangements were used. Eddie Durham's facility as a reading musician enabled him to get work with the Miller Brothers 101 Wild West Circus. This job gave him his first opportunity to write and arrange music.

> I got started in arranging [when] I decided to go with the [Miller Brothers] 101 Wild West Circus. . . . I was the youngest guy on the show. . . . They had two bands, a big white band and the black band. The black band was the jazz band, because they had a minstrel show over there. . . . The black band was a small band, but they still had three trombones and trumpets, and all that. . . . I'd get the guys to rehearse, [and] those old guys could play. . . .That's how I started writing, but it was all for me to learn harmony, because if I made any bad notes they could break away until I straightened up. . . . That's how I learned to voice, so much vocal and five part harmony, because I had to play around [and] . . . to experiment with those horns. . . when I left . . . I had my degree anyway. I graduated from Street University.[106]

---

[105] Shaw in Cortinovis, interview with four jazz musicians, 31-32.

[106] Durham in Pearson, Goin' to Kansas City, 6-7.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Movie Theaters and Vaudeville

The theater was a venue where early jazz musicians found several types of employment. Traveling theatrical productions, vaudeville acts, and minstrel shows needed skilled musicians to accompany them on tours, and most theaters also had permanent pit orchestras ranging from a single organ or piano to a full orchestra. The responsibilities of the local pit orchestra included music before and after the show and accompanying the movie, vaudeville acts, and other traveling performers.

The demands on the musicians depended on the complexity of the show and the choice, on the part of the organizers, whether to deal with exclusively reading musicians or musicians who had to be taught the music. This is exemplified by two similar events that occurred around 1920, the first in New York City and the second in Los Angeles. In both instances popular and well known bands were hired as the pit orchestra for local theaters. As long as the groups played their own material, they were popular with the audience. But neither band contained strong readers. When the musicians were given written arrangements to accompany other acts and the movie, they could not play the music. Both bands were fired.[107] Not all theater owners were so harsh in their demands. Garvin Bushell heard the local pit

---

[107] Bushell, Jazz From the Beginning, 23; Foster Pops Foster, 122.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

orchestras of many African-American theaters. "They played jazz and had to improvise behind the singers. Bad notes didn't mean anything if the tempo was right."[108]

As a child Jesse Stone, a Kansas City pianist and arranger, observed his father, a local drummer who played in minstrel shows, marching bands and the local vaudeville theater:

> My father played drums . . . . and he played in the pit when they would do the overture, before the curtain. They had a thing called "Drummer Boy" back there in those days and they had another thing called "Sliding Sam," it was a trombone solo. . . . There were two violins, trumpet, trombone, piano, bass horn, drums. That was it . . . . One night they would feature my uncle [on trombone] in the pit. The next night they would feature my father on drums . . . . They could read music at that time, but they didn't know the definition of an arrangement. They knew it was handwritten music and even when I came up in school they called it "homemade music."[109]

Elijah Shaw enjoyed the challenge that came with playing in the theater pit orchestra for silent movies "because you had to play music according to the pictures". The band leader always received a list of cues describing the appropriate music for each scene and, if specific pieces weren't listed on the cue sheet, the musicians in the orchestra were free to offer their suggestions. Most theaters had elaborate music libraries with published music for this purpose. Some movies included full scores and arrangements with the cue sheets.

---

[108] Bushell, Jazz From the Beginning, 36.

[109] Stone in Pearson, Goin' to Kansas City, 11.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> I remember when we played the show for Douglas Fairbanks, that big picture he was in the Thief of Baghdad. They sent the music along with the picture, so we didn't have any problems . . . it came right along with the picture. So what we had to do was have a rehearsal. . . . That was something. And any number of pictures, the music came right along with the pictures.[110]

There were also those early jazz musicians who played for the silent movies and did not take the job seriously. One group of Chicago musicians performed pieces by the Original Dixieland Jazz Band with no regard for what was on the screen. Another group in Massachusetts played the refrain from "Tiger Rag" during highly emotional scenes.[111]

With only a few exceptions, such as Broadway in New York City, vaudeville acts and theatrical productions rarely made their home in a single theater. In general, musicians who performed for these productions also accompanied the tour. The larger productions, such as those featuring the Whitman Sisters, were elaborate shows that could last up to two hours and contained a cast of over thirty-five people plus the orchestra. While in the pit the musicians read from parts, but all music played while on stage was memorized. Most musicians who accompanied the large shows

---

[110] Shaw in Cortinovis, interview in four jazz musicians, 57.

[111] Eddie Condon, We Called It Music (1947, reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1992), 146; Max Kaminsky, My Life in Jazz (New York: Harper and Row, 1963) 11.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

were good readers.[112] Touring troupes usually traveled with a well-rehearsed small ensemble that could be augmented by the local pit orchestra. This arrangement eliminated the overhead of paying too many musicians while guaranteeing an adequate musical accompaniment.[113]

As Ma Rainey's music director, Thomas A. Dorsey wrote arrangements for the small group that accompanied the tour and for the local pit orchestras. Before the tour began Dorsey rehearsed the band until they had memorized the music. Thus, although written music was involved in the performance, audience members would not have seen a single piece of sheet music before the featured musicians.

> I shall never forget the exciting feeling when the orchestra in the pit struck up her opening theme which I had written especially for the show.
> The curtain rose slowly and those soft lights played on the band and we picked up the introduction for her first song. I arranged the music for the band. We looked and felt like a million.[114]

Reading Skills and Regional Differences

The general level of musical literacy and technical ability in the 1910s and 1920s varied regionally. Touring musicians were in a good position to notice the differences

---

[112] While touring ensembles preferred reading musicians, there were exceptions for talented musicians such as Sidney Bechet, who performed with Will Marion Cook and his Southern Syncopated Orchestra during their European tour in 1919.

[113] Bernhardt, I Remember, 75, 78; Bushell, Jazz From the Beginning, 56-57.

[114] Thomas A. Dorsey in Michael W. Harris, The Rise of Gospel Blues: The Music of Thomas Andrew Dorsey in the Urban Church (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 91-93.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in musical practice around the country. While some regional differences may have been slight, there were, occasionally, cities or regions where musicians encountered a higher level of musicianship.

In 1921, while on tour with Mamie Smith in Chicago, Bushell was struck by the musical literacy and technical fluency of Doc Cooke's band at the Sunset and of Erskine Tate's Vendome Theater pit band.

> They could read--or some of them could, the ones who played the Vendome Theater. Chicago jazzmen had the advantage in those years of having a crack at theater music before the New York jazzmen did. They improved their ability that way, and so could read a little better than jazz musicians in the East.[115]

Bushell's observation about the availability of work for African-American musicians in the theater identifies one of several possible reasons for the presence of a high level of technical music skills. In addition, the great migration north of African Americans during the first two decades of the century must have made the music market more competitive and the regular column of music articles written by Chicago musician and band leader Dave Peyton in the Chicago Defender suggest a climate of professionalism and self-improvement. While Bushell considered Chicago to be a good reading town, the level of musicianship was also high in many other locales. For example, while in Baltimore, Bushell encountered many skillful, technically adept jazz musicians.

---

[115] Bushell, Jazz From the Beginning, 25-26.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> There was good jazz in just about every cabaret, no matter how low or cheap. Baltimore musicians had more technique than the New York players, I don't know why. They were very fly, smart, creative improvisers. But they didn't play the blues the way the musicians from the South did. Their jazz was based on ragtime piano practices, and piano ragtime influenced the way they played their horns. They also had the best banjo players in the world.[116]

While in St. Louis in 1921 Bushell observed how local musicians absorbed and expanded upon the influence of New Orleans styles.

> There was great music in St. Louis then. New Orleans influences had come up the river, especially blues playing. The St. Louis musicians had a lot of originality and a great desire to broaden their music. There were many places to play, and they slept and ate music. By contrast, the bands just out of New Orleans seemed more limited.[117]

Buster Bailey grew up in Memphis, Tennessee and recalled playing a hot style of music. As a teenager, Bailey played with W. C. Handy's band, among others. Bailey believed that the biggest difference between the music in New Orleans and Memphis was that New Orleans musicians improvised more: "ours was more the note variety. We played from sheets."[118] Pops Foster remembered that W. C. Handy's band played society dates throughout the Southern region. Foster thought that the music was played in a manner that as though it had been through composed, with little or no

---

[116] Ibid., 34.

[117] Ibid., 35.

[118] Bailey in Shapiro and Hentoff, Hear Me Talkin' to Ya, 77.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

improvisation.[119]

Vertna Saunders visited New Orleans while playing on the riverboats. He heard Papa Celestin's band, a small big band, and was not impressed with the group.

> Now the largest band that I ever heard in New Orleans was the band they called Papa Celestin. . . .He had a large band, but it was just a lot of men in the way . . . . they were reading. They had arrangements. The style that the New Orleans musicians played, they were much better in small groups.[120]

Bushell had an opportunity to hear many groups in the midwest and liked most of what he heard.

> In Louisville . . . the music was like the kind we'd heard in Peoria; good, flexible, moderate-tempo ragtime. They used a lot of tricks, but it wasn't corny. The usual instrumentation had three horns in the front line--trombone and two saxophones. The saxophone--not the tenor, though--was very popular in Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. There wasn't too much clarinet.[121]

As a young boy growing up in Louisville, trombonist Dicky Wells "never heard that New Orleans "tailgate" sound style." According to Wells, the bands in Louisville tended to be larger ensembles that played mostly from stock arrangements with room for improvisation.[122]

---

[119] Foster, Pops Foster, 90.

[120] Saunders, Vertna Saunders Memoir, 71-72.

[121] Bushell, Jazz From the Beginning, 37. Perhaps Bushell heard a performance on the then popular C-melody saxophone, an instrument popularized by Frankie Trumbauer that did not survive in jazz much past the earliest portion of the swing era.

[122] Dicky Wells, The Night People: The Jazz Life of Dicky Wells as told to Stanley Dance, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 9.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bushell was not impressed by the musicians he heard during a trip to the West coast in 1922. He felt the jazz there "was nothing compared to the Midwest, East, and South." The instrumentation, tuba and two saxophones, was out of fashion and the arranging was "ricky-tick." To top it off, much to Bushell's dismay, nobody played the blues.[123]

Musicians develop strong opinions about what they like and dislike in an ensemble, and Garvin Bushell was no exception. But Bushell's opinion, derived from his discerning ear, is one of the few that is available from the early jazz period. It suggests that musicians were listening to one another and sharing ideas. The values Bushell held, including originality, good technique, strong reading skills, well executed performances and a desire to broaden one's musical horizons were clearly shared by many other musicians, since these ideas could be found in all regions with the exception, at that time, of the West Coast.

Dances

Written music was often used by musicians who performed at dances in the 1910s and 1920s. In this section it will be noted that the degree of literacy expected of the musicians appears to have been related, at least in part, to the level of formality of the event. This is reinforced by descriptions of some of the different types of dances played

---

[123] Bushell, Jazz From the Beginning, 43.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

by musicians during this period.

One characteristic image of 1920s America that still lingers in our cultural memory is that of the dancing flapper. With her arms akimbo, legs askew and a carefree smile on her face, one could easily imagine that she was being propelled by a hot jazz band. Jazz in the 1910s and 1920s was played for dancing. Peg Meyer felt that dancing was popular because of the "abundance of wonderful music". In this period live music dominated the soundscape, but was already no longer the exclusive source of sound production. According to Meyer, both radio and the recording industry were beginning to make their presence felt in the 1920s. Meyer recalled that the dime stores in most towns had music departments with the latest songs for sale and "a pianist on duty at all times".[124]

Social dancing from the turn of the century until at least the late 1920s retained certain formal characteristics. It was common for dances on the riverboats and in certain parts of Southeast Missouri to use program cards. These cards were printed with numbered lines on one side and advertising for the dance hall or the band on the other side.

> There was a set of large cards with the same numerals that would be hung in a conspicuous place in front of the band. The cards were passed out to the dancers who would make arrangements for partners for the numbered dances, writing their names on the vacant dance lines.

---

[124] Meyer, Backwoods Jazz, 44-47, 97-98, 114-115.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> This would provide them an entire evening of dance partners. I would start with card number one and then change them for each dance so that the fellows and gals would look up at the orchestra pit, find the number of the next dance, and find their partners for that dance.[125]

In most cities the "respectable" dance halls had someone to chaperon the activities on the dance floor. Danny Barker recalled that even one of the roughest rooms in New Orleans had some kind of chaperon to determine who could and could not dance in the venue.[126]

Peg Meyer noted earlier that he performed for dances in a wide variety of venues and even the best dance band might have found itself playing a ballroom one night and a low "dive" the next. Leon King played for dances in fraternities, sororities, dance halls, and once, for a picnic, on a makeshift scaffold. The use of written music at a job seems to have depended on the formality of the event and venue. Dances held in formal settings, "high class places" such as hotels or dance halls, were more likely to hire bands where the musicians read music than those in less formal settings such as rent parties or "chittlin' stomps".[127]

---

[125] Ibid., 131.

[126] For another view of dance halls and chaperones see Reid Badger, A Life in Ragtime: A Biography of James Reese Europe (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 82-83, 86-87.

[127] Meyer, Backwoods Jazz, 97; Bernhardt, I Remember, 54; King, Leon King Memoir, 5-10, 20-23; Foster, Pops Foster, 43; Singleton in Shapiro and Hentoff, Hear Me

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bands were organized to work with a general type of venue in mind. Chapter IV discusses how John Robichaux's band in New Orleans, with a reputation as a reading band, was able to work its way from public dances in Lincoln Park, to private dances in upper class venues, to becoming, in 1919, the house band at the Lyric Theater, the city's premier black theater. In contrast, Buddy Bolden's band, a group that did not rely on written music for performances, was featured at a hall whose nickname was Funky Butt.

Perhaps the versatility and variety of genres that a band chose to perform was, to some extent, a reflection of the degree to which a band would rely on written music. Pops Foster believed that repertoire played an important role in determining the venue where a New Orleans musician or band might be hired.

> It was a rule in New Orleans if you didn't play any blues you didn't get colored jobs, and if you didn't play lancers you didn't get Cajun jobs. White jobs didn't care what you played. The Tuxedo Band didn't play any blues; they were a ragtime band and didn't get colored jobs. They got a lot of show jobs and later on some of the dicty affairs.[128]

Foster's delineation tends to coincide with particular venues, genres and the presence or absence of written music.

Talkin' to Ya, 17; Dorsey in Harris, Rise of Gospel Blues, 51-52; Perry Bradford, Born With the Blues: Perry Bradford's Own Story: The True Story of the Pioneering Blues Singers and Musicians in the Early Days of Jazz (New York: Oak Publications, 1965), 97, 122; Willie "the Lion" Smith, Music on My Mind: The Memoirs of an American Pianist with George Hoefer, (1964; reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1975), 65-67.

[128] Foster, Pops Foster, 54.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bands that played "dicty affairs", that is, upper-class or well-to-do events, would perform formal dance pieces such as lancers and were reading bands. Many bands that played dances for African-Americans read music on the job. Leon King remembers dances for African-American lodges where the performance consisted of playing the stock arrangements straight, playing the stocks with changes, and head arrangements. The bands that played the Monday night black dances on the Streckfus boats in St. Louis functioned in a similar manner.[129]

Repertoire

As has been noted above, the repertoire of dance bands reflected the musical tastes, styles and expectations of the audiences who attended specific venues. The pieces developed by a group were generally molded around these expectations. Some groups, such as King Oliver's, had distinct repertoires for different audiences. Oliver usually called "smooth, sweet modern numbers" for white audiences and "when we worked colored places, which was often on our Mondays off, we played a lot of blues and jazz numbers."[130] Bands that could read music usually had a larger repertoire than those that could not. Ensembles with skilled musicians, or that frequently rehearsed, were in a

---

[129] King, Leon King Memoir, 20-23; Peretti, "Music, Race and Culture," 74.

[130] Bernhardt, I Remember, 97.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

better position to play more demanding and complex pieces than those that did not.

Pete Bocage recalled that his father, who played in a turn-of-the-century New Orleans dance band, did not play any jazz. All of the music was read by the ensemble, some of it was in manuscript while other pieces were published.

> And they had a set of books they called "Manhattan Books"--dance books, you know. Well they had quadrilles, they had mazurkas, and they had waltzes, and they had lancers and varieties, and all that type of music they played those days . . . .[131]

When Johnny St. Cyr began playing in New Orleans "a band would have a repertoire of about thirty or forty numbers." The musicians he knew and the bands he played with consisted primarily of reading musicians. When they needed new "written music, the musicians would buy it at the big music stores, Werlen's or Grunewald's, then change it around to suit themselves."[132]

Ragtime was played by most turn-of-the-century dance bands. Many musicians considered the Red Back Book, a collection of band arrangements of ragtime numbers published by John Stark, an important part of their repertoire. The Red Back Book was one of the primary sources for Scott

---

[131] Peter Bocage, interview by William Russell and Walter C. Allen, 29 January 1959, transcript, Ransom Hogan Jazz Archives, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[132] Johnny St. Cyr, "Jazz as I Remember It - Early Days" Jazz Journal 19, (Sept., 1966): 6-8; Also cited in Thomas J. Hennessey, From Jazz to Swing: African-American Jazz Musicians and their Music (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994), 5.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Joplin's music. Musicians growing up in New Orleans and Chicago recall hearing local groups perform Joplin numbers from the "Red Books."[133] Pops Foster belonged to a musician's club and purchased ragtime numbers by Scott Joplin, Tom Turpin and Walter Jacobs by mail order.

> For a dollar you got four numbers. When we got a number nobody had, we'd cut the title off the sheet and write "Some Stuff" up there and put a number on it to keep track of them. If a guy would ask what it was, we'd say "Some Stuff" and that way he couldn't order a copy of it.[134]

Bands with large repertoires were careful to program their sets to include a wide selection of styles. Clyde Bernhardt was impressed with the variety in King Oliver's 1931 performances.

> Hot numbers like "Tiger Rag" so the guys could show off; the "St. Louis Blues," "Beale Street," and the "Memphis Blues;" waltzes and standards such as "My Wild Irish Rose," "Danny Boy," and even "'O [sic] Sole Mio;" Oliver originals like "Mule Face Blues" and "Boogie Woogie." We also did "Lazy River," "Stardust," and other new tunes and introduced many songs just as fast as they came out.[135]

Peg Meyer was careful to orchestrate his performances from the first song to the very end of the night. He always began the dance

> with a familiar rollicking tune and made sure that the band members were rollicking and had smiling faces. There would always be a few vocal outbursts, much

---

[133] Bocage, interview; Mezz Mezzrow and Bernard Wolfe, Really the Blues (1946; reprint, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1972), 29.

[134] Foster, Pops Foster, 78.

[135] Bernhardt, I Remember, 96.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> animation, and the entire band would stand for the last chorus and be blowing for keeps. It always worked.[136]

Meyer rotated the various types of dance tunes systematically to allow the dancers to plan their dance card.

> We played fast and "wild" numbers for one-steps, bouncy melodious tunes for the regular fox trots, blues for the slow fox trots and grinds, and waltzes. We usually programmed our evening using this rotation, and with the program card system the dancers could not only select their partners for the evening but could select the type of dance and tempo.[137]

In contrast, Pops Foster heard some New Orleans dance bands that only performed ragtime numbers. "If you danced to ragtime you could grab the chick and squeeze her anyway you wanted to.[138]

Rehearsing

While it was common for dance bands to sight-read new songs in performance, most groups spent time rehearsing their material in advance. In addition to being an environment where musicians learned repertoire and developed their reading and performing skills, the rehearsal room was also a place where beginning musicians could learn their craft and demonstrate their readiness to join the ranks of the professionals. Because he regularly attended the band rehearsals, Clyde Bernhardt was given the opportunity to

---

[136] Meyer, Backwoods Jazz, 133.

[137] Ibid., 132.

[138] Foster, Pops Foster, 73.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

perform with the Vennie band.

After moving to New York City, Garvin Bushell joined a rehearsal band that met once a week. The instrumentation varied from week to week, but the rehearsals gave the musicians an exposure to material they might encounter on a bandstand.[139] Bushell's combination of reading and "faking" skills appears to be a typical experience of early jazz musicians. As noted earlier, it was possible for a musician to be exclusively a reading player, such as Charles McCurdy. In addition there were numerous players, such as Sidney Bechet, who did not read music at all. These musicians were known as "fakers." Jack Weber observed bands composed of readers and fakers in New Orleans. According to Weber, high class musicians could read, and dance musicians could not. Weber noted that some of the fakers believed that "if they learned how to read, it would ruin their ability to improvise!"[140]

Pops Foster discovered that rehearsing could also be a social activity. While the task of memorizing the written parts was challenging, his description of a rehearsal is that of an enjoyable way to spend time with friends, family, and fellow musicians.

> Everybody wanted you to rehearse at their house so they could have some fun . . . . We'd start rehearsing about

---

[139] Bushell, Jazz From the Beginning, 16-17.

[140] Weber in Shapiro and Hentoff, Hear Me Talkin' to Ya, 59.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> eight o'clock in the evening and play till eleven or midnight, according to when the juice ran out. You'd be rehearsing inside and people would be dancing outside. After we'd play a number three or four times we didn't need the music anymore. Everybody who played in New Orleans had to memorize. I can still remember a lot of numbers we played back in 1909. I hear one bar of it and I'm ready to romp.[141]

Reading and Faking

The interaction between reading and faking was also present on the bandstand. Those musicians with good reading skills had to prove their ability in order to get work in reading bands. In addition, they had to survive the constant scrutiny of other musicians continuously assessing their abilities. Musicians with strong reading and faking skills might be put in the position of choosing between jobs that involved primarily one or the other of these talents. These musicians were concerned about how associating with non-reading bands would affect their reputation and future ability to acquire work. There was also the give and take that took place in bands that consisted of a mix of reading and non-reading musicians. Finally, there were occasions when musicians who read found themselves pretending they were faking.

Some trained musicians who wished to perform in dance bands had to learn to fake. Alphonse Picou's first encounter with faking illustrates how this learning process

---

[141] Ibid., 58.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

took place.

> I was invited down to the rehearsal that night and I went to the place and I said to him, "What do you want me to do?" I said, "Do you want me to play my instrument? Is there any music?" He said, "Music? You don't need none." I said, "How am I going to play?" He said, "You're going to come in on the choruses." I said, "All right," and then I tuned up; we all tuned up our instruments. He said that when I couldn't come in, to stay out and listen until I could come in. I did just what he told me and we got into it, and through with it, and the whole band shook my hand and told me I was great. . . . . That particular style of playing without music was very new to me. I think it was impossible to me! It seemed a sort of style of playing without notes.[142]

Later Picou found that even faking bands relied on reading or at least on the readers in the band. Rehearsals were held to learn new music, usually from published parts. The material was memorized and "then, after that we didn't need that music no more. We'd go out of the way" with it."[143] Most faking bands had at least one reader to teach the other musicians the written parts. In the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, Eddie Edwards would show other players their parts. Elmer Schoebel and Arnold Loyacano demonstrated the arrangements for the other members of the New Orleans Rhythm Kings.[144]

When Clyde Bernhardt arrived in New York City in 1928 he had to prove that his reading skills were up to the local

---

[142] Picou in Shapiro and Hentoff, Hear me Talkin' to ya, 19.

[143] Ibid., 59.

[144] Weber and Loyacano in Shapiro and Hentoff, 61, 82.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

standard. Once he had proven himself in an adverse setting Bernhardt was able to establish himself as a viable contender in the highly competitive New York music scene.[145] Nor was this the first time that Bernhardt was given a job on the merits of his reading abilities. When Tillie Vennie invited him to play trombone for her band she praised his reading by saying, "All your parts were correct. You [are] playing better than you think you are."[146]

Baby Dodds found that he relied on both his reading and faking skills when he played with King Oliver. Oliver led a reading band, but expected his musicians to put in more than was written on the paper and when he counted in the song, Dodds was ready to comply.

> When I got there the first piece of music they put in front of me was Canadian Capers. I asked Joe [Oliver] how he was going to play it. He said from the left hand corner to the right hand corner; from top to bottom. The trio was in the middle of the number. I said "Kick off," and Joe kicked off. I read that piece of music down, from side to side and I went back to the trio. I had played that number once and knew it, so I began playing my own style of drums.[147]

The vocabulary Tillie Vennie used to evaluate Clyde Bernhardt's skills was not unique. Given the highly competitive atmosphere of most jazz environments, it was only natural that musicians were constantly assessing one another's abilities, not only in terms of reading, but other

---

[145] Bernhardt, I Remember, 66-67.

[146] Ibid., 46.

[147] Dodds, Baby Dodds Story, 33.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

skills. Pops Foster remembered that most leaders had differing expectations concerning how their musicians should read and execute figures. He was frequently criticized, especially by James Humphrey.

> He was always saying, "You'll never be a musician," and "You'll never play nothin'." We'd be playing some place and he'd start worryin' me with, "You'd better learn how to read." I'd say, "Oh man, go hide yourself," or "don't rush yourself, go ahead and play." Those old guys wanted to read and play different than we did. Jim Humphrey and John Robichaux wanted to play one way, and Freddie Keppard and us wanted to play ragtime. Old man Humphrey didn't like anybody who couldn't read, and he didn't like the way I picked the bass; he wanted me to bow it.[148]

Foster must have been influenced by Humphrey's words because he learned to read and his autobiography is filled with assessments of musicians' reading skills. Foster believed that a musician's reading skills had a great effect on who he played with.

> The bands that couldn't read could play nothing but choruses. They'd play nothing but chorus after chorus . . . . There were a lot of players around New Orleans who would only play with their own band. Some of the guys were Ory, Frankie Dusen, Albert Nicholas, and George Brunies. Those guys couldn't read so good or couldn't read at all, and they couldn't go into other bands and start playing. Ory couldn't read too good and couldn't find a note either. If he wanted B-flat he couldn't slide up to it and blow, he'd have to slur his horn up to it. He'd stop when he got on the note. I was always able to play with any band by reading or playing by head. That's the way I played with so many bands around town.[149]

Foster's opinions, while strong, are usually reasoned.

---

[148] Foster, Pops Foster, 86.

[149] Ibid., 74, 50.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

For example, he recognized two distinct approaches to trumpet playing in New Orleans. He distinguished these styles not only by the timbral effect sought by the performer, but, not surprisingly, by the reliance on written music. According to Foster those trumpet players whose sound could be described as sweet would not play original breaks, "if they had to play a break, it had to be written for them". The one exception to this, according to Foster, was Bunk Johnson.[150] Foster held a low opinion of New Orleans pianists. He believed that most could not read and "could only play in one key like F-sharp". He added sarcastically, "most of the bands couldn't transpose the music to play with them".[151] According to Foster, Johnny Dodds once sought him out for advice about getting work outside of New Orleans. Foster told Dodds to "study and train . . . to play with any band and not just one". Part of this study naturally included improving his reading skills, because, Foster believed, it was Dodds' inability to read well that kept him from getting more work.[152] But Foster was not always critical in a negative manner; he admired Big Eye Louis Nelson for sight-reading the violin parts at dances and considered Buddy Petit "very pleasin' to

---

[150] Ibid., 77.

[151] Ibid., 99.

[152] Ibid., 50.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

listen to, even though Petit could read.[153] A partial list of those musicians whose reading skills were appraised by Foster includes Walter Brundy, Sidney Desvignes, Johnny Dodds, Louis Dumaine, Sam Dutrey, Freddie Keppard, Charles McCurdy, Albert Nicholas, Big Eye Louis Nelson, Joe Oliver, Buddy Petit, Alphonse Picou, Zutty Singleton, and Jean Vigne.[154]

Pops Foster was not alone in assessing the reading skills of his peers. Preston Jackson and Mutt Carey praised the reading and playing skills of Manuel Perez. Richard M. Jones and Clyde Bernhardt presented opposing views of King Oliver's reading skills. Jones thought that Oliver was "a good reader and a good technician. Anything you'd stick up, he'd wipe right off". But Bernhardt thought that Oliver's sight-reading skills were weak. He even quoted Oliver as saying, "I'm the slowest goddamned reader in my band . . . . you guys might read faster but damn it, you better wait for me".[155]

Clyde Bernhardt held the opinion that, by 1927, "if you didn't read" there was "no place for you in a good-quality band".[156] Other musicians might have disagreed, or even

---

[153] Ibid. 45, 81.

[154] Ibid., 28, 44-47, 50, 77, 83, 87, 89.

[155] Jones in Shapiro and Hentoff, Hear me Talkin' to ya, 96; Bernhardt, I Remember, 91.

[156] Bernhardt I Remember, 62.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pushed the date earlier, for some dance bands that played "swing," "hot music," and "jazz" consisted entirely of reading musicians in the 1910s and 1920s. In New Orleans there was the John Robichaux Orchestra and Bab Frank's Peerless Band; on the riverboats were the bands of Fate Marable, Tony Catalano, and Charlie Creath; and in New York James Reese Europe led an orchestra that consisted primarily of reading musicians. There were some musicians in reading bands who would not play with non-readers. Clyde Bernhardt recalled that:

> Like a lot of other New York musicians, if a guy wanted me for a gig but his fellows was not good readers, hell, I rather not take it. Not good for your rep to play those bands and I knew it.[157]

There were, however, many bands that utilized differing combinations of reading and faking musicians. Danny Barker noted that most New Orleans bands hired "a fiddle to play the lead--a fiddle player could read--and that was to give them some protection". Jelly Roll Morton was under the impression that the only member of the Freddie Keppard Creole Band who could read was the clarinetist, George Baquet, and that was why he had the responsibility of playing lead. The only two members of the New Orleans Rhythm Kings who could read were Arnold Loyacano and Elmer Schoebel, who "sort of helped the others when they needed

---

[157] Ibid., 87.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

it".[158]

There were times when bands of African-American reading musicians found that they needed to pretend that they could not read. In an interview with Thomas Hennessey, Eubie Blake recalled that James Reese Europe's orchestra consisted entirely of readers, but they never used written music when performing at white dances.

> Europe would buy full, stock arrangements of the popular hits of the day and rehearse his musicians, all of whom were good readers, extensively in this material, adding a few distinctive touches to make the arrangement fit the band. Once the arrangement was worked over, however, it would be memorized and the music would not be brought to the job. Mr. Blake stated that this was to avoid breaking the white stereotype that blacks were too stupid to read music and that their musical ability was a wondrous gift and not the result of hard work. To maintain this illusion, Europe, when taking requests would ask the patrons to sing a few bars of the melody and ask for a few minutes to "work it out with the boys". Then he would have the orchestra play the tune exactly as it had been rehearsed, to the accompaniment of amazed remarks by the audience about the natural talent of these Negroes.[159]

Most reading musicians were also concerned with their ability to improvise. The high point of Clyde Bernhardt's first performance with the Vennie band was not from reading but taking an improvised solo in front of the band. Pops Foster recalled that the other musicians would continue to play their parts during a solo.

---

[158] Barker, Morton, and Loyacano in Shapiro and Hentoff Hear Me Talkin' to Ya, 20, 82, 90.

[159] Thomas J. Hennessey, "From Jazz to Swing: Black Jazz Musicians and their Music, 1917-1935" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1973), 19-20.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> In the early days when you had a solo, the other instruments were always doing something behind the solo. None of the other guys took their horns down for a chorus to let another guy play a solo. When the band knocked off, the whole band romped on a tune from your left hand to your right corner. The music was written so you couldn't take down your horn. You could take your horn down to dry your lip, but you took it right up again. If any of the instruments would quit playing, the manager or whoever hired you would come right over and say, "What's the matter with that guy, is he tired?" or, "Your lip sore, man?"[160]

Recording Studios

Early jazz recording sessions took place amidst some of the most adverse conditions imaginable. Most cities lacked permanent recording facilities, and musicians who wished to make a recording had to travel long distances to find a studio or hope that a company would send a portable studio to their region. Even the permanent studios had drawbacks. Some studios, such as Gennett's in Richmond, Indiana, were not originally designed for recording. Musicians were forced to make concessions about their physical placement in the room. This, in turn, interfered with the typical lines of communication that one might expect during a live performance. During King Oliver's 1923 recording sessions in the Gennett studios, for example, Louis Armstrong had to stand on the other side of the room, far from his bandmates. Given the many horror stories associated with it, the Gennett studio may have been one of the worst. Because of the process involved in cutting a record at the time, the

---

[160] Foster, Pops Foster, 76.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

temperature in the studio was always very warm. This, in turn, caused great discomfort for the musicians who were compelled to remove their jackets and roll up their sleeves. It also probably resulted in considerable fluctuation in instrumental tuning, since temperature shifts often put an instrument out of tune. In addition, the Gennett studios were located so close to a railroad line that recording sessions were interrupted whenever a train passed by. The overall feeling a musician got in a studio was important to him and could well have had an effect on the recording session.[161]

Recordings made with portable equipment at temporary studios also suffered from the inherent drawbacks of the less-than-state-of-the-art-equipment. Fate Marable and his orchestra held their only known recording session at a temporary studio in New Orleans that used portable equipment. The sound quality of these two sides is limited, and it is impossible to hear Marable's piano playing, or, at times, even to differentiate the instruments from one another.

In spite of these difficult circumstances extraordinary music was documented. Some of this music was performed with the aid of written music. Some musicians have left accounts that may shed some light on the different ways that written music was utilized in the recording studio. For example,

---

[161] Dodds, Baby Dodds Story, 78.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Garvin Bushell discussed many of his early recordings and described pieces in terms of whether he was reading a part or improvising his line. This kind of information clarifies not only what specific pieces were notated, but also how the musicians felt about the music.

As in other environments, pieces might be fully notated, partially notated, or not written at all. Or, the music might have been notated but the musicians no longer relied solely on the score for their performance. It is possible, in some oral histories, to identify examples from the wide span between recordings of fully notated and completely ear-taught pieces.

Garvin Bushell recalled recording sessions from 1921 led by Perry Bradford without written music. But Bradford had developed a method that would obtain a good performance that is reminiscent of the contemporary practice of "conduction" by the composer and trumpet player, Butch Morris:[162]

---

[162] "Conduction" (composed improvisation is a means by which a conductor may compose, (re)orchestrate, arrange, and sculpt both notated and non-notated music. Using a vocabulary of signs and gestures, many within the general glossary of traditional conducting, the conductor may alter or initiate rhythm, melody, and harmony; develop form and structure; and instantaneously change articulation, phrasing and meter. For example, indefinite repeats of a phrase or measure may now be at the discretion of the new composer on the podium. In this way conducting becomes more than a method for musical interpretation, but an actual part of the process of composition. Lawrence "Butch" Morris, Liner notes to Dust to Dust (New World/Countercurrents 80408-2, CD, 1991).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Perry Bradford used to direct those sessions with Mamie [Smith]. He'd stand on a big platform and make motions for what he wanted the instruments to do, moving his hands up for high notes, down for low ones. We knew so little about recording in those days. Compared to today's technology, it was like the difference between hitching a horse to a rig and having a Cadillac. If we'd just used common sense, we would have done things much different.[163]

Baby Dodds remembered that there was little written music used by the Hot Seven in rehearsal for their recording sessions in 1927. The process for working out routines and details on the recording was informal and democratic.

> With Louis' outfit we used to have rehearsal and anything that we had in mind for any particular number we would work out then. He would tell each of us when to take a solo or when not to, and who would come in at different times. We weren't a bunch of fellows to write down anything. That would have made it too mechanical. We would stop and talk it out more than anything else. If there was any writing involved Lil [Armstrong] would write down what the musicians were supposed to do.[164]

Although Baby Dodds suggests that there is something mechanical about written music, he does acknowledge that Lil Armstrong was jotting down something during the rehearsals. In interviews Lil discussed using her own arrangements for the New Orleans Wanderers sessions in 1926. Lil's notations during the rehearsals might have been little more than simple outlines in long-hand, such as reminders of the routines and solo-order.

In contrast to the Hot Seven's parts, Baby Dodds

---

[163] Bushell, Jazz From the Beginning, 22.

[164] Dodds, Baby Dodds Story, 72.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

recalled that Jimmy Blythe would "write out the parts and give each of us the part for our instruments" for his sessions.[165] A similar experience occurred when Jelly Roll Morton hired Dodds for his Red Hot Pepper sessions in 1927. Dodds recalled that Morton did not bring the musicians into the studio until the group had already met and rehearsed their parts to his satisfaction.

> During the rehearsals he would say, "Now that's just the way I want it on the recording," and he meant just that. We used his original numbers and he always explained what it was all about and played a synopsis of it on the piano. Sometimes we had music and he would mark with a pencil those places which he wanted to stand out in a number . . . he often gave us something extra to do, some little novelty or something. When we made "Jungle Blues" he wanted a gong effect and I think I used a large cymbal and a mallet to produce the effect he wanted . . . It took quite a bit of rehearsing on some of those to get just what Jelly wanted but he told us what he expected and we would do our best to get the right effect.[166]

Garvin Bushell recalled that notated music was used when making recordings with Fletcher Henderson for Black Swan in 1921, but much of the time not every musician would receive a part.[167] Having good notated arrangements was no guarantee of a good recording. Bushell noted the importance of having good readers for arranged pieces during recording dates with Sam Wooding's Orchestra in 1925.

> In July [1925] we made some recordings for Vox. We did, "O Katharina," "Alabamy Bound," "Shanghai

---

[165] Ibid., 71.

[166] Ibid., 74-75.

[167] Bushell, Jazz From the Beginning, 31-32.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Shuffle," and "By the Waters of Minnetonka." The arrangements were good, but since we had a lot of self-taught musicians in the band, a lot of them weren't played as well as they could be.[168]

Summary

This chapter has shown how early jazz musicians recalled thier encounters with written music at all stages of their careers. A special emphasis has been placed upon the various ways that these musicians learned to read music, in school, with friends, in a society band, on the job and through observation, and how these encounters affected their view of the role of written music in jazz such as to broaden their musical horizons or to make themselves more competitive on the job market. Moreover it has been noted how the venue in which the music was played often had an impact on how written music was utilized by the performers. For example. the more formal the setting, the more frequently musicians recall being required to read music. This will be further emphasized by studying how riverboat musicians interacted with written music and their environment in the next chapter.

Although the many jazz musicians cited in this chapter came from different parts of the country, had different ethnic and racial backgrounds and worked in a wide variety of environments, it has been possible to establish the recurring presence of written music in their musical lives.

---

[168] Ibid., 58.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

It seems, from the perspective of the musicians, that playing jazz and reading music were not separate activities, but could and did take place in the same environments. It is also clear that musicians often read music while rehearsing for these performances. It also appears that the musical literacy of any individual mattered less than the presence of at least one reader in any given ensemble. As long as even one person in the group was able to read music, all of the musicians in the ensemble had access to written music. These readers created what might be thought of as a circle of musical literacy, with most jazz musicians encompassed by these circles--with access to written music, whether or not they could read themselves. In essence, this chapter has shown how nearly every early jazz musician, even those who could not read music, encountered and interacted with written music.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER III

RIVERBOAT MUSIC AND THE STRECKFUS STEAMBOAT LINE[1]

> "It was this new sound, "riverboat jazz," that did much to inspire me to become a musician."[2]

In this chapter I look at how written music was used by jazz musicians in a specific venue, the excursion steamboat, also known as the riverboat. This chapter contextualizes the use of written music by exploring the musical, social and economic aspects of this venue. The role of the riverboat in early jazz has been brought into question by James Lincoln Collier who argued that this music, "created in New Orleans and its environs," did not move to the rest of the country "via the riverboats."[3] In contrast, this chapter offers ample evidence of the significance of this venue to the musicians who developed their craft, as well as the audiences whose first exposure to this music was on the riverboats.

This chapter examines the excursion steamboat world and the riverboat musicians who participated in it, primarily those who worked out of St. Louis on the Streckfus Steamboat

---

[1] Portions of this chapter were previously published as "Riverboat Music from St. Louis and the Streckfus Steamboat Line," Black Music Research Journal 9/2 (1989): 153-180.

[2] Raymond "Peg" Meyer, Backwoods Jazz in the Twenties (Cape Girardeau, Missouri: Center for Regional History and Cultural Heritage, Southeast Missouri State University, 1989), 49.

[3] James Lincoln Collier, The Making of Jazz (1978; reprint, New York: Dell Publishing, 1979), 57.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Line between 1901 and 1942. One demand made of all musicians who performed on the riverboats was the ability to read music. This can best be understood as one element in the larger context of the musician's lives on the boats. To this end the chapter focuses on the history of the Streckfus Steamboat Line and discusses its financial and social goals, its treatment of excursionists, and the professional lives of musicians who worked on the riverboats during the earlier part of this century.

The Streckfus Steamboat Line

In 1884, Captain John Streckfus, Sr. founded the Acme Packet company. The company was located in Rock Island, Illinois and had a small fleet of packet boats that shipped freight and passengers along the Mississippi River. By the turn of the century Captain Streckfus recognized that the encroachment of the railroads into the riverboat shipping trade was inevitable. Therefore, to offset potential losses, he reorganized his company, maintaining a few packet boats but concentrating most of his efforts on the establishment of an excursion business.

In 1901 the Acme Packet company launched the first steamboat built exclusively for excursion service. In contrast to the packet boats, which often carried freight and passengers on extended trips along the river, "excursion boats exclusively made short trips, a day, an afternoon, or a moonlight trip. The excursion vessel had no passenger

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

staterooms and the normal cabin space was devoted to a large dance floor"[4]

The line's flagship, the J. S., named for the company president, Captain John Streckfus, ran excursions from New Orleans to St. Paul. Although the company headquarters was situated in Rock Island, the J. S. did not use that city for a home port. Instead, the J. S. spent its summer season "tramping" the upper Mississippi and Ohio rivers, making extended stays in St. Louis and St. Paul.[5]

In 1910 the J. S. caught fire and sank. Subsequently Streckfus purchased the entire fleet of the Diamond Jo Packet line in the following year and began remodeling the boats for excursion service.[6] The reorganization included changing the company name to Streckfus Steamboat Line. In

---

[4] Dolores Jane Meyer, Excursion Steamboating on the Mississippi with Streckfus Steamers, Inc. (Ph.D. diss., St. Louis University, 1967), 43; Captain C. W. Stoll, letter to the author, 2 December 1988.

[5] Tramping"is a riverboat term for a boat that does not serve a home port but sails from port to port hosting excursion cruises for a day or two at each port and then sailing on. This practice continued through the late 1950s when interest in the riverboats waned.

[6] One difficulty in tracing the movements of the Streckfus Steamers is the fact that, during the time covered by this study, several of the boats had two different names. After purchasing the Diamond Jo fleet in 1911, the Streckfus company initially retained the Diamond Jo names for the boats and put the four large packet boats directly to work. Then, one by one, the boats were dry docked, remodeled, outfitted for excursion service, and given new names. This period of transition may be one reason why jazz histories often place musicians such as Louis Armstrong on differing riverboats. For a further breakdown of the major excursion boats of the Streckfus line see Table 3.1.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the 1920s the name was changed again, to Streckfus Steamers, Inc.[7] The boats were overseen by his four sons, Captains Joseph, Vern, Roy, and John Jr. With the purchase of the Diamond Jo line, the Streckfus Steamboat Line targeted four cities as its primary ports of call: St. Louis, St. Paul, Pittsburgh, and New Orleans. The first three cities were the major summer season markets, while New Orleans served as a winter season port.

Table 3.1. Streckfus Steamboats 1884-1940[8]

Freddie* 1884-1889
Verne Swain* 1889-1900
City of Winona* 1896-1905 renamed W. W. 1905-1915
J. S.* 1901-1910
St. Paul 1911-1939 renamed Senator 1939
Quincy 1911-1919 renamed J. S. DeLuxe 1919
Dubuque 1911-1920 renamed Capitol 1920
Sidney 1911-1921 renamed Washington 1921
Nashville 1912
President 1933
Admiral 1940

The future of the Streckfus line was immeasurably altered in January, 1918, when an ice jam destroyed the

---

[7] The company still has the name Streckfus Steamers, Inc. but is known to the St. Louis public as Gateway River Cruises.

[8] The boats marked with asterisk (*) originally belonged to the Acme Packet Company. Dolores Meyer mentions that Streckfus hired bands for special occasions such as boat races, but does not elaborate. Unless further evidence is found, it may be assumed that the band hired in 1901 to play on the J. S. was the first full-time unit on the Streckfus boats. See also Meyer 1967, "Excursion Steamboating," Chapter 2.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

entire fleet of the Eagle Packet Company. This company had been the largest excursion steamboat company in St. Louis. According to Captain C. W. Stoll, this put the Streckfus Steamboat Line "into the excursion steamer business in a big way."[9] The company focused its attention on the St. Louis area, incorporating the latest marketing techniques in a long-term campaign to establish itself as the primary excursion carrier in the region.

In its new and larger role, the Streckfus Steamboat Line stressed its ability to service and entertain its riverboat passengers. "The most for its money is what the public gets" was the slogan of the company in 1924. Music was only a portion of the Streckfus strategy. This interest in opening new markets and maintaining a large clientele was emphasized in Dolores Meyer's study of the Streckfus Steamboat Line. According to Meyer, the Streckfus family developed markets in every sector of white St. Louis society. The company's prime interest apparently was to integrate itself fully into the daily social life of St. Louis. For the Streckfus Steamboat Line, this meant continuous modernization of its ships and shipboard attractions.

Food and liquor policies were the first to change. There had been no dining facilities aboard the early Streckfus Steamboat ships, and most parties brought whatever

---

[9] Stoll, letter to the author.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

food they would consume on board with them. In 1901 Streckfus initiated a small food service counter on its ships. By the early 1920s this was expanded to a full cafeteria. Liquor was not served on the Streckfus steamboats until 1912. When liquor was introduced in 1912, "the bar rules for the excursion steamer St. Paul only allowed liquor to be sold during alternate hours." The Streckfus Steamboat Line capitalized on the appeal of its unique food service approach. Advertisements of the period often consisted of complete ship's menus and excluded mention of musical entertainment.[10]

The Streckfus Steamboat Line also targeted the youth market of St. Louis. By the twenties a program had been fully developed to entice children to frequent the steamboats. Children sailing on the St. Paul and J.S. Deluxe were given free paperback books, treated to a guided tour of the ship followed by a magic show, and then encouraged to take part in supervised games in the main cabin. This was followed by the "Junior Amateur Hour," when the children could sing or dance to the accompaniment of the steamboat's orchestra.[11]

The Streckfus family's goal was to attract and keep the "right" kind of clientele. Captain John Streckfus, Sr. wanted to attract families and the elite of St. Louis. A

---

[10] Meyer, Excursion Steamboating, 237.

[11] Ibid., 239-241.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1903 press release summarizes many of the goals of the company:

> We propose to cater to the very best class of people. There are many people who want to go out for an afternoon's excursion who have been fearful of the average excursion boat, because of their reputation. On this one no gambling or disorder of any kind will be allowed. There will be a lady attendant, and ladies and children will have the same protection and care they would receive in their own homes.[12]

For fifteen seasons the Streckfus line hired a "prominent St. Louisian" to act as a chaperone, hosting Thursday and Friday evening parties on board the J. S. Deluxe.[13] Other attractions, including trading stamps and beauty contests, were offered by the Streckfus Steamboat Line. These enticements were used to appeal to the St. Louis community, but by the late 1920s the musical orchestras had become the center of most Streckfus Steamboat Line advertising.

African-American audiences on the Streckfus boats

The policy toward African-American audiences on the Streckfus boats reflects the common practices of segregation throughout the country. In St. Louis, African-American patrons were permitted to ride the excursion steamboats only on Monday night. Not until 1969 were Streckfus Steamboat Line excursion boats integrated by a federal court order.

Baby Dodds played for many Monday night riverboat

---

[12] Ibid., 116

[13] Ibid., 243.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

dances when he worked with Fate Marable.

> It was one of the most wonderful things you've ever seen carried on. The boat was packed and we got such a kick out of it because it gave us a free kind of sensation for working. We worked all the week for white people and this one night we could work for colored. It gave us an altogether different sensation because we were free to talk to people and the people could talk to us, and that's a great deal in playing music.[14]

Dewey Jackson's band played most of the Monday night cruises in the 1920s, but as his popularity diminished, Eddie Johnson's Crackerjacks were frequently heard on the Monday night trips. Some whites must have been permitted to sail on these Monday night excursions because Peg Meyer attended a dance when he docked in St. Louis. He wrote

> The boat had been chartered for a colored (as blacks were identified at the time) excursion featuring a battle of music by St. Louis's two top black orchestras, Charlie Creath's and Dewey Jackson's. It was tough choosing between the two, as they were both tremendous. After listening to these two groups we then decided to go over to the St. Paul to hear a new and young cornet player with the Fate Marable orchestra. It turned out to be a night I will never forget. Louis Armstrong was the young musician. He could only have been about twenty years old at the time, and I don't see how he could have possibly improved with age over that night's performance. I think I heard him at his best, although that could have been biased by the fact that he was playing that night with one of the best orchestras that I have ever heard.[15]

Most of the black riverboat cruises on the Streckfus boats were sponsored by an African-American entrepreneur

---

[14] Dodds, Warren "Baby," The Baby Dodds Story as Told to Larry Gara (1959, reprint, Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 22.

[15] Meyer, Backwoods Jazz, 53.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

named Jesse Johnson. A group of St. Louis musicians recalled Johnson as a key organizer on the St. Louis musical scene.

> Eddie Johnson: Jesse on the riverboat days, Jesse had control of the riverboats. Jesse Johnson was the black Streckfus.
> Chick Finney: [T]he Streckfus Steamers used him as a booker. . . . They would negotiate with him before they would anybody else.
> Eddie Randle: One point. See, on Monday nights they would turn the boat over to the colored. . . . [T]he society wasn't mixed and that was the only night that we could go on. And if you belonged to an organization and you wanted to use the boat, you wouldn't go to Streckfus, you would go to Jesse Johnson.
> Chick Finney: Jesse Johnson was a fad on the boat.
> Eddie Johnson: And he had many a nights hit for himself. Like graduation night and certain nights, he would make the money for himself.[16]

In May, 1928, Johnson brought Louis Armstrong back to St. Louis to play for two nights on the St. Paul. In an advertised battle of the bands, Armstrong played with Alphonso Trent's orchestra versus the Floyd Campbell band. Johnson was also responsible for bringing Cab Calloway, Duke Ellington, and other important jazz figures to the St. Louis area, though they did not play on the riverboats.

Johnson owned a music store, the DeLuxe Music Shop, that was central to the African-American music community of St. Louis. In addition to his role as local promoter, he also made and sold records, hired arrangers, and ran a small

---

[16] Irene Cortinovis. Interview with four jazz musicians: Eddie Johnson, Elijah Shaw, Chick Finney and Eddie Randle. 20 August 1971. Transcript in the Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis, 51.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

music publishing company. He recorded a number of leading blues musicians including Victoria Spivey and Lonnie Johnson.[17]

African-American audiences in St. Louis did not have to rely solely upon Jesse Johnson and the Streckfus Steamboat Line for excursion trips. Though the Streckfus Steamboat Line managed to control most of the excursion steamboat trade in the St. Louis area, tramping steamers would visit St. Louis from time to time. Captain Clarke Hawley commanded the Avalon, a tramping steamer which Streckfus was happy to see in the St. Louis docks:

> We'd go in there with the Avalon, into St. Louis and take black trips out. They would have killed us if we'd hadn't of. Streckfus was just murderous 'cause they didn't like competition, but we'd come in and take the black trips out. They loved us. They'd come down, Captain Joe Streckfus would come down and offer to buy coal for us and what could we do for ya, cause it took the pressure off them.[18]

With one exception, the Streckfus Steam Line boats did not pick up African-American excursions outside of St. Louis. The exception was Cincinnati, and the motivating reason was simply economics. Captain Clarke Hawley recalled that in Cincinnati the Streckfus Steamboat Line encountered competition from the Island Queen, a local excursion

---

[17] Harriet Ottenheimer, "The Blues Tradition in St. Louis," Black Music Research Journal 9/2 (1989): 143; Paul Oliver, Conversation with the Blues (New York: Horizon Press, 1965), 112-113.

[18] Captain Clarke Hawley, Telephone interview with the author, 10 February 1989.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

steamboat. The Island Queen hired a popular local band, and the Streckfus Line found it difficult to appeal to the local white community. So "Streckfus would go into Cincinnati and pick up a black crowd which the Island Queen didn't cater to. . . . They had a black Moose or a black church or some [organization] like that."[19]

Demands of the Streckfus Family

The man initially responsible for putting music aboard the Streckfus Steamboat Line was Captain John Streckfus, Sr., who was less interested in innovation than in affirmation of preexisting forms, whether musical or social. This meant playing the music Streckfus felt the people wanted. To this end he saw to it that the music changed as frequently as the popular styles. The company focused a great deal of attention on all of its endeavors: promotional campaigns, ship appearance, service, etc. The music was another cog in this great machine.

The Streckfus Steamboat Line brought considerable forethought to its musical decisions. One reason was the family's musical background. Captain John played the fiddle and saw to it that his family had a musical upbringing. Streckfus senior placed the responsibilities for most of the musical decisions on his son, Captain Joseph Streckfus.

> He [Joe Streckfus] . . . . insist[ed] that everyone attend strictly to his business. When we heard he was

---

[19] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> coming on board everybody including the musicians would pitch in and make the boat spic and span. He loved our music; as he stood behind us at the bandstand he would smile and chuckle while he watched us swing, and he would order special tunes from us. We almost overdid it, trying to please him.[20]

Joe Streckfus was known frequently to attend rehearsals, hire the musicians personally, and fire those who did not listen to his requests. Clarence W. Elder was a white musician who began his career in 1922 on the Streckfus boats and gradually worked his way up to Captain. Elder remembered the strict musicianship the Streckfus family expected of their musicians:

> Captain Joe Streckfus was very particular about music on the Streckfus excursion boats. He would attend rehearsals, tap his feet with his watch in his hand, and if the band failed to keep the proper tempo (70 beats a minute for fox trots and 90 for one steps) somebody got hell. If it happened too often there were new faces on the bandstand.
>
> Captain Joe in my opinion was the man who did most to exploit music in my day. The men themselves of course were talented, but it was Capt. Joe who provided them the place to start. He personally trained some of them, always insisted on regular rehearsals, and strove for perfection. He had an uncanny sense of values when appraising a musician, and in audience reaction.[21]

In addition to the Streckfus demand for musical discipline, there was an expectation that musicians would constantly behave in a civil manner when not performing. Baby Dodds recalled the severity of these expectations:

They were pretty strict about what we did, too. After

---

[20] Louis Armstrong, Satchmo: My Life in New Orleans, (1954, reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1986), 187.

[21] Captain Clarence W. Elder, "Music on the River," S and D Reflector, September 1965: 6.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> we left New Orleans to go up the river, we had nothing to do but be on the boat. We ate and slept right on the boat. Every time we got off work we went right back down in the hold and went to sleep, or did what we wanted to at night: play cards, or shoot craps, or something. There was nobody to win money from except one another. When we went out at night there was a curfew. And if we weren't there at a certain time we didn't get on the boat. We got off work at eleven and we could leave the boat until curfew, which was about one thirty.[22]

Music on the Streckfus Boats

Streckfus Steamboat Line historian Captain William Carroll writes that arrangements for hiring the first band on the Streckfus boats in 1901 were made by "a close friend, a Mr. Lehman of Des Moines, Iowa, who engaged for the Captain a black string band out of Des Moines to play on the new steamer, J. S."[23] This first group hired by the company consisted of mandolin, guitar, and banjo. The Waterways Journal of 1901 reported that the group played the full summer season and that "the banjo player was rated one of the best in the U.S."[24]

In 1903 the Streckfus Steamboat Line added an African-American pianist, Charlie Mills, to the J. S. orchestra, a four-piece group consisting of piano, trumpet, violin, and drums. The other three musicians were white, but little was written or said at the time about the presence of an

---

[22] Dodds, Baby Dodds Story, 22.

[23] Captain William Carroll, Letter to the author, 28 November 1988.

[24] Meyer, Excursion Steamboating, 256.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

interracial band aboard the boat. The band played the popular songs of the day, and the greatest emphasis seems to have been upon the ragtime numbers.[25]

In 1907 the Streckfus Steamboat Line hired Fate Marable (1890-1947) to replace the departing Mills. Marable remained with the company until his retirement in 1940. Of the bandleaders hired by the Streckfus organization, Marable appears to have been the leader who had the greatest amount of freedom with his band. Knowing that Marable shared many of his musical interests, Captain Joseph Streckfus gave Marable a great deal of control over musical decisions. In 1918 Streckfus even allowed him to hire the first musicians to play the new hot music from New Orleans.

Marable began on the J. S. in a duo with the white violinist Emil Flindt. The group eventually expanded to a quartet. Most musicians who knew Marable respected his musicianship and ability to share his musical knowledge. Trumpeter Vertna Saunders remembered that when the band wintered in New Orleans, "I met a lot of musicians. . . . because Fate was thought a lot of in New Orleans."[26]

---

[25] Beulah Schacht, "Riverboat Jazz and the Story of a Legendary St. Louisan Who Made it Click," St. Louis Globe-Democrat, 22 July 1945: 5E.

[26] Fate Marable, Autobiography, photocopy of manuscript, private collection of Wilma Dobie, n. d. [probably ca. 1945-1947], 12, 10; Vertna Saunders, interview, 1982, Vertna Saunders Memoir: Jazz in the St. Louis Area: An Oral History Project, transcript, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, Ill., 55.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Marable was aboard the J. S. when it caught fire and sank in 1910. His autobiography presents the story of the fire, beginning with a description of a typical trip on an excursion steamboat in 1910:

> The Str. J. S. had a trip from Lansing Iowa to La Cruise, Wis. and it indeed was a great trip.
> The schedule was to leave Lansing at 8 A.M. arriving at La Cruise between 12 and 1 P.M. and departing or returning to Lansing at 6 P.M.from La Cruise and finishing the day about 10:30 P.M.
> Well to make a long story short the Str. J. S. made the trip to La Cruise and left on scheduled time, but about 7 P.M. that nite something happened that changed everything around.
> The J. S. caught on fire and there were about 1900 souls on board.
> At the time the fire started up people were all dancing and making merry, so the members of the band thinking it some minor accident paid no attention to the commotion until things got so bad that the (then) violin player (Red Robinson) said "I am going out to see what is wrong," he did not come back, so as the confusion continued, the cornet player (Ollie Ferguson) said to Fate, "I am going out to see what is the matter and find out where our violin player Red has gone"--He did not come back, so that left Fate and the drummer alone on the bandstand, so after playing a certain length of time Fate decided to go out and see what happened to the boat and to the other two musicians and as he told the drummer he would be right back, Fate did not come back and the next time the band saw one another was on the island where the boat tied up and discharged all its passengers and crew before she burned to the water's edge.[27]

In 1917 Marable formed a new band for the Streckfus Steamboat Line. The musicians were all from his home town of Paducah, Kentucky. Marable later recalled that, while the band played "real nice, they could not compare to the New Orleans boys". After the 1917 season the Kentucky band

---

[27] Marable, Autobiography, 13-16. All parentheses are in Marable's manuscript.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

was sent to St. Paul with a new leader, and Marable was kept in St. Louis as the intermission pianist on the St. Paul. Schacht writes that the reason for the transfer was to "advertise the opening of the steamer St. Paul". The transfer suggests the extent of the Streckfus family's regard for Marable. The opening of the refitted St. Paul coincided with the previously mentioned demise of the Eagle Packet Company. Perhaps Marable's transfer was a corporate move to reinforce the takeover of the St. Louis market.[28]

During the 1918 winter season in New Orleans, Marable hired musicians to form another new band. The band premiered during the 1919 season, featuring a line-up of almost entirely New Orleans musicians. This was probably Marable's best-known band, but it represents only one particular stage of the riverboats. The band remained intact for about three years before its better-known members, Louis Armstrong and Baby Dodds, left for Chicago. Despite the makeup of the group, most of the music was not the new hot music from New Orleans. It was played directly from stock arrangements and all of the musicians were expected to read. Baby Dodds points out that the band "played strictly for dancing. We played all the standards of the day and we used to make the classics into dance tunes".[29] While Dodds was hardly trying to suggest that

---

[28] Schacht, "Riverboat Jazz," 5E.

[29] Dodds, Baby Dodds Story, 29.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the Marable group was aping Paul Whiteman's "symphonic jazz," his recollection makes it clear that this group was not hired solely to perform hot numbers.

Pops Foster played string and brass bass with this band. He remembered that the excursion boat dances were organized into dance sets. In some ways these dance sets were similar to those described by Peg Meyer in the previous chapter. According to Singleton Palmer each set was three tunes in length and there was a placard by the bandstand that indicated the number of each dance.

> You'd pay fifty cents to get on and be given a little book for the fourteen dances. You'd make notes in the book about who the dance was with and where you'd meet. Like by the left side of the pilothouse, or by the candy wheel, or downstairs at the bar. Most everybody came alone, but left with someone on their arm It was a pleasure to see them having such a good time.[30]

There were even differences in the length of a daytime and evening program.

> During the day we only played about twenty minutes out of each hour, as the boat offered numerous concession stands, and the management wanted the passengers to have sufficient time to patronize those. Profits from the concessions exceeded those received from the fares charged. In the evening we were required to play 45 minute sessions with 15 minute intermissions.[31]

The numbers differed in length. Pops Foster remembered that some songs only lasted a single chorus while others might go on for as many as three choruses and conclude with

---

[30] George "Pops" Foster, Pops Foster: The Autobiography of a New Orleans Jazzman as told to Tom Stoddard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 108.

[31] Meyer, Backwoods Jazz, 56.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

original endings. Still, Foster found the music very tame until the arrival of Louis Armstrong.

The repertoire was also determined by regional tastes. When in St. Louis the ensemble played more ragtime numbers, but Foster noted "they didn't seem to play rags anyplace else." E. A. McKinney was impressed with the versatility of the riverboat bands. He noted that they could play jazz or "music from the European style".[32] It seems clear that, to the trained ears of Foster and McKinney, Marable had molded an ensemble of well-trained musicians with a sophisticated level of musicality. We are left with the impression that this was an ensemble with a versatility that, in the early 1920s, compared only with the better groups in New York City.

Though bands were expected to play sets of current popular songs, they were also expected to perform traditional favorites, and sets that consisted entirely of waltzes. Musical styles considered too rough for the patrons were strictly taboo; the blues was rarely played on Streckfus Steamboat Line excursions.[33]

---

[32] E. A. McKinney, interview by Pat Immekus and Irene Cortinovis, 15 March 1974, transcript T-316, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis, 34-35; Foster, Pops Foster, 110.

[33] Singleton Palmer, interview by Irene Cortinovis, 9 November 1971, transcript in the Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis, T-034, 32; Dodds, Baby Dodds Story, 29.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dance tempos were determined by the Streckfus family. According to Leon King it was easy to determine when the tempos were being played correctly:

> On the boats we played bouncy fox trots 'cause Captain Joe was a big fella, and he'd get out there and bounce. That's the tempo he wanted. . . . he'd set the tempo. He wanted a bouncing tempo. Nothing too fast, nothing too slow. But when you saw him bouncing and laughing you'd knew you had it. . . . He'd be at rehearsals and we'd play all at rehearsal, he'd be there. . . . And when you got him to bouncing, you knew you had the right tempo.[34]

King's description was far from unique. No matter what boat or steamboat line is observed, when the captain made a musical demand, the musicians quickly met it. The Goodwin Band, a white band that specialized in hot jazz numbers, was always ready with two or three waltzes for Captain Buck's nightly appearance.[35] Peg Meyer had a similar experience working on the Majestic in 1921.

> The captain . . . . weighed about three hundred pounds, and each evening he would always dance at least one dance. His favorite dance was the waltz, and when he made his appearance on the dance floor it automatically meant that the next dance would be of the three-quarter time variety.[36]

Fate Marable

---

[34] Leon King. Leon King Memoir: Jazz in the St. Louis Area: An Oral History Project, 1982, Edwardsville, Ill.: Southern Illinois University, 76.

[35] The Goodwins played on the Cape Girardeau, an Eagle line packet steamer. Wm. Robert White. The Child of An Eagle: Mississippi Steamboating. (Cape Girardeau, Missouri: Center for Regional History and Cultural Heritage, Southeast Missouri State University, 1980), 58.

[36] Meyer, Backwoods Jazz, 84.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fate Marable had a reputation as a strict leader who educated his musicians. A frequently quoted remark by Zutty Singleton is the central component of the Marable mystique: "There was a saying in New Orleans. When some musician would get a job on the riverboats with Fate Marable, they'd say, well you're going to the conservatory."[37]

Fate Marable held a pivotal position in the lives of many of the musicians who encountered him. What Marable brought to his musicians may be perceived as an extension of the Streckfus demand for proper musicianship and an emphasis on reading ability. Members of Marable's band were expected to attend the hour-and-a-half to two-hour daily rehearsals and to be prepared to read music and play the music as written. Marable was intolerant of musicians who did not fulfill his expectations and had little remorse about firing them.

> He would hire a guy in the band, and. . . . if he could play and cut it, it was fine, but if a guy, for some reason, he didn't like the guy, whether he could play or not. . . . he would decide well, he's going to fire him and. . . . while the guys would be playing on the bandstand, he would slip back in the bunkroom and put a fire ax in a guy's bunk. So, whenever they saw that , that means that the guy was going to get the ax. . . . He was going to get fired. And actually, he did those kind of things.[38]

---

[37] Nat Shapiro and Nat Hentoff, eds., Hear Me Talkin' to Ya (1955; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1966), 76.

[38] Robert Carter, interview by Irene Cortinovis, 27 April 1973, transcript T-251, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis, 15.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Willie James Humphrey, as discussed earlier, stressed that Marable hired him because he was a musician, not a jazz player.[39] But not all musicians when hired by Marable were musicians by Humphrey's standard. For many, Marable's strict demands and notions of musicality encouraged the development of reading skills and improvement in musical technique. No matter what the level of training, there was unanimous response among former sidemen that Marable was responsible for improving their proficiency.

Al Morgan, a bassist for Marable from 1926 until 1929, recalled that Marable "made many musicians, and when the ability was already in a man in full force he helped form it. The four years I spent with Fate were the most important for me musically, for during that time, I learned the rudiments--and much more--of the bass."[40]

Chick Finney grew up in St. Louis during the late 1910s and early 1920s, but was too young ever to play with Marable on the riverboats. Still, Finney's attitude toward Marable reflects the level of respect held for him in the St. Louis musical community:

> He [Marable] was a great inspiration to all the young musicians here, because when you talked to Fate, you were talking to a <u>technical</u> [emphasis Finney's] man. He could play any song in any key. We admired Fate, because in those days we could only play

---

[39] Willie James Humphrey, telephone interview with author, 17 December 1988.

[40] Nat Hentoff, "Morgan--Riverboat Bass," <u>The Jazz Record</u> February 1946, 11.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> orchestrations. Fate could play anything and all the boys from across the country would come to visit his boat to hear Fate Marable.[41]

Marable would occasionally hire a musician who lacked some technical skills if he felt the performer had other musical skills to contribute to his band. One such musician, Louis Armstrong, still retains the reputation of having been a poor reader, but in light of his three-year period with Marable one wonders how much of this story is myth. David Jones, a saxophone and mellophone player, frequently worked with Armstrong on his reading skills.[42]

> It was Davey who really taught me to read music. He taught me the value of a note and how to divide and how to phrase and the rest. And because he liked me and I liked him and admired him so much, both as a man and as a musician, he was able to impress upon me the importance of knowing how to read and understand written music. He used to say to me, "Louis, you can blow, and you can swing because it's natural to you. But you'll never be able to swing better than you already know how until you learn to read. Then you will swing in ways you never thought of before." And he was right. Davey Jones cared so much about my being trained better that he taught me for half an hour every afternoon through the six more months we were on the river that summer.[43]

Armstrong has also described how Marable kept his band from slipping on their technical skills.

> He had his own way of dealing with his musicians. If

---

[41] Chick Finney, interview by Irene Cortinovis, 6 April 1971, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis, 4.

[42] Little is known about Jones' musical background and training. It is an area worthy of further research.

[43] Louis Armstrong, Swing that Music (1936; reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1993), 47-48.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> one of us made an error or played part of a piece wrong he would not say a thing about it until everyone thought it had been forgotten. When you came to work the next day with a bad hangover from the night before, he picked up the music you had failed with and asked you to play it before the other members of the band. And believe me brother it was no fun being shown up before all the other fellows if you did not play that passage right; we used to call this experience our Waterloo.[44]

By the time Vertna Saunders joined the band Marable had found new ways to express his displeasure with a musician's skills.

> He [Marable] would ride everybody. Well, I mean like, he changed keys on you and if you made the least little mistake. . . . You'd hear him laugh above the band . . . . He kept little articles on the piano, such as a metal fountain pen, ash tray, a marble or something like this . . . . Then when somebody would make a mistake, he would drop it. Throw it down on the floor so it would make a sound . . . . he would do that, needle all mistakes . . . Sometimes, a guy wouldn't make a mistake and he would play a wonderful solo, and Fate, to keep a guy from thinking maybe he did all right, he'd drop something or make noise. Well that's the kind of guy Fate was, but when you get off, like after the job and you go someplace, guys would sit in with some band or someone. Fate would appreciate. . . . you would know how much he appreciated the guys, because he would talk about different guys.[45]

Clark Terry remembered that Marable once threw a large set of keys at him while yelling about learning his keys. Lloyd Smith thought that Marable was a sadist because he deliberately chose pieces that were difficult to read and then fined those musicians who made mistakes. Other musicians who failed to make the grade simply lost their

---

[44] Armstrong, Satchmo, 183-184.

[45] Saunders, Vertna Saunders Memoir, 91-92.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

jobs. Foots Goodson had trouble with the saxophone parts, and James Beard was a trumpet player who did not meet Marable's standards. Both were fired.[46]

Marable's decisions reflected the Streckfus music policy to please the crowd. This meant performing a diversity of musical styles with an emphasis on the popular songs of the period. The music had to be played well. The band was expected to be as fluent with a waltz or a rag as with the New Orleans sound. A 1920 photograph of the Marable band on the SS Capitol has two signs: one reading, "Marable's Waltz Revue", the other, "Marable's Capitol Revue". These signs serve as evidence that Louis Armstrong, Baby Dodds, Johnny St. Cyr, and the other members of Marable's orchestra were playing a wide variety of music, while in essence receiving an education in musical style. In comparing bands on the excursion boats, Captain C. W. Elder praised the bands on the Streckfus boats, claiming that "None of the others had what was called good solid beat rhythm music with the Dixieland flavor; not even the Island Queen, with her big orchestra and big arrangements--sounded stenciled".[47] Although Elder's descriptive language is a bit vague, it is clear that he preferred the execution and musical stylings of the Marable's band. Robert Carter's description of the Streckfus bands expands Elder's

---

[46] King, Leon King Memoir, 39.

[47] Elder, "Music on the river," 7.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

explanation of how this music sounded. Carter points out that, although the bands played dance music in what might be termed a "sweet" style, it was not "sweet" like the then-popular society orchestras of Vincent Lopez or Paul Whiteman:

> That was the reason why they hired Fate and those bands, because they had a different kind of beat. I notice it even now. . . . for the most part, the white musicians were better trained, they might have played the notation more correctly, but they never seemed to have the same feeling. And that's the one thing that was typical of all these kinds of bands, they always had a good bouncey [sic] sort of feeling.[48]

Baby Dodds was proud of the sound the band created.

> My heart was in my music, and that was some of the sweetest music I ever played. It was a wonderful outfit. Besides the standard jazz and popular numbers we played classical numbers and also played for ordinary singing. The Marable Band was the first big band that I worked with. We had about a dozen men. It was a pleasure to work with that bunch of men. We didn't have to work hard. Of course, we worked hard, but we didn't have to. We played strictly by music. And music is not so hard if you get with a bunch that's playing together. But it's an awful strain to play jazz with one fellow going this way and another fellow going another. That makes for hard work. It's like anything else. If you run an automobile and the gears are meshing easy you can run it pretty fast. But if the gears are meshing badly, they're going to hit each other. It's the same thing with music. Regardless of what the number is, if everybody's together, and if everybody knows his business, when the notes are joined they'll come out even. The music would sound so pretty, especially on the water. And the mellophone set the band off and gave it a different tone from any other band I worked with. It was something great to hear. Everybody was so congenial, too. We had so much harmony in that band.[49]

---

[48] Carter, interview by Irene Cortinovis, 18.

[49] Dodds, Baby Dodds Story, 23.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The fact that the Streckfus bands have been described as sounding the way they did indicates that the musicians who played on the boats absorbed the education they received. In the process they received more than an education in musical style. They also absorbed certain social and musical values. To play "sweetly", but with a "bounce", was preferable to playing either "rough" or "stencilled." To play "rough" or to play music not requested by the captain was to risk losing the job, as Dewey Jackson (1900-1966) discovered. Fate Marable seems to have been quite well suited for the position of leader of this sort of organization. His application of the Streckfus rules created and maintained a band that produced many significant jazz musicians, but this seems to have been a by-product of the immediate goal of keeping the job. Given the option of conforming or losing the job, it is not surprising that most musicians conformed. Two musicians who did not conform were Louis Armstrong and Baby Dodds. Dodds wrote:

> Louis and I left because of a misunderstanding which we had with the bosses. Streckfus wanted us to play differently and he told Marable so. Well, Fate Marable had been with Streckfus so long that anything Streckfus asked for he'd tell us to do, even if it meant breaking our necks. The Streckfuses were musicians and they knew what they wanted and they wanted us to beat a different time than we had been using. Some of the older people on the boat couldn't dance to our music and Streckfus wanted to introduce what he called toddle time. It was really two-four time but he wanted four beats to the measure. . . . To me, four beats was all wrong. . . .But for the older people it was easier since instead of dancing to a step, they would just

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> bounce around. Louis was also to play differently from what he had been used to. And I just couldn't do this toddle-time on my drums. . . . Louis couldn't do what they wanted him to do either. Well, we were the stars on the boat and we felt that if we were the stars, why monkey with us. . . . So finally Louis and I left the boat together after handing in written resignations.[50]

In the years following Armstrong's and Dodds's departure, musicians from New Orleans did not usually play during the summer season. The Streckfus Steamboat Line found that most New Orleans players did not want to work in St. Louis, and it began to hire most of its musicians out of the home port of St. Louis. For the winter season the Streckfus boats would carry six pieces down to New Orleans and pick up the other musicians there. It was rare that any of these New Orleans musicians returned with the boat to St. Louis at the end of the season. Like their counterparts in New Orleans, the St. Louis musicians also had a high regard for technique and musicianship. In the previous chapter (pp. 41-43), it was noted that there were several teachers in the St. Louis area who were responsible for training most of the musicians who played in the Streckfus bands.[51] The young African-American musicians in St. Louis played in brass bands for the local black lodges. These bands may have placed more emphasis on reading than their New Orleans

---

[50] Ibid., 31-32.

[51] One of these teachers, Professor P. B. Langford, was the father of the trombone player and bandleader Harvey Langford. Harvey Langford led bands on the Streckfus boats and began his riverboat career with Fate Marable, playing on Marable's 1924 recording session.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

counterparts. Gunther Schuller has proposed that another possibility for the difference in regional approach to brass instruments may have been the strong presence in the St. Louis area of a German brass band tradition.[52]

For Fate Marable, the hiring of already well-trained musicians meant that he could place greater emphasis on refining the sound of his band. Marable would rehearse pieces over and over to get the best sound possible from the band, but according to Vertna Saunders the brass section never had any problems:

> We could read music very well. . . . but the reed section had more trouble with their parts, and so of course that took a little extra practice. So the brass section could just walk off the stand because when we're getting a new piece we'd go over it the first time, it would be perfect. . . . Well the brass section would just leave the stand. . . . On several occasions Fate would come up to us and say "you know you all are really lucky that you can read so well. You never have any trouble." But he tried all he could to find music that would stick us. . . . but it just so happened that they never did bring any music that we couldn't play with ease.[53]

Marable led his bands for the Streckfus Steamboat Line under the name the "New Orleans Cotton Pickers", a title later reduced to the "Cotton Pickers". In the 1930s Marable was sometimes paired with Charlie Creath (1890-1951),

---

[52] Gunther Schuller, The Swing Era (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 782.

[53] Saunders, Vertna Saunders Memoir, 93.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

another St. Louis riverboat bandleader.[54]

The St. Louis area was the source of many well-known brass players, most of whom played in bands on the Streckfus boats. Two celebrated St. Louis trumpet players, Charlie Creath and Dewey Jackson, were bandleaders who, in addition to Marable, were responsible for directing most of the African-American bands on the Streckfus boats.[55] Creath began his career playing circuses and carnivals. He was a well-known figure on the St. Louis music scene who often led several bands at once. He would go to a job, make a brief appearance with the band, and travel on to the next gig, thus earning considerably more money for himself than he might have otherwise.[56] Creath became a bandleader for the Streckfus family in the early 1920s and continued to lead bands until he moved to Chicago after the 1936 season.

---

[54] Although using two bandleaders for the same group might seem odd, the musicians who played with Marable and Creath give a number of explanations for the odd circumstance. The bands were playing two and sometimes three shows a day, six days a week--a strenuous task for the best musicians. With two leaders, the band could split into two smaller groups, alternating sets during the day excursion, and combining to be a big band at night. Another possibility hinted at by Leon King, Sammy Long, and Willie James Humphrey was to spell Fate Marable against his occasional drinking problems (King, Leon King Memoir, 51; Sammy Long, telephone interview with Irene Cortinovis, 18 April 1973, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis, 1; and Humphrey, interview by the author).

[55] There were other African-American band leaders from St. Louis that occasionally led groups on the Streckfus boats, but more research in this area is still needed.

[56] Palmer, Singleton Palmer Memoir, 6.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Creath's bands tended to be run as strictly as Marable's. Creath emphasized a sweet style of playing and a well-rehearsed horn section. Vertna Saunders played with the Marable-Creath band on the President and remembered that Creath was as demanding of the trumpets as Marable was of the reeds. Creath gave the trumpet players pieces filled with technically demanding figures and was not satisfied with anything less than a perfect reading.[57]

Saunders's description of Creath is similar to that of Marable: Creath "was like a father to us. He talked to us and of course Fate was too. He tried to keep us on the right track. He talked to us a lot about music and gave us a lot of fatherly advice."[58] Other musicians who worked with Creath were more critical. Lloyd Smith recalled that "Charlie Creath was a gambler. He would play and get paid, and say, Fellas, I lost the money in a crap game." However, all agreed that Creath was "a hell of a trumpet player".[59]

Dewey Jackson played for both Marable and Creath during his career, and he appears to have modeled his approach to leading bands after them. "Jackson was. . . . hard to get along [with] . . . . He was a hell of a musician. . . . He was kind of crude to musicians, wouldn't tolerate lateness

---

[57] Saunders, Vertna Saunders Memoir, 94.

[58] Ibid., 97.

[59] Lloyd Smith, Lloyd Smith Memoir: Jazz in the St. Louis Area: An Oral History Project, 1982, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, 41.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

or stand for drinking, which I thought was wonderful. So I had no trouble."[60]

As a trumpet player, Jackson had an earthier style than Creath. His bands tended to reflect this method of playing, and Jackson appears to have lost his slot on the Senator for this reason. The Streckfus Steamboat Line looked for a sweet, melodious approach to the music performed on their boats, and Jackson may have occasionally been too rough.

The Jackson band, like the other Streckfus groups, relied on stock arrangements. But Leon King remembered that the band had a tendency to stray from the score.

> King: Well we had introductions and section work. Yeah. Then the swinging choruses. He had the arrangements fit in and every now and then he'd have one of us, either the trumpet or the saxophone. Next, he'd play a solo, maybe I'd take a solo. But we had the book on the boat. I got so I didn't even have to have a book.
> Q: You just memorized it?
> King: Memorized. We had a thick book, but all popular stuff. But maybe we would change up the intro . . . . or make a different ending or different something. But we played everyday and every night till we could get through . . . . It was a big book. But we played then every night, so, I just got used to them. I mean, until we'd bring in a new number at the place. So before long, I knew it too.[61]

Pete Patterson remembered that the Streckfus family tried to "improve" the sound of the Jackson band by hiring a white musician:

> A guy by the name of Bob Sylvester come up and rehearse the band. . . . for about a month. He was a saxophone

---

[60] Ibid., 41-42.

[61] King, Leon King Memoir, 78-79.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> player and, man, he was hard on saxophone players. . . . he would have us play out an arrangement. . . . some guy would cut a hog or something like that. And he'd grab their instrument out of their hands. . . . he was a fanatic. . . . He was a demon on arrangements. Sometimes he'd have them guys hopping up trying to do something. He had some arrangements, I'm telling you the truth, we all just blew it just trying to get out the introduction sometimes.[62]

Though the Jackson band was replaced by Marable's in 1937, Jackson continued to work for the Streckfus Steamboat Line in St. Louis. The band was popular with African-American audiences and usually played the blacks-only dances on Monday nights.

Marable, Creath, and Jackson were not the only African-American bandleaders from the St. Louis area to lead Streckfus bands. There were only a limited number of slots available on the boats, and these three leaders were usually the first to receive them. The Streckfus Steamboat Line used those leaders who conformed to the musical interests of the company. Eddie Johnson (b. 1912) led another African-American band from St. Louis called the "Crackerjacks" that played on the excursion steamboats from time to time. However, Johnson and other African-American bandleaders could not rely on full-time employment from the Streckfus Steamboat Line.

Race Relations Aboard the Streckfus Boats

---

[62] "Pete" Joseph Patterson, interview with Pat Immekus, 3 April 1974, transcript T-325, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis, 14.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

It was noted earlier that Streckfus audiences were segregated until 1969 and that musicians aboard the Streckfus boats also found themselves isolated as a result of the company's race policies. Louis Armstrong noticed that the black musicians were kept apart from the audiences and were even not allowed to intermingle during emergencies. He made excuses for the circumstance, but it seems hard to believe that he was not hurt by this treatment.

> There were often fights on board during those trips, and almost everyone working on the ship would try to stop them. But the members of the band never did. We were colored and we knew what that meant. We were not allowed to mingle with the white guests under any circumstances. We were there to play good music for them, and that was all. However, everybody loved us and our music and treated us royally. I and some of the other musicians in the band were from the South and we understood so we never had any hard feelings.[63]

Armstrong also recalled the treatment some Southern audiences gave the band:

> Fate Marable's Band deserves credit for breaking down a few barriers on the Mississippi-barriers set up by Jim Crow. We were the first colored band to play most of the towns at which we stopped, particularly the smaller ones. The ofays were not used to seeing colored boys blowing their horns and making fine music for them to dance by. At first we ran into some ugly experiences while we were on the bandstand, and we had to listen to plenty of nasty remarks. But most of us were from the South anyway. We were used to that kind of jive, and we would just keep on swinging as though nothing had happened. Before the evening was over they loved us. We couldn't turn for them singing our praises and begging us to hurry back.[64]

There were occasions where the captain and crew treated

---

[63] Armstrong, Satchmo, 194-5.

[64] Ibid., 189.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the black musicians almost as though they were not human. Baby Dodds remembered that one time he was tied to a post for being drunk.

> I remember once when I was in Keokuk, Iowa I got into a humbug. We all piled off the boat one day and I got so drunk I couldn't see . . . . and I came back to the boat so drunk . . . . that I just couldn't walk the plank. They tied me to a post and one of the bosses said I should have been horsewhipped. I said, "Yeah? I'll bet it would be the worst horsewhipping you ever saw if you'd let me alive when you got through." They were kind of shy of me. I didn't care about anything in those days so maybe I would have done something, I don't know.[65]

The segregation of the St. Louis unions caused difficulties for the African-American musicians. In 1934 the black musicians union of St. Louis, Local 144, worked out an agreement with the Streckfus Steamboat Line that would have put black bands on all four Streckfus boats. However, the St. Louis white musicians union, Local 2, protested the agreement. Elijah Shaw remembered:

> The Streckfus people had requested, had concession price [sic], and the employment of the musicians on the river at that time and the Local 2 didn't see fit to grant any such concession. So Captain Joe decided that instead of using three white men on the two boats that they ran out of here at that time, that they were going to use four colored bands. So Charlie Kent, Fate Marable, and Dewey Jackson and. . . . someone else was suppose to have a band and Lovingood. They suppose to have a band, one on the boat in the day time on the two boats, and each one of the leaders was suppose to have a band on the boat at night. So before No. 2 would have this come about they formed a special committee. . . . to wait on Captain Joe about this crisis. So when the final analysis came about, instead of having four colored bands on the boat, we just had one colored band and three white bands. And that resulted with Charlie

---

[65] Dodds, Baby Dodds Story, 23.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> being on the boat together with Fate, Dewey, and Lovingood. So all four of those leaders were on that boat that year at the same time.[66]

Prior to this decision, there had usually been a fairly equal division of work between white and black bands on the Streckfus boats. With the change there was still competition among the new black bands for slots on the Streckfus boats, but "Fate [Marable] and Charlie [Creath] had the boats sewed up."[67] The white bands were led by many of the same musicians who had been working for the Streckfus Steamboat Line in the first decade of the century. Trumpeter Tony Catalano began his career in 1903 on the first J. S. and was still leading bands for Streckfus as late as 1940.[68] By the 1940s most of the bands on the Streckfus boats appear to have been white. Advertising in the Donaldsonville Chief suggests that by the 1940s the only black bandleader on the boats was Fats Pichon.

Daily Life on the Steamboats

The treatment of musicians by the Streckfus Steamboat Line was by many accounts better than that of most other steamboat companies. However, the quality of the treatment decreased steadily over the forty-year period discussed in

---

[66] Cortinovis, Interview with four jazz musicians, 42-43.

[67] Palmer, Singleton Palmer Memoir, 36.

[68] Donaldsonville Chief May 25, 1940.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

this chapter. Benefits available to musicians in the early 1920s were all but eliminated by 1940.

Housing for the riverboat musicians depended upon the boat and the tramping route. When Fate Marable played on the original J. S., the boat was strictly a tramping steamer without a home port. During this period Marable was housed and fed on the boat. By the early twenties, with St. Louis, New Orleans, St. Paul, and Pittsburgh established as the focal points of a ship's season, the Streckfus Steamboat Line policy regarding sleeping quarters policy slowly changed. Until 1938 the Streckfus family provided shipboard sleeping quarters for the musicians making the summer trip to Pittsburgh. In 1939 the policy changed and musicians were expected to find their own lodgings while in Pittsburgh. In protest, trombonist Robert Carter quit the band, but "the other fellas, they wouldn't stand with me".[69]

The musicians could no longer anticipate full room and board for an entire season. They were often fed only one meal a day and, while in the ports of New Orleans and St. Louis, were responsible for finding their own quarters. This may have been one reason that by the mid-1920s the New Orleans musicians no longer participated in the summer season in St. Louis, since this policy meant a sizable loss from the money they earned. The pay scale was the same for

---

[69] Carter, Robert Carter Memoir, 47.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

black and white musicians, but while Streckfus Steamboat Line musicians were earning $35 a week in the 1920s, they were earning only $45 in 1939. Therefore, what was once a very good salary had become only average. This is all the more true considering that the pay was higher for some of Streckfuses earlier bands. Baby Dodds recalled that the Streckfuses paid $50.00 a week, a bonus of $5.00 per week if he lasted the entire season, and room and board. But when Leslie Swanson, a white pianist and calliopist, was hired for the 1928 season on the steamboat Washington, he signed a contract that stipulated that he would receive $30.00 per week, a $5.00 per week bonus if he lasted the season, $5.00 per week to play the calliope, and room and board for the entire season.[70] The pay was less for musicians on tramping boats. In 1925 the Goodwin Brothers band, a white ensemble, contracted with the Eagle company's packet steamboat, Cape Girardeau, to provide music for a two-week excursion. The pay for the entire trip was $25.00 per musician and room and board.[71]

Sleeping quarters for the musicians varied from boat to boat. On the Capitol and the Washington the musicians were

---

[70] Dodds, Baby Dodds Story, 22; Leslie Swanson, Steamboat Calliopes, (1981; reprint, Moline, Ill: Leslie Swanson, 1983), 33.

[71] It is not known what African-American musicians were paid on packet boats or whether they used the same quarters on these ships. More research in this area is needed.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

quartered in cabins in a bunk house on the Texas deck.[72] There were two bunks per cabin. According to Leslie Swanson, "They were the smallest bedrooms in existence".[73] The quarters on the St. Paul were even less fancy:

> We just had the one little [area] on the side there. It was closed in like a little tent with canvas and lattice work around there, and there were bunks, they were two deep, that's where we slept. The quarters, well they were good enough you know if you didn't have to pay for them.[74]

When Baby Dodds played with Fate Marable the band was given bunks on the Texas deck:

> The bunks were very comfortable but we stayed down in the hold. However it was very clean and nice. The band and the roustabouts were the only colored people on board. The dozen of us in the Marable Band all ate at a separate table. Some of the fellows thought the food was good but I didn't think so. We had mostly stews, salads, wieners and things like that. That's nothing to feed anybody.[75]

Singleton Palmer compared the Streckfus boats with the Idlewild, an independent tramping steamer: "The Streckfus boats were pretty good cause they had real good bunks on them. . . . That Idlewild was something else. We slept out on the dance floor on army cots."[76]

---

[72] The Texas deck is "the topmost deck containing cabins, it is just below the pilothouse." Norbury L. Wayman, Life on the River: A Pictorial History of the Mississippi, Missouri, and the Western River System (New York: Bonanza Books, 1971), 325.

[73] Leslie Swanson, letter to the author, 18 December 1988.

[74] Carter, Robert Carter Memoir, 48.

[75] Dodds, Baby Dodds Story, 22.

[76] Palmer, Singleton Palmer Memoir, 33.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Any relationship between the musicians and the boat's crew appears, for the most part, to have been nonexistent. The musicians were hired either by the bandleader or by a member of the Streckfus family, and other than the captain, the pilot, and the purser, they had little more than "a nodding acquaintance with the deck hands or other crew members. The musicians stuck together something like a cult."[77] At least two musicians turned their contact with the ship into career moves. Captain C. W. Elder and Captain Clarke Hawley, both white, started their careers as performers on the Streckfus boats. Elder was a banjo player and calliope player who "rose through the ranks from a part-time banjo player to a watchman to a mate to a pilot to a captain". Hawley began as a calliope player and popcorn popper, and "even when I was a first mate I was up there playing the calliope, cause the calliope players were awful hard to find".[78]

Few musicians socialized with the passengers, except when a passenger was a visiting musician. There are several stories about Bix Beiderbecke visiting Marable's band, playing the calliope and listening to Louis Armstrong. If the Streckfus boats spent at least a week in Davenport, Iowa, both going to and coming from St. Paul every year, it is quite possible that Armstrong and Beiderbecke met during

---

[77] Swanson, letter to the author.

[78] Hawley, interview with author.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

this period.[79] Whenever Fate Marable's boat docked in Cape Girardeau he would invite Jess Stacy on board for an informal lesson. As Stacy's skills improved, Peg Meyer noticed a similarity between Stacy's and Marable's ensemble playing.[80]

The only responsibility musicians had besides performing for afternoon and evening dances was attending the rehearsals. It has been noted that the rehearsals for the Streckfus bands were strict. Attendance was mandatory and "you got fined more for missing a rehearsal than you did for missing a night's work". The Streckfus family could read music and paid attention to any deviation from the written parts. Johnny St. Cyr and Pops Foster had to work hard to overcome their reading weaknesses. Foster remembered that there was a cashier on the boat who used to keep a lead sheet and mark the "clinkers" that were made during performances. During rehearsals the Streckfuses would make the musicians review these parts. Foster covered his reading weakness by standing by the piano during rehearsals to "dig the chords from it". The Streckfuses had a difficult time finding a drummer for the early Marable band who could follow the music. The band went through at

---

[79] Paul Vandervoort, "The King of Riverboat Jazz," Jazz Journal 23 (1970): 8, 13; Dodds, Baby Dodds Story, 24.

[80] Meyer, Backwoods Jazz, 101.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

least three players before they settled on Baby Dodds.[81]

Rehearsals were also a time for working out new ideas. One time, the Streckfuses bought novelty instruments for the band, including a slide trumpet for Louis Armstrong, and a slide whistle for Baby Dodds. Dodds never used the slide whistle, and gave it to Armstrong who used it and later played it on the King Oliver recording of "Sobbin' Blues". Robert Carter remembered that the bands also worked out new musical ideas that were incorporated into the stock arrangements used by Marable's ensembles. He described this process in riverboat bands as beginning with buying a stock chart and playing "right from the stock":

> We might play two choruses and maybe one of the horns would take a solo, and the band might set a riff behind them, kind of improvise, and then played out choruses on the music, that type of thing. That's the way we played those.[82]

Recordings

Carter's observations raise the question of how these riverboat bands must have sounded. Unfortunately, there are no known recordings of bands performing on the riverboats in the 1910s or 1920s.[83] However, Fate Marable did have one

---

[81] Foster, Pops Foster, 106, 115.

[82] Carter, Robert Carter Memoir, 18.

[83] With the exception of the Marable recordings discussed in this section, it appears that no working riverboat bands made studio recordings in the 1920s. A brief discography of bands led by musicians who performed on the riverboats in the 1920s is provided in Chevan, "Riverboat Music," 179-180. It is likely that many of the musicians on these recordings also worked in the riverboat bands. Baby Dodds did recall making a movie on the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

opportunity to record his working band, albeit in a makeshift recording studio off the boat. Marable's first and only recording session was in New Orleans on 16 March, 1924 with a line-up of musicians recruited in New Orleans and St. Louis. Only two sides were recorded, "Pianoflage", by Roy Bargy, and an arrangement of the song "Frankie and Johnny". Both recordings present a tight ensemble that sounds well-rehearsed. There is a noticeable "blend" in the sound of the instruments, especially the reeds. Gunther Schuller has compared the sound of Marable's band on this recording session to that of the early Fletcher Henderson band. Solo space is limited on "Frankie and Johnny" and there are no real solo spots on the recording of "Pianoflage". The real focus of the performances is on the ensemble. Given the instrumentation, overall homophonic ensemble sound and the oral history information presented earlier, it seems most likely that the group was reading arrangements for the pieces. Since no published arrangements have been found that might correspond to either piece, these arrangements were probably "specials"--unique arrangements written for a specific ensemble.

Gunther Schuller was also impressed with many of the qualities that Marable's discipline and Streckfus's "toddle-

---

riverboat with Marable in 1919. According to Dodds it was a silent short that was filmed on the top deck. Inquiries with the Pathe film company and various film archives have yielded no results and this film has not been discovered. Baby Dodds Story, 32.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

time" brought to the band. He noted that the ensemble "played consistently with a rhythmic drive and energy somewhat akin to swing".[84] It is unfortunate that Marable did not have another opportunity to record his ensemble. Later recordings would most likely have revealed a band that sounded just as consistent and hard driving, but the line-up would have reflected a personnel shift to St. Louis musicians.

Summary

A band playing on the riverboat was expected to bring the new popular music to the people, usually white, who lived in the cities along the major rivers of the Midwest. It was not expected to perform its own original material. In essence, the primary function of the riverboat band was not that of innovator, but emulator. This function was guaranteed by the requirement on the part of Streckfus Steamboat Co., the leading employer of riverboat bands in the twentieth century, that musicians faithfully render their performances from published stock arrangements. Despite these constraints, riverboat musicians managed to retain a certain degree of personal artistic control by developing new musical ideas to accompany the written music and by focusing on their technical development. The

---

[84] Schuller, The Swing Era, 786-787. Schuller marvels that another band could have simultaneously arrived at the Henderson sound, but it is not difficult to imagine how two disciplined bands playing a similar style of music and reading charts might sound similar.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

riverboats were the only venue where identical demands were made of both white and black musicians. When it came to musical demands and monetary compensation it would appear that the Streckfus company did not make any distinction with regard to race. The recorded examples of these musicians readily demonstrate the best of what these musicians could offer, an apparently written form of jazz that melded the old and new styles, the hot and the sweet. As a venue, the excursion steamboat was, in some ways, similar to the ballrooms of the major urban centers of the country. What distinguished the excursion steamboat was its unique ability to service a region far removed from these centers.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER IV

JOHN ROBICHAUX AND HIS BAND BOOK

Chapter III focused on how written music was integrated with the day-to-day lives of musicians in a specific environment. In Chapter IV, I return to the main thesis and explore the use of written music by a band leader and his sidemen. This chapter examines how one African-American musical ensemble--the John Robichaux orchestra of New Orleans--used written music between 1893 and 1938. The inquiry begins with an overview of the life and activities of the orchestra's leader, John Robichaux, including a summary of his musical career and a discussion of his prominence in the New Orleans music scene. This is followed by an examination of Robichaux's band book. The aim is to show how, even in the absence of recordings, written sources can inform us about the practices of one early band with regard to the incorporation of jazz into its repertoire. The study will focus on four aspects of Robichaux's bandbook:

1) Content and Genre. The music in the John Robichaux orchestra library represents a large body of written material that at least one specific group of jazz musicians, the members of Robichaux's ensemble, encountered during this period. The collection spans a large period of American musical history, encompassing the pre-ragtime, ragtime, early jazz, and early swing jazz eras. There is a wide

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

range of musical styles and genres, some are seemingly quite distant in nature from jazz, while others are quite close.

2) Territory. The library has a strong regional flavor. A number of the stocks were composed and/or arranged by New Orleans musicians and songwriters, thus demonstrating how territory influenced the creation of an ensemble's book. Territorial influence can also be noted in the numerous scores printed by local music publishers.

3) Manuscripts. There is a small collection of "specials", hand written arrangements created specifically for Robichaux's ensemble. These have been transcribed into concert-key scores to enable further study and consideration.

4) Revisions. A study of the doctoring or "fixing" of a number of the stock arrangements in the collection shows us how one band adapted published material to its specific needs.

John Robichaux (ca. 1870-1938)

Samuel Charters described John Robichaux's career as "one of the longest and most successful of any musician in New Orleans".[1] Robichaux's life and career have not attracted the interest of many jazz scholars, nor has he received the same kind of attention given his New Orleans

---

[1] Samuel Charters, Jazz: New Orleans 1885-1963 (1958; rev. ed., New York: Oak Publications, 1963), 7.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

contemporaries, probably because he never made any recordings. But Robichaux was considered by his peers to be the foremost bandleader in the New Orleans area. He led a variety of bands from 1893 until his death in 1938. By contemporary standards Robichaux's orchestra was not a true jazz band. It was considered a society orchestra; Pops Foster described it as a "sweet" band.[2] In other words, the Robichaux orchestra did perform music commonly assciated with jazz as well as a more polite version of this music, commonly described on stock arrangements as "syncopated dance music", but they were two of several kinds of music in its repertoire.

According to Charters, John P. Robichaux was born in Thibodaux, Louisiana on January 16, 1886.[3] Charters also

---

[2] Pops Foster, The Autobiography of Pops Foster: New Orleans Jazzman as told to Tom Stoddard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 43.

[3] Recent research by Tad Jones challenges the veracity of this date. A search of parish records, conducted by Jones, did not turn up a birth record in either legal or baptismal records (Robichaux was Catholic). Jones found two documents that contradict the 1886 birth date. The first is a marriage certificate from Lafourche Parish for a Mr. John Robichaux and Miss Luisia Thibedeaux dated April 16, 1888; according to the birth date given by Charters this would have been some time after his second birthday (State of Louisiana, Lafourche Parish, Court's Office, Thibodaux. Marriage Certificate no. 93, April 16, 1888). John Robichaux and Luisia Thibedeaux may have been his parents. The only potential issue with this theory is the coincidence of names, since John Robichaux, "Jr.'s" wife was named Louise. An earlier birth date seems to be further corroborated by a second source, the 1920 census. For this census Robichaux gave his age as 47, which suggests that he was born either in 1870 or 1871 (U. S. Census, January 9, 1920. vol. 43, ED-226, Ward 13, Sheet 10, Line 47). Using

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

writes that Robichaux was raised by a local white family and received an education with a strong musical component, but his claims are undocumented. There is also some uncertainty as to when the Robichaux family moved to New Orleans. Charters gives 1891 as the year of Robichaux's arrival in New Orleans. While this date may be accurate, the first documented appearance of Robichaux in New Orleans is nearly 14 years later, in 1902. That year he purchased a piece of property on 4727 Camp Street from Mistress Natalie Saucier, the widow of Theogen Dalon, for $800.[4] The Soards' Directory first lists Robichaux's residence as 4727 Camp Street in 1909. Under this entry his occupation reads "teacher". Apparently, music was not the only source of income during his early years in New Orleans; Robichaux is listed in the Soards' Directory of 1903 as a cook (living at 2130 Peters Avenue) while the directories for both 1905 and 1909 list his occupation as musician.[5]

---

either 1870 or 1871 as Robichaux's year of birth places him at a more reasonable age for marriage in 1888.

[4] New Orleans, Division of Real Estate and Records, Conveyance Order Book 185, Folio 389.

[5] The 1920 census lists Robichaux, his wife, Louise, and a stepson, Edward Jefferson all residing at 4727 Camp Street (U. S. Census, January 9, 1920). On September 12, 1927, Louise Robichaux died in the Camp Street house. Her age, according to the records of the New Orleans Health Department, was 55 (New Orleans Health Department Records, 1927-1929; Obituary, New Orleans Times Picayune, 14 September 1927: 2). The house remained Robichaux's property until he died.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

John Robichaux died on October 31, 1938.[6] His death certificate reports his age as 55 years. The cause of death reported on his death certificate reads "Mycoditis, Acute Nehbiatis".[7] The funeral took place at his home on November 2. A requiem mass was performed at the Blessed Sacrament church and he was interred at St. Vincent's cemetery.[8]

Dave Frank acquired Robichaux's vast collection of scores and piano sheet music. Frank must have taken this music soon after Robichaux's death since an inventory and appraisal of Robichaux's estate made on May 4, 1939 does not mention any sheet music--it does, however, include a bass drum and an upright piano and stool.[9] Al Ballanco purchased the Robichaux music collection from Frank and stored it in his garage in five filing cabinets. The music remained in Ballanco's garage until it was purchased by the Hogan Jazz Archives in 1963.

Although his principal instrument was the violin, John Robichaux spent his first decade in New Orleans, 1893-1903,

---

[6] Charters, Jazz: New Orleans, 7, lists Robichaux's death as 1939.

[7] New Orleans, Board of Health, Death Certificate of John Robichaux, Certificate no. 2053, November 1, 1938, date of death October 31, 1938.

[8] Obituary, New Orleans Times-Picayune, 1 November 1938: 2.

[9] Orleans Parish, Civil District Court Docket, Succession of J. P. Robichaux, #228-918, June 10, 1039.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

playing bass drum with the Excelsior Brass Band. Around 1893, Robichaux also began to work in New Orleans with his own orchestra. A photograph of the ensemble, believed to be from 1896, shows that the instrumentation of this group consisted of two violins, clarinet, two cornets, trombone, bass and drums. The orchestra seems to have developed a reputation as an excellent dance band and was hired to play the various society dances along St. Charles Avenue, a well-to-do section of the city. Robichaux only employed musicians who could read music, enabling the ensemble to play new music almost every night. The orchestra played for public dances in Lincoln Park around 1903 and moved to St. Catherine's Hall around 1912 or 1913. From 1919 until 1927 Robichaux led the orchestra at the largest black theater in New Orleans, the Lyric Theater. When the Lyric theater closed in 1927, Robichaux returned to performing primarily for dances. He led the orchestra at La Louisiane Restaurant on Iberville Street, performed for society dances and, occasionally, in local hotels with a white clientele. Robichaux led the band until his death.[10]

When John Robichaux's name appears in jazz histories it is primarily as an aside or, at best, as the "fall guy" in a continuing series of battles of the bands with Buddy Bolden.

---

[10] Samuel Charters. Jazz: New Orleans 7-9; Jempi De Dender, "Professor Robichaux," Footnote, (June-July 1989), 4-14; Al Rose and Edmond Souchon, New Orleans Jazz (1967, reprint, Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1984) 109, 226, 231.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In some texts Robichaux and his ensemble seem to symbolize the embodiment of the anti-jazz spirit. This theme is apparent in the earliest published account of the Bolden-Robichaux competition by William Russell and Stephen W. Smith in 1939.

> "Buddy" Bolden . . . played regularly at Johnson Park. . . . A short distance from Johnson Park was Lincoln Park, where John Robichaux's Orchestra often played. Some nights, when the time came for Buddy Bolden to start, there wasn't anybody in Johnson Park. So Buddy, saying, "It's time to call my chillun home," stuck his horn through a hole in the fence and the people came rushing. Soon Lincoln Park was emptied. Bolden's Band was of the rough-and-ready school, without the polish of the note readers . . . or the sweetness of Robichaux's orchestra.[11]

The central idea behind the above account (and most other versions of this story) is to present a dichotomy that embodies such vigorously differing ideologies that the reader cannot imagine a realm of confluence. This type of

---

[11] William Russell and Stephen W. Smith, "New Orleans Music" in Frederick Ramsey, Jr., and Charles Edward Smith, eds., Jazzmen (1939, reprint, New York: Limelight, 1985), 13-14. This is one of a group of early jazz stories that has been repeated in numerous books. Almost all follow the same essential storyline and, interestingly enough, not all cite the same source for the narrative (An allusion to this narrative can even be found in J. Bradford Robinson's "Buddy Bolden" article in the New Grove Dictionary of Jazz). Versions of this story may also be found in: Nat Shapiro and Nat Hentoff, eds. Hear Me Talkin' to Ya: The Story of Jazz as Told by the Men Who Made It (1955, reprint, New York: Dover, 1966), 37; Eileen Southern, The Music of Black Americans: A History, 2d ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1983), 341; Marshall Stearns, The Story of Jazz (1956. rev. ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 70; Frank Tirro, Jazz: A History, 2d ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1993), 115. The veracity of this account is not being challenged, rather the value system affixed to it subsequently by jazz scholars.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

contrast is present in most accounts of the beginnings of jazz and its relationship to New Orleans musical life. Indeed, this division is somehow central to the purist jazz concept. Moreover, there is a large group of terms that are frequently placed in opposition. These consist, for the most part, of terms that have generally come from the musicians and musical community of New Orleans, and that pose one of the unresolved problems in early jazz research. A list of these oppositions, in no particular order, includes: uptown vs. downtown, black vs. Creole of color, ratty vs. sweet, ragtime vs. straight, unstudied vs. studied, faker or nonreader vs. reader, and honky-tonk vs. pavilion. The presumption seems to be that only the first side contains the values that are the key to what is jazz: the side that leans toward the honky-tonk, ratty, uptown black side of the spectrum. In a different context, David Evans has suggested that all of the terms in such dichotomies have a positive meaning to the members of the African-American community. In other words the entire spectrum of values has its place and importance within the community that developed the music. Evans also points to the subjective quality of these terms; after all, one member of a group might well disagree with another as to the quality of a performance. For example, not all recollections of Buddy Bolden's performances are filled with praise. The key, for Evans, is that "the basic nature of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

these [dichotomous] sets is that they serve as a binary aesthetic framework that supports a musical style of great flexibility and variety".[12]

It would appear that those writers who related the stories that surround Bolden's challenge to Robichaux ignore the possibility that New Orleans was a musically diverse environment with enough room for clearly divergent tastes. It is evident that Robichaux's band had a following since it continued to perform at Lincoln Park well after Bolden's withdrawal from the New Orleans music scene early in 1907. Robichaux's ensemble continued to receive recognition and success at the local level until the end of his career. As long as Robichaux was healthy enough to work, his ensemble had no lack of jobs.

There were members of the uptown black community who were attracted to the values held by Robichaux's community, the downtown Creoles of color. In his autobiography, Warren "Baby" Dodds compared the Bolden and Robichaux bands, finding value in each performance.

> Sometimes I used to go out to Lincoln Park where both Buddy Bolden and John Robichaux were playing. Robichaux had a sweet band and they would sometimes play classics in swing. Those days they didn't call it jazz, but they called it swing. Robichaux played in a closed-in place like a pavilion and a better class people came to hear

---

[12] David Evans, "African Elements in Twentieth-Century United States Black Folk Music," In International Musicological Society, Report of the Twelfth Congress, Berkeley 1977. Daniel Heartz and Bonnie Wade, eds., (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1981), 65-66.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> his band. Bolden had a band which played in an open place with only a roof over it. The sporting class people would go to hear Bolden, but both bands played for dancing and the people came to dance, not just to listen. We used to call it a honky tonk where Bolden played and his men were the bums.[13]

Dodds' view serves to balance some of the impact of the received perception of the Robichaux band. His perspective also sheds some light on the combination of the musical styles of the uptown pure blacks and the downtown Creoles of color that followed the 1894 amendment to the Black Code. This amendment placed Creoles of color in the same category as full-blooded blacks. According to some accounts, this event was central to the development of New Orleans jazz. These scholars believe that the development of New Orleans jazz may have been the result of the combination of the two distinct groups.[14] Baby Dodds viewed himself, in some ways, as an anomaly to this story. One might have expected that, as an uptown black, he would have played by ear rather than seek formal training on his instrument. But Baby Dodds had not read any books on jazz history, and he was intrigued by the musical practices of the downtown Creoles of color. Among his most important early influences Dodds cites three

---

[13] Larry Gara, The Baby Dodds Story: As Told to Larry Gara (1959, reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 12.

[14] A good account of the responses that Creoles of Color had to this amendment can be found in Donald Marquis, In Search of Buddy Bolden: First Man of Jazz (1978; reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1978), 74-76; for other references see Chapter II, note 1.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

drummers who worked with Robichaux. The first, named McMurray, "was my inspiration when I first started drumming". The second was Louis Cottrell and the third was Walter Brundy, Dodds' second drum teacher.

> He [Brundy] used to play with Robichaux and was a very good drummer. He was a reading drummer and that's what I wanted to learn--to read music. . . Brundy taught me the fundamentals of reading music and I found out that everything I had been doing was wrong.[15]

Dodds emphasized that his desire to learn to read music was unique among uptown blacks: "My brother and I were really exceptions in that we both got teachers and became reading musicians."[16] When he refers to the Lincoln Park pavilion, Bolden's venue, as a honky tonk, he reveals how much the Creole point-of-view may have rubbed off on him. Perhaps this is further supported by the description of Bolden's men as "bums". Dodds pointedly completes his comments with a dismissive remark, "I heard Bolden play but I can't remember anything about him or the music".[17]

It is noteworthy that all the drummers cited by Dodds were, at one time, members of Robichaux's ensembles. This points to ways in which Robichaux's musical values had an indirect influence on one of the earliest jazz drummers of note. Were other uptown black musicians similarly

---

[15] Dodds, Baby Dodds Story, 7.

[16] Ibid., 13.

[17] Ibid., 12.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

influenced? Baby Dodds knew of only one other such musician, his brother Johnny Dodds. Although Dodds thought that this interest was unique to his brother and himself, this was not the case. A number of uptown blacks were known to have developed reading skills of some type. For example, Louis Armstrong's two-year association with the riverboat ensembles led by Fate Marable contributed to the development of his reading skills.[18] And Bud Freeman observed that Joseph "King" Oliver used stock arrangements with his Creole Jazz Band in Chicago--a band with many more uptown blacks than Creoles.[19] While it is uncertain whether either Oliver or Armstrong learned these skills while in New Orleans, it is clear that the environment they left, New Orleans, had at least one influential musical leader who valued reading skills and technical development.

The preceding discussion places the idea of a reading versus a non-reading musician at the narrative center. But how important was the reading component of Robichaux's band? What do we learn about New Orleans music and jazz by turning to this topic?

The ability to sight-read new music gave Robichaux an edge over local groups that lacked readers. Samuel Charters reported that the band would often

---

[18] See discussion in Chapter Three.

[19] Bud Freeman, Crazeology: The Autobiography of a Chicago Jazzman as told to Robert Wolf, (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 7.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> be sight-reading new music most of the night . . . . Out of town guests were always teased into requesting the newest song they could think of, and most of the time Robichaux would say, "I think I have it," smile, look in his large music case and bring out the music.[20]

Alex Bigard, a New Orleans drummer who worked with Robichaux's outfit during the last seven or eight years of its existence, reported that the leader saw to it that his orchestra maintained and even sharpened its skills. "Robichaux was tricky; after a rehearsal he would purposely bring different music to the job, but the musicians would read right through it."[21]

Pops Foster remembered that Robichaux "wouldn't hire anyone who couldn't read".[22] No musician was exempt from this requirement, not even drummers.

> In 1926 or 1927 word got to Alex [Bigard] that John Robichaux . . . . , was after a drummer so he went along to the audition. At the audition, Robichaux handed Alex the score for a piece called "Ace of Diamonds, Ace of Hearts, Ace of Spades, Ace of Clubs". This was supposed to be a very tough number on drummers, but Alex played through the piece flawlessly. After the number Robichaux came over and shook his hand, telling him that the job was his.[23]

Robichaux was not above learning from other bandleaders. The size and diversity of the orchestra's band

---

[20] Charters, Jazz: New Orleans, 8.

[21] Interview with Alex Bigard, April 30, 1960. Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University, New Orleans.

[22] Foster, Pops Foster, 43.

[23] Barry Martyn on Alex Bigard. Eureka, vol 2, no. 1, cited in De Dender, "Professor Robichaux," 6.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

book indicates his openness to new, commercially viable musical ideas. It may well be that some of Bolden's ideas found a home in Robichaux's band. There is no indication of any animosity between Bolden and Robichaux. According to Lee Collins, Robichaux seems to have respected and certainly admired Bolden's musical abilities. According to Collins, one evening John Robichaux, "a very high class musician . . . the most respected musician among both white and colored . . . ". came to hear him perform.

> Mr. Robichaux told me that he was sitting there listening to me and that he said to Barney Bigard's father, "Now there is a boy with a beautiful tone; he is between Buddy Bolden and Bunk Johnson, he dishes it out so hot". He asked me if I had ever heard Buddy Bolden play. I said I was too young, but that I had heard Bunk. Then I wanted to know what kind of a man was Bolden, and Mr. Robichaux said that he was a guy something like me and that he played ragtime cornet and was the greatest of all the cornet players. Every musician, of course, had great respect for Mr. Robichaux, and you can bet that they sure were looking at him talking to me.[24]

The above excerpt indicates Robichaux's importance within the local community and the value local musicians gave his presence and ideas. It also indicates that Robichaux was aware of what music was being performed and considered to be important to young New Orleans musicians. Reports about the orchestra from the 1920s and 30s indicate that Robichaux recognized the need to incorporate the

---

[24] Lee Collins, Oh Didn't He Ramble: The Life Story of Lee Collins, as told to Mary Collins, ed. Frank J. Gillis and John W. Miner (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 33-34.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

changes of style into the music. He hired a few musicians who could play in the ratty hot style then popular.

> Usually He [Robichaux] specialised in 'smooth', society style music, but every now and then his band got hotter than a firecracker. Sometimes they even 'stooped' to downright gutbucket type archaic New Orleans Jazz . . . . Perfectly aware that his band was great . . . . he also realised that unless he turned things loose once in a while his music would border on the stilted. So he backed Keppard and Tio up with (1) George McCullum (2) George Baquet. As the evenings wore on and the guests were experiencing pleasurable reactions . . . . they practically demanded that the music get hotter and hotter. Here's where the two George's came on strong and got hard until curfew called things to a halt. They were the cayenne pepper in the seasoning![25]

The above story indicates that Robichaux had formed a band that was as capable of playing what might be considered jazz as it was capable of playing any other popular music of the period. There is no evidence that Robichaux ever expressed any anti-jazz sentiment. Instead, he demonstrated his willingness to incorporate whatever musical style best suited his audience. The types of music performed during Robichaux's stay at the Lyric Theater are a strong indicator of the flexibility that was needed to be a member of his ensemble. While many artists traveled with their own accompanying groups, it is likely that his band backed up some of the headline performers who came to town.

Music of the Robichaux Collection

Robichaux's music library, which is housed in the Hogan

---

[25] Doc Souchon in Second Line, (May-June, 1964), cited in De Dender, "Professor Robichaux," 8.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jazz Archives at Tulane University, is one of the few extant band books from the turn of the century. The music in the collection consists of published stock arrangements, piano sheets, and song sheets published between 1877 and 1938. In addition, there are a small number of "specials", which are manuscript arrangements written for the Robichaux orchestra. While vast in size--one inventory of the collection listed 4727 titles--the Robichaux band music library is incomplete. Prior to its acquisition in 1963 by the Hogan Jazz Archive, the library was picked over by collectors and musicians, and it is believed that over one thousand titles were removed.[26] Nevertheless, what remains is representative of musical material performed in New Orleans and the surrounding parishes during the period in question.

By tracing this collection chronologically in terms of song/dance type, it is possible to learn some of the choices made by one regional bandleader to remain musically fashionable and maintain a large clientele for over thirty years. The history of Robichaux's acquisition of stock arrangements can only be surmised. In 1990 Karl Koenig produced a rough picture of the history and contents of the collection by working with the publication dates of the music. Since most popular music was and is written for immediate public consumption, Koenig reasoned that Robichaux

---

[26] In an unpublished inventory of the collection made in 1990, Karl Koenig estimated the number of missing titles to be around 1102.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

would have acquired the score for a piece of music sometime around its publication date.[27] Even if there are some exceptions to the rule, it is still possible to gain a broad sense of the development of the collection. For example, Robichaux acquired most of his rags before 1918. As the rage for this dance form diminished so too, his acquisitions. Indeed, there is only one rag in the collection published after 1920.

The figures given in Table 4.1, the number of stock arrangements (stocks) Robichaux obtained, are derived from Koenig's unpublished tabulations. The average number of stocks acquired in a year varied. During the early years he acquired, on average, somewhere between 40 and 65 stocks a year. There are, however, only a few stocks listed between 1893 and 1898, the first six years of the orchestra's existence. Perhaps these were among the stocks that were taken before the Robichaux collection was moved to the Tulane University Library. In 1912 the average numbers change again, and there is a large jump to over one hundred stocks. This trend continued for almost twenty years, peaking in 1914 with 403 stocks.

---

[27] See also Carl Dahlhaus's comments on nineteenth century popular music, what he terms "trivialmusik." Nineteenth-Century Music, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), 311-320, especially his concluding paragraph on p. 320.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 4.1. Copyright Dates of Stock Arrangements: John Robichaux Collection[28]

1877-1	1902-78	1921-226
1884-1	1903-123	1922-207
1885-1	1904-79	1923-186
1886-2	1905-54	1924-148
1887-0	1906-49	1925-120
1888-4	1907-50	1926-157
1889-0	1908-32	1927-123
1890-1	1909-62	1928-119
1891-1	1910-66	1929-65
1892-1	1911-69	1930-78
1893-11	1912-109	1931-25
1894-7	1913-210	1932-2
1895-8	1914-403	1933-2
1896-33	1915-257	1934-0
1897-16	1916-334	1935-19
1898-16	1917-299	1936-12
1899-43	1918-236	1937-13
1900-63	1919-337	1938-24
1901-61	1920-245	

There are at least two reasons for this dramatic increase in stocks. First, Robichaux's dominance and reputation on the New Orleans music scene necessitated the constant refreshing of his repertoire. As mentioned earlier, he built a reputation for having the latest dance music from the major American urban centers. Second, from 1919 through 1928 Robichaux's orchestra performed at the Lyric Theater, the premiere black theater in New Orleans. During this period Robichaux probably did not even have to

[28] Numbers derived from Koenig TS., John Robichaux Music Collection, Hogan Jazz Archives, Tulane University.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

leave his office to acquire new music.[29] Song pluggers would have been banging on his door begging him to play an arrangement of whatever latest hit their company was pushing. The last eight years of the orchestra's existence seem to have been leaner. Robichaux acquired as few as two arrangements in 1932 and 1933, and in 1934 he did not acquire even one stock.

The musical styles and genres in the Robichaux band book vary dramatically. It is quite clear from the titles and types of pieces in the collection that Robichaux had to plan musical programs that would satisfy a varied clientele. Koenig's study also identified pieces by genre using the information provided by the publisher on the cover sheet of the stock arrangement. Those that did not have this information, or that Koenig deemed unimportant to the development of jazz, were included in a category designated as "other". Koenig identified 58 distinct genres in the collection. Twenty of these identified types are one of a kind numbers: barcarolle, Buck and wing, Charleston, dance espange, drag, espongol, fantasy, gypsy dance, minstrel song, minuetto, novelette, novelty, polonaise, shuffle, slow shumus, stop dance, stop step, stop-buck, Tahitian dance, tone poem and Tyrolinne. The remaining 28 genres have two

---

[29] Nevertheless, it appears that Robichaux continued to purchase some pieces. A large number of the stock arrangements in the collection are marked with a stamp reading, "Kress Music", presumably these came from the music department of the Kress Department store.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

or more stocks found in the collection: one-step, two-step, three-step, ballad, blues, buck dance, cakewalk, caprice, coon shout, coon song, fox trot, galop, gavotte, intermezzo, lancers, lullaby, march, marini, maxixe, mazurka, morceau, overture, polka, quadrille, rag, reverie, schottische, serenade, shimmy, slow drag, solo, stomp, swing, tango, turkey trot, waltz, and other.[30] Table A.1 of Appendix A lists the acquisitions for each year. With this table we can place the above mentioned dances into a more readily understandable context. In addition, we gain a sense of the wide spectrum of music Robichaux obtained for the orchestra in a given year.

Although the orchestra was founded either in 1893 or 1894, the earliest of the stock arrangements in the Robichaux library is from 1877 [see Table A.1, Appendix A, as above]. This suggests that the orchestra performed at functions where popular songs and dances of the late nineteenth century were expected along with the more current music. This type of activity is still present in

---

[30] In his unpublished survey of the collection Koenig prepared a series of lists that enable a reader to know the annual breakdown of dance types performed by the band at any period between 1897 and 1938. I am grateful that Dr. Koenig has given me permission to use the information in this manuscript (hereafter referred to as Koenig TS), a copy of which is on file in the Hogan Jazz Archives at Tulane University. The list presented here was derived by counting and collating Koenig's work. The task he set himself was monumental, and the overall product is quite impressive, but it should be noted that not all of Koenig's lists tally up equally, and some margin of error will be needed with my figures.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

contemporary "society" ensembles. Groups always include at least a few "golden oldies" in order to please every generation in attendance at a function.[31] Comparably, it is important to note the presence of galops, lancers, polkas, mazurkas, and other dances that show up only in small numbers in the collection. These pieces were a necessary portion of an evening's music.

In general, the contents of the stock arrangements of the Robichaux sheet music collection present an overview of the popular music of the day, with a clear emphasis upon those songs and dances that would have appealed to a New Orleans audience. Table A.2 of Appendix A is a list of Robichaux's annual acquisitions by genre. It reveals that in any given year Robichaux tended to acquire a large number of stocks for whatever dance was then popular. The changes in the public's taste for specific dance styles can be inferred by the number of new stocks acquired in any given year; trends and tendencies can be noted by following a given dance over larger spans of time.

If we assume that popularity of a genre is reflected by the number of acquisitions, then it is possible to construct a model that classifies the popular dance repertoire of the Robichaux orchestra between 1893 and 1938. As might be

---

[31] A form of this tradition continues in the jazz world. Today, jazz musicians often perform standards that date from the second and third decade of this century--some sixty years ago.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

expected, the popularity of specific genres changed considerably during this period. Only one, the waltz, does not conform to the behaviors of the other genres: it seems to have retained an important place in the orchestra's repertoire throughout its existence. The number of waltzes obtained in a year never climbed higher than 60 (in 1914), but the presence of this dance is so consistent that it accounts for over 600 stocks in the collection. According to Koenig, waltzes represent approximately 16% of the total number of stocks Robichaux acquired.

The largest number of stocks acquired between 1877 and 1903 were quadrilles, waltzes, marches, cake-walks, and two-steps. Two of these genres, marches and two-steps, continued to be obtained in large numbers during the first two decades of the century. Marches represented between 1/3 and 1/4 of the total number of pieces in a year until 1919, when the acquisition of these stocks abruptly stopped. It appears that the two-step experienced a fate similar to that of the march. The number of two-steps acquired increased steadily until a sharp drop in 1917. By the end of the decade two-steps had almost completely disappeared from the yearly acquisitions.

The strong connection between marches and two-steps helps explain why both would have risen and fallen together. According to the New Harvard Dictionary of Music, there is "a close connection between the march and popular dance

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

music". The two-step and the march were often the same dance, and there are formal similarities between the march and contemporary dance music of the 1890s.[32]

New dances did not gain prominence in the band book until the arrival of ragtime, blues and one-step band arrangements during the 1910s. These new dances shared the dance floor with marches, two-steps and the ever present waltzes. The popularity of the one-step lasted only seven years, from 1913 to 1920. The first blues in the band library is from 1913. The limited number of blues arrangements in the collection suggest that either written arrangements of the genre were not necessary for the band or, perhaps because it was a "rougher" form, that it did not gain the popularity of some of the other dance types. It is also possible that music from this genre was disproportionately removed from the collection before it was deposited in the Hogan archives. Robichaux acquired the greatest number of blues arrangements between 1916 and 1924, but even then the numbers are so small as to appear negligible in comparison with any other concurrent genre. Nevertheless, by 1936 Robichaux had managed to accumulate 100 blues arrangements, accounting for 2% of the total collection.[33] One of the manuscript arrangements in the band book, "Memphis Blues," is a blues (see Table 4.6).

---

[32] The New Harvard Dictionary of Music, s.v. "march."

[33] Koenig TS.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This suggests Robichaux's recognition of the popularity of this blues number.

The ragtime stocks in the collection were acquired primarily between 1909 and 1916, but the presence of such material in the band library was already noticeable by the beginning of the century. The Robichaux collection possesses a broad selection of stock arrangements of what are now considered classic ragtime works by Scott Joplin. These pieces include "The Chrysanthemum", "Elite Syncopations", "Magnetic Rag", "Palm Leaf Rag", and "Sugar Cane". According to at least one observer, the orchestra did not play rags in a "ratty" manner like the Bolden band. Pops Foster was impressed with the facility displayed by the Robichaux orchestra in performing these technically difficult pieces.[34]

The fox trot was the dance that dominated the band's repertoire from 1920 until Robichaux's death in 1938. This dance first gained popularity in 1914. But it truly came to prominence between 1920 and 1923, when Robichaux began to acquire over 100 fox trot stocks per year. This rise is illustrated below in Table 4.2. In the 1910s the number of fox trots equalled or surpassed the total number of stocks for any single year of the previous decade! However, the overall accumulation of stocks between 1914 and 1919 was so great that the number of fox trots never surpassed 27% of

---

[34] Foster, Pops Foster, 43.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

any annual accumulation.

Table 4.2. Fox trots in Robichaux collection

	fox trots	other	total	% of fox trots
1914	53	350	403	13
1915	61	196	257	24
1916	62	272	334	19
1917	66	233	299	22
1918	43	193	236	18
1919	92	245	337	27
1920	108	137	245	44
1921	110	116	226	49
1922	128	79	207	62
1923	106	80	186	57
1924	87	61	148	59
1925	78	42	120	65
1926	98	59	157	62
1927	85	38	123	69
1928	87	32	119	73
1929	37	28	65	57
1930	40	38	78	51
1931	14	11	25	56
1932	1	1	2	50
1933	0	2	2	0
1934	0	0	0	-
1935	16	3	19	84
1936	8	4	12	66
1937	9	4	13	69
1938	19	5	24	79

In the 1920s there was a shift away from many of the dances of the previous decade. For a while the number of different dance types diminished (this can be noted by a review of Table A.1 in Appendix A). The number of stocks acquired by Robichaux in a year also decreased. But during this same period the number of fox trots increased twofold. By 1922 the number of fox trots acquired annually

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

represented at least 50% or more of the total annual stocks. In all, the band library accumulated well over 1400 fox trot stocks--about 38% of the complete Robichaux music collection.

While the fox trot may have become a singularly dominating dance type in the Robichaux music library, it was never alone--it necessarily coexisted with many other song and dance types. This was equally true for earlier periods. During the course of the band's existence, several different dance types held sway. If the New Orleans audience expected a variety of music, Robichaux's library was amply stocked and ready to fill these needs.

A Regional Flavor: Music Composed and Published in New Orleans

It would be expected that John Robichaux, as the leader of a local dance orchestra, would understand the tastes and musical interests of the New Orleans region. While these tastes have been established in a general sense--that is, by determining the popularity of certain types of dances--another important and quite different aspect of regionalism can be noted in the number of arrangements of pieces by local songwriters and musicians in the band's library. Robichaux seems to have acquired stock arrangements by most of the local composers and songwriters, especially those who had left the city and gone on to attain a national

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reputation. Thus, the band library boasts a large number of stock arrangements of material by, among others: the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, Clarence Williams, Al Bernard, and Louis Armstrong. There are also a large number of stocks by composers whose reputation remained more at the local level such as Joe Verges, A. J. Piron, N. J. Clesi, Robert Hoffman, Sam Rosen (formerly Rosenbaum), Jack Bauer and Irwin LeClere.

Judging by the large numbers of locally published songs, it seems likely that local composers and publishers, like the professional song pluggers mentioned earlier, gave Robichaux free copies of their music. Perhaps they hoped that a performance by New Orleans' most prominent society orchestra would bring some recognition to the work. Robichaux accepted these promotional stocks and put them in his library, but he probably did not feel an overwhelming sense of civic obligation when it came to actual performance. Not every stock arrangement in the Robichaux collection was performed. Some of the arrangements in the Robichaux library have never been cut; the parts were never separated from one another. This makes it rather easy to establish a group of stocks that were obtained, but not used.

It is possible to go even further and determine pieces that were used regularly, or at least more frequently, by the band. This can be done by using the criterion that a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

worn piece of music (especially one with penciled in notes or figures) was probably played with greater frequency than a piece of music that is cut, but in very good condition. Using this material it might be possible to develop a core repertoire of the Robichaux orchestra. Such a study would involve identifying the condition of every stock arrangement in the Robichaux collection--a challenging, but rewarding task. The idea for such a list did not occur to me until late during the research period in New Orleans. What few notes were taken have been compiled into two lists, Tables 4.3 and 4.4, which are by no means comprehensive and merely serve as a model of the type of work that remains to be done with the Robichaux collection. The nine pieces by local composers listed in Table 4.3 show signs of wear that would indicate frequent use by the orchestra at some point in time. In contrast, the three stocks (also by local composers) listed in Table 4.4 are all uncut--a clear indication that these pieces were never performed by the Robichaux orchestra.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 4.3. Songs by local composers that contain internal evidence of performance by the Robichaux orchestra (Composer, title, arranger (if listed), publisher, year of publication)

Bauer, Jack. "The SPEE-D Jazz," Jack Bauer arr., Bauer Music Pub. Co., 630 Commercial Place, New Orleans, 1919

Bernard, Al. "Stavin' Change (The Meanest Man in New Orleans)," Bob Haring (arr), Joe Morris Music Co., New York, 1923[35]

Clesi, N. J. "I'm Sorry I made You Cry," W. S. Russell (arr), Broadway Popular Music Club, New Orleans, 1915

Piron, Armand J., John A. St. Cyr, and Peter Borage [sic.] "Mama's Baby Boy," Williams and Piron Music Pub. Co., New Orleans, 1917

Piron, Armand J. "I wish I could shimmy like my sister Kate," W. C. Polla (arr), Clarence Williams Music Pub. Co., New York, 1922

Piron, A. J. and Steve Lewis, "Kiss Me Sweet," W. C. Polla (arr), Clarence Williams Music Pub. Co., New York, 1924

Stevens, A. J. "Sweet Memories of Love," R. E. Hildreth (arr), A. J. Stevens, Donner, Louisiana, 1920

Tibbs Sol. "Mama, Make Cinda 'Have Herself," Lawrence Dubuclet (arr), Louis Grunewald Co., New Orleans, 1901

Verges, J. M. "Don't leave me daddy," Mornay D. Helm (arr), Broadway Popular Music Club, New Orleans, 1916

Williams, Clarence, Armand J. Piron, Mornay D. Helm. "I Can Beat You What You're Doing Me," Clarence Williams, New Orleans, 1916

---

[35] Robichaux possessed two copies of "Stavin Change," one very worn and quite clearly used, the other in mint condition and uncut.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 4.4. Uncut Stock arrangements in the Robichaux music collection (Composer, title, arranger (if listed), publisher, year of publication)

Bernard, Al. "Stavin' Change (The Meanest Man in New Orleans)," Bob Haring (arr), Joe Morris Music Co., New York, 1923

Clesi, N. J. "Won't You Please Say Yes," N. J. Clesi, New Orleans, ca. 1914

Clesi, N. J. "When You Gave Me You," Harry L. Alford (arr), Universal Music Pub. Inc. New Orleans 1920

The presence of so many local names in the Robichaux band book is indicative of an active New Orleans songwriting and music publishing scene. Furthermore, this scene apparently consisted of both black and white composers. It also presents us with additional confirmation that there were musicians in New Orleans who could read music as part of their professional activities. Perhaps the best-known of these local songwriters were Clarence Williams and A. J. Piron, two African-American New Orleans musicians who composed songs and co-founded a publishing company in the late 1910s.[36] Robichaux's collection of stock arrangements indicates a wealth of information about local music publishing that expands well beyond these two names. The model that can be derived from the careers of Williams and Piron is not entirely unique: it appears that many local

[36] Samuel Charters and Leonard Kunstadt, Jazz: A History of the New York Scene (1962; reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1981), 226-227; Martin Williams, Jazz Masters of New Orleans (1967; reprint, Da Capo, 1979), 109.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

performer/songwriters tossed their hats into the publishing ring at one time or another.

While there was an active music publishing industry in New Orleans, the longevity of these companies was extremely brief. One local composer, N. J. Clesi, founded five different music publishing firms between 1906 and the early 1920s: the N. J. Clesi Publishing Firm, Broadway Popular Music Club, Triangle Music Publishing Company, Universal Music Publishing Co., and the National Music Company. The Triangle Music Publishing Company, founded sometime between 1915 and 1916, was actually a joint venture with two other New Orleans composers, Joe Verges and Sam Rosenbaum. The company published pieces by the three composers before it dissolved in 1919. Rosenbaum also appears to have briefly run a local music publishing firm known as the United Music Concern. Other local music publishers included the Louis Grunewald Publishing Co. and the Cable Co., also known as the Cable Piano Co. The Cable Company was a local subsidiary of the piano manufacturing company by the same name. Apparently, the owners of the New Orleans office decided to publish popular music by local composers as a sideline.[37]

---

[37] Jack Stewart, liner notes to "I Didn't Mean to Say Goodbye," New Leviathan Oriental Fox Trot Orchestra, Camelback Records 19328, 1980. In a private conversation Stewart indicated his intention to prepare a formal study of music publishing in New Orleans. I am indebted to him for the information which he shared with me from his preliminary research.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Most of these publishing firms disseminated works by a limited number of composers, usually no more than the publisher and his immediate circle of friends. Distribution of these publications was generally limited to the region. This undoubtedly contributed to the rate of failure of many of these publishing firms. If a song managed to become successful at the regional level, such as "Sister Kate", one of the major publishing firms in Chicago or New York usually acquired it and distributed it nationally. Apparently, Clarence Williams, whose accomplishments in the music publishing world were much greater than most of his contemporaries from New Orleans, realized that the only way to become a successful figure in the music publishing world was to move to one of these two major metropolitan areas. Williams' moves, first to Chicago and later to New York City, gave him far greater control over his music and the music of those he published.

The Robichaux music collection contains stock arrangements from all of the New Orleans music publishers discussed above. These are listed below with the address shown if indicated on the music. This list is a preliminary overview of the collection since time did not permit in-depth exploration of this aspect of the collection. Little work has been done on the history of turn-of-the-century and early twentieth-century music publishing in New Orleans and it is an area worthy of further research.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

New Orleans Music Publishers with Stock Arrangements in Robichaux collection

Bauer Music Pub. Co., 630 Commercial Place
Broadway Popular Music Club, Weiss Building
Cable Piano Company, 14 Canal St.
N. J. Clesi
Crescent Music Co.
Louis Grunewald Co., Ltd.
National Music Co. Pub., 312 Barronne St.
A. J. Piron and Co.
Triangle Music Publishing Co.
United Music Concern
Universal Music Publishers Inc.
Williams and Piron Music Publishing Co., 1315 Tulane Ave

Special Arrangements

There are twelve complete notated manuscript arrangements in the Robichaux collection (see table 4.5).[38] Most of these arrangements appear worn as if from use. According to Samuel Charters, Robichaux wrote arrangements for his orchestra.[39] It would appear that these charts are all that remains of this work. There is little written on these specials besides the title of the tune, not even the name of the composer. Represented among these specials are several of the popular dance genres of the period. A closer look at the roles assigned to specific instruments in the part writing may suggest how the music performed by Robichaux's ensemble reflects the music styles of other New Orleans ensembles. The section will conclude with a brief

[38] A thirteenth arrangement for "Tango Argentino" is incomplete and contains only the clarinet and cornet parts.

[39] Charters, Jazz: New Orleans, 9.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

discussion of the sources for some of these arrangements.

The manuscript arrangements do not have conducting scores. Even the parts for the first violin, most likely played by Robichaux, contain few performance cues. In order to facilitate further study of these manuscripts, the arrangements are presented transcribed into score form with all instruments transposed to concert pitch. These transcriptions can be found in Appendix B. Any references to measure numbers reflect these transcriptions and may not correspond to the original manuscript part.

With one exception ("The Rye Waltzes", discussed below), Robichaux's arrangements follow a simple and predictable formal outline. Every arrangement begins with an introduction that lasts either four or eight bars. This is followed in four manuscripts by a two-bar vamp.[40] Following the introduction are two large sections. These sections correspond to the verse and chorus of popular song form. The lengths of the phrases and sections may differ but this formal plan is carried out with an unvarying consistency.

Eight of the twelve specials are written for five instruments: violin, cornet, clarinet, trombone, and bass (see Table 4.5). A ninth arrangement, "The Rye Waltzes", uses the same instrumentation but adds a drum part. The

---

[40] The four manuscripts with vamps are: "The International Rag," "That Mellow Melody, "My Music Teacher," and "I Want My Man."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

three remaining arrangements all use some type of expanded instrumentation but do not include a drum part. The most elaborate instrumentation is for "High Society", a special that was probably written at a later period than the others.[41]

The keys of the specials are those most commonly associated with winds and brass. With the exception of two pieces in G (concert), the specials are written in flat keys. Key complexity is not an issue; the key signatures use anywhere from one to four flats (see Table 4.5). This key complexity is evidence of the high standard of training expected by Robichaux of his musicians.

---

[41] In addition to Robichaux's usual line-up, the arrangement contains parts for alto and tenor saxophones, two cornets, and two trombones. But it is not just the instrumentation that suggests a later date for this manuscript. The hands and notating styles are notably different between this and all the other specials. Finally, Robichaux's eye for meticulous detail, discussed later in this section, is not to be found in "High Society."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Although it is difficult to pinpoint the date of any of these specials, it seems likely that most were written shortly after the publication of the song. The number of parts and the instrumentation suggest that the general time period during which most of these specials were performed would have been during the 1910s. None of the arrangements include a piano part, and it seems likely that Robichaux was not using a pianist at the time these specials were played.[42]

---

[42] It is also possible that the pianist could have played the music directly from the published song sheet.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 4.5. Special Arrangements in Robichaux Collection[43]

TITLE	KEY[44]	INSTRUMENTATION
Dearie	A-flat	first v, first c, cl, t, b
High Society	B-flat	first v, first c, second c, as, ts, t,[45] b
The International Rag[46]	F	first v, c, cl, t, b
I Want My Man	B-flat	v, c, cl, t, b
Mama, Make Cinda 'have herself	B-flat	first v, second v, c, cl, t, b
That Mellow Melody	E-flat	v, c, cl, t, b
The Memphis Blues	F	first v, c, cl, t, b
My Music Teacher	E-flat	v, c, cl, t, b
On Emancipation Day	B-flat	first v, second v, first c, second c, cl, f, t, b
The Rye Waltzes	G	first v, first c in A, first cl in A, t, b, d
Teasing	G	first v, first c in A, first cl in A, t, b
Too Much Mustard	F	first v, c, cl, t, b

---

[43] Instrumentation abbreviation: v- violin, c- cornet, cl- clarinet, f- flute, as- alto saxophone, ts- tenor saxophone, t- trombone, b- bass, d- drums. Cornet and clarinet are in B-flat unless otherwise indicated.

[44] The opening key of the arrangement only. A number of these arrangements modulate at the trio or second strain and will be discussed, if appropriate, with the tune.

[45] There are two distinct trombone parts, neither is given a part number.

[46] "The International Rag" and "Too Much Mustard" were notated on the same paper, one on each side.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Although the 1896 photograph of his ensemble includes two cornet players and two violinists, the only special with parts for both second violin and second cornet is "On Emancipation Day". But the violin and cornet parts of the other specials include passages that would require a second instrument.

A review of the contents and arranging style of the specials suggests at least a conceptual connection to the traditional New Orleans band structure. The emphasis in these scores is on melody, not on instrumental virtuosity--there are no unique or particularly demanding parts. This comes, at least in part, as no surprise. The Robichaux orchestra was known as a society dance ensemble, and it seems to have primarily supplied dance music for the middle class and well-to-do white citizens of New Orleans. The orchestra was noted for its ability to play "trick" arrangements and difficult Scott Joplin rags, but technical showmanship was secondary to good dancing music. A key element of the New Orleans sound has always been simplicity. Musicians were expected to present the melody clearly and distinctly, and these arrangements reflect this value.

In most specials the instruments are divided between three distinct musical roles--treble, bass and harmony. Since the band consisted of six melodic instruments (plus drums), some lines are doubled and, on occasion, even tripled. It is rare that a fourth part appears.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The most prominent part in any Robichaux manuscript arrangement is the melody--the treble. The melody is always played by the violin and is commonly doubled by the cornet. Cornet doubling is located either at the octave or an octave below the violin. The melody is usually presented in an unadorned manner, without any written embellishment of the line. The clarinet and the trombone are occasionally added to emphasize an individual passage, but these instruments are usually given other roles within the arrangement. Only two arrangements, "Mama make Cinda 'have herself" and "Teasing", use the clarinet to double the violin part.

The bass plays a supporting role in the Robichaux arrangements; it **never** plays the melody. Bass parts are written for either one or two instruments, string bass and trombone. The string bass **always** receives a bass line. The trombone part is more flexible. It may play a bass line, a treble line or a harmony line. It often plays some combination of these three.

The parts written for the string bass give the instrument the function of a harmonic and rhythmic anchor. String bass lines are typically simple and consist of root and fifth movement with occasional passing tones and thirds. Even in passages where all other instruments are syncopated the bass part retains an even, on-the-beat rhythmic pattern (that is, beats one and three in 4/4 and beats one and two in 2/4). The bass part of "On Emancipation Day" stands out

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

because it includes instructions to perform arco passages. Similar instructions are not found on the other manuscript bass parts, nor do most published stocks provide information that would clarify whether a bassist was expected to play his part with or without a bow.

Part writing for the trombone is more flexible than for the string bass. The primary role of the instrument is to provide bass figures doubling those of the string bass either in unison or an octave above. But the trombone is never confined to a single role in any arrangement. In most manuscripts it functions as a utility instrument. It can act as a bass instrument or it can move to the treble to reinforce significant formal elements, such as cadence points at the end of a passage (see, for example, "The International Rag", mm. 7-8, 13-14, 22, 32-33, 48-49 and 57-58).

The harmony part is most frequently performed by the clarinet (though it may also be performed by the cornet or trombone). Four techniques are found in all of the manuscript arrangements in the Robichaux collection:

1) Chord completion. The part is written in parallel motion a third or a sixth above or below the melody, depending on how the triad needs to be filled in.
2) Countermelody. The part includes a brief melodic idea that is distinct from the main melody or the bass.
3) Pedal point. This is typically no more than a measure of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

repeating the fundamental or another chord tone against the melody.

4) Melodic doubling. The part will briefly double the melody, no more than one or two measures, before returning to another type of harmonic accompaniment.

Only one special, "The Rye Waltzes", has a notated drum part. Either the other eleven drum parts are missing or, more likely, the drummer was expected to improvise. Since many of the drum parts from stocks in the collection appear to have been used, it seems that Robichaux's drummers were required to sight-read and be able to make up a part. Improvising a new part would not have been difficult for any drummer who understood the conventions of the period. Most phrases were of a standard length, and stops, starts and accents all seem to follow a small group of easily recognized stereotypical gestures.

"The Rye Waltzes" was probably notated for the drummer because it does not follow the expected routines of the period. The piece consists of four 16-bar waltz strains, each separated by a four-bar theme that is in 4/4 meter. The notation of the rhythms of the drum part is conventional for the period--there are no surprise breaks or trick lines thrown in. This suggests a different impetus for writing the part. The shift between meters as well as the da capo repetitions also found in the chart must have compelled Robichaux to include a line for the drummer.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This notated drummer's part reflects a tendency in the scoring of Robichaux's parts--an inclination toward cautious writing. Reminders were added to the score in places where musicians tend most frequently to make mistakes. Several passages occur with added accidentals reinforcing the key signature, especially leading tones. Double bars indicating the end of an eight- or sixteen-measure unit are always present, and first and second endings are carefully delineated with a bold black line. Robichaux seems to have wanted every performance to be perfect, and his notating style leaves little to chance. Viewed in this context, it is understandable that a shift between meters would have compelled Robichaux to notate the drum part from beginning to end.[47]

Finally, the question of a source for the arranging style for these manuscripts still remains. How were harmonic and structural decisions made? It appears that the answer for many of the manuscripts was that the arranger of the pieces systematically assigned parts directly from published piano-vocal music. This might not have been a difficult task. Instrumental roles were fairly consistent: the violins took the melody; the string bass and the trombone took the bass; and the cornets and clarinet were divided between melody and harmony.

---

[47] This tendency also shows up in the published stock arrangements. A discussion of the ways in which Robichaux doctored stock arrangements follows this section.
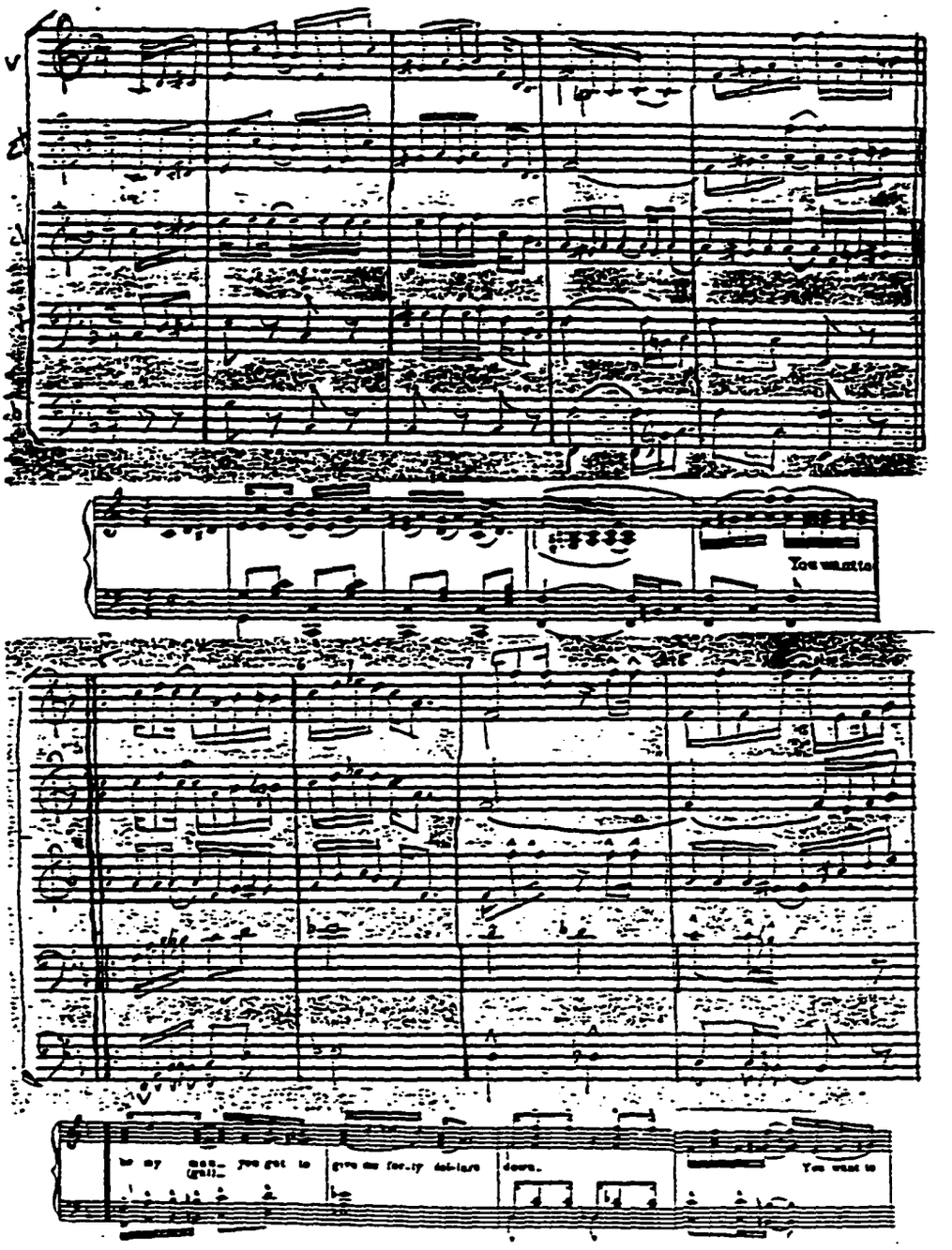
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The orchestration of "The Memphis Blues" illustrates the process used to turn a piano score into an arrangement (see Example 4.1). There is not a note in the new arrangement that cannot be found in the original; the manuscript parts seem to have been taken from the piano arrangement as described in the formula above. Because the method of arranging appears to be controlled by an implied set of rules regarding how each instrument may function, some harmonic elements are occasionally missing from the new arrangements. The outer voices are always retained; therefore the only decisions made by the arranger are which inner voices to retain. These decisions seem to grow out of the need to emphasize the melody. The harmony parts found in Robichaux's arrangement are those that in some way support the melody. There are no counter-melodies or riffs. If an arranging style is present in these manuscript arrangements, the idea of keeping the focus on the melody is central to it.

Not all of the manuscripts are direct copies of the piano-vocal sources. For example, "Teasing" has an added sixteen-bar tag not included in the piano-vocal score. Below is a list of the most likely published sources for the manuscript arrangements. The construction of this list has proven difficult because no composer is listed on the manuscripts.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 4.1. Published Piano Arrangement and Robichaux's Orchestration for "The Memphis Blues".



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Published Piano-Vocal Scores that are Sources for the Robichaux Manuscript Arrangements

Paul Laurence Dunbar (w) and Will Marion Cook, "On Emancipation Day," New York: Harry von Tilzer, 1902. Copyright: March 20, 1902, 23756.

W. C. Handy, "The Memphis Blues" Memphis: The Handy Music Co., 1912 (Reprinted in Handy, ed. Blues: An Anthology, New York: Da Capo, [1949] 1990.

Cecil Mack (w) and Albert von Tilzer (m), "Teasing", The York Music Co., 1904 (Reprinted in Robert A. Fremont, ed., Favorite Songs of the Nineties, New York: Dover, 1973).

Thousands of songs were published every year, and many of these, such as "Dearie", share the same title. I have not located the source for every piece. When multiple publications of a piece have been located, the most likely source has been selected based on a comparison of the manuscript with the published documents.[48] By locating the

---

[48] For example, there are four published versions of the Will Marion Cook and Paul Laurence Dunbar song, "On Emancipation Day." Three of the versions were published by Harry von Tilzer and a fourth was published in England by Keith Prowse. Two of the versions are in the key of B-flat, one is in G and the last is in F. All four published versions of the song begin with an eight measure introduction followed by a two-bar vamp. Robichaux's manuscript parts retain the introduction, but the vamp has been dropped. In addition, there is a harmony line for the clarinet (that is, for the most part, one of chord completion) that also does not appear in any of the published versions. The part that is the most distinct part belongs to the second violin. It is written entirely in double stops. The pitches and accents of this part conform most clearly with the piano-vocal song sheet published in B-flat by Harry von Tilzer in 1902. A thorough comparison suggests that the other parts could also have been derived from this publication. Therefore, this version is the most

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sources for some of the Robichaux arrangements it has been possible to identify another way that musicians developed arrangements. The process shown here is not particularly sophisticated. But it does reveal a practical and utilitarian solution that was used by one group of musicians to create performable scores.

Doctored Stock Arrangements

In jazz, the practice of altering the music found on a published score is known as "doctoring". Regional dance bands as well as those of national prominence were known to have doctored stocks to suit their musical needs. In chapter III, p. 127, I have quoted Robert Carter, a sideman with Fate Marable between 1937 and 1939, who discussed how the band altered published stock arrangements by adding riffs, improvising and playing out choruses.[49] Carter's description provides us with a unique perspective. It suggests that for Carter and his musical peers, the stock arrangement was not considered a fixed item; it was malleable and could be reshaped to the preferences of a

---

likely source for the Robichaux arrangement.

[49] Robert Carter, interview by Irene Cortinovis, 27 April 1973, transcript T-251, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis, 18.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

given ensemble.[50]

The value of the preservation of Robichaux's music collection to this study seems clear.[51] With this music we can observe the types of doctoring that took place and compare these with statements by musicians like Carter. The doctored stocks in Robichaux's collection suggest that at least in one instance, a band made changes to a stock that were permanent. It may be possible to locate differences between the written and oral tradition of doctoring, at least in regard to one band's practices. One can imagine many possible reasons for doctoring a stock: a passage could have been too difficult for a musician; the order of the strains was not the way the leader liked; only a portion of the music was needed; or the stock was so poorly written it needed revision.

There are many instances of doctoring in the stock arrangements of the Robichaux bandbook. Four basic types of doctoring were identified in the Robichaux library:

---

[50] Carter does not indicate whether Marable's band ever notated these changes on the arrangement. He implies that the group altered the music in performance. This could be described as a kind of unwritten doctoring, that is, a doctoring that takes place in performance by musicians who are sensitive to the conventions of the music and can reshape its contents. See discussion in Chapter V.

[51] Robichaux was able to save his music because his base of activities centered around a single small territory, the New Orleans area. He did not travel long distances and moved only twice between 1903 and his death in 1938. Ownership of a house gave him room to save materials that musicians living in less comfortable conditions could not.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1) Revisions to the published music

2) Changes to the ordering of sections of a stock

3) The addition of a new part, a notated manuscript, to a stock

4) A verbal (written) instruction added to a stock

These categories are designed to be broad in order to include numerous potential permutations of any given revision. There is also the possibility of overlap between some of the four types.

Revisions to the Published Music

Only two distinct types of revision appear in the altered stocks in the Robichaux Collection. These are changes of rhythmic figures and changes of octave placement.

Changes to the rhythmic structure of "Big Indian Chief", a published arrangement from 1904 of the Cole and Johnson song, are found on the parts for the first violin, first clarinet in A and first cornet in A (mm. 21-28). The changes were notated on manuscript paper and then carefully pinned onto the published parts. The two versions of the first violin part are displayed in example 4.2. This alteration gives the music a momentary syncopation. The new rhythmic idea is not found elsewhere in the music. The overall rhythmic alteration is slight, but enough to give a strong rhythmic syncopation to the line. The added syncopation to "Big Indian Chief" is a notated example of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the common practice of ragging a tune. Robichaux chose to rag only a single eight-bar passage, thus giving a brief lilt to the music; a hint of the then popular ragtime dance. This sudden change of character is so short that it does not alter the overall feeling of the song. It is also possible that the figure was meant to be continued throughout the piece. The year 1914 was one of the peak years for ragtime dance (see Table A.1 in Appendix A and ragtime for Table A.2). Hence, a brief allusion to ragtime should come as no surprise.

Another common practice of doctoring a stock arrangement involved alteration of pitch. In the Robichaux collection this alteration consisted primarily of changes of octave, the addition of double stops to violin parts and the inclusion of musical cues. These changes can be observed on the first violin parts for "I'm Sorry I Made You Cry" (N.J. Clesi), "La Susana" (George Rosey) and "Sorella" (Charles Borel-Clerc). It is possible that other parts may have been doctored, but none turned up in the material examined.[52] Another possibility is that as the leader, Robichaux, a violinist, saw to it that any changes that were part of a routine were notated on his parts. Other players were less

---

[52] Other parts may have been doctored in a similar manner. In a personal conversation, Jack Stewart speculated that the stocks taken from the Robichaux collection before it was turned over to the Hogan Jazz Archives were the best of the lot. Stewart proposed the theory that these would have been the stocks with the most alterations to make them sound good.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
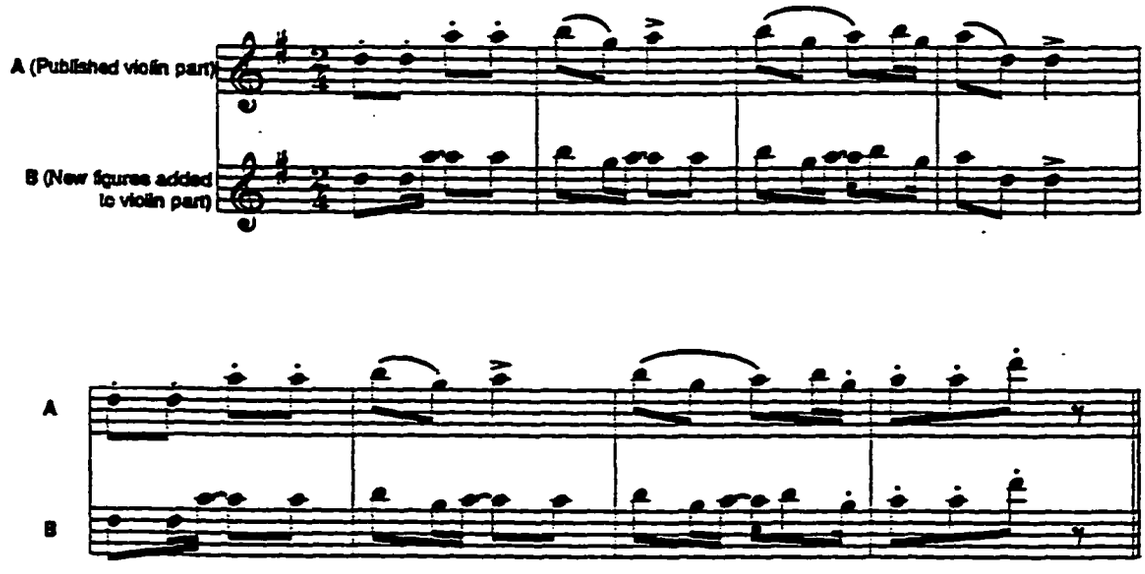
conscientious about doing so.[53]

---

[53] It is also possible that these changes reflect Robichaux's weaknesses as a performer. There are conflicting reports as to Robichaux's abilities as a violinist. In separate interviews with Bill Russell, both Alex Bigard and Hyppolite Charles expressed a high regard for the performing skills of the Robichaux orchestra, but added that Robichaux was a weak violinist. Lewis James, however, reported that Robichaux was a good left-handed violin player. (Tulane Interviews, cited in De Dender, "Professor Robichaux," 6-7). If we accept the reports of Bigard and Charles, then it is possible Robichaux doctored his parts out of technical need--to guarantee accuracy. The demands of a leader of an ensemble are great, and Robichaux could not have taken a risk that his skills might fail him on a given night. As far as his fingers were concerned, he would have less to worry about by keeping his violin part in one general range.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 4.2. "Big Indian Chief" violin part



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The added music to the violin part of "Sorella", a 1906 "Spanish March" arranged by R. E. Hildreth, poses an entirely different question. The notes boldly penciled onto measures 6-13 of the violin part are octave transpositions of the bass cues printed in small type below the staff. Both the trombone and the bass parts in the stock arrangement contain the notes for these cues. Both parts are pitched an octave below middle C.[54] At first glance it is difficult to determine whether the changes in the music were meant as revisions to the violin part or revisions to the musical cues. There is a third part, a manuscript addition for the C-melody saxophone, that includes the eight-bar passage in question. This saxophone part may have been the reason that the cues were notated an octave higher in the first violin part. Alternatively, Robichaux might have transposed the part to reinforce it on his instrument and strengthen the overall impact of this melodic line.

There are no dramatic alterations of the melodic line present in the examples of doctored written music found in the Robichaux collection. The music seems to have been changed to accommodate small and very immediate needs: to give a brief contemporary lilt to a dance piece, to place constraints upon a melodic range and to make a cue more

---

[54] Although I have listed two instruments with this line, I believe the published arrangement included a third instrument playing the line, the violoncello. This is speculation because the 'cello part was missing from Robichaux's copy of the stock.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
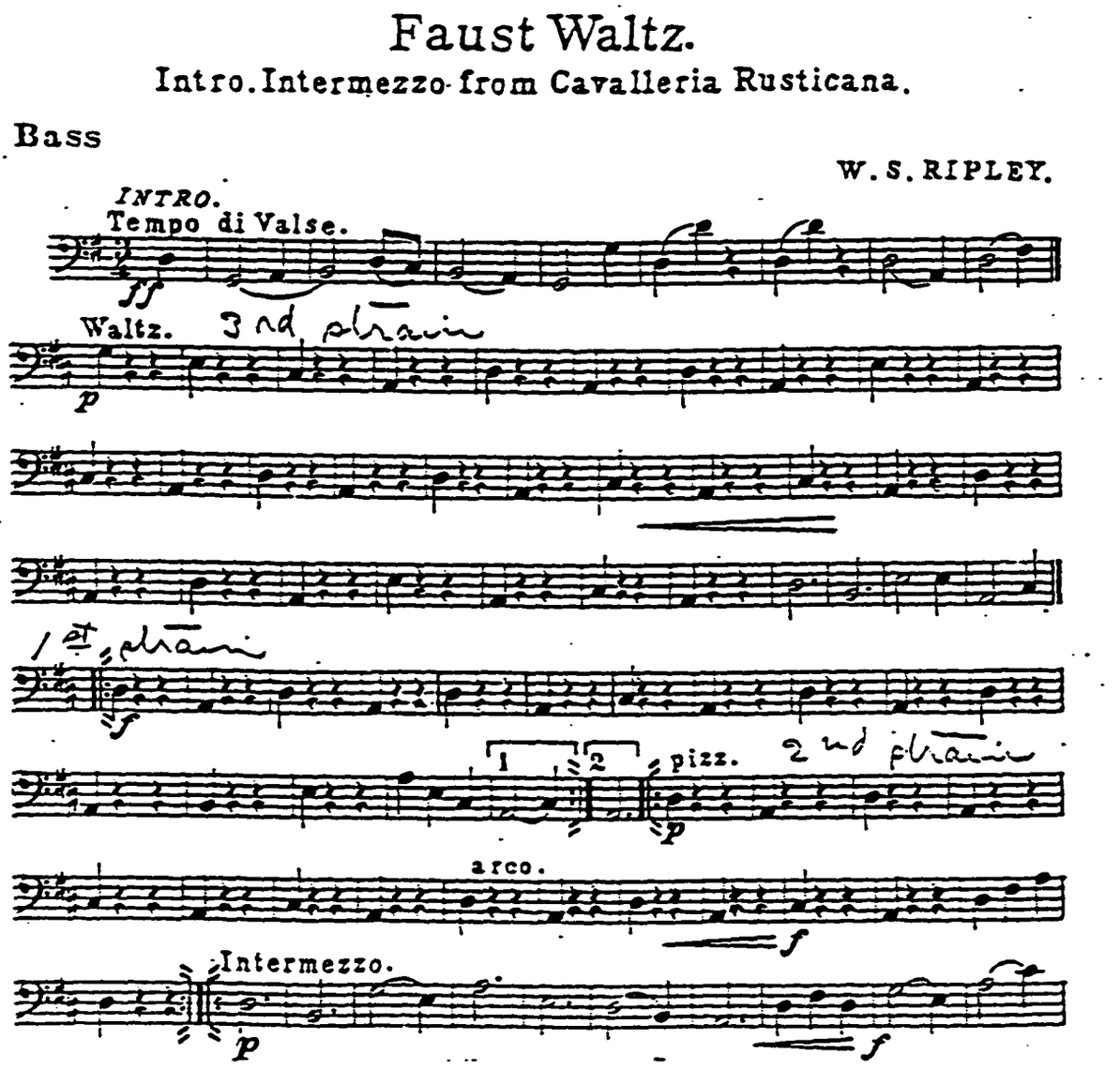
readily apparent. Such doctoring is probably present throughout the collection, and might turn up in greater quantity if a more comprehensive survey of the materials were conducted.

Changes to the Formal Structure of a Stock

Another way Robichaux doctored his stock arrangements was by rearranging the order of the formal structure of a piece. The most dramatic example of this type of doctoring is to be found in W. S. Ripley's arrangement of "Faust Waltz", a light dance number that included the "Intermezzo from Cavalleria Rusticana". Formally, the piece has two large sections, Waltz and Intermezzo, with an eight-bar introduction and an eighteen-bar coda described on the stock as a Finale. The doctoring takes place during the "Waltz" and is clearly marked on four of the parts: the trombone, the first cornet in A, the bass and the first clarinet in A (see example 4.3). The second strain of the waltz has been labeled "1st strain"; the third strain has been labeled "2nd strain"; and the first strain is marked "3rd strain". The order of the strains in the Intermezzo remains as written.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 4.3. Reordered Strains of "Faust Waltz"



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Adding New Parts to the Stocks

The Robichaux collection contains stocks that have been doctored by the addition of new handwritten parts. The new parts may be representative of changes in musical style, changes in band personnel or the need to reinforce a given musical line in the score. Some of the changes in these manuscripts are simple: a note-for-note transposition. Others are complex: combining sections from different parts to create a new part.

In nearly all of the examples below the addition of new music to an arrangement served to reinforce pre-existing parts. The melody was doubled or tripled by these doctorings and thus reinforced for the audience. Jack Stewart, a New Orleans musician and arranger who has studied materials from the Robichaux collection, suggested in a conversation that a priority in orchestrating for a New Orleans audience was to "do cuts, get rid of peripherals and take out difficult parts". Foremost, according to Stewart, one should "keep the melody going". This was the primary goal of a "traditional New Orleans doctoring job". New manuscripts rarely included new music. Only one example of new music was located, and this was for a piece performed much later in Robichaux's career. One goal for Robichaux appears to have been to keep the duration of a song short. Therefore, these "cuts" and the instructions in the manuscripts are an additional asset to understanding how a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

piece might have been performed.

Robichaux's copy of the stock arrangement of the Shelton Brooks song "Some of These Days" includes a manuscript part for B-flat cornet that reads "First Cornet in B". The new cornet part is a transposition of the piece down a half-step to B-flat. It includes music for a second instrument but only in the chorus of the song. The need for this new manuscript may be as simple as the addition of a new cornetist who did not play an A cornet, or perhaps Robichaux hired a cornetist who could not transpose the part on sight. The original score includes a harmony line to be played behind a singer, but the manuscript does not include this line. There is no evidence to suggest that Robichaux employed a singer, and this omission can be viewed as a sign of the utilitarian nature of this part.[55] The information given to the performer on the part is fairly comprehensive. In addition to transposing the part note-for-note, the copyist, who was probably Robichaux, included all tempo and most dynamic markings on the manuscript.

The new manuscript part for the first cornet in A of George O. Collins' arrangement of Jack Drislane and Henry Frantzen's 1921 tune, "Sing a Good Old Ragtime Song", is based on a combination of the cornet and first violin parts (see example 4.4). The new cornet part replaces sections
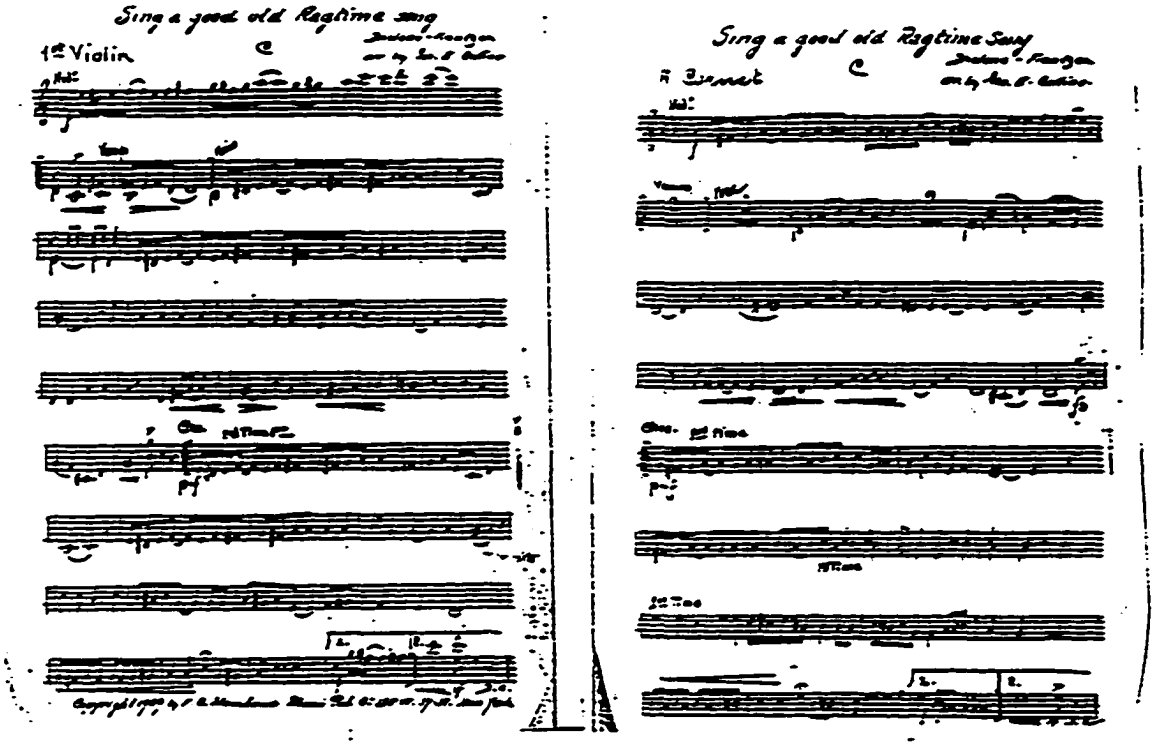
---

[55] The Robichaux orchestra may have had experience backing up singers as the house band at the Lyric Theater.
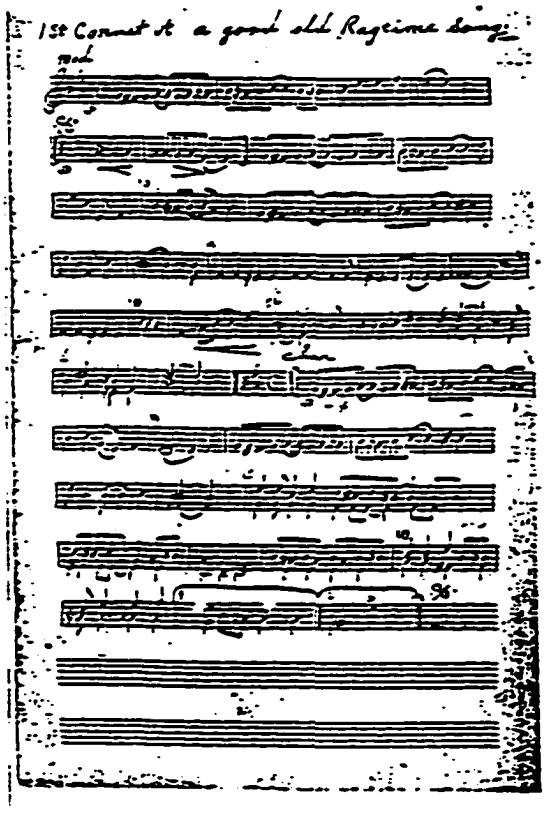
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

containing rests in the published part with lines from the first violin. For example, at mm. 5-6 the new music at the vamp eliminates the two bars of rest in the original and replaces it with the upper line of the violin part. Similarly, the next three bars of the cornet part (mm. 7-9) are transposed directly from the violin. There are no significant differences in the chorus between the manuscript and original cornet parts. This is because there are no rests for the cornet in this section. In addition, the published cornet is already scored to double the first violin during the chorus.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 4.4 "Sing a Good Old Ragtime Song" Published violin and cornet parts and manuscript cornet part





Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

New combination parts were found in five other stock arrangements in the Robichaux collection. It is likely that a more thorough study would turn up parts functioning similarly. For example, the manuscript trombone part of "The Magician" by Van L. Farrand appears to be a mixture of the original trombone line with the addition of musical material from the parts for the cello, second horn and bassoon. Three stock arrangements have added manuscript parts for a C-melody saxophone: "Somewhere a Voice Is Calling", "Sorella" and "Dear Little Boy of Mine". These new manuscript parts are based primarily upon the parts for the clarinet.

Written Instructions for Performance

Written instructions, usually in pencil, are found on the margins of many of the stock arrangements in the Robichaux music collection. These instructions enable us to see how Robichaux organized his performances. These directions always give specific changes for the performance of the number. Such changes included the number of choruses to be performed, when in the piece to expect a signal to cue the ending, which sections of a piece were to be performed, or what piece followed in a segue.

For example, written instructions are found on the piano, first violin, first trumpet and trombone parts for

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the stock of A. J. Piron's "Kiss Me Sweet". There are markings over the fourth-to-last bar of each part indicating that this is where the introduction to the tune will begin. In addition, the trumpet, trombone, and violin parts have "1+2", "1-2" and "1x2" marked respectively at the top of the page. This type of direction is not unique to this piece. The stock for J. M. Verges' 1916 song "Don't Leave Me Daddy" has similar markings on its parts. The cornet part is marked "1+2" while the bass has the more ambiguous instruction, "Ch 1 or 2". Only the instructions on the piano part are clear and direct. These read: "Intr. 2 cho." Since many stock arrangements included third, fourth and even endlessly repeating choruses, these added instructions were necessary to keep the orchestra playing as a unit. Similar instructions have been found on parts for the 1922 stock of "I Wish I Could Shimmie Like My Sister Kate", as well as on parts for William Grant Still's 1921 arrangement of Tom Delaney's "The Jazz Me Blues". The piano part for "The Jazz Me Blues" includes the written instruction, "segue Cootie Crawl", which is not found on any other part. A search has been made for "The Cootie Crawl" but it has not turned up in the Robichaux collection. Nevertheless, this short written instruction suggests that at least the piano player was expected to move directly from "The Jazz Me

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Blues" to "The Cootie Crawl".[56]

Summary

There are still many questions about John Robichaux left for music historians to sort out. For example, Samuel Charters reported that Robichaux "spent more time writing music as the depression deepened" and that he "left over 350 songs".[57] A search of the Tulane archives and the U. S. Copyright Office Catalogues has not turned up a single title under Robichaux's name. It is quite possible that Charters misunderstood information passed to him about the nature of the Robichaux music collection. The written music could very well have been some of the manuscript arrangements

---

[56] This written instruction makes it possible to give an approximate date for the use of this arrangement. According to information compiled by Brian Rust, "Cootie Crawl" was recorded four times, all within a year of one another, and all but one during the first half of 1923. This suggests that the Robichaux orchestra would have been performing this brief medley sometime between 1922 and 1923, probably not too long after the Original Dixieland Jazz Band's (ODJB) May 3, 1921 recording of "The Jazz Me Blues". It is important to recognize here that the ODJB continued to be a popular band well after its first recordings, and this popularity would not have waned quickly in the band's hometown, New Orleans. Playing a tune by such a band was another form of civic pride and undoubtedly expected of local society bands.

Recordings of the Cootie Crawl

Artist	Location	Date
Julia Moody	Long Island City	July-August, 1922
Sister Harris	New York	February 6, 1923
Tampa Blue Jazz Band	New York	February, 1923
Sammy Lewis	Richmond, Ind.	April 30, 1923

[57] Charters, Jazz: New Orleans, 9.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

found in the collection. Or perhaps these were the stocks, piano music, and songs of the collection. This music collection is Robichaux's legacy, and from it we may be able to reconstruct something of the musical world of the first decades of the jazz era.

Although much can be gleaned from a study of John Robichaux's band book, we will always be frustrated by his decision not to record his band. In any musical tradition that includes notated music, specifically early jazz, the sound of a performance and special attention to musical interpretation must also have a role in the analytic process. We can only guess at how Robichaux's band interpreted these scores and we can only imagine how hot or how sweet the band sounded. In spite of this absence, there is much to be learned from the unrecorded scores of early jazz bands. Hopefully more research can be conducted with this material that will continue to expand our knowledge about early New Orleans jazz bands.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER V

THE USE OF STOCK ARRANGEMENTS ON EARLY JAZZ RECORDINGS

This chapter examines the ways that jazz bands used published stock arrangements as scores to make recordings before 1930. This is accomplished by defining the term "stock arrangement", reviewing the current state of research on stock arrangements and early jazz, and presenting the results of a comparison of thirteen stock arrangements and forty recordings. Categorizing and describing the relationship between the stock arrangement and the recording enables us to identify the options taken by these musicians in creating recorded performances and testifies to their proficiency and musical sophistication. It also enables us to imagine similar options in the execution of "live" performances.

Stock Arrangements

A stock arrangement, as defined in the New Grove Dictionary of Jazz, is "a simplified, strictly practical arrangement in a conventional style, usually commercially available in published form".[1] This straightforward working definition does little to describe the rich assortment of arrangements that were published and available for use by musical groups prior to 1930. Nor does it reveal

---

[1] New Grove Dictionary of Jazz, s.v. "stock arrangement."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the inherently malleable nature of the stock arrangement that allowed for a wide variety of interpretations. Many of the stock arrangements surveyed in this chapter were indeed "simple arrangements", that is, they were harmonized presentations of the melody adorned at most by an introduction and conclusion. But a large number of these stocks were more complex, employing a variety of early jazz conventions such as multiple strains, solos and solo breaks, instrumental duets and trios, instrumental doubling and modulations.

The utilitarian construction of even the most complex stock arrangement is captured by the Jazz Grove description of the stock arrangement as "strictly practical". The common goals behind the design of a stock arrangement were relatively few during the period in question. First and foremost, the melody needed to be presented in a clear fashion. Second, the arrangement needed little or no rehearsal. And, finally, it could be performed by differing numbers of musicians. All other decisions depended on the mutual desires of the publisher and arranger. For example, the arrangements made of pieces composed and recorded by the Original Dixieland Jazz Band for the Leo Feist Company were simple, relatively unadorned presentations of the melody.[2]

---

[2] The ODJB arrangements were often simplified transcriptions of the recorded performances. This points to another aspect of stock arrangements that should be noted: some, but not all, published arrangements were transcriptions of recordings. See, for example, Jeffrey

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In contrast, the stock arrangements made by Mel Stitzel and Elmer Schoebel for the Melrose Music Company often added new strains or routines not found in the recorded source.[3]

Generally, this utilitarian approach entailed creating an arrangement in which parts were often doubled and even tripled, and where lines other than the melody, such as riffs or counter-melodies, were played only by second and third parts. The result was an arrangement that could be successfully performed by ensembles with differing numbers of personnel starting with the piano part alone. Interestingly, the size of the smallest group of musicians found performing from a published stock arrangement was two, while the size of the largest group was twelve.[4]

Because of the diversity of ensemble makeup, size, and instrumentation, some publishers sold arrangements in two different sizes, one for "small orchestra" or "dance band" and one for a large or "full" orchestra. The stock arrangement for the small dance orchestra generally

---

Magee, "Revisiting Fletcher Henderson's 'Copenhagen'". Journal of the American Musicological Society 42-66.

[3] A good period source for information on arranging techniques is Arthur Lange's Arranging for the Modern Dance Orchestra (1926. Reprint. New York: Robbins Music Corporation, 1927). Lange's text describes a number of the routines he used for writing arrangements for dance bands. It is one of the only extant works of its kind from this period and deserves further study.

[4] These numbers were determined by checking the personnel information provided the entry for each recording in Brian Rust's Jazz Records: 1897-1942.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

consisted of two trumpets, a clarinet and one other reed instrument, either a clarinet or a saxophone, one trombone, a first violin, piano, banjo, bass and drums. The arrangements for large orchestra generally added parts for two additional saxophones, a second violin, viola, cello and piccolo or flute. Some arrangements also included parts for oboe, bassoon and horns. In almost every instance, these added parts doubled existing lines of the smaller stock arrangement. One possible reason for all of this part doubling may have been to ensure that all lines on the original stock were performed. We can take our cue for this from one observer's comments about arrangements for use in theaters and silent movies. Charles Ives colorfully recalled that the uncertainty of available instrumentation at any given theater created the need for a stock to include part doubling:

> The make-up of the average theatre orchestra of some years ago in the towns and smaller cities in this part of the country, was neither arbitrary nor a matter of machinery. It depended somewhat on what players and instruments happened to be around. Its size would run from four or five to fifteen or twenty, and the four or five often had to do the job of twenty without getting put out. Sometimes they would give as much support "during the rescue" as the whole town band. Its scores were subject to make-shifts, and were often written with that in mind. There were usually one or two treble Wood-Wind, a Trombone, a Cornet, sometimes a Saxophone, Strings, Piano and a Drum--often an octave of High Bells or a Xylophone. The pianist usually led--his head or any unemployed limb acting as a kind of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ictusorgan.[5]

Current State of Research on Stocks

Recent research by a handful of jazz scholars has suggested that some early jazz ensembles commonly used written music, especially stock arrangements. Beginning with Thomas Hennessey's ground-breaking study of the activities of early jazz musicians in 1973, most of this research has been conducted and presented by social historians. The leading sources have been the oral histories and autobiographical materials of musicians who worked during this period.[6] Most of these scholars have been struck by musicians' emphasis on the presence and use of written music.

---

[5] Charles Ives, Notes for "A Set of Pieces for Theatre or Chamber Orchestra," p. 24. Thanks to H. Wiley Hitchcock for showing me this essay.

[6] Some of the more recent studies by social historians which have incorporated various elements of early jazz musicians interacting with written music (e.g., learning to read, using reading skills on the job, or writing music for others) include: Thomas J. Hennessey, "From Jazz to Swing: Black Jazz Musicians and their Music, 1917-1935" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1973). This was later pared down and revised into book form as From Jazz to Swing: African-American Jazz Musicians and their Music, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994); William Howland Kenney, Chicago Jazz: A Cultural History, 1904-1930, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Kathy J. Ogren, The Jazz Revolution: Twenties America and the Meaning of Jazz, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Nathan Pearson, Goin' to Kansas City, (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Burton William Peretti, "Music, Race, and Culture in Urban America: The Creators of Jazz" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1989). This was recently published as The Creation of Jazz: Music, Race, and Culture in Urban America, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The musicological research that touches upon this subject is scant. The author has been able to come up with a single published article in a scholarly journal, select passages from two books, and a number of chapters from one dissertation.[7] The authors of these contributions have accepted the premise that the musicians did not just play by ear, they also read music.

The portion of Karl Koenig's work that studies the use of written music by John Robichaux's orchestra is divided into two large sections. The first is a compilation of all known oral and written testimonies, primarily by New Orleans musicians, about the ensemble. The second is Koenig's analysis of the stock arrangements used by Robichaux's band. While much of the information he collected needs clarification, Koenig includes statements about the band being a "straight reading band" along with statements about the band being "hot" (i.e. improvisatory).[8] Koenig's work presents another window into the very real musical world that large numbers of jazz musicians encountered in the 1920s. As Koenig makes clear, this was a musical world

---

[7] Jeffrey Magee, "Revisiting Fletcher Henderson's 'Copenhagen'"; Karl Koenig, Trinity of Early Jazz Leaders: John Robichaux, "Toots" Johnson, Claiborne Williams. (Privately printed, n.d.); Mark Tucker, Ellington: The Early Years (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1991); Jeffrey Stanford Magee, "The Music of Fletcher Henderson and his orchestra in the 1920s" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1992).

[8] Koenig, Trinity of Early Jazz Leaders, 9-19.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

where one's skills as a "hot" player were clearly valued as well as one's ability to read and perform a variety of musical styles.

The first musicological discussion of the use of stock arrangements in the recording studio appeared in Mark Tucker's study of the early career of Duke Ellington. Tucker noted that on a number of occasions the leader seemed to be using stock arrangements as a basis for his recording. Although Tucker is not systematic in his assessment of Ellington's reliance upon the stocks, in a number of instances he describes how a stock appears to have been adapted for use by the band. His comparison of Bob Haring's arrangement of "Wanna Go Back Again Blues" with Ellington's recording focuses on identifying similarities and differences. Of greater importance is Tucker's comparative analysis of Paul Van Loan's arrangement and the Washingtonian recording of the tune "(I'm Just Wild About) Animal Crackers". Tucker provides a structural chart that delineates the formal similarities and differences between the recording and the published arrangement. He uses this chart to distinguish those sections of the recording that are "nearly literal readings of Van Loan's arrangement" from those that are not.[9]

A more far reaching musicological study of the relationship between published stock arrangements and

---

[9] Tucker, Ellington, 158-159, 161.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

recordings was conducted by Jeffrey Magee. His findings were presented in his 1992 dissertation, "The Music of Fletcher Henderson and his Orchestra in the 1920s", and summarized in an article published in the Journal of the American Musicological Society. Magee compares many of Henderson's recorded performances with published stock arrangements. Using a comparative structural chart similar to that used by Tucker, Magee was able to conclude that

> the Henderson band relied on stocks not only for keys and routines but also for specific passages, even entire choruses; and . . . the band typically reworked stocks, even adding to them, so that it could record unique versions of the pieces.[10]

Magee then demonstrated how specific stock arrangements were used or reshaped in individual Henderson performances. This notion was expanded in his article, "Revisiting Fletcher Henderson's 'Copenhagen'", which systematically established that the published stock arrangement of "Copenhagen" was a primary source for Don Redman's arrangement of the piece for the Henderson band. In the process of doing so, Magee refuted existing scholarship that tended to denigrate or otherwise downplay the presence of stock arrangements on the music stands of early jazz bands. Most importantly, Magee expanded the assertion first made in his dissertation that in the hands of Don Redman, Henderson's arranger, a published stock arrangement was

---

[10] Magee, "Music of Fletcher Henderson," 98.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

treated as a plastic, reshapeable object.[11] It will be shown that Magee's conclusions regarding Henderson's use of stocks may be applied to many jazz performances by other groups from this period.

Method and Scope of Research

The remainder of this chapter is a comparative study of 13 stock arrangements published between 1914 and 1928 with 40 recordings of these same titles. The titles, publication information and discographic information as well as an explanation of how the pieces were chosen are provided in Appendix 3. Each stock arrangement was analyzed primarily for its formal characteristics. One of the more significant difficulties inherent in a study of stock arrangements is the lack of a conductor's score. Providing a conductor's score was not one of the conventions of the period. Rather than rewrite all of the parts to create a conductor's score for each piece, I made a structural chart of each arrangement, based on a model used by both Magee and Tucker. The distinctive harmonic and melodic sections, or strains, are identified on each chart, most frequently by using the letters or identifying information provided on the stock. In addition, other significant formal information is provided, including: the key of the piece or of a particular section; the number of measures in the section; the roles of the predominating melodic and support instruments; and, the

---

[11] Ibid., 55-63.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

presence and activity of the rhythm section instruments. Parallel charts have been made for every located recording of a piece and have been included in Appendix 4. The charts make it possible to assess the types of relationships that might exist between a recorded performance and a stock arrangement.

The results of this survey clearly indicate that in the 1920s many jazz bands were using published stock arrangements on their recorded performances. Comparison of the recording with the stock arrangement makes it evident that the practice was rich with options and possibilities: room for solos might be expanded; existing passages might be removed while new passages were added; the introduction or the ending might have been altered; or the order of the strains might have been changed. Twenty-nine of the forty recordings used the stock arrangement in a modified form. Ten recordings did not use the stock arrangement. Two recordings used the stock arrangement note for note, without variation. The pieces sampled for this study have been separated into these groups in Table 5.1.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 5.1. Relationships between stock arrangement and recorded performances

a. Recorded Performances that Use the Stock Arrangement but make some changes to it

Title	Artist	Date	Record
Beau Koo Jack	Louis Armstrong	Dec. 5, 1928	OKeh 8680
Cafe Capers	Elgar's Creole Orchestra	Sept. 17, 1926	Vocalion 15477
Cafe Capers	The Jazz Kings	Aug 1927	Tri-Ergon TE5057
Heebie Jeebies	Fess Williams	Oct. 1, 1926	Vocalion 1054
Heebie Jeebies	Original Indiana Five	October, 1926	Bell 456
Hot Notes	Savoy Bearcats	Oct. 11, 1926	Victor 20460
Jackass Blues	Clarence Williams	Apr. 7, 1926	OKeh 40598
Jackass Blues	The Dixie Stompers	Apr. 14, 1926	Harmony 166-H
Jackass Blues	King Oliver	Apr. 23, 1926	Vocalion 1014
Jackass Blues	Fletcher Henderson	May 14, 1926	Columbia 654-D
Jackass Blues	Philip Spitalny	June 29, 1926	Victor 20108
Jackass Blues	Thomas Morris	July 13, 1926	Victor 20179
Jackass Blues	Alex Jackson	Sept. 16, 1927	Gennett 6249
King Porter Stomp	Oliver and Morton	c. Dec. 1924	Autograph 617
King Porter Stomp	Lanin's Red Heads	Feb. 26, 1925	Columbia 327-D
King Porter Stomp	Charles Creath	March 1925	OKeh 8210
Oh Sister Ain't That Hot	Charles Dornberger	Aug. 30, 1923	Victor 19138
Oh Sister Ain't That Hot	Original Memphis Five	Oct. 1923	Banner 1282
Oh Sister Ain't That Hot	Fletcher Henderson	Jan. 1924	Emerson 10713
Snag It	The Dixie Stompers	Jan. 20, 1927	Harmony 353-H
Snag It	Arthur Briggs	c. Jan. 1928	D G 21130
Snag It	Georgia Cotton Pickers	Jan. 22, 1930	Harmony 1127-H
Steady Roll Blues	The Bucktown Five	Feb. 25, 1924	Gennett 5419
Stockholm Stomp	Jack Pettis	Dec. 16, 1926	Banner 1907
Stockholm Stomp	Original Indiana Five	Dec. 25, 1926	Harmony 387-H
Stockholm Stomp	Fletcher Henderson	Jan. 22, 1927	Brunswick 3460
29th and Dearborn	Richard M. Jones	Nov. 6, 1925	OKeh 8260
29th and Dearborn	[Luis] Russell's Hot Six	Mar. 10, 1926	Vocalion 1010

b. Recorded Performances that use the Stock Arrangement as a Score and follow it basically note for note

Title	Artist	Date	Record
Heebie Jeebies	Marek Weber	Sept. 14, 1927	Electrola EG-650
Snag It	Andy Kirk	Apr. 30, 1930	Brunswick 4878

c. Recordings that do not appear to have used the published stock arrangement as a score

Title	Artist	Date	Record
Frankie and Johnny	Isham Jones and his Orch.	Jan. 1923	Brunswick 2423
Frankie and Johnny	Harvey Brooks' Quality Four	c. Feb. 1924	Hollywood 1008
Frankie and Johnny	Fate Marable	Mar. 16,1924	OKeh 40113
Heebie Jeebies	Louis Armstrong	Feb. 26, 1926	OKeh 8300
Heebie Jeebies	Ethel Waters	July 29, 1926	Columbia 14153-D
Jackass Blues	Lovie Austin	Apr. 1926	Paramount 12361
Oh Sister Ain't That Hot	Jimmie Noone	Aug. 25, 1928	Vocalion 1215
Satanic Blues	Lanin's Southern Serenaders	Jan. 24, 1922	Emerson 10508
Satanic Blues	Ladd's Black Aces	Mar. 19, 1922	Gennett 4859
Steady Roll Blues	Francis Craig	Sept. 29, 1925	Columbia 567-D

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The last group (Table 5.1.c) should remind us that as important a role as musical literacy may have played in the lives of jazz musicians in the 1920s, it was not the only process used to create a coherent performance. In most cases the recorded performances in this group probably took place without the use of written music. It is also possible that the band may have been provided with an arrangement created specifically for that ensemble.[12] Structural charts make it easier to recognize the relationship, or lack of one, between a stock and a recording. Charts were useful for those recorded performances where the strains were reordered, or different instruments were assigned a given line from the stock. In these instances, determining a relationship between the stocks and recordings requires a systematic comparison, section by section and part by part.

It is striking that the two note-for-note readings, Marek Weber's recording of "Heebie Jeebies" and Andy Kirk's recording of "Snag It" come, in some way, from what may be considered the peripheral regions of this study. Weber's recording was made in Berlin, and the names listed for the

---

[12] It is also possible that the ensemble could have been performing from another published stock arrangement. Every attempt was made to ensure that all existing stocks were located for the pieces studied. However, little research has been done with regard to the publishing history of jazz. There are no catalogues of stock arrangements comparable to the vast works of jazz discography. Some stock arrangement collectors, such as Vince Giordano, have developed databases of their personal collections. If a catalogue is to be developed it will need to rely on such sources.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

personnel suggest an ensemble made up primarily or perhaps entirely of German musicians. Though the other foreign recordings examined did not stick strictly to the music on the stock arrangement, as a general rule these recorded performances were more literate. On the surface it might seem odd that Kirk's recording was faithful to the written music. But this recording comes from 1930, a year that is often used to delineate the beginning of the swing era. One generally accepted notion of the swing era that might explain Kirk's reading of the stock was its greater reliance on written arrangements as performance scores.[13] By 1930, many of the larger jazz bands employed arrangers to create original scores for the group. Further research in this area is recommended. It would be interesting to determine whether the recording of stock arrangements by jazz bands continued into this period and, if so, in what manner.

The relationships found in Table 5.1.a, the largest group can be examined in a variety of ways. First, it is possible to view the changes made to the stock arrangements on these recordings as grouped into two conceptual levels: the group and the individual. That is, some changes made to a stock arrangement affect the entire group, while others may affect only a single performer. The changes made to a

---

[13] See, for example, George Simon, The Big Bands, 4th ed. (New York: Schirmer Books, 1981) 40-45; James Lincoln Collier, The Making of Jazz: A Comprehensive History. 1978, Reprint (New York: Dell Publishing, 1979), 188.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

stock arrangement that effect the group are primarily found at the formal level: changes to the introduction and ending of a piece, the reordering of strains, and the addition of new solo sections. Changes to the instrumentation within a strain are also an activity consistent with group-level decision making. Changes to a stock arrangement at the level of the individual tend to effect a specific line being played, but not the formal structure of a performance. These changes are most obvious at the level of the solo, but may also be noticed on performances where lines are embellished.

Many stocks contained fully notated solos. There are recordings in which some musicians are "reading" their solos and other musicians are improvising or embellishing a written solo (see Table 5.7). These changes are not limited to the solo section of a stock arrangement. The recordings often contained performances in which different levels and degrees of embellishment or reworking of the melodic and accompanying lines took place. Identifying a musical change as individual does not necessarily mean that the decision to make the change was made by the individual playing the line: it is impossible to know whether individual changes were made by the leader, an arranger, or the performer. Finally, while it may be helpful to divide these changes to a stock arrangement into different categories, it must be noted that at any given moment in a performance events from more than

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

one of these categories were likely to be taking place. What follows is a detailed description of the various sub-categories of changes to the stock arrangements.

Introductions and Endings

One of the common ways that early jazz musicians "disguised" a stock arrangement for recording was to change the introduction and the ending. While discussing his arranging techniques for the period around 1924, the band leader and arranger, Sam Wooding, observed that, "At that time I was only making introductions and endings. But inside the strain I wasn't doing it, you see."[14] The work of Jeffrey Magee focused upon how arrangers learned to work "inside the strain". Here, the significance of Wooding's comments is in his emphasis on the creation of new beginnings and endings for pieces. Wooding was not the only arranger who recalled this practice. In an interview with Chip DeFaa, Joe Tarto recalled creating new introductions for Sam Lanin.

> Sam would say, "Now, here's two orchestrations. I want you to make a different introduction on each one, they're both to be different. Then what you do in the last chorus, put first in this one. Reverse the whole thing around, so it doesn't sound the same, because we're going to do one at OKeh, and we're going to one at Columbia." The same thing, the same band, but under a different name. So that's the way we'd do those things. And then the arrangements were mostly like a guide because then the guys would improvise on it, you

[14] Sam Wooding, JOHP, 141; Magee, "Music of Fletcher Henderson," 87.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

know.[15]

Tarto's observations tell us a great deal about the way that some early jazz musicians viewed the role of the arrangement. For these musicians the generic quality of its construction appears to have been an advantage: they could reshape the structure to suit their needs. By changing an introduction, or by moving the location of one of the strains, Sam Lanin felt that an arrangement would be different enough to allow for multiple recordings.

This viewpoint seems to be confirmed by the number of performances that did not follow the introduction to the stock arrangement on the recording. Of the twenty-eight recordings that in some way depart from the stock arrangement, only half use the published introduction. Five of those fourteen recordings follow the introduction in a relatively loose or embellished manner. In example 5.1, the cornet part of the recorded duet by King Oliver and Jelly Roll Morton of Morton's composition, "King Porter Stomp" closely follows the lines on the stock arrangement for the first two bars, but King Oliver's line on the third and fourth bars, while closely resembling the written figures, is an embellishment of what is notated. The remaining fourteen arrangements display a wide variety of solutions to the problem of how a band could enter smoothly into a tune.

---

[15] Joe Tarto in Defaa, Voices of the Jazz Age, 110. Tarto does not identify the tune or the recordings.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 5.2 divides the types of solutions that these musicians and arrangers came up with into four categories. Fourteen of the recordings perform the introduction as written on the published stock arrangement. One recording, "Stockholm Stomp", by the Original Indiana Five, created a new introduction that was loosely based on the introduction written on the published stock arrangement. Six recordings perform introductions that combine portions of the published introduction with new material. The recording of "Stockholm Stomp" by Fletcher Henderson and his Orchestra uses an introduction that combines two strains from the arrangement. Finally, there are six introductions that combine the published line with new material and six recordings with introductions that are made up of entirely new material and do not use the published lines.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 5.2. Types of Introductions Used on Recorded Performances of Stock Arrangements

Introduction used as printed on stock arrangement (or with very slight embellishment)

Title	Artist
Beau Koo Jack	Louis Armstrong and his Savoy Ballroom Five
Cafe Capers	Elgar's Creole Orchestra
Cafe Capers	The Jazz Kings
Jackass Blues	Clarence Williams Stompers
Jackass Blues	King Oliver and his Dixie Syncopators
Jackass Blues	Thomas Morris and his Seven Hot Babies
King Porter Stomp	King Oliver and Jelly Roll Morton
King Porter Stomp	Charles Creath's Jazz-O-Maniacs
Oh Sister Ain't that Hot	Fletcher Henderson and his Orchestra
Oh Sister Ain't that Hot	Original Memphis Five
Snag It	The Dixie Stompers
Snag It	Arthur Briggs and his Savoy Syncopators Orchestra
Stockholm Stomp	Jack Pettis and his Band
29th and Dearborn	Richard M. Jones' Three Jazz Wizards

Introductions based on the published line

Title	Artist
Stockholm Stomp	Original Indiana Five

Introductions that combine the original line with new material

Title	Artist	Comments
Heebie Jeebies	Original Indiana Five	8 bars, 1 from original, remainder is new
Heebie Jeebies	Fess Williams	8 bars, 3 from original, 5 new
Oh Sister Ain't that Hot	Charles Dornberger	6 bars, 2 from original, 4 new
Snag It	Georgia Cotton Pickers	8 bars, first six are from stock, last two are new
Steady Roll Blues	The Bucktown Five	cornet plays original line while bandmates play obbligato figures
29th and Dearborn	Russell's Hot Six	4 bars, 2 new 2 from stock

Introductions that are based on other strains in the arrangement

Title	Artist	Comments
Stockholm Stomp	Fletcher Henderson	24 bars, first 8 bars of strain from letter D (inside the repeat signs) followed by saxes w/rhythm section (no brass) playing letter B one time through using 2d ending

Introductions made up of entirely new material

Title	Artist	Comments
Hot Notes	Savoy Bearcats	4 bars
Jackass Blues	Philip Spitalny	8 bars
Jackass Blues	Alex Jackson	8 bars
Jackass Blues	Fletcher Henderson	4 bars (2-bar idea repeated)
Jackass Blues	The Dixie Stompers	6 bars
King Porter Stomp	Lanin's Red Heads	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Another common place for changing the published material was at the end of the arrangement. Table 5.3 categorizes the recorded performances that either changed or did not use the ending printed on the stock. On seven recordings the published ending was performed and then followed by the addition of a brief tag of one to three bars in length. The material for the tag ending usually came from the last bar of the music. Two of the recorded performances included a tag ending that replaced the published ending. Three of the recordings used a new ending that had little or no relation to the published arrangement. The music played in this last group generally consisted of standard cadential figures from the period.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 5.3. Types of Endings Used on Recorded Performances of Stock Arrangements

Tag ending added after original ending

Title	Artist	Comments
Heebie Jeebies	Original Indiana Five	1-bar added to existing 2-bar tag
Jackass Blues	Philip Spitalny	tag is a repetition of last 3 bars
Jackass Blues	King Oliver	repeats last bar 3 times
Oh Sister Ain't that Hot	Charles Dornberger	2-bar tag
Oh Sister Ain't that Hot	Original Memphis Five	1-bar tag
Steady Roll Blues	Bucktown Five	2-bar tag
Stockholm Stomp	Original Indiana Five	1-bar tag
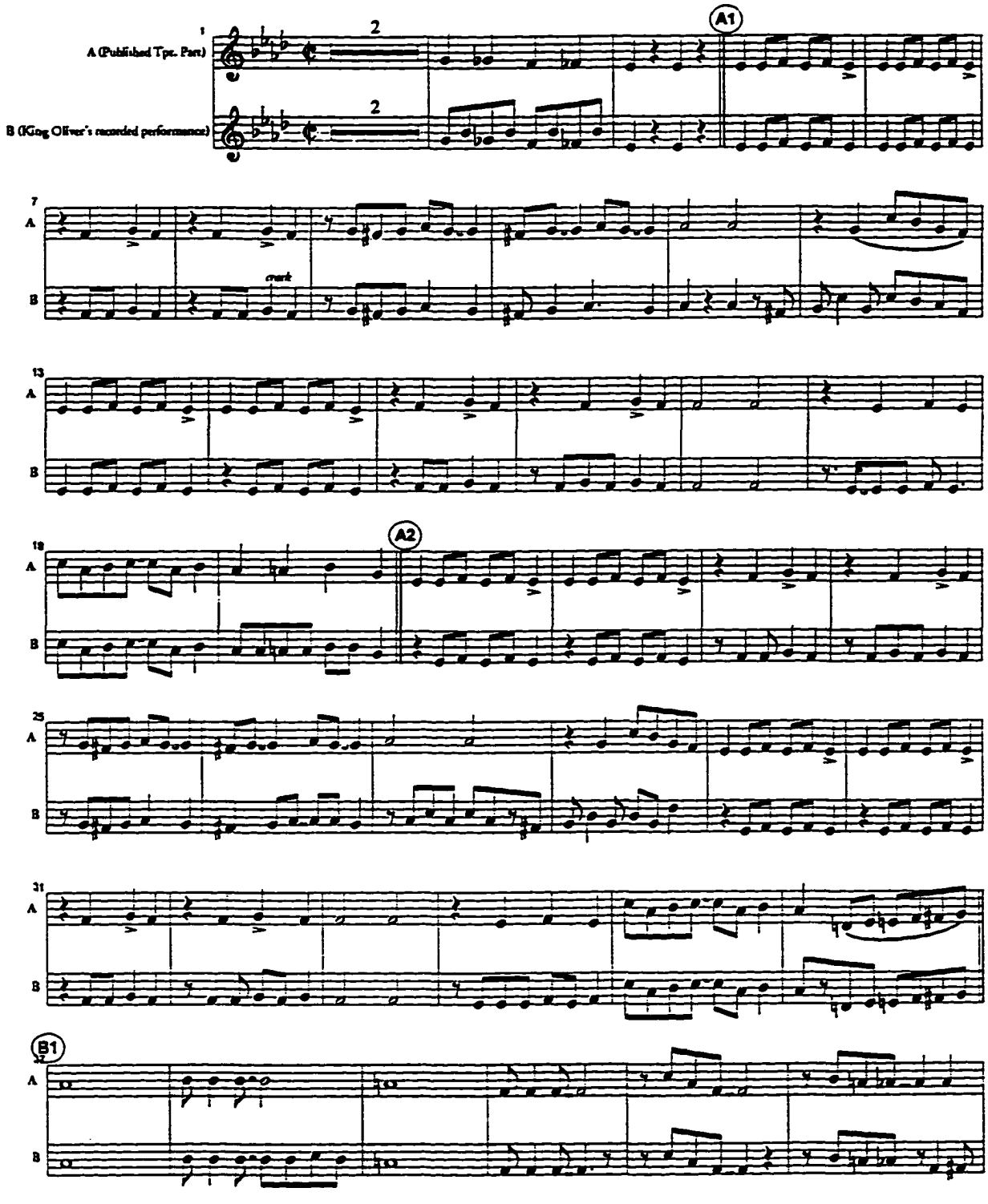
Tag ending replaces original ending

Title	Artist	Comments
Heebie Jeebies	Fess Williams	replaces original 2-bar tag w/ 5-bar tag ending
Oh Sister Ain't that Hot	Fletcher Henderson	replaces tag w/ 4- bar tag sax soli
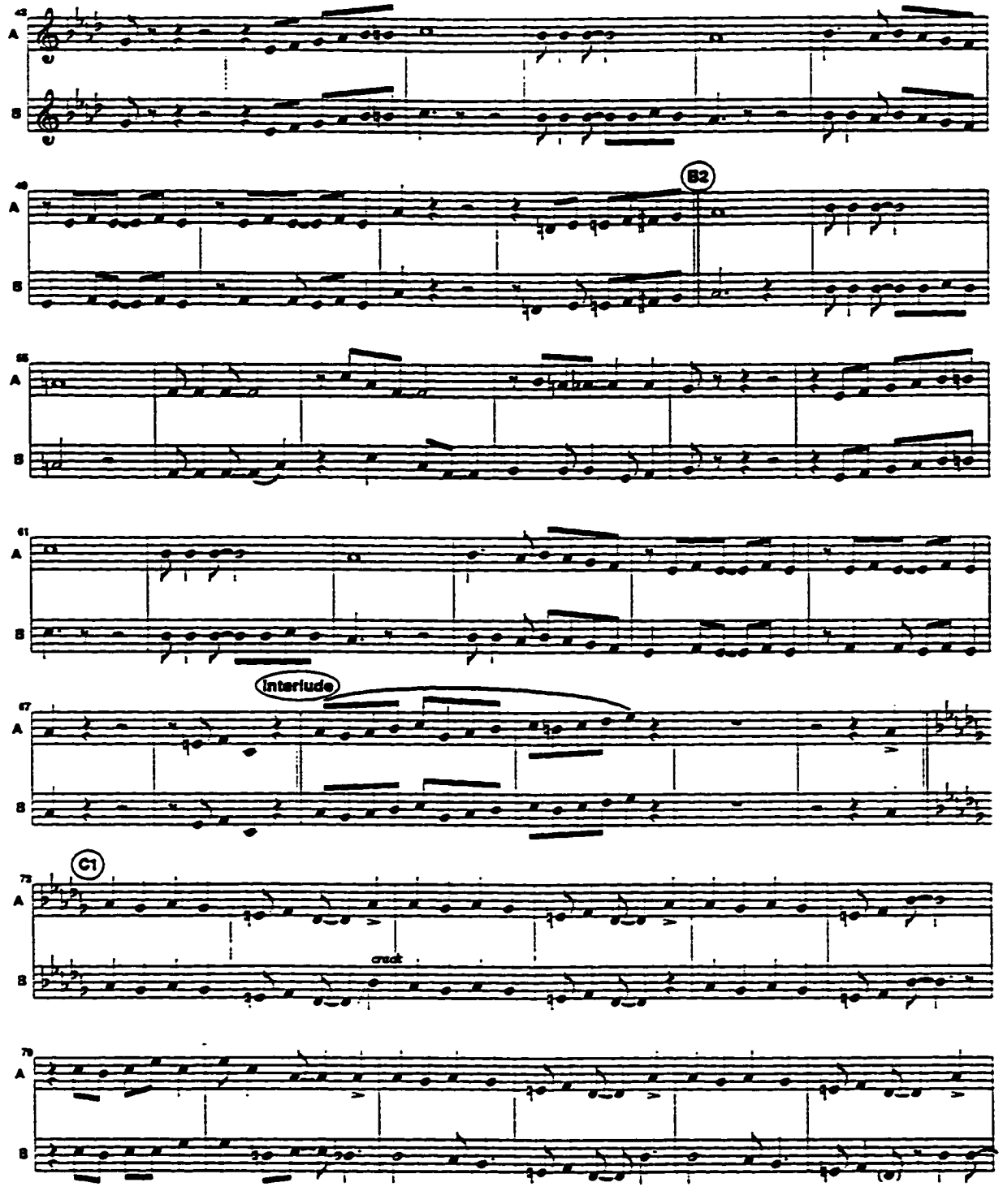
Ending changed entirely

Title	Artist	Comments
Jackass Blues	Alex Jackson	ensemble sings the words "that's the Jackass Blues"
Snag It	The Dixie Stompers	saxes play ending written at end of first 12 bars of section E
29th and Dearborn	Russell's Hot Six	group solo on the out chorus

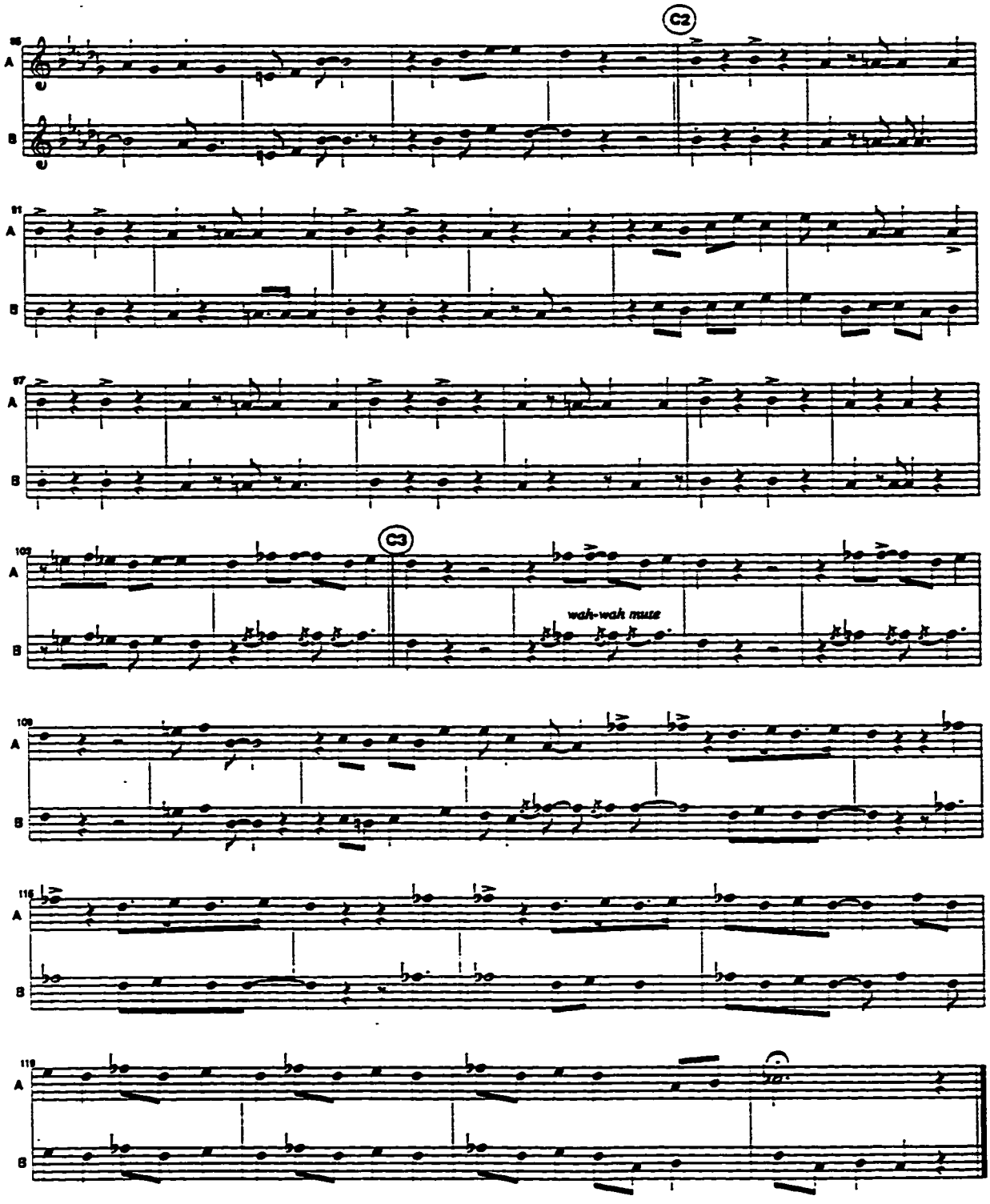
Example 5.1 "King Porter Stomp"



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Changes to the Formal Structure

One of the ways that Joe Tarto modified arrangements for Sam Lanin was to change the order of the musical events. The reordering of sections or strains of a stock arrangement for a recorded performance appears to have been quite common. Among the 28 recorded performances listed on Table 5.1.a., there were more than 25 changes to the formal outline of the published arrangement. On Table 5.4 the changes that appeared on the recorded performances are separated into three categories. There were five performances in which one or more of the strains or sections were dropped. On five other recorded performances a strain or section was repeated or moved elsewhere in the arrangement. There were ten performances in which a new section or strain was added to the arrangement. Not surprisingly, more than one of these options was exercised in the same performance, though not frequently enough to develop any general rules. Given the time constraints of a 78 rpm recording, if a band were to play a section of an arrangement twice, or add a new section, it might also have to take a section away. However, it was much more common to add material to a recorded performance than it was to remove it. New strains or sections were added to ten recorded performances, but existing strains or sections were removed from only five of the recorded performances.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 5.4. Changes to Formal Arrangement of Strains and Sections Used on Recorded Performances of Stock Arrangements

Strain or Section Removed from an Arrangement

Title	Artist	Comments
Hot Notes	Savoy Bearcats	Section E removed
Jackass Blues	Alex Jackson	section D and F have been removed
Snag It	Georgia Cotton Pickers	Section D clarinet trio removed
Snag It	The Dixie Stompers	sections B and C removed
29th and Dearborn	Russell's Hot Six	final return to section B removed

Existing Strains Reordered or Repeated

Title	Artist	Comments
Heebie Jeebies	Original Indiana Five	stock arrangement lists order as Verse, A, A recording reorders to A, Verse, A
Heebie Jeebies	Fess Williams	stock arrangement lists order as Verse, A, A recording reorders to A, Verse, A, A
Hot Notes	Savoy Bearcats	adds another section C played after section D
Jackass Blues	Philip Spitalny	A new soli, section E, is repeated
Jackass Blues	King Oliver	form is reordered and expanded, Intro, B, A, B
Jackass Blues	The Dixie Stompers	section E is repeated
King Porter Stomp	Charles Creath	repeats sections C and D: C C D D
Oh Sister Ain't that Hot	Charles Dornberger	A and B section are repeated: A, B, A, B
Oh Sister Ain't that Hot	Fletcher Henderson	the A (verse) is repeated again after the B (chorus) section: A B A
Oh Sister Ain't that Hot	Original Memphis Five	section C (patter section) is repeated again after piano solo

New Section or Strain added to an Arrangement

Title	Artist	Comments
Hot Notes	Savoy Bearcats	new section replaces E
Jackass Blues	Fletcher Henderson	new section added between E and F
Jackass Blues	King Oliver	section D rewritten to modulate to key of F, new strain added between E and F has vocalist and lyrics
Jackass Blues	Philip Spitalny	two choruses replace E, one for clarinet solo, one for brass section
Jackass Blues	Alex Jackson	new section replaces E
Snag It	The Dixie Stompers	section D has solo superimposed on it, A section has new tpt melody superimposed on existing material
Snag It	Georgia Cotton Pickers	added section at letter C features piano
Stockholm Stomp	Jack Pettis	section C replaced by a 24-bar section featuring violin
29th and Dearborn	Richard M. Jones	piano section added between D and last time through B
29th and Dearborn	Russell's Hot Six	four new choruses added after letter D

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Inside the Strain": Solos and Embellishments of Written Lines

Although larger structural changes such as altering the introduction or adding a new section were felt by the entire group, many of the choices made "inside the strain" appear to have had a greater effect at the individual level. To be sure, there were some inside-the-strain decisions that affected the group as a whole, such as the addition or removal of figures to a section or changes in instrumentation. New figures were not added to the arrangement with any apparent frequency, but it was fairly common to drop accompanying figures from sections of an arrangement. It was almost as common for the instrumentation on an existing part to be changed in a section of the performance; for example, a clarinet could be substituted for a trombone or an alto saxophone for a cornet (see table 5.5).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 5.5. Changes Inside the Strains and Sections of Recorded Performances of Stock Arrangements

Changes in instrumentation

Title	Artist	Comments
Cafe Capers	The Jazz Kings	saxes play melody w/o cornets during second time through sections A and B
Heebie Jeebies	Original Indiana Five	piano plays transition at end of section A
Hot Notes	Savoy Bearcats	alto sax replaces tpt for repeat of section C
Jackass Blues	King Oliver	piano replaces horns at repeat of section B, then saxes play melody w/o tpt, D vamp played by piano w/o horns
Oh Sister Ain't That Hot	Charles Dornberger	clarinet replaces trombone playing melody at section B
Oh Sister Ain't That Hot	Fletcher Henderson	alto sax replaces cornet and tbone playing melody at section B
Stockholm Stomp	Jack Pettis	mandolin and violin replace brass and saxes in passages at letter D
29th and Dearborn	Richard M. Jones	trio recording necessitates use of different inst. for some lines

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Accompanying lines exist, but are not performed

Title	Artist	Comments
Cafe Capers	Elgar's Creole Orchestra	acc. parts out at section D
Jackass Blues	The Dixie Stompers	figure at letter C are out
Jackass Blues	Alex Jackson	most background figures have been taken out throughout the arrangement
Jackass Blues	Fletcher Henderson	background figures at A, C, E and F have been dropped
Jackass Blues	King Oliver	background figures at letter D are out
King Porter Stomp	Oliver and Morton	limited number of players necessitates certain lines being left out
Oh Sister Ain't That Hot	Charles Dornberger	offbeat accents at verse and melody have been taken out
29th and Dearborn	Richard M. Jones	shortage of players necessitates certain lines being left out

New accompanying figures are added

Title	Artist	Comments
Jackass Blues	The Dixie Stompers	background figures added at sections A and E
Jackass Blues	Fletcher Henderson	background figures added at section D
Jackass Blues	Alex Jackson	background figures added at sections A, C and D

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Mixture: some musicians follow stock, others seem to be creating new lines

Title	Artist	Comments
Beau Koo Jack	Louis Armstrong	alto sax often plays lines not on his part
Cafe Capers	Elgar's Creole Orchestra	section G is mixture of lines till two bars before the ending
Jackass Blues	The Dixie Stompers	section A, mixture of players following line and others w/ new material, section F, clarinet plays obligato instead of written line
Jackass Blues	Fletcher Henderson	section A, mixture of lines played w/new obligato
Jackass Blues	Alex Jackson	basic structure, i.e., formal construction, of performance is retained but most musicians are not playing lines from stock
Jackass Blues	King Oliver	saxes split at repetition of section B, some play new line, others play line from stock
Jackass Blues	Thomas Morris	section A ensemble ad libs "jackass" noises
Oh Sister Ain't That Hot	Original Memphis Five	clarinet and trombone are not playing the written part
Snag It	Georgia Cotton Pickers	section B, tbone not playing written part, section F brass not playing music from stock, but the others are
Steady Roll Blues	The Bucktown Five	tbone player not playing written part, patter break not played
29th and Dearborn	Richard M. Jones	some compensating going on to make up for lack of large instrumentation

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As quoted above, Joe Tarto was of the opinion that the arrangements used in recording sessions served mostly as a guide to the musicians and that the "guys would improvise on it".[16] This study has noted numerous instances that would seem to agree with Tarto's observations, though it should also be noted that there were many recorded performances of arrangements with little change inside the strain. Solos were an exception to this statement. Whether inside the strain or during the solo, there was room, in certain ensembles, for the band members to choose between the written music and their own musical ideas. For those musicians who could not read music, there was room to add their own ideas to an existing structure.

Sixteen of the recorded performances contain at least one instance where a musician or a number of musicians embellished or otherwise moved away from a written line. In most of these cases other musicians were still following their parts. In every case, the musicians appeared to be aware of where they were in the piece, thus eliminating the possibility that what was being heard was primarily the result of a musician's error. Moreover, in no case are these embellishments or changes to the arrangement found throughout the recorded performance. In Thomas Morris's version of "Jackass Blues", the noticeable embellishments to the arrangement are found in only three sections of the

---

[16] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

performance, the trumpet part in the introduction and the ensemble embellishments in sections A and F. In contrast to his bandmates who seemed to be following the notated music of the stock arrangement, the trombonist in the Bucktown Five's version of "Steady Roll" appears to have embellished or even improvised his line from beginning to end.[17] It is, of course, quite possible that he was not reading a part. Other examples of embellished lines may be found in Table 5.6.

---

[17] In Jazz Records: 1897-1942, Brian Rust identifies the trombonist as Guy Carey (I/193). Unfortunately, there are no references to this name in any of the standard jazz reference works. It is possible, but not likely, that "Guy" was the nickname for Mutt Carey's brother, trombonist Jack Carey (see Charters, Jazz: New Orleans, 24-25).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 5.6. Embellishments of Published Line on Recorded Performances of Stock Arrangements

Title	Artist	Comments
Beau Koo Jack	Louis Armstrong	alto sax often plays lines not on his part
Cafe Capers	Elgar's Creole Orchestra	cornet embellishes lines throughout
Heebie Jeebies	Fess Williams	section A saxes embellish line
Jackass Blues	Clarence Williams	A section, trumpet embellishes line
Jackass Blues	The Dixie Stompers	section F, clarinet plays obligato against existing line
Jackass Blues	King Oliver	F section, lines embellished
Jackass Blues	Fletcher Henderson	section A, tbone embellishes line, last chorus, acc. figures are loosely interpreted
Jackass Blues	Philip Spitalny	every section lines behind melody are embellished, clarinet plays obligato figures in last chorus
Jackass Blues	Thomas Morris	intro embellished by tpt; ens. embellishes A and F strain
Oh Sister Ain't That Hot	Charles Dornberger	not so much embellishment as additional accents on figures throughout
Snag It	Arthur Briggs	section B the tpt moves away from written line
Stockholm Stomp	Original Indiana Five	section D, ens. embellishes figures
29th and Dearborn	Richard M. Jones	at beginning of every section the line begins as written and then moves away
29th and Dearborn	Russell's Hot Six	A section, tenor sax paraphrases written line

Nine of the thirteen stocks contain solo sections for one or more instruments. The remaining four stock arrangements do not. Every part that included a solo section for the instrument included a fully notated solo. A contemporary musician would be surprised to find that in this time period stock arrangements did not include the chord changes. The absence of chord changes would make it somewhat more difficult for a soloist to create or improvise an entirely new melodic idea. If a soloist chose not to follow the solo on the published part, he either had to develop his ideas from the material given or have a strong enough ear to create a new line on his own. In any given recording, one can find musicians playing renditions of the written solo, while other musicians play new, possibly improvised, solos. Twelve recordings include solos either entirely or primarily based upon the written solo. Fourteen recordings include new solos that replaced the written ones (Table 5.7). One of the surprises in this study, noted in the charts of Table 5.7, was that the trumpet solo performed on the recording of "Beau Koo Jack" by Louis Armstrong closely follows the contours of the published arrangement. This stands in stark contrast to the piano and the alto saxophone solos on the same recording which do not. Given the proximity of the recording date to the date of publication of the stock, it is quite possible that Armstrong was performing a prepared solo (see Table 6.7).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The evidence presented in Chapter VI would support such an assertion.

The amount of solo space seems to have been important to the participants in these performances (Table 5.8). The space alloted for solos was expanded on fifteen of the recordings. For example, Luis Russell's version of "29th and Dearborn" adds four choruses of solos between the last two sections of the piece. Similarly, Fletcher Henderson's rendition of "Stockholm Stomp" inserts four soloists between the second and third section on the stock arrangement. In some instances the existing solo space was split in half, enabling more than one musician to express his ideas.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 5.7. Written vs. Embellished or Improvised Solos on Recorded Performances of Stock Arrangements

Solo performed as written or with some embellishment

Title	Artist	Comments
Beau Koo Jack	Louis Armstrong	Louis plays solo as written on stock until last few bars
Cafe Capers	Elgar's Creole Orchestra	tbone plays solo at section D as written
Cafe Capers	The Jazz Kings	tbone plays solo at section D as written
Jackass Blues	Clarence Williams	tbone solo at section C is played as written
Jackass Blues	The Dixie Stompers	clarinet solo at section E is played as written and harmonized
Jackass Blues	King Oliver	tbone solo at section C is played as written but w/ a growl effect
Jackass Blues	Thomas Morris	tbone solo at section C is played w/ some embellishment
Snag It	The Dixie Stompers	letter E, tpt solo is played as written
Snag It	Arthur Briggs	tbone begins w/ solo played as written then embellishes; tpt solo at section E begins as written, but is a somewhat failed performance and does not finish as written
Snag It	Georgia Cotton Pickers	tpt plays solo at section E as written
Steady Roll Blues	The Bucktown Five	all solos are as written w/some embellishment
Stockholm Stomp	Jack Pettis	section B tbone solo as written
Stockholm Stomp	Original Indiana Five	section B tbone solo
29th and Dearborn	Richard M. Jones	all lines, some of which are soloistic, begin as written and are then paraphrased

Written solo replaced by improvised/new solo

Title	Artist	Comments
Beau Koo Jack	Louis Armstrong	alto sax and piano solos are improvised
Heebie Jeebies	Fess Williams	new solos for alto sax, piano, clarinet, tpt
Heebie Jeebies	Original Indiana Five	clarinet and tpt solos are not as written
Jackass Blues	Clarence Williams	tpt line in section A is paraphrased, clarinet solo at section E
Jackass Blues	The Dixie Stompers	tbone solo at section C
Jackass Blues	King Oliver	section A is turned into a tpt solo only loosely based on original line; clarinet solo at section E
Jackass Blues	Fletcher Henderson	tbone solo at section C and clarinet solo at section E
Jackass Blues	Philip Spitalny	tbone solo at section C and clarinet solo at section E
Jackass Blues	Thomas Morris	clarinet solo at section E
Jackass Blues	Alex Jackson	tbone solo at section C and clarinet solo at section E
Snag It	Georgia Cotton Pickers	clarinet solo at section C
Stockholm Stomp	Jack Pettis	section B alto sax and tpt
Stockholm Stomp	Original Indiana Five	section B tpt and clarinet
Stockholm Stomp	Fletcher Henderson	section B, tenor sax, tbone, tpt, and clarinet

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 5.8. Changes in Allotments of Solo Space on Recorded Performances of Stock Arrangements

Title	Artist	Comments
Heebie Jeebies	Fess Williams	added 16 bars for alto sax solo, piano replaces melody for solo
Jackass Blues	The Dixie Stompers	tbone solo cut to one chorus, clarinet increased to two choruses
Jackass Blues	King Oliver	section A is turned into a tpt solo; tbone solo at section C is cut to one chorus
Jackass Blues	Fletcher Henderson	tbone solo at section C cut to one chorus; cornet solo added
Jackass Blues	Philip Spitalny	tbone solo at section C cut to one chorus and tpt solo added; clarinet solo at section E moved to just after section A
Jackass Blues	Alex Jackson	tbone solo at section C cut to one chorus clarinet solo at section E moved to just after tbone solo; piano solo added after clarinet solo
Oh Sister ...	Original Memphis Five	22-bar piano solo inserted between repetitions of patter section: C piano solo C
Oh Sister ...	Fletcher Henderson	2 22-bar solos added clarinet solo after A verse, then patter then sax solo
Snag It	Georgia Cotton Pickers	piano solo inserted into the middle of repetitions of F section
Snag It	The Dixie Stompers	tbone and clarinet solos removed; tpt solo space expanded to play over sections A and D
Stockholm Stomp	Original Indiana Five	opened to three solos tpt, clarinet, and tbone
Stockholm Stomp	Fletcher Henderson	section B, opened to four spots tenor sax, tbone, tpt, and clarinet
29th and Dearborn	Richard M. Jones	solo for piano between section D and B
29th and Dearborn	Russell's Hot Six	four choruses added at end of arrangement for solos

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Conclusions

The findings of this study expand existing conclusions about the use of stock arrangements in early jazz. This study has advanced a comparative method that extends such conclusions beyond a single artist's recordings and thereby enables us to view the use of stock arrangements from a broader perspective. By employing an analytic model first developed by Magee and Tucker, it has been noted that the use of the stock arrangement was fairly widespread.

While expanding our notion of the use of written music in recorded performance, this chapter also suggests that some recordings did not use any known published arrangements. But the number of recordings found to rely on these arrangements is striking. Three-quarters of the recordings surveyed appear to have used the published stock arrangement. It seems almost surprising to find how common it was to change the stock to suit the purposes of the musicians and further corroborative research is recommended. The results of this inquiry reflect once again the inherent malleability of the material. This use of the stock arrangement should remind some readers of the contemporary use of the fake book. There is something analogous between the interpretations of the stock arrangement noted on the seven recorded versions of "Jackass Blues" and the different interpretations of a tune from a fake book. Both use the source, in Joe Tarto's words, "as a guide". Perhaps such

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

comparisons could lead us to different ways of thinking about recorded examples of early jazz.

Finally, the results of this small sample of 13 stock arrangements and 40 recordings suggest the need for a large scale study. It is likely that many of the conclusions from a larger random sample would be similar to those drawn here. However, without such a larger sample it is difficult to assert that these findings are more than indicative of the differences to be found between stock arrangements and recordings.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER VI

THE COPYRIGHT DEPOSITS OF LOUIS ARMSTRONG

This chapter presents a detailed study of the copyrights of Louis Armstrong between 1923 and 1930, and, in the process, addresses the following questions: What is the general nature of a copyright deposit of a 1920s era jazz composition? Is it a score? Is it a transcription of the recording? Who was responsible for the notation of the unpublished manuscripts deposited for copyright in Armstrong's name? What role does copyright play in the history of early jazz? What types of connections can be made between the recordings of a piece and its copyright deposit? What do the copyright deposits contribute to our knowledge of early jazz musicians?

The copyright deposits made by Louis Armstrong between 1923 and 1930 are well suited to this inquiry. All of the of the types of copyright deposit manuscripts and scores described in this chapter are to be found among Armstrong's compositions. Further, Armstrong is best known as the founder of the art of solo jazz improvisation. This study reveals that Armstrong's compositional skills were also highly developed and may, in some instances, have contributed to the development of his improvisational abilities. The result is a deeper appreciation of Armstrong's art and genius.

A comparison of the copyright deposits with their

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

corresponding recordings suggests three broad observations. First, many of the deposits have a relatively close, sometimes even note-for-note relationship to the recordings. Given the inclination of most jazz musicians to embellish and rhythmically displace notes within a melody, there are relatively few significant variations between Louis Armstrong's recordings and his copyright deposit manuscripts. Second, it is possible, by categorizing these variations, to make certain types of general assertions about the relationship between the recorded performance and notated manuscript with regard to Louis Armstrong's early recording career. Finally, it is possible to discuss elements of Louis Armstrong's compositional process by comparing those manuscripts deposited prior to being recorded with the subsequent recording.

Copyright Deposits

Copyright is a legal and not an artistic process. When King Oliver, Louis Armstrong, Nick LaRocca and other early jazz musicians made a copyright deposit, they did so for the same reason as music publishers: to legally assert the ownership of a musical work. The establishment of a copyright identifies a piece of music as one's personal property. Nick LaRocca learned a bitter lesson in 1917 when Alcide Nunez and Ray Lopez obtained a copyright for LaRocca's own composition, "Livery Stable Blues". LaRocca's failure to secure a copyright for his work eventually led to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the loss of royalties for the piece and to a well-publicized lawsuit.[1] Given the publicity surrounding this case, it is likely that other jazz musicians, including King Oliver and Louis Armstrong, became aware of this lawsuit and of the need to protect their original compositions.

What was considered legally copyrightable? One could copyright a melody and the words to a song. One could not copyright a chord progression. Nor could one copyright a song title. It did not matter whether the copyright was being obtained for a published or an unpublished composition. The owner of the piece was required to deposit at least one copy of the work with the Copyright Office in Washington, D.C. These deposits created a unique archive of music materials, a large portion of which has been transferred to the Music Division of the Library of Congress.

One of the primary functions of the Music Division of the Library of Congress is to serve as the archive for original music submitted for copyright, published and unpublished. A specific category for music copyrights in the United States was initiated in 1831.[2] Since that date

---

[1] H. O. Brunn, The Story of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960), Chapter 7, "The Strange Case of the "Livery Stable Blues"," presents a detailed account of the history of "Livery Stable Blues" and the copyright lawsuit that ensued.

[2] Gillian B. Anderson, "Putting the Experience of the World at the Nation's Command: Music at the Library of Congress, 1800-1917," Journal of the American Musicological

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

hundreds of thousands of musical works have been deposited and represent a large and diverse cross-section of American music history.[3] Jazz scholarship, the new kid on the musicological block, has only begun to investigate the various scores, lead sheets and other written musical works, both printed and in manuscript, that have been deposited by jazz composers and publishing companies.[4] These copyright deposits are one of the most important sources available to scholars who are interested in written music of the early jazz period.[5]

This research indicates that many early jazz musicians

Society, XLII/1 (Spring 1989), 114.

[3] See Anderson, "Putting the Experience," 115-123, for a detailed description of the establishment of the Library of Congress Music Division and the history of its early music copyright holdings.

[4] When studies do include this source the results are quite rewarding. Mark Tucker's recent study Ellington: The Early Years, compares copyright deposits with Duke Ellington's earliest recordings.

[5] The copyright deposits for popular music, including jazz, deposited between 1900 and 1930 are currently available at the Library of Congress under the call numbers, M1350, M1356.2, M1622, and M1630.2. The only other broad based archive of published and manuscript scores from this period, the Hogan Jazz archive at Tulane University, is quite different in its structure from the Library of Congress. The source material for the Hogan Jazz Archive is derived primarily from a single band leader's private collection of stock and special arrangements. There are a few other archives that have material from this period, such as the Whiteman collection at Williams College, the Benny Goodman collection at Yale University, and the Ellington collection at the Smithsonian. Given the constrictions of time and the scope of this project these collections have not been consulted.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in Chicago, especially those in King Oliver's circle, who submitted original compositions for copyright generally did so after a piece had been recorded. In the case of Louis Armstrong about one-third of the pieces he submitted were deposited for copyright prior to being recorded. The uniqueness of this last group of copyright deposits will be discussed later in this chapter. Most of the copyright deposits that were surveyed were in the form of lead sheets that consisted of little more than a thumbnail sketch of the melody of the piece. To date, no researcher is known to have located copyright deposits that were complete transcriptions in score form of a recorded piece. Thus, jazz historians should not expect to find a vast resource of solo transcriptions or, for that matter, anything more than the melody one hears on the recording of a piece. However, the research presented in this chapter will show that sometimes written documents can inform us about how early jazz musicians presented their musical ideas in written form and, in a limited number of instances best exemplified by the copyright deposits of Louis Armstrong, how certain jazz melodies have been changed and recomposed over a period of time.

Any musical work submitted for copyright, published or unpublished, was assigned a copyright registration number. Information regarding copyright registration may be found in either of two sources: a card catalogue in the copyright

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

office in Washington, D. C. beginning in 1870 and a published catalogue of music copyrights that was published in three to five issues each year beginning in 1898. Both sources contain essentially the same information, though the card catalogue is somewhat more complete. The contents of a copyright catalogue entry identifies the composer or composers, the composer's nationality, the legal title of the composition, the number of copies of a piece submitted for deposit, the copyright date, and the copyright registration number. A primary differentiation of copyright type noted in the U. S. Copyright Catalogue is between published and unpublished deposits.[6]

Published Copyright

A published copyright deposit consists of a complete copy of the printed music. There are four different types of published materials submitted for copyright that might be of value for jazz research: songs; stock arrangements; transcribed solos; and instrumental method books. An example of a published collection of transcribed solos would be the two books of Hot Breaks by Louis Armstrong. However, the two types of published copyright deposits germane to this dissertation are songs and dance band stock arrangements. During the 1920s, U.S. copyright law required

[6] There is a detailed explanation of these Copyright Deposit Catalogue entries in the introduction to Appendix F. The method of differentiating between published and unpublished copyright has changed over the years, but the use of such a distinction has been in place since 1928.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that publishers submit two copies of all published works for copyright.

Whenever a new version of a song or stock arrangement was published, a copyright was obtained to protect that arrangement. Sometimes this occurred several times in the life of a song. By incorporating such copyright information into our research, it may be possible to gain a more revealing and thorough picture of the publishing history and "behind the scenes" work that took place in the promotion of early jazz compositions. One example of this is the copyright and recording history of "'Lasses Candy", by Dominick James "Nick" LaRocca of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band (ODJB). The song was first recorded by the band on December 3, 1918 for the Victor label, but was never released (see Table 6.1). The first copyright deposit, submitted on January 7, 1919 (E439564), was an unpublished manuscript arranged by J. Russel Robinson. The copyright was submitted by the entire group and all the band members were listed on the registration. In keeping with current practice this copyright was taken to protect the band's legal right to the song after it had been recorded. We assume that the band expected the Victor company to issue the recording. The band recorded the song again a year later in London on August 13, 1919. This time the recording was released. A second copyright was taken on October 11, 1919 (E462171) for a piano arrangement published by Leo

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Feist, Inc. This copyright was probably made to protect the piano arrangement of the composition. Either the ODJB or the Victor company must have liked this piece because another attempt to record it was made on December 1, 1920. A third and final copyright deposit was for an orchestral arrangement with piano accompaniment, commonly referred to as a stock arrangement, copyrighted on April 2, 1921 (E504901). The last part of the Copyright Catalogue entry for this deposit reads "[copyright is claimed on arrangement]". This makes sense, because LaRocca had already protected the melody and the words on two previous occasions. The decision to publish the piece as a stock arrangement suggests that someone at Leo Feist believed there was enough interest on the part of the listening and dancing public to merit further promotion and performances of this piece.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 6.1. Copyright and Recording History of "'Lasses Candy", 1918-1921

Date	History
December 3, 1918	Original Dixieland Jazz Band makes first recording for Victor (rejected), New York
January 7, 1919	D.J. LaRocca, H. Ragas, L. Shields, E. Christian, A. Sbarbaro obtain copyright for Dominick J. LaRocca composition, "'Lasses Candy" (E 439564), Arranger: J. Russel Robinson
August 13, 1919	ODJB (Columbia 759), London, recording
October 11, 1919	Leo Feist, inc., New York, obtains copyright for publication (E462171), arranged for piano, 2 copies received by copyright office Oct. 13, 1919
April 2, 1921	Leo Feist, inc., New York, obtains copyright for publication (E504901) arranged for dance orchestra by Leroy Walker, 2 copies received by copyright office April 4, 1921

Unpublished Copyright

According to U. S. copyright law, a composer only needed to submit a single copy of an unpublished manuscript for copyright. Because the harmonic scheme was not legally protected, most copyrights for jazz and jazz-related materials consisted of a lead sheet containing only the melody. Notwithstanding this, some jazz composers submitted manuscript copyright deposits that contained much more musical information than just the melody.[7] Those that did, such as some deposits made by Louis Armstrong, provide some

[7] Given the structure of the Copyright Deposit catalogue, it is extremely difficult to determine the number of copyrights that were made for jazz compositions.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

valuable insight.[8] Manuscript deposits for jazz related music can be divided into three categories, according to the amount and type of information provided on the score.

1. Single line melodies. This is the most common type of copyright deposit and is usually referred to as a lead sheet. For example, the copyright deposit of Louis Armstrong's "Cornet Chop Suey" (see Appendix E) is a single line melody. Interestingly, on the upper left hand corner of the deposit manuscript the word "cornet" is crossed out and replaced with "lead". Some lead sheets also included an accompanying text that was either attached to the music on a separate sheet or written at the bottom of the score. An example of a Louis Armstrong manuscript copyright deposit like this is "When You Leave Me Alone to Pine". Similarly, the copyright deposit manuscript for Louis Armstrong's "Gully Low Blues" is a lead sheet with the text written at the bottom of the page.

2. Songs: single line melody with text underlaid. Many early jazz compositions were conceived as popular songs. Most of the manuscript copyright deposits of these songs are lead sheets that include the melody with the text underlaid. These deposits often look like handwritten versions of published songs that are missing the piano part. Two

---

[8] A conservative estimate for the percentage of manuscript lead sheets submitted that contain more information than just the melodic line would be perhaps one out of every seven deposits.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

examples of this type of score are the two located deposits for Hardin's "My Sweet Lovin' Man" (see Appendix E).

3. Fully realized scores. These are, most often, songs with text that also include such details as harmonies, dynamic markings, and tempo indications. Most of these scores are in the form of piano scores that include a two-hand accompaniment. One example is the manuscript of the Louis Armstrong and Paul Barbarin collaboration, "Don't Forget to Mess Around When You're Doing the Charleston". The melody is found in the uppermost voice of the treble; the remainder of the right hand and all of the left-hand material fill in the chord, provide the bass, and give a rhythmic accompaniment. There are no tempo or dynamic indications on this manuscript. An example of a more fully realized score is the manuscript of Richard M. Jones's "I Aint Gonna Tell Nobody" (see Appendix E). It includes a piano part, dynamic markings, and a carefully underlaid text. Jones probably learned at a later date that this information was unnecessary because most of his later manuscript deposits were not as detailed.

Multiple copyright deposits

There are some cases of multiple deposits for a given composition. As was noted earlier with regard to the ODJB, these were often taken to protect a new arrangement of a song. Some later deposits were made to accommodate text revisions or compositional changes.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 6.2. U. S. Copyright Registrations for Lillian Hardin's "My Sweet Lovin' Man"

No Flower Can Compare with My Sweet Smelling Man; Lillian Hardin. Arranger: Dave Peyton; September 25, 1922. Copyright number E 546616; Lillian Hardin, Chicago.

My Sweet Smellin' Man; Lillian Hardin. Arranger: Harry Alford; December 4, 1922. Copyright number E 552550; Melrose Bros., Chicago.

My Sweet Lovin' Man; Lillian Hardin and Walter Melrose. Arranger: Dave Peyton; February 19, 1923. Copyright number E 558660; Melrose Bros., Chicago.

An example of a multi-copyrighted and repeatedly revised piece is Lillian Hardin's "My Sweet Lovin' Man".[9] Table 6.2 presents the copyright deposits for this piece. There were several revisions to the song, not excluding its title. A thorough comparison of these works is hampered by the absence of the second of these deposits. Only the first and the third deposits have been located. These deposits are of interest to jazz scholarship because the song was recorded twice in 1923, first by the New Orleans Rhythm Kings, and later by King Oliver and his Creole Jazz Band (see Table 6.3). In the final deposit, the Melrose-Hardin

---

[9] Lillian Hardin, better known as Lil Armstrong, was married to Louis Armstrong in 1924, they separated in 1931 and were not divorced until 1938. After their divorce, she continued to use Armstrong as her surname. During the period of this study she appears in the U. S. Copyright Catalogue with three different last names, Johnson, Hardin, and Armstrong. There is an additional deposit with a misspelling of her name as Harding.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

version of the song, a brief instrumental trio is inserted after the melody. The text is carelessly underlaid in both deposits, and it is not easy to determine which words align with which notes. The melodic material, however, is quite clear. The version recorded by Joe "King" Oliver on June 22, 1923 (Okeh 4906) more closely resembles the September 25, 1922 "No Flower Can Compare With My Sweet Smelling Man" than the Melrose-Hardin "My Sweet Lovin' Man" copyrighted on February 19, 1923. There is an instrumental trio on the second page of the Melrose-Hardin version of the song but is not used on the Oliver recording. Instead, Johnny Dodds, the clarinetist, plays a solo over 12-bar blues changes. This change of structure allows us to imagine the possibility that the presentation of musical materials in the trio of the copyright deposit may have been meant as a marker. Perhaps at the time of copyright the idea of a contrasting section had been conceptualized but not fully worked out. It is possible that Hardin and Melrose believed that by including at least some musical idea they had erased any ambiguities that might potentially compromise royalties.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 6.3. Copyright and Recording History of Lillian Hardin's "My Sweet Lovin' Man", 1922-1923

Date	History
September 25, 1922	Lillian Hardin, Chicago, obtains copyright for "No Flower Can Compare with My Sweet Smelling Man" (E 546616), Arranger: Dave Peyton
December 4, 1922	Melrose Brothers Music Co., Chicago, makes second copyright deposit for Lillian Hardin's "My Sweet Smellin' Man" (E 552550), Arranger: Harry Alford
February 19, 1923	Melrose Brothers Music Co., Chicago, makes third copyright deposit for Lillian Hardin and Walter Melrose's "My Sweet Lovin' Man" (E 558660), Arranger: Dave Peyton
March 12, 1923	New Orleans Rhythm Kings (Gennett 5104), Richmond, Ind., record "Sweet Lovin' Man"
June 22, 1923	King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band (OKeh 4933), Chicago, record "Sweet Lovin' Man"

A preliminary list of copyright deposit information for eighty-five significant early jazz composers can be found in Appendix F of this dissertation. This list includes all pertinent information from the copyright catalogue for a specific work. Any later copyrights of the piece are also listed. What follows is a study of the early copyright deposits of Louis Armstrong, one of the composers whose works are prominently featured in Appendix F.

Louis Armstrong: Copyright Deposits

Louis Armstrong made more than seventy copyright

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

deposits for original compositions between 1923 and 1971.[10] While seventy compositions in a lifetime is modest in comparison with the output of "Duke" Ellington and other jazz composers, the existence of these compositions allows us to view another side of Armstrong. It broadens, to some degree, the accepted notion of Louis Armstrong as a skillful improvisor, interpreter, musician and entertainer. Although seventy songs is a rather small percentage of the thousand or so different songs recorded in his lifetime, these pieces probably had great meaning to Armstrong. This study will concentrate on the twenty-three pieces copyrighted by Armstrong between 1923 and 1930, a period that includes some of his most well known compositions: "Weather Bird Rag", "Cornet Chop Suey", "Gut Bucket Blues", and "Gully Low Blues".

During his early career in Chicago in the 1920s, Armstrong associated himself with a small circle of musicians who were also interested in creating original jazz music. Tables 6.4 and 6.5 present the results of a survey of the recordings made by three bands Armstrong was in during the 1920s: King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band of 1923, Louis Armstrong's Hot Five and his Hot Seven. This survey

---

[10] Although a precise number of copyrights can be ascertained, it is more difficult to determine the actual number of original compositions deposited by Armstrong. It seems likely that a number of these titles, such as "Wild Man Blues," may not have been composed by Armstrong. This issue would need to be addressed in the formation of a works list, but this is beyond the scope of this work.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

makes it apparent that a large share of the pieces recorded by these groups were composed by members of each group. Of the 31 different titles recorded by King Oliver in 1923 Louis Armstrong's tenure, 18 were original compositions by members of the band.[11] Similarly, 30 of the 52 recordings listed on table 6.5 were composed by a member of Louis Armstrong's group. One might surmise that the creative process considered so essential to jazz existed not only within the performance of a work, but with the composition of the piece itself.[12]

---

[11] By sorting through the information in the discographies by Brian Rust and Laurie Wright, we can determine that 37 sides were issued by King Oliver and his Creole Jazz Band between April 5 and ca. December 24 of 1923. Of these 37 songs, only 31 are unique titles (one song, "Mabel's Dream," had three versions issued; four other tunes were issued in two versions). Laurie Wright's discographic research also reveals that there were another five pieces, two by members of the group and three by non-members, recorded and then rejected by the record company for one reason or another. For example, King Oliver recorded an original composition, "Junk Man Blues," on October 15, 1923. All three takes were rejected and the master was destroyed. The only remaining evidence, besides the recording session data sheet, that this piece was ever a part of Oliver's repertoire is the copyright deposit information housed in the Library of Congress. The other original composition recorded, but later rejected was by Louis Armstrong and Lil Hardin, "When You Leave Me Alone to Pine." It resurfaced in 1938 as a song sheet published by Clarence Williams, but was never recorded.

[12] It would appear that there are some people in the jazz world who currently espouse this view. Recently, Rob Gibson, executive producer and director of Jazz at Lincoln Center defended a view of the jazz canon that limits white participation by arguing that:

> "The great white historians of jazz can't understand why Bix Beiderbecke and Benny Goodman can't be in there [the jazz canon]," he said. "My point is, what did they write? Bix Beiderbecke was great, but he wasn't

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Most of the twenty-three copyright deposits made by Louis Armstrong between 1923 and 1930 are in the form of notated manuscripts. These pieces include some of the best known and most important compositions of the early jazz period (see Table 6.4 for titles). With the exception of one stock arrangement published by the Melrose Brothers Music Company in 1925, all fifteen copyrights deposited by Armstrong between 1923 and 1926 were registered in his own name.[13] Those copyrights made between 1927 and 1930 were registered for him by either the Consolidated Music Company or the Melrose Brothers Music Co. (See Appendix E). To date, only four of the copyright deposit manuscripts from this period have not been found: "Where Did You Stay Last Night?", "New Orleans Cut-Out", "Take Your Finger Out of My Salad", and "Potato Head Blues". In addition, the stock arrangement of "Beau Koo Jack" was returned to the

---

greater than Louis Armstrong. Benny Goodman was a great clarinetist, and if he was alive he would be in our orchestra. The fact is, he didn't write any music." Theodore Rosengarten, "Songs of Slavery Lifted by a Chorus of Horns," New York Times, 23 February 1997, sec. 2.

While Gibson may have an interesting point, he seems to have forgotten that Beiderbecke wrote a number of jazz compositions.

[13] Only three of the copyrights deposited by Armstrong during this period were published. All were stock arrangements printed by the Melrose Brothers Music Co. These arrangements were "Sugar Foot Stomp" (1925), "Wild Man Blues" (1927), and "Beau Koo Jack" (1928).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

publishers sometime in late 1928.[14]

A comparison of the copyright deposit dates with the eventual recording date suggests that Armstrong's copyrights from this period can be divided chronologically into two groups: deposits made during 1923 and deposits from 1924 through 1930. With two exceptions, "Gate Mouth" and "Take Your Finger Out of My Salad", the second group consists entirely of pieces that were recorded by Armstrong's two important recording ensembles, the Hot Five and the Hot Seven.[15] The 1923 pieces cannot be organized so easily. Perhaps this is because Armstrong was just learning the copyright process. Some of the pieces were recorded in 1923 with Joseph "King" Oliver, while others were not recorded until much later in the decade. One piece was never recorded at all, and another piece was recorded, but never released; the only knowledge of their existence consists of

---

[14] Personal conversation with Library of Congress Music Librarian Wayne Shirley (14 June 1996). Shirley reported that an informal program was initiated to reduce the number of so-called "unnecessary scores" in the collection. All of the materials returned were published items. The decisions made regarding what would be sent back and what would be retained by the library were left to individual discretion. The unfortunate result of this policy is that some stock arrangements and songs may never be recovered. Jeffrey Taylor kindly provided me with a copy of the stock arrangement of "Beau Koo Jack".

[15] Although "Gate Mouth" and "Take Your Finger Out of My Salad" were not recorded by the Hot Five, the songs were recorded on July 13 and 14, 1926 by an ensemble that consisted almost entirely of the same personnel. The one change was George Mitchell, who substituted for Louis Armstrong on cornet.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the Copyright Office catalogues and records, and the manuscripts on file at the Library of Congress.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 6.4. Pieces Recorded by King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band in 1923

TITLE	COMPOSER CREDIT ON RECORD SLEEVE	COMPOSER CREDIT ON COPYRIGHT DEPOSIT	COPYRIGHT #	MEMBER OF GROUP
Alligator Hop	Oliver-Picon	Joseph Oliver	E574459	Y
Buddy's Habit	Arnett Nelson	same	E564026	N
Camp Meeting Blues	Joe Oliver	nc	nc	Y
Canal Street Blues	Oliver-Armstrong	J. Oliver	E565730	Y
Chattanooga Stomp	Oliver and Picou	Joseph Oliver	E574457	Y
Chimes Blues	Oliver	same	E563940	Y
Dipper Mouth Blues	Oliver-Armstrong	J. Oliver	E565369	Y
Froggie Moore	Spike Bros.-Morton	same	E559684	N
High Society Rag	King Oliver's Jazz Band	Joseph Oliver	E570231	Y
I Ain't Gonna Tell ...	Richard M. Jones	same	E493888	N
I'm Going Away ...	Smith	?	?	N
If You Want My Heart	?	?	?	?
Jazzin' Babies' Blues	Richard M. Jones	same	E587697	N
Junk Man Blues	Joe Oliver	same	E574458	Y
Just Gone	Oliver-Johnson	J. Oliver	E561597	Y
Krooked Blues	Spikes Bros.-Johnson	same	E541953	N
London Cafe Blues	Ferd Morton	same	E569713	N
Mabel's Dream	Ike Smith	same	E577084	N
Mandy Lee Blues	Bloom-Melrose	same	E561358	N
New Orleans Stomp	Oliver and Picou	no copyright	nc	Y
Riverside Blues	T. Dorsey-R. M. Jones	Thomas A. Dorsey	E568131	N
Room Rent Blues	Irving Newton	same	E558864	N
Snake Rag	Oliver-Piron	Joseph Oliver	E561598	Y
Sobbin' Blues	Kassell-Burton	same	E575364	N
Someday Sweetheart	rej., master destroyed	John Spikes	E465956	Y
Southern Stomps, (The)	J. M. Jones	R. Jones & Peyton	E570450	N
Sweet Baby Doll	George Thomas	Thomas & W. Leroy	E444071	N

Sweet Lovin' Man	Melrose-Hardin	same	E558660	Y
Tears	Armstrong-Hardin	same	E574291	Y
That Sweet Something...	rej., master destroyed	Spikes Bros.	E565986	N
Weather Bird Rag	Louis Armstrong	same	E561680	Y
When You Leave Me ...	rej., master destroyed	Armstrong & Hardin	E568401	Y
Where Did You Stay...	Armstrong-Hardin	same	E565344	Y
Workingman Blues	Oliver-Hardir [sic]	Joseph Oliver	E569442	Y
Zulus Ball	Oliver-Robinson	Joseph Oliver	E574446	Y

? unknown
nc not copyrighted

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 6.5. Pieces Recorded by Louis Armstrong's Hot Fives and Hot Sevens

TITLE	COMPOSER CREDIT ON RECORD SLEEVE	COMPOSER CREDIT ON COPYRIGHT DEPOSIT	COPYRIGHT #	MEMBER OF GROUP
12th Street Rag	Williams-Bowman	?	?	N
Alligator Crawl	Morton-Williams	?	?	N
Big Fat Ma and Skinny Pa	Jones	same	E645932	N
Big Butter and Egg Man	Venable	same	E649013	N
Come Back Sweet Papa	Barbarin-Russell	same	E637450	N
Cornet Chop Suey	Armstrong	Louis Armstrong	E580818	Y
Don't Forget to Mess Around ...	Barbarin	Armstrong & Barbarin	E635073	Y
Don't Jive Me	Armstrong	Lillian Hardin	E696270	Y
Droppin' Shucks	Hardin	Lillian Hardin	E643160	Y
Fireworks	Williams	?	?	N
Georgia Grind	Williams	Spencer Williams	E643753	N
Got No Blues	Hardin	Lillian Hardin	E690493	Y
Gully Low Blues	Armstrong	Louis Armstrong	E678957	Y
Gut Bucket Blues	Armstrong	Louis Armstrong	E640490	Y
Heebie Jeebies	Atkins	same	E640106	N
Hotter than That	Hardin	?	?	Y
I'm Gonna Gitcha	Hardin	Lillian Hardin	E643161	Y
I'm Not Rough	Armstrong	Lillian Armstrong	E690494	Y
Irish Black Bottom	Venable	same	E654631	N
Jazz Lips	Armstrong	Lillian Hardin	E654274	Y
Keyhole Blues	Armstrong	?	?	Y
King of the Zulus	Hardin	same	E643162	Y
Knee Drops	Hardin	Lillian Hardin		Y
Lonesome Blues	Hardin	Lillian Hardin	E643163	Y
Melancholy Blues	Bloom-Melrose	?	?	N
Monday Date, (A)	Hines	Earl Hines	E696268	Y
My Heart	Hardin	?	?	Y
Once in a While	Butler	?	?	N
Oriental Strut	St. Cyr	same	E636435	Y
Ory's Creole Trombone	Ory	?	?	Y

Potato Head Blues	Armstrong	Louis Armstrong	E678956	Y
Put 'Em Down Blues	Armstrong	?	?	Y
S. O. L. Blues	Armstrong	?	nc	Y
Savoy Blues	Ory	?	?	Y
Skid-Dat-De-Dat	Hardin	Lillian Hardin	E654276	Y
Skip the Gutter	Williams	?	?	N
Squeeze Me	Waller	?	?	N
Struttin' With Some Barbecue	Hardin-Armstrong	Lillian Hardin	E695307	Y
Sugar Foot Strut	Pierce-Meyer	?	?	N
Sunset Café Stomp	Venable	same	E654632	N
Sweet Little Papa	Ory	?	?	Y
That's When I'll Come Back to You	Biggs	?	?	N
The King of the Zulus	Hardin	Lillian Hardin	E643162	Y
The Last Time	Ewing-Martin	?	?	N
Two Deuces	Hardin	Lillian Hardin Armstrong	E696271	Y
Weary Blues	Matthews	?	?	N
West End Blues	Oliver	Joseph Oliver	E694347	N
Who's It	Jones	?	?	N
Wild Man Blues	Morton-Armstrong	same	E665814	Y
Willie the Weeper	Bloom-Melrose	?	?	N
Yes! I'm in the Barrel	Armstrong	Louis Armstrong	E577785	Y
You Made Me Love You	Venable	same	E654633	N
You're Next	Hardin	Lillian Armstrong	E640504	Y

? unknown
nc not copyrighted

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1923 was Armstrong's most prolific year as a composer. He registered nine copyright deposits (see Table 6.6), more than in any other year for the rest of his life. Five of these copyright deposits were submitted as collaborations with other musicians, and the other four were written by Armstrong alone. Since most jazz musicians obtained copyrights of their compositions as they were recorded, it is no coincidence that 1923 was also the year Louis Armstrong began his recording career. Three of the nine titles recorded at King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band's first Gennett recording sessions of April 5 and 6, 1923, "Canal Street Blues", "Dipper Mouth Blues", and "Weather Bird Rag", were identified on the record label as written entirely, or in part, by Armstrong. It is noteworthy that Armstrong was the only sideman to contribute original compositions to Oliver's first record date.[16]

---

[16] Although Armstrong is listed as composer for both songs on the Gennett 78s, the copyright deposits for both "Canal Street Blues" and "Dipper Mouth Blues" only list Joseph Oliver as the composer. Interestingly, Armstrong received credit for "Sugar Foot Stomp," a retitled version of "Dipper Mouth Blues," when a copyright was obtained for a stock arrangement published by the Melrose Brothers Music Co. in 1925 (see Appendix 1). For more information on the Gennett labels and the revision of the dates for the April recording session see Laurie Wright, "King" Oliver, 20-21.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 6.6. 1923 copyright deposits of Louis Armstrong

COAL CART BLUES; melody L. A. and L. H. of U.S. 1 c. Nov. 3, 1923; **c** 1c. Nov. 3, 1923; **E574625**; Louis Armstrong and Lillian Hardin, Chicago.

DROP THAT SACK; melody L.A. and P.H. of U.S. **c** 1c. Dec 8, 1923; **E577784**; Louis Armstrong and Philmore Holley, Chicago.

I AM IN THE BARREL, WHO DON'T LIKE IT?; fox trot, L.A. of U.S., arr. Lillian Hardin, of U.S. **c** 1c. Dec. 8, 1923; **E577785**; Louis Armstrong, Chicago.

NEW ORLEANS CUT-OUT; melody L.A. and Lillian Hardin, of U.S., arr. L. Hardin **c** 1c. Sept. 7, 1923; **E569080**; Louis Armstrong, Chicago.

PAPA WHAT ARE YOU TRYING TO DO TO ME, I'VE BEEN DOING IT FOR YEARS; fox trot, Preston McDonald and L.A. of U.S., arr. Lillian Hardin Johnson of U.S. **c** 1c. Dec. 13, 1923; **E577867**; Louis Armstrong, Chicago.

TEARS; melody by A. and H. of U.S., arr. Lillian Hardin of U.S. **c** 1c. Oct. 20, 1923; **E574291**; Armstrong and Hardin, Chicago.

WEATHER BIRD RAG; melody by Louis Armstrong of U.S., arr by Richard M. Jones of U.S. **c** 1c. April 14, 1923; **E561680**; Louis Armstrong, Chicago.

WHEN YOU LEAVE ME ALONE TO PINE; w Lillian Hardin, melody L.A. of U.S. **c** 1c. Aug. 6, 1923; **E568401**; Louis Armstrong, Chicago.

WHERE DID YOU STAY LAST NIGHT?; melody by L. Armstrong [of U.S.] arr. by Lillian Johnson [of U.S.] **c** 1c. July 2, 1923; **E565344**; Louis Armstrong, Chicago.

In 1924 Armstrong made only one deposit, "Cornet Chop Suey". It turns out that this manuscript is very important. It includes a written passage that has long been considered an improvised line and will be discussed later in this

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

chapter.[17] Between 1925 and 1930 Louis Armstrong made an additional thirteen copyright deposits. Of these, one was a published piano arrangement, two were published stock arrangements, and the remaining ten were manuscript lead sheets. As mentioned earlier, these copyrights are almost entirely for pieces recorded by Armstrong with his Hot Five and Hot Seven recording ensembles.

Sometime in 1926 an interesting, but difficult to explain, shift appeared in the relationship between the recording date and the date of deposit. Between 1923 and 1926 Armstrong was more likely to deposit a piece before it had been recorded. Beginning in 1926 we find that pieces began to be deposited after the recording session. This is illustrated in Table 6.7, which contains a list of the copyright deposit dates and recording dates for all of Armstrong's compositions copyrighted between 1923 and 1930.

---

[17] For example see, James Lincoln Collier, Louis Armstrong: An American Genius (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 173-174; Richard Hadlock, Jazz Masters of the 20s (1972, reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1988), 26; Frank Tirro, Jazz: A History, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1993), 175-176, 8*-9*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 6.7. Copyright and Recording Dates of Louis Armstrong's Compositions, 1923-1930

TITLE	DEPOSITED	RECORDED
WEATHER BIRD RAG	April 14, 1923	April 6, 1923
WHERE DID YOU STAY LAST NIGHT?	July 2, 1923	June 23, 1923
WHEN YOU LEAVE ME ALONE TO PINE	Aug. 6, 1923	Oct. 5, 1923
NEW ORLEANS CUT-OUT	Sept. 7, 1923	Oct. 16, 1923[18]
TEARS	Oct. 20, 1923	Oct. 25, 1923
COAL CART BLUES	Nov. 3, 1923	Oct. 8, 1925
DROP THAT SACK	Dec 8, 1923	May 28, 1926
I AM IN THE BARREL, WHO DON'T LIKE IT?	Dec. 8, 1923	Nov. 12, 1925[19]

[18] "New Orleans Cut-out", a tune co-composed by Louis Armstrong and his wife-to-be, Lillian Hardin, was deposited a little more than a week before King Oliver recorded "New Orleans Stomp". The record label lists the composers of "New Orleans Stomp" as Oliver and Picou. It is quite possible that these two tunes are not related and the similarity of the title is mere coincidence. Since neither copyright deposit has been located at the Library of Congress, this can only be speculated. However, the Melrose Brothers music company published a stock arrangement of "New Orleans Stomp" in 1924 by Louis Armstrong and Lillian Hardin that appears to have been based upon the Oliver recording.

[19] Although this copyright deposit is missing, it seems likely that this is the source of Armstrong's second recording with his Hot Five, "Yes! I'm in the Barrel".

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PAPA WHAT ARE YOU TRYING TO DO TO ME, I'VE BEEN DOING IT FOR YEARS	Dec. 13, 1923	not recorded
CORNET CHOP SUEY	Jan. 18, 1924	Feb. 26, 1926
SUGAR FOOT STOMP	Aug. 15, 1925	
DON'T FORGET TO MESS AROUND WHEN YOU'RE DOING THE CHARLESTON	Mar. 10, 1926	June 16, 1926
GUT BUCKET BLUES	Apr. 19, 1926	Nov. 12, 1925
GATE MOUTH	July 19, 1926	July 13, 1926
TAKE YOUR FINGER OUT OF MY SALAD	July 19, 1926	July 14, 1926[20]
WILD MAN BLUES	June 8, 1927	May 7, 1927
GULLY LOW BLUES	Nov. 26, 1927	May 13, 1927
POTATO HEAD BLUES	Nov. 26, 1927	May 10, 1927
BEAU KOO JACK	Nov. 27, 1928	Dec. 5, 1928
WEATHER BIRD	Jan. 2, 1929	Dec. 5, 1928
HEAH ME TALKIN' TO YA'	Mar. 13, 1929	Dec. 12, 1928
KNOCKIN' A JUG	Jan. 31, 1930	March 5, 1929
MUGGLES	Jan. 31, 1930	Dec. 7, 1928

---

[20] This was probably the song recorded by the New Orleans Bootblacks as "Mixed Salad."

For this study, the importance of the relationship between the recording date and the date of copyright deposit lies in interpreting the meaning of the copyright deposit manuscript. A manuscript deposited before a piece is recorded reflects a kind of compositional preplanning that we are not always privy to in jazz. Such a copy of the piece might be different from the recording: It could reveal other ways that the composer had conceptualized the work, it might have phrases and passages that differ from what was recorded, or, it might contain passages that were not performed. Alternatively, it might clearly delineate, note for note, how a performance should unfold. As Charles Seeger has identified it, a manuscript that existed prior to a piece being recorded might be described as a "prescriptive" score. While it is possible that a manuscript deposited after the recording may have been written earlier, no evidence exists that would assert this for any of Armstrong's deposits. A manuscript submitted for registration after a recording session is likely to be a transcription of the melody from the recording. A transcription merely records for us how an event took place. The term for such a score is "descriptive".[21] Seeger

---

[21] Charles Seeger, "Prescriptive and Descriptive Music Writing," in Studies in Musicology: 1935-1975 (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1977), 168-171. These terms are also used by James Dapogny in a discussion of his editorial procedures with the compositions of "Jelly Roll" Morton in Ferdinand "Jelly Roll" Morton, Ferdinand "Jelly Roll" Morton The Collected Piano Music, ed. James

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

distinguishes between prescriptive and descriptive scores as the difference "between a blueprint of how a specific piece shall be made to sound and a report of how a specific performance of any music actually did sound". Although interesting, a descriptive score can only tell us how things were after the given moment, and do little to shed light on the process of becoming.[22]

Dapogny (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982), 33-34.

[22] It is possible that some of the manuscripts Armstrong deposited after the recording are prescriptive scores. Obtaining a copyright was done to protect one's legal right over a song. Until the song was introduced to the public, there was no great need to obtain a copyright. Thus, in the case of Louis Armstrong, a manuscript submitted a week or two after the pieces were recorded may have already existed. This seems less likely for the copyrights submitted well after the recording date. That is why a separate category exists for those manuscripts that were deposited a week to ten days following the recording date. Because most of Armstrong's copyright deposits were made before, or in very close proximity to the date of recording, it becomes worthwhile to consider how the copyright deposits might show us aspects of Armstrong's compositional process. In addition, any claim that a post-recording date copyright score is "prescriptive" should be treated rather as conjecture.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 6.8. A Comparison of Louis Armstrong's Copyright Dates With the Recording Dates, 1923-1930

TITLE	DATE OF COPYRIGHT	DATE OF RECORDING
<u>Copyright Deposited Before Recording</u>		
WHEN YOU LEAVE ME ALONE TO PINE	Aug. 6, 1923	Oct. 5, 1923
NEW ORLEANS CUT-OUT	Sept. 7, 1923	Oct. 16, 1923
TEARS	Oct. 20, 1923	Oct. 25, 1923
COAL CART BLUES	Nov. 3, 1923	Oct. 8, 1925
DROP THAT SACK	Dec 8, 1923	May 28, 1926
I AM IN THE BARREL, WHO DON'T LIKE IT?	Dec. 8, 1923	Nov. 12, 1925
CORNET CHOP SUEY	Jan. 18, 1924	Feb. 26, 1926
DON'T FORGET TO MESS AROUND WHEN YOU'RE DOING THE CHARLESTON	Mar. 10, 1926	June 16, 1926
BEAU KOO JACK	Nov. 27, 1928	Dec. 5, 1928
<u>Copyright Deposited a Week to Ten Days After Recording</u>		
WEATHER BIRD RAG	April 14, 1923	April 6, 1923
WHERE DID YOU STAY LAST NIGHT?	July 2, 1923	June 23, 1923
GATE MOUTH	July 19, 1926	July 13, 1926
TAKE YOUR FINGER OUT OF MY SALAD	July 19, 1926	July 14, 1926

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Copyright Deposited a Month or More After Recording

GUT BUCKET BLUES	Apr. 19, 1926	Nov. 12, 1925
WILD MAN BLUES	June 8, 1927	May 7, 1927
GULLY LOW BLUES	Nov. 26, 1927	May 13, 1927
POTATO HEAD BLUES	Nov. 26, 1927	May 10, 1927
WEATHER BIRD	Jan. 2, 1929	Dec. 5, 1928
HEAH ME TALKIN' TO YA'	Mar. 13, 1929	Dec. 12, 1928
KNOCKIN' A JUG	Jan. 31, 1930	March 5, 1929
MUGGLES	Jan. 31, 1930	Dec. 7, 1928
N/A		
PAPA WHAT ARE YOU TRYING TO DO TO ME, I'VE BEEN DOING IT FOR YEARS	Dec. 13, 1923	not recorded
SUGAR FOOT STOMP	Aug. 15, 1925[23]	

[23] "Sugar Foot Stomp" also known as "Dipper Mouth Blues" was recorded by Armstrong on several occasions. The most notable of these were two recording sessions in 1923 with King Oliver's "Creole Jazz Band." Armstrong's name is listed on the record sleeve as a co-composer with Oliver, but does not appear on the original copyright deposit made on May 21, 1923 (E565369). The April 26, 1926 copyright deposit for the published piano vocal arrangement of "Sugar Foot Stomp" does not mention Armstrong's name either. Armstrong is usually credited on most record sleeves as the co-composer with Oliver, but there is little to suggest what, if anything, was his contribution to the song.

The comparison of record dates and copyright dates in Table 6.8 makes it possible to determine those Armstrong copyright deposits that are likely to be prescriptive. Louis Armstrong deposited twenty-two songs for copyright between 1923 and 1930. Of these, eight deposits were made a month or more after the recording session and four deposits were made a week to ten days after the recording session. Finally, seven deposits were submitted by Louis Armstrong before the recording session.[24] While nine pieces is certainly too small a number to suggest rewriting the history of jazz, it may be possible to learn something about how one jazz composer's music evolved from an earlier conception to the recorded performance.

Another factor that should be brought into this discussion is that at least nine of Louis Armstrong's copyright deposit manuscripts from this period are notated in a different key than the recording. In six of these cases the "incorrect" key found on the manuscript is a whole step higher than the recording. This is illustrated in Table 6.9. Armstrong played a transposing instrument, at the time a Bb cornet, and it would, at first, seem quite logical that he dictated what he played. One problem with this explanation is that, according to the information

---

[24] "When You Leave Me Alone to Pine" was recorded by Gennett on October 5, 1923, but never issued. Wright notes that four takes were made of the tune, but all were rejected and subsequently destroyed. See Brian Rust, 1166, and Wright, "King" Oliver, 29.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

listed in the Music Copyright Catalogues, Lillian Hardin arranged many of Louis Armstrong's copyright deposit manuscripts.

Table 6.9. A Comparison of the Recording Key and Copyright Key of Louis Armstrong's Copyright Deposits, 1923-1930[25]

TITLE	REC'D KEY	MS KEY	RECORD
Coal Cart Blues	F	F	OKeh 8245
Drop that Sack	Ab	Bb	Vocalion 1037
I am in the Barrel ...	F	F	OKeh 8261
New Orleans Cut-Out	F	F	Columbia 14003D
Tears	Eb	F	OKeh 40000
Weather Bird Rag	Ab	Bb	Gennett 5132
Where Did You Stay ...	Eb	?	Okeh 4918
Cornet Chop Suey	Eb	F	OKeh 8320
Sugar Foot Stomp	Bb	Bb	Gennett 5132
Don't Forget to Mess ...	Ab	Ab	OKeh 8343
Gate Mouth	Eb	F	Columbia 698-D
Gut Bucket Blues	C	C	OKeh 8261
Gully Low Blues	Eb	C	OKeh 8474
Wild Man Blues	Fm	Fm	Bruns 3567
Beau Koo Jack	Eb	Eb	OKeh 8680
Heah Me Talkin' To Ya'	Ab	Ab	OKeh 8649
Weather Bird	Ab	Bb	OKeh 41454
Knockin' a Jug	Bb	Eb	OKeh 8703
Muggles	Bb	Eb	OKeh 8703

? unknown

Lillian Hardin was not only Louis Armstrong's fiancé, she also performed with him on an almost nightly basis. She would certainly have known the correct keys in which to

---

[25] Armstrong compositions that were not recorded or that are missing the copyright deposit manuscript have been omitted from this list.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

notate these pieces.[26] Thus, it is difficult to explain why some deposits were in concert key and others in a key a whole step higher. At least one alternative interpretation can be offered. It might be possible that these manuscripts were initially used as performance sketches or even as parts. According to Don Redman, Louis Armstrong and "King" Oliver had compiled a notebook of their compositions. Redman recalled that

> Shortly after Louis Armstrong joined the [Fletcher Henderson] band, King Oliver sent him a little notebook with lines drawn on it. Together they had written a lot of things. Louis gave it to me and said, 'Pick out anything you want and make it up for future use.' They had things like Cornet Chop Suey and Dippermouth Blues, which later became known as Sugar Foot Stomp.[27]

Perhaps some of these deposits were taken or copied from this book. It is impossible to answer this question, though it does tease our imagination. Whether or not these were the actual performing scores used by Armstrong and his colleagues, the prescriptive nature of many of these manuscripts, especially those written in a key a whole-step higher than recorded, supports the general thesis that this was a musically literate group of musicians who were familiar with the conventions of written music.

One remaining question concerns the notation of Louis

---

[26] The question of who notated the copyright deposits will be discussed in greater detail in the final section of this chapter.

[27] Leonard Feather, The Book of Jazz: From Then till Now (1957, reprint, New York: Bonanza Books, 1965), 195.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Armstrong's copyright deposits. Even a cursory glance at the sixteen manuscripts relevant to this study shows that more than one hand was involved in writing these scores. Although identifying each of the hands is outside the scope of the current study, Table 6.10 suggests how one might begin to organize the pieces. There appear to be four distinct hands involved, labeled on Table 6.10 as A, B, C, and D. Each manuscript was apparently notated by only one hand. Some rudimentary comparisons with other copyright deposits and documents written by people within Louis Armstrong's circle suggest possible identities for hands A, B, and C. The notational style of Hand D is the most generic of the group and, at this stage of the research, cannot be identified. It must be emphasized that further and more precise research is needed before any of the hands can be irrefutably identified. Nevertheless, it is highly likely that the pieces identified as Hand B were notated by Lillian Hardin Armstrong, those in Hand C by Paul Barbarin, and those in Hand A by Louis Armstrong. Once a study of these manuscripts has been made that incorporates the precise methodologies used by such musicological handwriting experts as Georg von Dadelsen or Alfred Dürr, it may be possible to draw more definitive conclusions.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 6.10. Louis Armstrong's Copyright Deposit Manuscripts, 1923-1930, Organized by Notational Hand

	COPYRIGHT DEPOSIT DATE	RECORDING DATE
Hand A		
Drop that Sack	Dec 8, 1923	May 28, 1926
I am in the Barrel ...	Dec. 8, 1923	Nov. 12, 1925
Papa What You Are Trying ...	Dec. 13, 1923	not recorded
Cornet Chop Suey	Jan. 18, 1924	Feb. 26, 1926
Gully Low Blues	Nov. 26, 1927	May 13, 1927
Weather Bird	Jan. 2, 1929	Dec. 5, 1928
Hand B		
When You Leave Me Alone ...	Aug. 6, 1923	Oct. 5, 1923
Weather Bird Rag	April 14, 1923	April 6, 1923
Tears	Oct. 20, 1923	Oct. 25, 1923
Coal Cart Blues	Nov. 3, 1923	Oct. 8, 1925
Gate Mouth	July 19, 1926	July 13, 1926
Gut Bucket Blues	Apr. 19, 1926	Nov. 12, 1925
Hand C		
Don't Forget to Mess Around	Mar. 10, 1926	June 16, 1926
Hand D		
Heah Me Talkin' to Ya'	Mar. 13, 1929	Dec. 12, 1928
Muggles	Jan. 31, 1930	Dec. 7, 1928
Knockin' a Jug	Jan. 31, 1930	March 5, 1929

It is possible to discuss some elements of Louis Armstrong's compositional process by locating specific variations among the prescriptive manuscripts and their recorded counterparts. One result of these comparisons will be to provide evidence of Armstrong's musical sophistication with regard to written music. Not only could he read the musical ideas of others, he could present his own ideas in a coherent and sophisticated manner.

Most of the categories are centered around formal issues such as the correspondence of strain lengths between the copyright deposit manuscript and its recorded counterpart. Similarly, phrases and sections of the piece, such as introductions and strains, were compared for order of appearance in the performance. What follows, then, is a summary of these general observations along with a brief discussion of relevant issues located in some specific deposits. Throughout this discussion the focus will return to those deposit manuscripts that could be described as prescriptive.

Simple Variations

The simplest types of variations between Louis Armstrong's copyright deposits and recordings of the pieces are those that are readily apparent, but may not have any effect upon the musical experience. These variations include lack of a key signature and change of title. Two deposits, clearly written in keys other than C-major, were

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

notated without any key signature. These are "Drop that Sack", which should have had a key signature of F-major, and "Cornet Chop Suey", which lacks an F-major key signature (but does have all the correct accidentals added in the music). The obvious result is that anyone reading the manuscripts would have to judiciously add accidentals or, of course, listen to the recordings.

A change of title for a piece may not have been that uncommon for early jazz musicians--as was noted earlier in the example of Lillian Hardin's "Sweet Lovin' Man". Three of Louis Armstrong's manuscripts changed title between the date of copyright and the recording date. Table 6.11 lists the title on the copyright deposit and the version that accompanied the issued recording. It is not known who decided to change the title, the composer, the recording engineer or a recording executive. It is fairly easy to imagine a record producer changing a title to something he deemed marketable. This seems to be the case with Armstrong's "S.O.L. Blues", also listed on Table 6.11 (although this title was never submitted for copyright). "S.O.L". was an abbreviation for the scatological colloquialism, "shit outta luck", and was probably considered a bit too risqué for the public in 1927. The result was that the recording of "S.O.L. Blues" was not released and Armstrong re-recorded the piece with a less provocative set of lyrics under the title, "Gully Low

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Blues".[28]

Table 6.11. Variations of titles of Louis Armstrong's compositions between copyright deposit and the issued recording

TITLE ON COPYRIGHT DEPOSIT	TITLE ON RECORDING
I am in the Barrel, who don't like it?	Yes, I'm in the Barrel
New Orleans Cut-Out	New Orleans Stomp
S.O.L. Blues[29]	Gully Low Blues
Take Your Finger Out of My Salad	Mixed Salad

The copyright deposit manuscript for another title on Table 6.11, "Take Your Finger Out of my Salad", has, to date, not been located. The determination that this piece is the retitled "Mixed Salad" is based conjecturally upon copyright deposit information. The only positive information known about "Take Your Finger out of my Salad"

---

[28] George Avakian, telephone conversation with author, 16 March 1997. Years later, while preparing Armstrong's early recorded material for reissue, producer George Avakian unearthed "S.O.L. Blues." A comparison of the two recordings reveals a remarkable melodic similarity between the two. This similarity, incidentally includes Armstrong's "improvised" solo.

[29] Because it was not released when it was recorded, there is no copyright deposit for "S. O. L. Blues," but recorded evidence makes it quite clear that the two pieces are related.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

is that it was deposited for copyright by Louis Armstrong on July 19, 1926 and received the copyright registration number E643158. The only other copyright made by Louis Armstrong on this same date was for the tune "Gate Mouth" which received the copyright registration number E643154. This is striking since one would reasonably expect to find an individual's copyright deposits for any single date to be registered in consecutive order. For example, Louis Armstrong deposited two pieces on December 8, 1923. "Drop that Sack" received the number E577784, and "I am in the Barrel, Who Don't Like It?" was given the number E577785.

Why is there a separation between Armstrong's deposits on July 19, 1926, and how does this help us determine what happened to "Take Your Finger Out of My Salad"? To answer this question we must turn to Armstrong's wife at the time, Lillian Hardin Armstrong, who was an active composer of popular songs and melodies for jazz performance. Her compositions, as well as her piano playing, were featured on many of her own recordings as well as those of the Hot Fives and the Hot Sevens.[30] It was also suggested earlier that

---

[30] Louis Armstrong must have held Lil's composing skills in high regard. He continued to record new songs by her even after she had been replaced by Earl Hines. Lillian Armstrong's copyright history is as complex and fascinating as that of Louis Armstrong. During the 1920s she composed prolifically and made numerous copyright registrations. For information about specific copyright deposits of Lillian Hardin or Lillian Armstrong see Appendix I. The copyright deposits of Hardin/Armstrong appear to be a valuable source of archival information that may offer us more information about the Hot Fives and Sevens. However these manuscripts

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Lillian Armstrong was responsible for notating several of Louis Armstrong's compositions. On July 19, 1926 Lillian Armstrong deposited eight of her own compositions for copyright.[31] Mixed in with these eight pieces were the two by her husband, Louis Armstrong. Thus they were catalogued with non-consecutive registration numbers. Table 6.12 lists the copyright registrations made by the Armstrongs on July 19, 1926. The pieces by Louis are highlighted in bold.

Table 6.12. Copyright registrations of Lillian and Louis Armstrong for July 19, 1926.

REG. #	CLAIMANT	TITLE
E643153	Lillian Armstrong	Flat Foot
E643154	**Louis Armstrong**	Gate Mouth
E643155	Lillian Armstrong	I Can't Say
E643156	Lillian Armstrong	Papa Dip
E643157	Lillian Armstrong	Perdido St. Blues
E643158	**Louis Armstrong**	Take Your Finger out of my Salad
E643159	Lillian Armstrong	Too Tight Blues
E643160	Lillian Armstrong	Dropping Shucks
E643161	Lillian Armstrong	I'm Gonna Get Cha
E643162	Lillian Armstrong	King of the Zulus
E643163	Lillian Armstrong	Lonesome Blues

Most of the titles listed in Table 6.12 are to be found on a series of recordings made on July 13 and 14 by Lillian

---

have never received the attention they deserve.

[31] It will be established later in this chapter that the person whose hand notated "Gate Mouth" was Lillian Armstrong, Louis Armstrong's wife and frequent compositional collaborator.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Armstrong that were issued under the headings New Orleans Wanderers and New Orleans Bootblacks (see Tables 6.13 and 6.14). Louis Armstrong was not available for these sessions, but otherwise the ensemble was essentially a slightly expanded version of the Hot Five.[32] Three of the four pieces recorded on July 13, 1926 were composed by Lillian Armstrong (see Tables 6.13 and 6.14). The fourth piece was the Louis Armstrong composition, "Gate Mouth". On the following day the ensemble again returned to the Chicago Columbia Studios to record four new tunes. The record labels for the four tunes all list "L. Armstrong" as the composer. The composer's name was not printed in full. The title of the first tune recorded at the session was "Mixed Salad". The other three tunes were pieces with copyright registrations in the name of Lillian Armstrong.[33] A comparison of Lillian Armstrong's recordings with her copyrights indicates that she was careful to protect everything she composed and recorded. It is highly unlikely that she would have overlooked this one piece. Perhaps the new title was chosen because it was more appetizing than

---

[32] Louis Armstrong was replaced by George Mitchell on cornet. The only addition to the line up was an alto saxophonist named Joe Clark. The remaining musicians, Kid Ory, Johnny Dodds, Johnny St. Cyr, and Lillian Armstrong were all regular performers on the Hot Five recording sessions made in 1926.

[33] "Mad Dog" was not registered with the copyright office until January 14, 1927 when it received the registration number E655467.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Take Your Finger out of My Salad". This exercise in determining the change in the songs title tells us little about the music, but it does demonstrate one way that copyright deposit research could further develop our knowledge about song writing and publishing during this period.

Table 6.13. Pieces Recorded by New Orleans Wanderers: July 13, 1926

TITLE	COMPOSER
Perdido Street Blues	Lillian Armstrong
Gate Mouth	Louis Armstrong
Too Tight	Lillian Armstrong
Papa Dip	Lillian Armstrong

Table 6.14. Pieces Recorded by New Orleans Bootblacks: July 14, 1926

TITLE	COMPOSER
Mixed Salad	Louis Armstrong
I Can't Say	Lillian Armstrong
Flat Foot	Lillian Armstrong
Mad Dog	Lillian Armstrong

Formal Variations

Some of the more significant musical differences between the recordings and the copyright deposit manuscripts become apparent with the formal comparison of numbers of measures in the melody. Six of the deposits do not match their recorded counterparts. Three of the deposits, "Drop

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that Sack", "Gate Mouth", and "Weather Bird", contain passages not included on the recording. The three others, "Gut Bucket Blues", "Heah Me Talkin' to Ya'", and "Weather Bird Rag", are descriptive scores that were improperly transcribed. The manuscript of "Gut Bucket Blues" contains an extra measure of music in its transcription of the banjo introduction; the written introduction appears to be about four bars shorter than the recorded version. Since the deposit was made three months after the recording it would appear that whoever transcribed this piece had some difficulty capturing the musical activities on paper. Sloppy writing would also appear to account for the extra measure of music at the end of the A section of the "Weather Bird Rag" manuscript. This measure, essentially the seventeenth bar of a sixteen bar phrase, is marked by a fermata, and is most likely an unmarked second ending. This group of errors all suggest that whoever was notating the copyright deposit manuscripts might not have been paying the closest attention to the music they were transcribing. This error of inattention occurs repeatedly at various levels in a small group of Armstrong's copyright deposits. It is especially prominent among the deposits that were descriptive scores, that is, those manuscripts that were probably transcriptions made by someone other than the composer.

The above description, however, does not apply to the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

three copyright deposits that contain passages or entire sections not used on the recording. The manuscript of "Drop that Sack", deposited nearly two and a half years before it was recorded, is the most clear-cut example of one possible way that this process can unfold.

"Drop that Sack" was recorded in 1926 for a Lillian Armstrong session that featured the same performers as Louis Armstrong's Hot Five. The recorded performance is loosely based on the material found in the third strain of the deposit. The copyright and manuscript has Louis Armstrong's name at the top, but also includes a name that is entirely unknown, Philmore Holley. All attempts to date to trace the identity and whereabouts of Holley have been unsuccessful. His name was even omitted from the record label for composer credit. The manuscript presents a three-strain melody in the key of Bb. The recording uses only the last of these three strains, and my transcription of the performance found the tune being played in the key of Ab.

In this example, an editorial process seems rather clear. For reasons that remain unknown, the performers chose to use only one of the three available strains. The only knowledge that the other two strains existed at some point in the life of this piece comes from this deposit. One could well imagine that a performance that included all three strains would have drastically restricted the solo space. But it is easy to imagine an equally rewarding

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

performance of this piece that would have included all three strains. Live performances of these pieces could have been considerably longer and permitted a complete performance of the work that included the three strains and improvisation. But this elimination of two strains represents more than just accommodating the time limitations of the 78 recording. It also reminds us that during this period there was a gradual shift away from multi-strain pieces to single-strain sixteen- and thirty-two-bar forms.

The omission on the recording of four bars of notated music from "Gate Mouth" is interesting because of the music that was removed, namely, mm. 13-16 of the B section. This section quite closely resembles a musical passage from the third strain of "Drop that Sack". It even falls in the same section of the form. Since the deposit was submitted six days after the recording, one cannot help but wonder why these four bars of music were included on the score. There are, of course, some possible explanations that could justify either the recorded alteration or the retention of the written passage, such as an error in transcription, or that the manuscript already existed and the composer decided not to repeat the same idea on two different recordings. The differences between this passage on the manuscript and the recording represent another good example of the malleability of the jazz performance. With this passage, as with "Drop that Sack", we are made privy to a road not

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

taken. After all, we can easily imagine performances of "Gate Mouth" that incorporated this passage, even as we can imagine performances of the piece that do not follow the formal plan adopted by the New Orleans Wanderers on July 13, 1926. The recorded form does not use the B section for solos. The B section is played twice during the presentation of the melody, but all of the solos and remaining ensemble sections are based on the chord progression of the A section. Louis Armstrong's absence from the recording session that produced "Gate Mouth", which is otherwise made up entirely of Hot Five alumni, may have deterred the group from a more ambitious performance that might have incorporated the B section into the solo sections.

What is important here is that we obtain the sense that Louis Armstrong and his circle were creating musical works that could give them a variety of options, not just for improvising, but for melodic presentation as well. Rather than focusing exclusively on why any particular option was chosen to suit a given performance, it becomes more rewarding to understand what these options might have been and to locate these choices among Armstrong's various recorded performances. This is an area of early jazz research that certainly suggests further exploration.

Like many copyright deposits submitted after the recording date, the copyright manuscript of "Weather Bird"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

would, at least initially, appear to be little more than a transcription of the trumpet part from the 1928 duet recording of Louis Armstrong and Earl Hines. Much of what Armstrong plays on the recording is clearly delineated on the manuscript. Thanks to whoever notated the manuscript, it is relatively easy to follow the trumpet part. All sections of the piece, except the first, are identified with the inscriptions "second part", "third part", and "fourth part". But the recording only includes the melodies of the first three parts. The melody of the fourth part was left off this recording. In spite of the omission of the fourth part and a span of almost an entire month, the person who notated the copyright deposit manuscript elected to include the fourth part. This fourth part is not a transcription of what Armstrong played, nor is it relevant, except in a harmonic sense, to what was performed by Earl Hines. Therefore, why include it on the copyright deposit? Perhaps it was because the notater was not transcribing a piece, but writing out the music as he or she knew it, or even, assuming the piece could have been dictated, as he or she was told to write it. Therefore, what we see on this copyright deposit does not directly reflect "Weather Bird" the recording, but rather a conception of how the work existed in the mind of the composer.

The idea of musicians making choices, of picking different musical roads to travel, is even more obvious when

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

we turn to a comparison of introductions of pieces on the recordings and copyright deposit manuscripts. Many, but not all, of the copyright deposits include introductions as part of the submitted manuscript. Some recordings follow these introductions quite closely. Others do not. The relationship between the introductions found on the copyright deposits and the recordings of the fifteen Armstrong pieces can be divided roughly into four groups: 1) pieces where the introduction is the same on the copyright and the recording; 2) pieces where there is an introduction on the copyright deposit and the recording, but they are different from one another; 3) pieces where the copyright deposit does not include an introduction, but the recording does; and 4) pieces where there is no introduction on either the copyright deposit or the recording. These patterns are illustrated on Table 6.15. It should be obvious that this list does not exhaust all the possible ways in which a performance could differ from a copyright deposit. Nor does it manage to account for those descriptive manuscripts that do a poor job of transcribing the music performed on the recording. Nevertheless, it further illustrates the large number of options available and decisions to be made by the early jazz musician.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 6.15. Comparison of Introductions on Copyright Deposits and Recordings

a. Introduction is (essentially) same on copyright and recording
Beau Koo Jack
Coal Cart Blues
Cornet Chop Suey
Gut Bucket Blues
Tears
Weather Bird

b. Introduction on copyright and recording are different

Don't Forget to Mess Around When You're Doing the Charleston
Gully Low Blues
Heah Me Talkin' to Ya'
I am in the Barrel, Who Don't Like It?
Knockin' a Jug

c. Copyright does not include introduction, recording does

Drop that Sack
Weather Bird Rag

d. No introduction on copyright or recording

Gate Mouth
Muggles

The categories that are of greatest interest in Table 6.15 are b. and c. These illustrate differences between the copyright deposit and the recorded performance. These differences could also be roughly divided into two categories: differences that appear to be the result of deliberate planning on the part of the performers at the recording session, and differences that are the result of careless transcription on the part of someone listening to a recording and, to all appearances, not managing to get the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

music written down correctly. The pieces that most clearly belong to the second group are "Knockin' a Jug" and "Heah Me Talkin' To Ya'". In addition, although not listed on Table 6.15, the transcription of "Muggles" should be mentioned. All three transcriptions contain extensive pitch and rhythm errors and, probably not coincidentally, appear to have been notated by the same hand.

The five deposits from Table 6.5.b., introductions that differ from the recording, exemplify three of the numerous ways a recorded introduction and a written introduction might differ from one another. One piece, "Gully Low Blues", contains a four-bar written introduction not used on the recording, but the recorded introduction is of the same phrase length. Two pieces, "I am in the Barrel, Who Don't Like It?" and "Don't Forget to Mess Around When You're Doing the Charleston", have four-bar written introductions not used on the recording, and the recorded introduction is longer than four bars. Finally, two pieces, "Drop that Sack" and "Weather Bird Rag", include introductions on the recording but there is no written introduction on the copyright deposit manuscript.

One factor rarely if ever indicated on Louis Armstrong's copyright deposits is how the introduction, or any other section of the piece, will be accompanied by the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

rest of the front line or the rhythm section.[34] To determine the accompaniment we must rely on the recording. This, once again, illustrates the limitations of copyright deposits for jazz research. Four pieces begin with a solo trumpet line, either accompanied or unaccompanied. A fifth piece, "Weather Bird Rag", begins with an introductory figure played by the ensemble. Two introductions, "Gully Low Blues" and "Drop that Sack", begin with solo trumpet cadenzas; "Don't Forget to Mess Around" uses a solo trumpet with the other horns playing obbligato figures and the rhythm section comping; and, "I am in the Barrel" begins with a nineteen-and-a-half bar D-minor "vamp" over which Louis Armstrong improvises figures that are somewhat related to the A strain of the melody.

The similarity between the written and recorded introduction to "Gully Low Blues" begins and ends with the fact that both lines are four bars in length. However, the recorded version of the piece does share its entire routine: its introduction, melody, form and closing trumpet solo, with its counterpart, "S.O.L. Blues", recorded the previous day. The difference between these two opening four-bar cadenzas is only a handful of notes. The introduction on

---

[34] Two copyright deposits made by "King" Oliver, "Dipper Mouth Blues" and "Chimes" come to mind. These deposits give a limited indication of accompaniment to the piece. In "Dipper Mouth Blues" the rhythmic and melodic figures for the clarinet solo are included and in "Chimes" the "chimes" figure played on the piano by Lillian Hardin was written down.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the copyright deposit, however, bears no resemblance to either of the recorded cadenzas. It is clearly an entirely different melodic idea. The "Gully Low Blues" deposit, most likely some kind of descriptive score, was submitted over half a year after the piece was recorded. The written melody of the bright-tempoed A strain is quite similar to what is on the recording and the lyrics written on the bottom of the page are, almost to a word, what was sung by Armstrong. But the submitted material for the B strain, most likely taken from the ensemble's out-chorus, is, like the introduction, quite dissimilar. If this piece was notated by Armstrong or his wife, it is possible that they based this manuscript more on how the piece was being played at the time of copyright in late November of 1927 than on its recorded performance.

In contrast, the introductions for "I am in the Barrel ..." and "Drop that Sack", both prescriptive scores, seem to bear witness to the kinds of editorial choices a performer and/or composer might make with a structure that has been in existence for some time. As was discussed earlier, "Drop that Sack" was reduced from a piece with three-strains and fifty-six bars to a repeated single strain twenty-bar idea. In its written form, "Drop that Sack" did not contain an introduction. The addition of Armstrong's introductory solo cadenza makes sense as a logical option one might choose after reducing the number of bars and strains.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Some alternative choices result from the introduction developed by Armstrong for the recorded performance of "I am in the Barrel ..." The introduction on the copyright deposit consists of a four-bar phrase based upon the B strain of the melody. But, as mentioned earlier, the recorded performance begins with the rhythm section and the trombone and clarinet vamping on a D-minor chord. After three bars, a muted Armstrong enters playing figures that are loosely derived from the A strain. This introduction turns out to be Armstrong's primary solo spot in the piece. Armstrong ends his solo in the middle of measure twenty and takes the ensemble into the figures for the B strain; thus reversing the strain order as presented on the copyright deposit manuscript. After playing the twenty-bar B strain one time through, the band finally plays the sixteen-bar D minor A strain. The choice to change the order of the strains would appear to be the result of changing the introductory material. From a performer's perspective, it probably made little sense to follow a long section of D minor with a strain in the same key. The structural result of the performer's choices is presented in Table 6.16, a comparison of the structure and order of the copyright deposit with the recorded performance. Once again, the value of this comparison is not in whether choices made for the recorded performance are superior to those found on the deposit. Rather, the value can be found in appreciating

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that these musicians made conscious choices about how they were going to present their musical ideas. This again points to the sophistication of their musical proficiency and knowledge.

Table 6.16. Structural Comparison of the Copyright Deposit for "I am in the Barrel, Who Don't Like It?" and the Recording of "Yes, I'm in the Barrel"

Copyright Manuscript	Recording
Introduction 4 bars, F major	Introduction 19 1/2 bars, D minor
A strain 16 bars, D minor	B strain, 20 bars, F major
B strain 20 bars F major	A strain, 16 bars, D minor
2 bar tag ending	2 12-bar blues choruses, F major
	B strain, 20 bars, F major

The final introduction to be considered is that of "Weather Bird Rag". "Weather Bird Rag" was Louis Armstrong's first recorded composition. It was also his first copyrighted work. The copyright manuscript of "Weather Bird Rag" was deposited on April 14, 1923, eight days after King Oliver and his Creole Jazz Band recorded it on April 6, 1923. It was the only one of Armstrong's copyrighted contributions to this recording session to be released.[35] Armstrong recorded "Weather Bird Rag" again five years later as a duet with Earl Hines. This later

[35] "When You Leave Me Alone to Pine" was also recorded at the same session, but never released.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

performance, retitled "Weather Bird", is quite striking and, by its inclusion in the Smithsonian Collection of Classic Jazz, has assumed a certain canonic importance in jazz history. Although the layout and structure of the 1923 manuscript might suggest certain prescriptive qualities, the deposit date, eight days after the recording, makes it impossible to assert that the score is prescriptive.

The recording and the copyright deposit manuscript of "Weather Bird Rag" both present a three strain rag that follows a slightly altered version of the classic ragtime form. The melodic contours of the copyright manuscript and the lines played by the cornets on the King Oliver recording are quite similar. But the copyright deposit manuscript does not contain the introduction heard on the recording. The manuscript begins with what is heard on the recording as the fourth bar of the introduction. It is no coincidence that this notated bar, the pick-up to the first strain, is integral to the piece's melodic design. There is, however, no indication on the manuscript that this first measure is a pick-up to the opening strain. Confirmation that this figure is an indispensable part of the strain comes with its reappearance at the eighth bar of the A strain on both the recording and the manuscript. A comparison of the 1929 copyright deposit and recording reveals that when Armstrong recorded "Weather Bird" with Earl Hines in 1928 he played a different introduction, but he did retain the measure long

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pick-up figure into the melody. The introduction played on this later version of the piece comes almost directly from the last four bars of the melody composed in 1923. Only the third bar shows signs of reshaping and even this change is only partial. Thus, while it is impossible to solve certain choices of notation, we can become better informed about choices Armstrong made for this later version of the piece.

Cornet Chop Suey

"Cornet Chop Suey", the final copyright deposit manuscript to be considered, is a unique document because its prescriptive qualities are much greater than any other among Louis Armstrong's compositions. "Cornet Chop Suey" was submitted for copyright on January 18, 1924. Louis Armstrong recorded this piece with his Hot Five two years later, on February 26, 1926. Armstrong's performance of this tune has been singled out by musicians and scholars as an influential masterpiece of early jazz. Thus, the information to be gleaned from the copyright deposit manuscript expands the history of this piece.

The structure of "Cornet Chop Suey" can be obtained with a careful reading of the copyright deposit. The prescriptive nature of this score is so great that one could easily use it to follow the 1926 recording. Its legibility is also due to a fairly careful layout of the music on the page. In many respects this layout is typical of the lead sheets submitted for copyright during this period. Page one

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

begins on the first system with a treble clef and a cut-time signature. As mentioned earlier, there is no indication of key, though the piece is quite clearly in F-major. With the exception of the first and thirteenth system the clef sign is not used at the beginning of each line and was assumed; this remains a part of traditional layout of jazz lead sheets to this day. The piece opens with a four bar introduction, followed by a double bar (on the second system at bar 5) that indicates the beginning of the verse. The verse is sixteen bars in length (mm. 5-20), and extends from the beginning of the second system to the end of the fifth system. The chorus, clearly identified on the manuscript by the word "CHORUS", is 32 bars long (mm. 21-54) finishing on the twelfth system with a first and second ending, each one measure in length. The first ending has the usual repeat sign. The second ending lacks even a single bar line.

The thirteenth system begins with a new treble clef, a cut-time signature, and the word "PATTER" boldly written above the first measure of the line. This third section of the piece is 16 bars in length (mm. 53-68) and concludes on the second page with a segno above the double bars at measure 68 and the letters D. S. written below the line. The results of the above description are summarized on the table below:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Layout of "Cornet Chop Suey" Copyright Deposit

Length: (in measure numbers)	4	16	32	32	16	32
Section:	INTRO	VERSE	CHORUS	CHORUS	PATTER	CHORUS

It is noteworthy that the February 26, 1926 Hot Five recording also follows this exact structure and form. A comparison with the copyright deposit manuscript and Armstrong's recorded cornet part in example 6.1 indicates that most of the melodic material used in the recording was in place by 1924.

The opening cadenza, a four measure arpeggiation of an F major chord is identical in both its written and recorded versions. One noticeable difference between the copyright deposit manuscript and the 1926 version first appears at measure five, the opening bar of the verse. This melodic figure is changed again in a similar manner at the ninth measure of the verse. With the exception of the pick-up into the chorus, most of the other changes in the verse appear to be motivated by rhythmic considerations. The pickup figure to the chorus which follows is given a change of melodic direction. Armstrong reverses his original idea, an ascending scalar line that moves directly into the melodic hook of the chorus. Instead, his figure descends step-wise toward the tonic, but rather than resolving on the lower octave, he releases the figure with a large leap of a ninth, essentially a form of octave displacement. The upper tetrachord of the F scale to F has been replaced by the
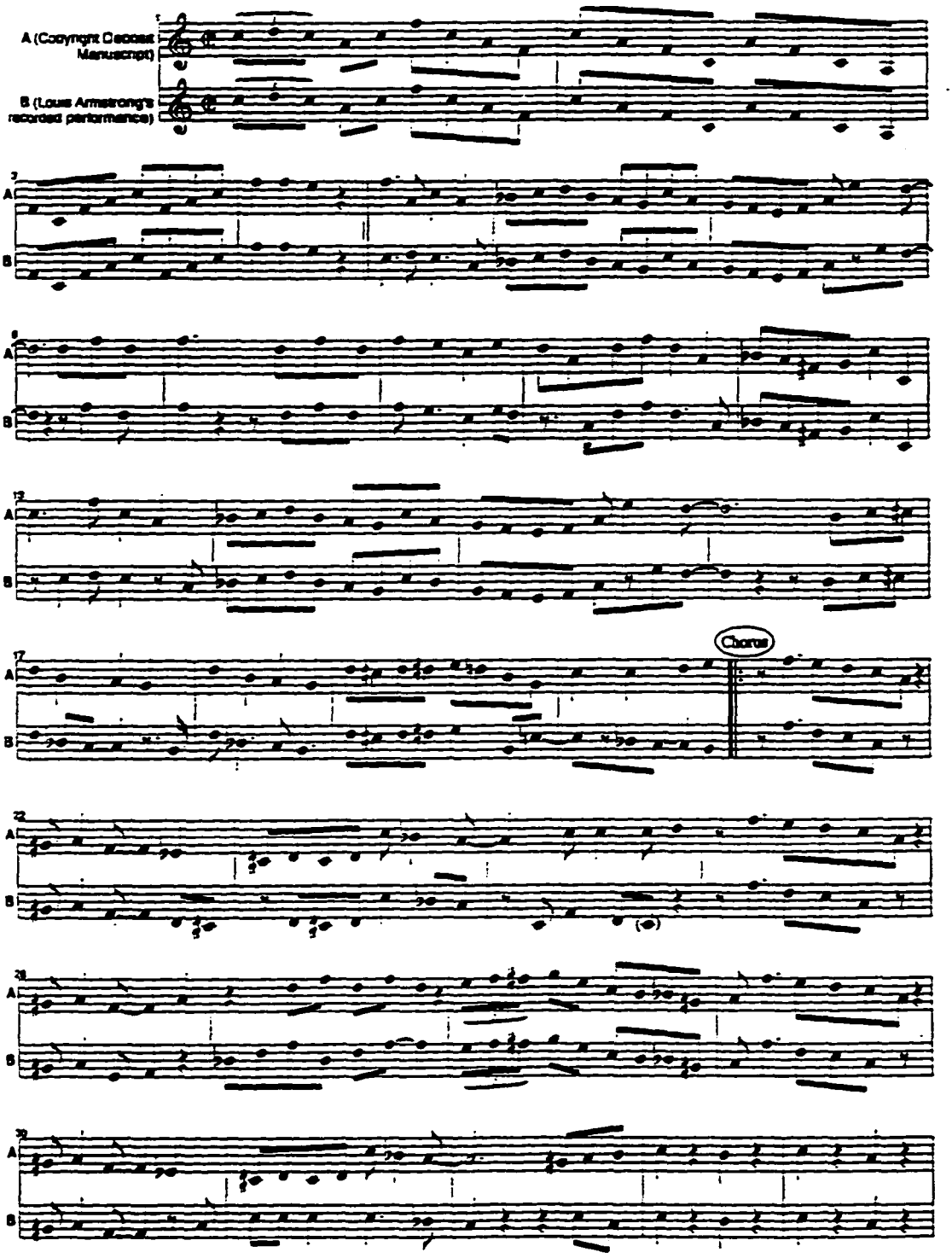
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

opposite idea, the lower tetrachord descending to the low "f". It is interesting to note how Armstrong could have resolved the figure either way. Once again, with the aid of the copyright deposit, a performance option is revealed.
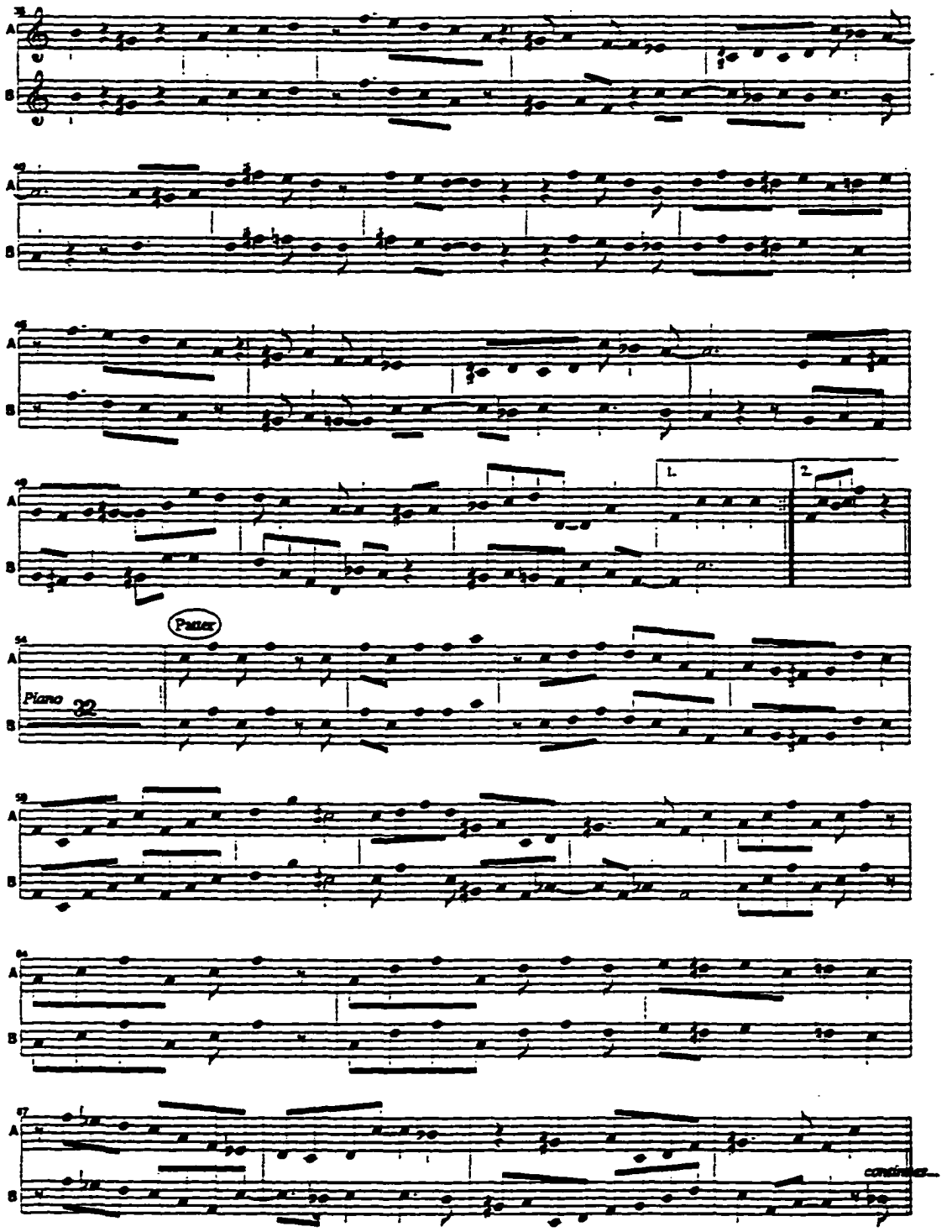
The opening measure of the chorus on the manuscript contains an obvious metric error. A quarter rest, resembling a check mark, was mistakenly added to the end of a four-beat measure. This notational error appears to have had no effect on the recording. In addition, the recording changes one pitch in the descending chorus figure. The result has much more of a pentatonic than step-wise feeling. This change is consistent throughout the recording and occurs on every subsequent occasion that the figure appeared.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 6.1 "Cornet Chop Suey"



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Armstrong's revisions in measures twenty-three and twenty-four of the chorus involve choosing different resolutions for both the rhythmic and melodic elements of the phrase ending. It can be also be noted in the verse (mm. nineteen and twenty), that, in terms of "sticking to the music", phrase endings tend to be less structurally rigid than phrase beginnings or overall contour. Armstrong expresses a greater flexibility with his choices for the phrase ending and there are far more different choices and solutions to be found at the end of the four-bar phrase units of the chorus of "Cornet Chop Suey" than in any other portion of the piece. Six of the eight phrases in the 1926 recording of the chorus have endings that differ in some way from the original copyright manuscript (measures 23-24, 31-32, 39-40, 43-44, 47-48, and 51-52). These changes vary in complexity, but are consistent with the above conclusion.

One possible reason for the variations between the recording and the copyright deposit is that phrase endings often functioned as a location for solo breaks. Musicians were expected to improvise these breaks. Consequently, only two of the phrase endings in the chorus of "Cornet Chop Suey" were performed essentially "as written". Perhaps this was because Armstrong felt these two phrase endings still sounded like a solo break. Such passages needed to contain the type of virtuosic display that made the Armstrong's recordings so attractive to musicians and critics alike.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Louis Armstrong's sixteen-bar stop time solo that follows Lillian Hardin Armstrong's piano chorus has been acknowledged as the "high point of the record, the part that so excited the musicians".[36] This is probably the solo that inspired one commentator to describe the overall performance as "bubbling spontaneity that could come only from on-the-spot improvisation".[37] What is striking then, is a comparison of this section of the copyright deposit entitled "PATTER" (mm. 55-70) with Armstrong's stop-time solo on the recording. Elsewhere in "Cornet Chop Suey" we find a number of measures that contain different ideas or reworked final endings. But here, eleven of the sixteen bars of this passage are the same on both the recording and the copyright deposit manuscript. As was noted above in the chorus, Armstrong's revisions show a tendency to come at the end of the phrases, not the beginning. The "PATTER" chorus is no different. Changes occur on the second half of phrases. It is the beginning of these phrases that are the active moments in the solo; this is what captured the listener's attention.

By identifying the stop-time solo chorus with the term "patter", Armstrong presents this passage within a distinct musical context. The word "patter" has many definitions. For example, in the vaudeville, or theater world, patter

---

[36] Collier, Louis Armstrong, 174.

[37] Hadlock, Jazz Masters of the 20s, 26.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

usually refers to some kind of onstage banter between actors.[38] In musical theater a brief comic routine within a song is known as patter. And in a Gilbert and Sullivan operetta there are songs known as patter songs.[39] Patter songs are generally performed as spoken melodies; a series of quick, rhyming, humorous lines spat out by the singers.[40] Patter songs were often excerpted from operetta for the vaudeville stage. There were also new patter songs written for comic routines. Patter could also be added to pre-existing songs.

All of these potential definitional possibilities

---

[38] In a theatrical context, the Random House Dictionary of the English Language describes patter as 1. meaningless rapid talk, mere chatter; gabble. 2. the usually glib and rapid speech or talk used by a magician while performing, a barker at a circus or sideshow, a comedian or other entertainer. 3. amusing lines delivered rapidly by an entertainer or performer, as in a comic routine or in a song (1987, 1422). Webster's Third International Dictionary supports these interpretations describing patter as "the rapid-fire talk of a comedian or the talk with which any of various performers accompanies his routine (1976, 1657).

[39] Random House also includes a definition of patter as "amusing lines delivered rapidly by an entertainer or performer, as in a comic routine or in a song" (1987, 1422). Webster's supports this definition directly citing patter as "the words of a comic or musical comedy song or of a rapidly spoken usually humorous monologue introduced into such a song" (1976, 1657).

[40] The Grove dictionary points out that, in a Patter song, the "humor derives from having the greatest number of words uttered in the shortest possible time." The article further cites a passage on patter in Ruddigore, "this particularly rapid, unintelligible patter isn't generally heard and if it is it doesn't matter." Armstrong's patter, however, was clearly intended to be heard and mattered greatly within the context of the piece, therefore it does not fall within the Savoy concept of patter.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

contribute to a better understanding of Armstrong's identification of this section as "patter". It appears that he recognized his trumpet line for this section of "Cornet Chop Suey" attained a unique level of cleverness, humor, and virtuosity; one for which this description is most apt. This is also true of the title of the piece. The combination of the words "Cornet" and "Chop Suey" is meant to be humorous. The terms are essentially incongruous, one musical, the other culinary. Yet this incongruity is the very essence of its humor and in the patter section Armstrong has created a musically comical equivalent.[41] One last possibility would also explain the use of the term for this passage. It may well have been a period convention for the identification of a third strain in a popular song, just as the term "trio" was used to identify the third and fourth strain groups in ragtime.

The patter section is a carefully worked out virtuoso solo passage. It would be an error to view this solo as any less powerful or significant because it was pre-composed and not improvised. The sixteen-bar passage is structured into

---

[41] This suggests one other possible interpretation for this term, that patter might have been a play on words for "patting juba." The strong emphasis upon a syncopated rhythmic activity so prevalent in patting juba can easily describe Armstrong's solo line. Minstrelsy was far from being over when Armstrong was in his teens and Armstrong may well have seen and heard "patting juba" described as "patter." For discussions of juba and its relation to the minstrel show see Epstein 1977, 141-144 and Southern, Music of Black Americans, 93.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

two eight-bar phrases. Each phrase begins with some kind of articulation of an F major chord. The first section delays unfolding all the notes of the chord until the final beat of the second bar with a dramatic arrival on the high "a". The second half of the solo opens with a series of arpeggios of the F major chord that are quite reminiscent of the song's solo introduction. Both sections are filled with the kinds of patter described above. Armstrong's melodic line is rhythmically very busy, this activity exemplifies the idea of patter.

Conclusion

The evidence presented in this chapter ties in directly with the thesis of this dissertation. It confirms that at least one early jazz musician, Louis Armstrong, was well aware of one type of notated manuscript, the copyright deposit lead sheet. By studying the contents of the prescriptive copyright deposits by Louis Armstrong, it is possible to gain new insights into the compositional process of this jazz musician. Essentially we are presented with a possible way to create scholarly value from these written sources. The approach here also indicates the need for further research regarding individual jazz composers and the state of their copyright deposits.

Unfortunately what is likely to be learned is that most copyright deposit manuscripts do not provide a wealth of information. Even among Armstrong's compositions most of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

what was focused upon had to be gleaned primarily from a handful of pieces that had been deposited prior to the recording session. There might not be enough material to rewrite the history of early jazz, but there is enough to suggest some directions for further research in this area. We might begin by considering what is gained by describing a jazz musician as a composer. With Armstrong, original composition and arrangement would seem to have been an integral part of the creative process in his early career. The comparisons between prescriptive manuscripts and later recordings have revealed a greater process of revision and recomposition of formal and melodic ideas than has previously been noted. And, at the same time, as was seen in "Cornet Chop Suey", there exists a willingness to keep and solidify ideas that worked, sometimes making the border between composition and improvisation so narrow that without the evidence of the copyright deposit, we might imagine we were hearing an improvised solo. The evidence derived from comparing the recordings with the manuscripts studied supports the idea that there was a wide body of choices that could be made by jazz musicians. These choices were and still remain integral today to the jazzman's process of music making. This then, may indeed be the greatest lesson we can learn from Louis Armstrong's copyright deposits.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

As implied by its title, "Written Music in Early Jazz", this dissertation has addressed a cross-section of activities that confirm the use of written music in early jazz as well as the presence of related technical skills. Approaching this topic through five distinct areas of study presents a multilayered perspective on the subject.

The results of this dissertation reinforce the work of scholars like Magee and Tucker in suggesting that available notated sources play a role in future scholarship on early jazz. The idea of weaving together a narrative based on a selection of oral histories that focuses on the development of music skills and learning processes is modeled after the work of Paul Berliner. This dissertation develops Berliner's work by showing that the same technical skills generally ascribed to the later swing or bebop musicians appear earlier in jazz history.[1] The materials presented in Chapter 4 point to the value of locating and studying scores used by a working ensemble. The evidence discussed in Chapter 5, like the work of Jeffrey Magee, identifies and proves that published stock arrangements were a source for some early jazz recordings, and suggests that it was not uncommon for jazz musicians making recordings to perform

---

[1] Paul Berliner, Thinking in Jazz: The Infinite Art of Improvisation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). See especially Part I, "Initial Preparations for Jazz."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

doctored versions of existing commercial stock arrangements. Taken together, Chapters 4 and 5 point to a wide variety of methods of doctoring published arrangements. The materials presented in Chapter 6 follows the research of Tucker in suggesting effective methods for incorporating copyright deposits into the history of a composition. Copyright deposits by jazz musicians made prior to the recording of a composition need to be identified and studied.

One issue that is yet to be addressed is that bringing the subject of this dissertation into the mainstream would challenge some of the common habits of talking and writing about jazz. The current discourse encourages the use of terms that either exclude or downplay some specific uses of notation. One of the common anomalies of jazz writing is the use of terms that appeal to dichotomies. Descriptions of activities or historical moments in jazz are categorized, for example, as "true" vs. "false" jazz, "oral" vs. "written" or "composed" vs. "improvised".[2] The evidence presented here demonstrates that these terms do not always correspond with the situations in which musicians, or even scholars, work. It is hoped that by avoiding such linguistic dark holes this dissertation could serve as a model.

I was not interested in presenting a study that

---

[2] See also David Evans' comments on dichotomies in Chapter 4.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

artificially divided oral and written jazz, especially because my own experience as a working jazz musician suggested how distorted such an interpretation is for any jazz study. For example, there is little value in distinguishing early jazz musicians as either musically literate or illiterate. After all, having the ability to read music should not exclude the possibility of learning a piece by ear or playing a piece from memory. It should not exclude the possibility of composing a new solo over changes by ear even while others are reading from a stock arrangement. Moreover, it should not exclude the possibility that a musician could have composed a piece of music over a period time, played it in various forms, and only written it down at a later date for the purpose of publication or copyright.

One striking example of how these habits of discourse interfere with balanced scholarship may be found in Richard Hadlock's assessment of the Louis Armstrong recording, "Cornet Chop Suey".

> "Cornet Chop Suey" was the first of many recordings that were to be Armstrong showcases from start to finish . . . Constructing his solo (and his entire performance is really one long solo) with seemingly simple eighth- and quarter-note patterns, the cornetist displays a superb sense of melodic balance and restraint. Each note falls into place with almost discomforting rightness and inevitability, yet with a bubbling spontaneity that could come only from on-the-spot improvisation.[3]

---

[3] Hadlock, Jazz Masters of the 20s, 26.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

At the time this excerpt was written there was no knowledge of the existence of the copyright deposit discussed in Chapter 6. Nevertheless, the language used by Hadlock must be addressed. By placing a significant value on improvisation Hadlock imposes an inflated assumption on this performance. He does not consider another possibility, now supported by the evidence, that Armstrong might have developed this musical passage in advance. Hadlock's appreciation of Armstrong's solo is well founded, but the ingrained habits of jazz discourse that include the choice of terms like "spontaneity" and "on-the-spot" prevent him from imagining other scenarios. Again, it must be reiterated that the process of creating a new piece of music does not always begin with a piece of paper. A composer may work out ideas on an instrument or simply "in the air" and notate it only after it has jelled. It is likely that the "Cornet Chop Suey" copyright deposit manuscript was notated after Armstrong had lived with this piece for some time. Even after writing it down, as can be seen in example 6.1, a composer may still rethink portions of a work or allow for portions of a piece where improvisation should be expected.

Similarly, in his presentation of "Cornet Chop Suey", Frank Tirro compares the Lil Hardin and Louis Armstrong performances to demonstrate the superiority of Louis' improvising skills.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Lil Hardin's piano solo ... exhibits little improvisation. Louis Armstrong's stop-time chorus, on the other hand, is remarkable for both its invention and its virtuosity, traits for which Armstrong was unequaled in his day. The freedom and driving swing of his lead cornet playing in the ensemble sections give these passages a feeling of solo improvisation as well.[4]

Armstrong's solo is clearly compelling. Because the performance is associated with jazz, the extraordinary qualities of invention found in the solo are automatically attributed to improvisation. In their work, both Tirro and Hadlock have made valid and significant points regarding "Cornet Chop Suey". Their scholarship is occasionally undermined by a use of language that does not include common performance practices such as interpretation or notation. This problem, as it relates most directly to this dissertation, is further illustrated in the introduction to Gunther Schuller's Early Jazz:

> Verbal explication and notated musical examples are of course no substitute for the music itself. If this is true of histories of "classical" music, it is even truer of jazz, a basically improvised music defying notation and in which recourse to the written score is both impossible and- if scores existed- irrelevant.[5]

It has been almost thirty years since Schuller wrote these words, and yet this issue has not disappeared. Jazz scholars still rely on dichotomies. In the February/March 1997 issue of Jazz Player, a pedagogical magazine for jazz musicians, sandwiched between an article on how to practice

---

[4] Tirro, Jazz, 8*.

[5] Schuller, Early Jazz, x.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

improvisation and an article about jazz composition and arranging, is a piece about the life and work of Jelly Roll Morton and the benefits a developing musician might gain from a study of his music.[6] Two passages there illustrate my point. In the first, the author argues that musicians of the 1920s were forced to choose between primitiveness and improvisation, on the one hand, and sophistication and composition, on the other. However, this study has repeatedly demonstrated that most early jazz musicians played music that fit both of these categories. For one to even consider the need to make such a choice flies in the face of the reality of their daily musical lives. One need only think of the wide variety of pieces recorded by the ensembles led by Fletcher Henderson or Duke Ellington to realize how such a statement misrepresents the period.

> In the 1920s, jazz players were still trying to figure out what this new idiom could, or should, be. Should jazz flaunt its "primitiveness" (exemplified by growling timbres, wild improvisation, and rhythmic drive), or shore up its claims to sophistication through polished intricate arrangements?[7]

One false assumption is that performing a "polished intricate" arrangement would result in a sophisticated sound. For example, one might compare the timbral differences between the four versions of "Snag It" studied in Chapter 4. All four versions contain "sophisticated"

---

[6] Scott DeVeaux, "My Jelly Roll Soul," Jazz Player 4/2 (February/March 1997), 35-37.

[7] Ibid, 36.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

passages, but there are also sections where most of the cornetists play the written lines with a good deal of growling.

The second passage in this article continues to press this model by presenting a series of opposing dichotomies.

> What Morton offers us is a fresh perspective on the perennial challenge of jazz: how to reconcile apparently opposed qualities of improvisation and composition, spontaneity and control, feeling and technique.[8]

This dissertation has made a strong case against dichotomies such as those found in this passage. Early jazz musicians did not need to reconcile the qualities listed above for any of several reasons. For one, the process of composition often grows out of improvisation. A musician who improvises may, over time, develop a series of ideas that then become a new composition. For another, the attribution of spontaneity and control are so ephemeral that these terms are, to some extent, meaningless. One need only think of Louis Armstrong's "Cornet Chop Suey" solo, a solo that was apparently carefully planned, but elicited responses to the effect that it must have been spontaneous. Finally, it would seem that a goal of most jazz musicians is to treat feeling and technique as part of a whole and not to view them as opposing forces. A study that claims to examine the realm of activities pursued by musicians who played jazz in its earliest years needs to present the

---

[8] Ibid., 36-37.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

broadest possible perspective. Writing about jazz as though it could fall into neat and simple categories destroys any sense of the depth of this music.

By way of conclusion, I wish to assess the general scope of this dissertation and ask what are some of the implications of this study for future jazz scholarship? During the past decade music scholars, including many of the leading minds of the field, have been reflecting on the role of musicology and the future direction of the discipline. This was signalled in 1985 by Joseph Kerman's Contemplating Music, a book that challenged musicology to move past positivist research and into an era in which the focus was on theoretical and critical analysis.[9] In the process, Kerman gave jazz scholarship short shrift by essentially rejecting students of jazz and stating that "one has the impression that the ethnomusicologists would be glad to swallow them up".[10] In spite of this dismissal the past decade has witnessed a number of doctoral dissertations on jazz topics by musicology candidates.

All these jazz dissertations share at least one common trait: they are decidedly positivist. In contrast to other areas of musicology, jazz scholarship is still in its earliest stages of development. For example, most of the

---

[9] Joseph Kerman, Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985).

[10] Ibid., 13.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

leading figures of jazz still require basic musicological treatment. This, obviously, is hardly the case with the study of European art music. While some jazz scholarship has turned its attention to larger theoretical issues, there is much basic research yet to be conducted. Perhaps then, it is no wonder that there have been few attempts by jazz scholars to compile and edit anything similar to an edition of the collected compositions by a single composer. Despite his misgivings, even Kerman acknowledges the importance of establishing and producing texts in the development of the discipline. While there are obvious arguments to be made about the role of recordings as jazz "texts", the evidence in this dissertation has established the presence of different types of "texts" in this period. In some ways, addressing the subject of "Written Music in Early Jazz" may be viewed as a preliminary study that would lead to the development of a series of jazz Gesamtausgaben. To create such a series will require developing a series of editorial methods that can address the wide variety of written and recorded sources. There already exist a broad range of editions of works by jazz composers, and a review of the methods used by some of these editors may prove useful in the development of future editions.

The most successful attempt to compile the complete works of a single jazz composer still remains James Dapogny's edition of the piano music of Ferdinand "Jelly

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Roll" Morton.[11] The strong points of Dapogny's editorial work can serve as a model for future editorial projects. According to his notes, Dapogny reviewed a wide variety of sources for a given piece including:

> (1) editions of music originally published for piano solo; (2) editions of music originally published for piano solo but based upon recorded ensemble versions; (3) transcriptions of piano rolls; and (4) transcriptions of recorded piano performances.[12]

Although he did not include it on this list, Dapogny also compared manuscripts deposited for copyright with published versions of the pieces. Only one version of each piece is included in the edition. The method for choosing which version to transcribe and include in the edition was to select the recorded performance in which Dapogny believed that "Morton the performer and Morton the composer were best balanced and in which the piece as a whole was best realized".[13] Every piece is prefaced by a complete listing of all copyright and recording information, including identification of the source of the transcription, as well as a brief introductory and analytic essay.

The transcriptions are, by intention, primarily descriptive; although Dapogny acknowledged that he simplified some rhythms to make the music playable, and to

---

[11] Ferdinand "Jelly Roll" Morton, Ferdinand "Jelly Roll" Morton The Collected Piano Music, ed. James Dapogny (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982).

[12] Ibid., 31.

[13] Ibid., 36.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

some degree, prescriptive.[14] Because Dapogny's edition is limited to Morton's compositions for solo piano, it does not address the issues of orchestration that would have been confronted in an edition of Morton's ensemble works.

In addition to scholarly editions, the methods used in two other types of published collections of jazz pieces should be considered: editions that are transcriptions of recorded improvisations and "fake books", published collections of jazz compositions compiled as pedagogical texts for the study of jazz performance or for professional use. Both types vary in content and quality, but certain aspects of them may serve well as resources and possible models for future editions of works by jazz composers. For example, a large percentage of the pieces found in the New Real Book series published and edited by Chuck Sher are compositions by jazz musicians.[15] Sher's editions are intended for use by working musicians; each piece is presented in lead sheet form with one line for the melody and the chord changes written above. There is little editorial commentary and only a limited number of sources listed for each piece. One benefit of the editions is that, where relevant, the editor includes alternate passages and chord changes, and in some instances, parts for individual

---

[14] Ibid., 33-34.

[15] Chuck Sher, ed., The New Real Book. 3 vols. (Petaluma, California: Sher Music Co., vol. 1, 1988; vol. 2, 1991; vol. 3, 1995).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

instruments. In contrast to the poorly edited photocopy editions of the illegal and hard-to-find Real Book series for which jazz composers had no input and received no royalties, Sher has made an effort to obtain composer authorization for the jazz pieces. This authorization makes the original jazz compositions published in the New Real Book editions the best versions available. The limitations in Sher's editions are readily apparent: 1) The books are meant for performance. Hence, there is little in the way of copyright information and source material. 2) The pieces are not introduced with a critical essay. Therefore, the value for critical jazz scholarship is, to some degree, limited. 3) No pretext is made to comprehensively cover the music of a single composer within an edition.

There are two editions of works by jazz composers that may offer further aid in the development of a model for scholarly editions: the Charlie Parker Omnibook, edited by Jamey Aebersold and Ken Slone, and Charles Mingus: More than a Fake Book, compiled and edited by Sue Mingus, Andrew Homzy and Don Sickler.[16] The Charlie Parker Omnibook contains 60 melodies and solo improvisations transcribed from recordings. Although the edition makes no claims at being a comprehensive edition of Parker's compositions, each melody

---

[16] Charlie Parker, Charlie Parker Omnibook Jamey Aebersold and Ken Slone, eds. (New York: Atlantic Music Corp., 1978); Charles Mingus, More than a Fakebook Sue Mingus, Andrew Homzy and Don Sickler, eds. (New York: Jazz Workshop Inc., 1991).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

is attributed to him either entirely or in part. There are no transcriptions of Parker's improvisations on standards included in this edition. The presentation of Parker's melodies alongside his improvisations is one of the strengths of the edition. From a scholarly perspective, it lacks editorial commentary and it does not include comprehensive lists of sources or copyright information. The editors viewed the Omnibook as a pedagogical work and did not incorporate the type of critical information that allowed Dapogny's edition to serve scholars and performers alike.

Although More than a Fake Book focuses on Charles Mingus' melodies and does not include transcriptions of solos, the editorial method used makes this edition an interesting model. The presentation of the music allows it to be a practical source for performers, students and scholars, as well as the lay person. The pieces were prepared from a variety of sources. The editors had access to Mingus' recordings, work books, and original scores. In addition, Sue Mingus interviewed former Mingus sidemen to gain their "perspectives on the pieces they played or helped orchestrate".[17] Portions of these interviews were also used in the essays that accompany each piece.

For the most part, the pieces are presented in the standard fake book lead-sheet format. Many pieces include

---

[17] Sickler, Mingus and Homzy, More than a Fake Book, 4.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

additional musical material such as piano parts, bass lines, background figures, alternative versions of pieces and passages and reproductions of the original manuscript sources. Each composition is accompanied by a critical essay that includes anecdotal and critical commentary as well as a list of all known recorded sources. It only lacks copyright and publishing information. One of the more significant contributions made by this edition is the inclusion of nine pieces notated in full score. By presenting even a handful of pieces in full score, the editors have increased the scholarly value of this edition. Their method is admirable in its ability to bridge the worlds of performance and academia and this procedure could well be replicated by other editors.

Three editions of music could grow out of this dissertation: 1) The music manuscripts found in the John Robichaux collection; 2) Scores of the most commonly recorded stock arrangements from 1910 to 1930; and, 3) The complete works of Louis Armstrong. While all three would benefit from the incorporation of the editorial methods discussed above, the development of each volume would pose distinct issues and problems that would need to be addressed. Not every method used above would prove relevant. The use of critical essays, however, could prove valuable to all three projects. Both the Armstrong and stock arrangement editions would benefit from the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

incorporation of transcriptions of recorded solos as well as the inclusion of descriptions of alternate versions either in score form or in the critical notes. The Armstrong edition could also profit from a discussion of the differences between the copyright deposits and the recordings. Such an edition would also be an appropriate home for an in-depth scholarly discussion of the hands involved in notating the copyright deposit manuscripts.

These proposals are, of course, not the only subjects worthy of future editions of early jazz. There is, perhaps, an even greater need to present the contributions of less documented composers such as Paul Barbarin, Richard M. Jones or Lillian Hardin Armstrong. The work of these composers needs to be exposed to the same critical apparatus and scholarly analysis that has begun to be applied to the better known figures of jazz history.

This dissertation has explored the many ways that jazz musicians read and wrote music in the 1910s and early 1920s. Nevertheless, as a demonstration that the musicians themselves recognized and valued musical literacy during the period, this dissertation concludes with a final piece of evidence, an excerpt from an unrecorded song by Bessie Smith. It was found on a lyric sheet attached to a copyright deposit music manuscript in the Music Division of the Library of Congress. It is, in many ways, the manifestation of all that has been discussed in this study.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The title of the song is the "Jot 'Em Down Blues:"

Clarence Williams wrote the "Sugar Blues"
Merrin Dickerson wrote some good numbers too
Little Jimmie Cox wrote "I believe I'm on my last go round"
Out of all the blues I've named,
None seems to take affect on my brain
They are good blues, I can tell the way they sound
But the blues I crave, between me and my grave,
Somebody's got to write 'em down, I mean,
Somebody's got to "jot 'em down".

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX A

Robichaux Collection: Table A.1. Acquisitions by Year

1877-1903
1-step- 5
2-step- 76
ballad- 5
Buck and wing- 1
cakewalk- 22
coon song- 2
foxtrot- 1
gavotte- 4
gypsy dance- 1
intermezzo- 2
lancer- 8
march- 134
mazurka- 2
minstrel song- 1
minuetto- 1
overture- 9
polka- 8
quadrille- 16
rag- 10
schottische- 12
slow drag- 1
stop-buck- 1
waltz- 59

1904
2-step- 23
ballad- 2
cakewalk- 3
foxtrot- 2
intermezzo- 7
march- 19
mazurka- 2
other- 15
rag- 5
schottische- 1
serenade- 2
slow drag- 1
waltz- 7

1905
2-step- 22
foxtrot- 2
intermezzo- 2
march- 20
morceau- 2
other- 61
overture- 1
polka- 1
rag- 2
slow drag- 1
waltz- 5

1906
2-step- 16
3-step- 1
foxtrot- 1
intermezzo- 6
march- 22
other- 3
overture- 1
rag- 3
slow drag- 1
Tyrolinne- 1
waltz- 3

1907
2-step- 20
3-step- 1
gavotte- 1
Intermezzo- 6
lancer- 1
march- 17
other- 4
rag- 2
schottische- 1
serenade- 1
waltz- 7

1908
2-step- 13
intermezzo- 2
march- 12
other- 8
waltz- 1

1909
2-step- 11
ballad- 2
cakewalk- 1
foxtrot- 1
intermezzo- 5
march- 7
morceau- 1
other- 7
polka- 1
rag- 18
serenade- 1
waltz- 14

1910
1-step- 2
2-step- 11
ballad- 2
caprice- 1
intermezzo- 2
march- 10
other- 16
rag- 13
schottische- 1
serenade- 1
stop dance- 1
waltz- 14

1911
1-step- 1
2-step- 16
ballad- 2
buck dance- 1
foxtrot- 2
gavotte- 1
intermezzo- 4
march- 19
other- 9
rag- 14
serenade- 2
tango- 1
waltz- 9

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1912
2-step- 31
3-step- 1
ballad- 2
cakewalk- 1
caprice- 1
foxtrot- 1
galop- 1
intermezzo- 2
march- 26
other- 17
rag- 23
schottische- 2
serenade- 1
tango- 2
waltz- 18

1913
1-step- 18
2-step- 65
ballad- 3
blues- 2
foxtrot- 6
galop- 4
gavotte- 1
intermezzo- 1
march- 42
other- 47
overture- 1
rag- 20
reverie- 2
schottische- 3
serenade- 1
slow drag- 1
tango- 12
turkey trot- 6
waltz- 38

1914
1-step- 68
2-step- 67
blues- 2
coon song- 1
foxtrot- 53
galop- 1
march- 32
marini- 2
maxixe- 2
other- 71
rag- 21
reverie- 1
stop step- 1
tango- 16
turkey trot- 5
waltz- 60

1915
1-step- 68
2-step- 36
ballad- 5
blues- 3
cakewalk- 3
foxtrot- 61
march- 20
overture- 1
polka- 1
rag- 15
tango- 1
tone poem- 1
waltz- 42

1916
1-step- 62
2-step- 26
3-step- 1
ballad- 3
blues- 13
cakewalk- 1
foxtrot- 62
intermezzo- 2
march- 22
novelette- 3
other- 93
rag- 8
reverie- 4
slow drag- 1
tango- 1
waltz- 32

1917
1-step- 56
2-step- 16
blues- 9
buck dance- 1
coon shout- 1
foxtrot- 66
intermezzo- 4
march- 27
other- 94
rag- 4
reverie- 1
solo- 1
waltz- 19

1918
1-step- 34
2-step- 12
ballad- 111
blues- 5
buck dance- 1
coon shout- 1
foxtrot- 43
intermezzo- 1
march- 26
other- 72
rag- 3
reverie- 1
slow drag- 1
solo- 1
tango- 1
waltz- 23

1919
1-step- 39
2-step- 8
ballad- 8
blues- 6
espongol- 1
foxtrot- 92
intermezzo- 3
lullaby- 2
march- 9
other- 107
rag- 4
slow shumus- 1
solo- 2
waltz- 55

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1920
1-step- 21
2-step- 1
ballad- 1
blues- 4
foxtrot- 108
intermezzo- 3
lullaby- 1
march- 3
other- 66
polonaise- 1
rag- 1
waltz- 35

1921
1-step- 8
2-step- 1
ballad- 3
blues- 20
foxtrot- 110
novelty- 1
other- 46
waltz- 37

1922
1-step- 1
2-step- 1
barcarolle- 1
foxtrot- 128
other- 50
waltz- 26

1923
1-step- 3
ballad- 1
blues- 14
fantasy- 1
foxtrot- 106
march- 1
other- 41
tango- 1
waltz- 18

1924
blues- 7
cakewalk- 1
drag- 1
foxtrot- 87
other- 34
slow drag- 1
stomp- 1
waltz- 16

1925
1-step- 2
ballad- 1
blues- 4
Charleston- 1
dance espange- 1
foxtrot- 78
other- 21
shimmy- 2
tahitian dance- 1
waltz- 9

1926
2-step- 1
ballad- 1
blues- 5
foxtrot- 98
other- 32
rag- 1
shuffle- 1
stomp- 3
waltz- 15

1927
blues- 3
foxtrot- 85
intermezzo- 1
other- 25
shimmy- 1
stomp- 2
waltz- 6

1928
1-step- 1
2-step- 1
ballad- 1
blues- 1
foxtrot- 87
march- 1
other- 12
waltz- 15

1929
ballad- 3
foxtrot- 37
other- 16
tango- 1
waltz- 8

1930
blues- 1
foxtrot- 40
other- 24
waltz- 13

1931
foxtrot- 14
other- 10
waltz- 1

1932
foxtrot- 1
other- 1

1933
lancer- 1
other- 1

1935
foxtrot- 16
other- 2
waltz- 1

1936
blues- 1
foxtrot- 8
other- 3

1937
foxtrot- 9
other- 3
swing- 1

1938
foxtrot- 19
other- 4
swing- 1

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Robichaux Collection: Table A.2. Aquisitions by Tune type

1-step
1877-1903: 5
1910: 2
1911: 1
1913: 18
1914: 68
1915: 68
1916: 62
1917: 56
1918: 34
1919: 39
1920: 21
1921: 8
1922: 1
1923: 3
1925: 2
1928: 1

2-step
1877-1903: 76
1904: 23
1905: 22
1906: 16
1907: 20
1908: 13
1909: 11
1910: 11
1911: 16
1912: 31
1913: 65
1914: 67
1915: 36
1916: 26
1917: 16
1918: 12
1919: 8
1920: 1
1921: 1
1922: 1
1926: 1
1928: 1

3-step
1906: 1
1907: 1
1912: 1
1916: 1

ballad
1877-1903: 5
1904: 2
1909: 2
1910: 2
1911: 2
1912: 2
1913: 3
1915: 5
1916: 3
1918: 11
1919: 8
1920: 1
1921: 3
1923: 1
1925: 1
1926: 1
1928: 1
1929: 3

barcarolle
1922: 1

blues
1913: 2
1914: 2
1915: 3
1916: 13
1917: 9
1918: 5
1919: 6
1920: 4
1921: 20
1923: 14
1924: 7
1925: 4
1926: 5
1927: 3
1928: 1
1930: 1
1936: 1

Buck and wing
1877-1903: 1

buck dance
1911: 1
1917: 1
1918: 1

Charleston
1925: 1

cakewalk
1877-1903: 22
1904: 3
1909: 1
1912: 1
1915: 3
1916: 1
1924: 1

caprice
1910: 1
1912: 1

coon song
1877-1903: 2
1914: 1
1917: 1
1918: 1

dance espange
1925: 1

drag
1924: 1

espongol
1919: 1

fantasy
1923: 1

foxtrot
1877-1903: 1
1904: 2
1905: 2
1906: 1
1909: 1
1911: 2
1912: 1
1913: 6
1914: 53
1915: 61
1916: 62
1917: 66
1918: 43
1919: 92

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

foxtrot cont.
1920: 108
1921: 110
1922: 128
1923: 106
1924: 87
1925: 78
1926: 98
1927: 85
1928: 87
1929: 37
1930: 40
1931: 14
1932: 1
1935: 16
1936: 8
1937: 9
1938: 19

galop
1912: 1
1913: 4
1914: 1

gavotte
1877-1903: 4
1907: 1
1911: 1
1913: 1

gypsy dance
1877-1903: 1

intermezzo
1877-1903: 2
1904: 7
1905: 2
1906: 6
1907: 6
1908: 2
1909: 5
1910: 2
1911: 4
1912: 2
1913: 1
1916: 2
1917: 4
1918: 1
1919: 3
1920: 3
1927: 1

lancer
1877-1903: 8
1907: 1
1933: 1

lullaby
1919: 2
1920: 1

march
1877-1903: 134
1904: 19
1905: 20
1906: 22
1907: 17
1908: 12
1909: 7
1910: 10
1911: 19
1912: 26
1913: 42
1914: 32
1915: 20
1916: 22
1917: 27
1918: 26
1919: 9
1920: 3
1923: 1
1928: 1

marini
1914: 2

maxixe
1914: 2

mazurka
1877-1903: 2
1904: 2

minstrel song
1877-1903: 1

minuetto
1877-1903: 1

morceau
1905: 2
1909: 1

novelette
1916: 3

novelty
1921: 1

other
1904: 15
1905: 61
1906: 3
1907: 4
1908: 8
1909: 7
1910: 16
1911: 9
1912: 17
1913: 47
1914: 71
1916: 93
1917: 94
1918: 72
1919: 107
1920: 66
1921: 46
1922: 50
1923: 41
1924: 34
1925: 21
1926: 32
1927: 25
1928: 12
1929: 16
1930: 24
1931: 10
1932: 1
1933: 1
1935: 2
1936: 3
1937: 3
1938: 4

overture
1877-1903: 9
1905: 1
1906: 1
1913: 1
1915: 1

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

polka
1877-1903: 8
1905: 1
1909: 1
1915: 1

polonaise
1920: 1

quadrille
1877-1903: 16

rag
1877-1903: 10
1904: 5
1905: 2
1906: 3
1907: 2
1909: 18
1910: 13
1911: 14
1912: 23
1913: 20
1914: 21
1915: 15
1916: 8
1917: 4
1918: 3
1919: 4
1920: 1
1926: 1

reverie
1913: 2
1914: 1
1916: 4
1917: 1
1918: 1

schottische
1877-1903: 12
1904: 1
1907: 1
1910: 1
1912: 2
1913: 3

serenade
1904: 2
1907: 1
1909: 1
1910: 1
1911: 2
1912: 1
1913: 1

shimmy
1925: 2
1927: 1

shuffle
1926: 1

slow drag
1877-1903: 1
1904: 1
1905: 1
1906: 1
1913: 1
1916: 1
1918: 1
1924: 1

slow shumus
1919: 1

solo
1917: 1
1918: 1
1919: 2

stomp
1924: 1
1926: 3
1927: 2

stop dance
1910: 1

stop step
1914: 1

stop-buck
1877-1903: 1

swing
1937: 1
1938: 1

tahitian dance
1925: 1

tango
1911: 1
1912: 2
1913: 12
1914: 16
1915: 1
1916: 1
1918: 1
1923: 1
1929: 1

tone poem
1915: 1

turkey trot
1913: 6
1914: 5

Tyrolinne
1906: 1

waltz
1877-1903: 59
1904: 7
1905: 5
1906: 3
1907: 7
1908: 1
1909: 14
1910: 14
1911: 9
1912: 18
1913: 38
1914: 60
1915: 42
1916: 32
1917: 19
1918: 23
1919: 55
1920: 35
1921: 37
1922: 26
1923: 18
1924: 16
1925: 9

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

waltz cont.
1926: 15
1927: 6
1928: 15
1929: 8
1930: 13
1931: 1
1935: 1
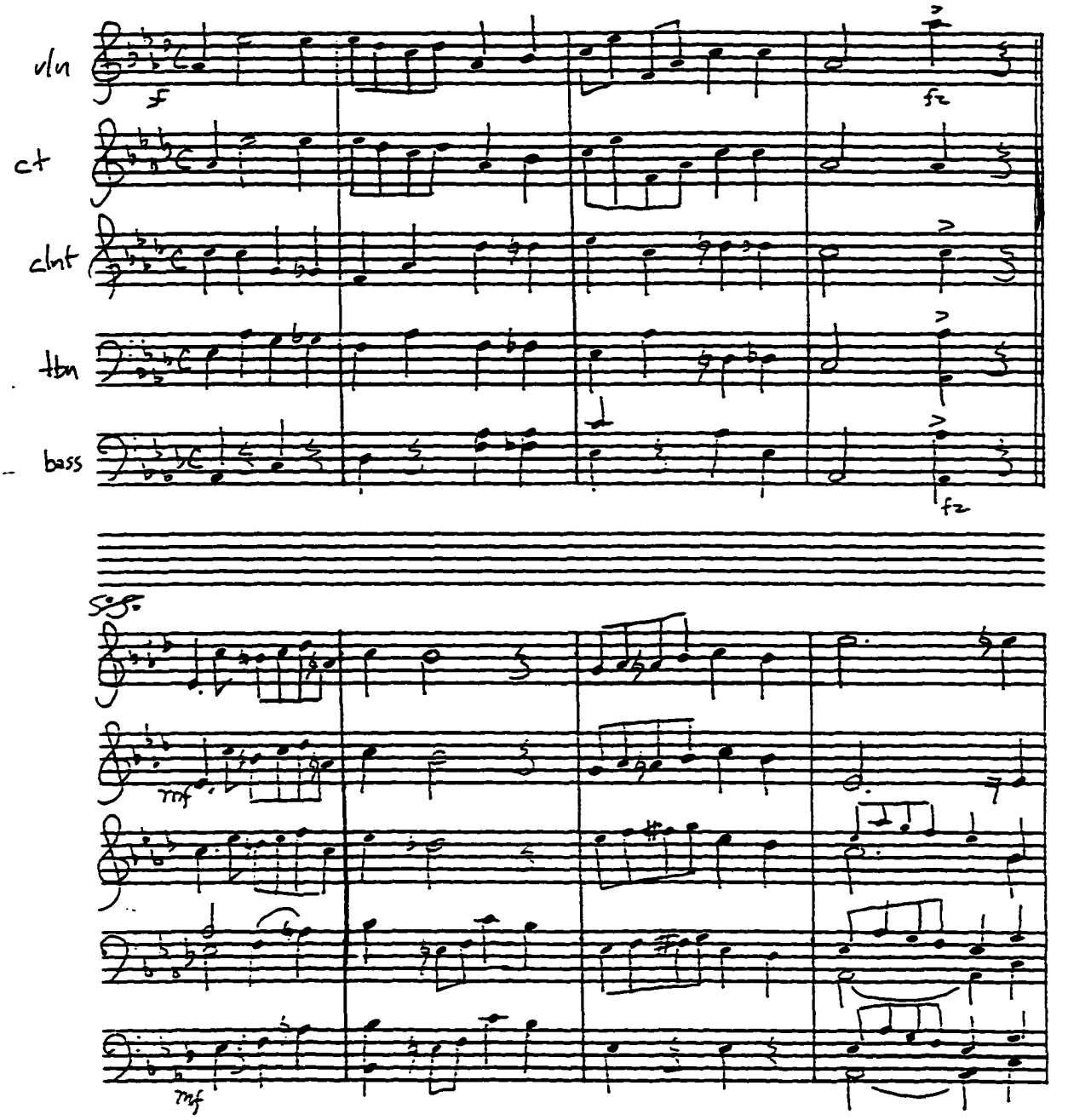
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX B
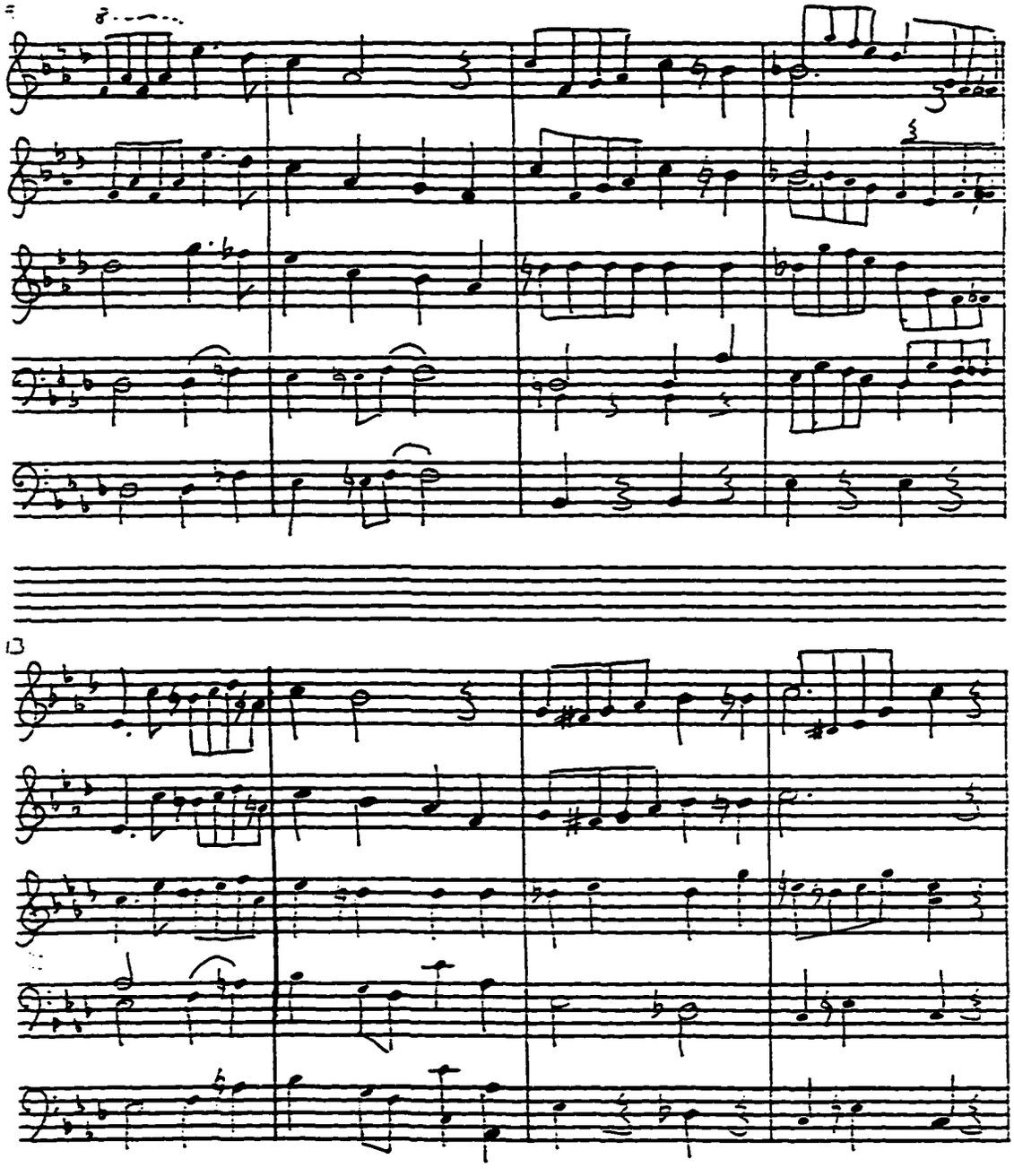
Transcriptions of Manuscript Arrangements in the John Robichaux Band Book

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
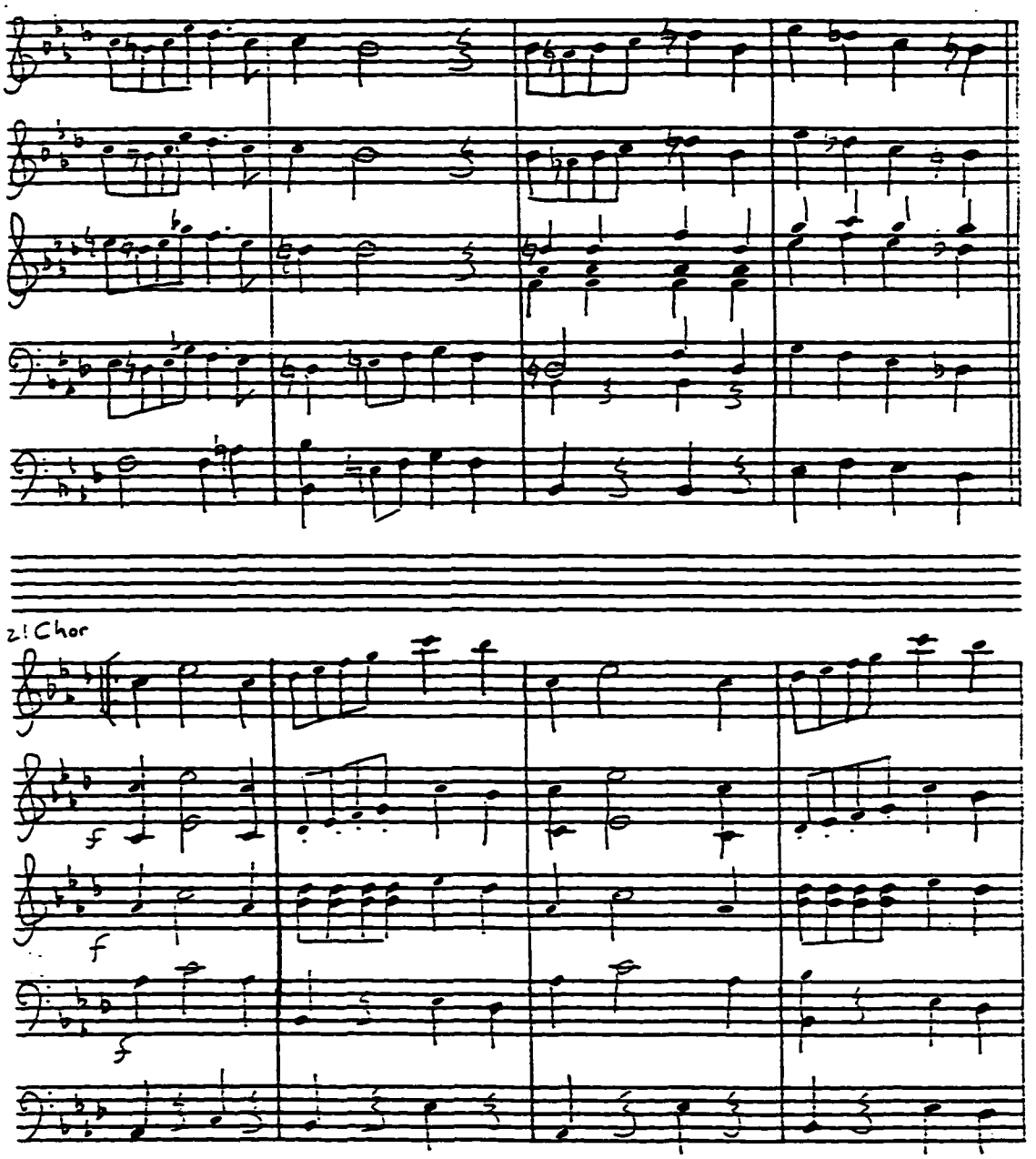
Dearie
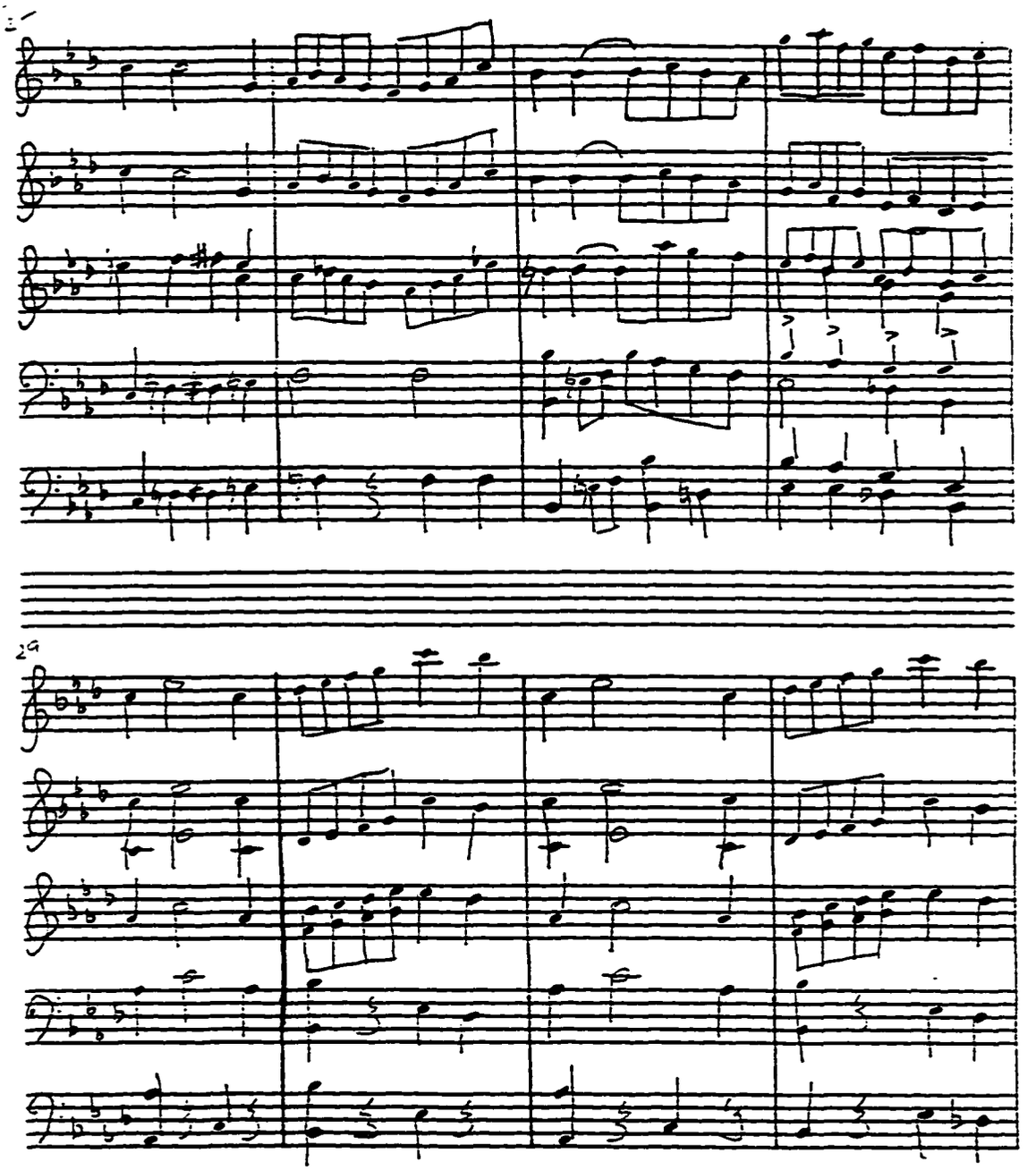


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
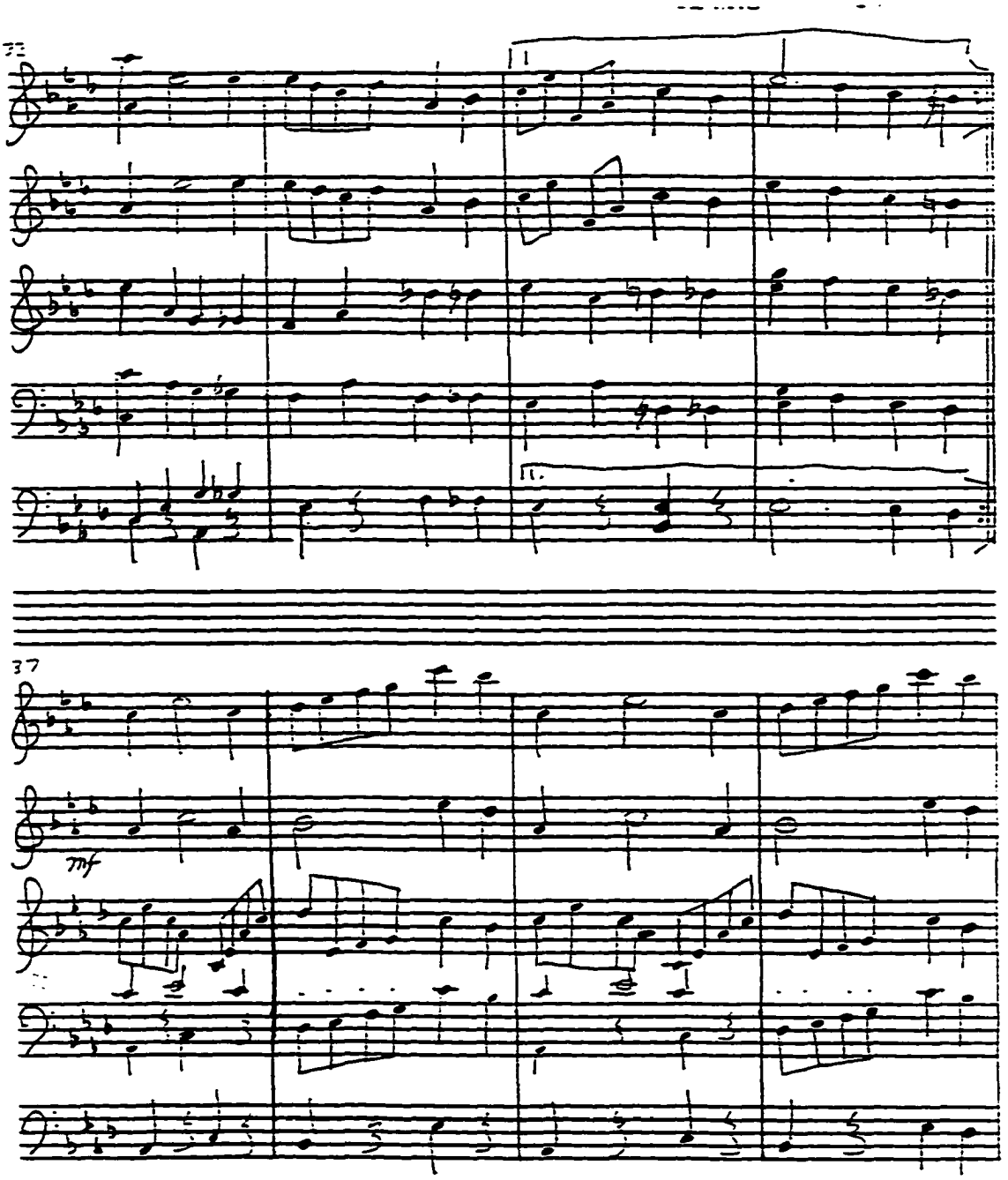


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
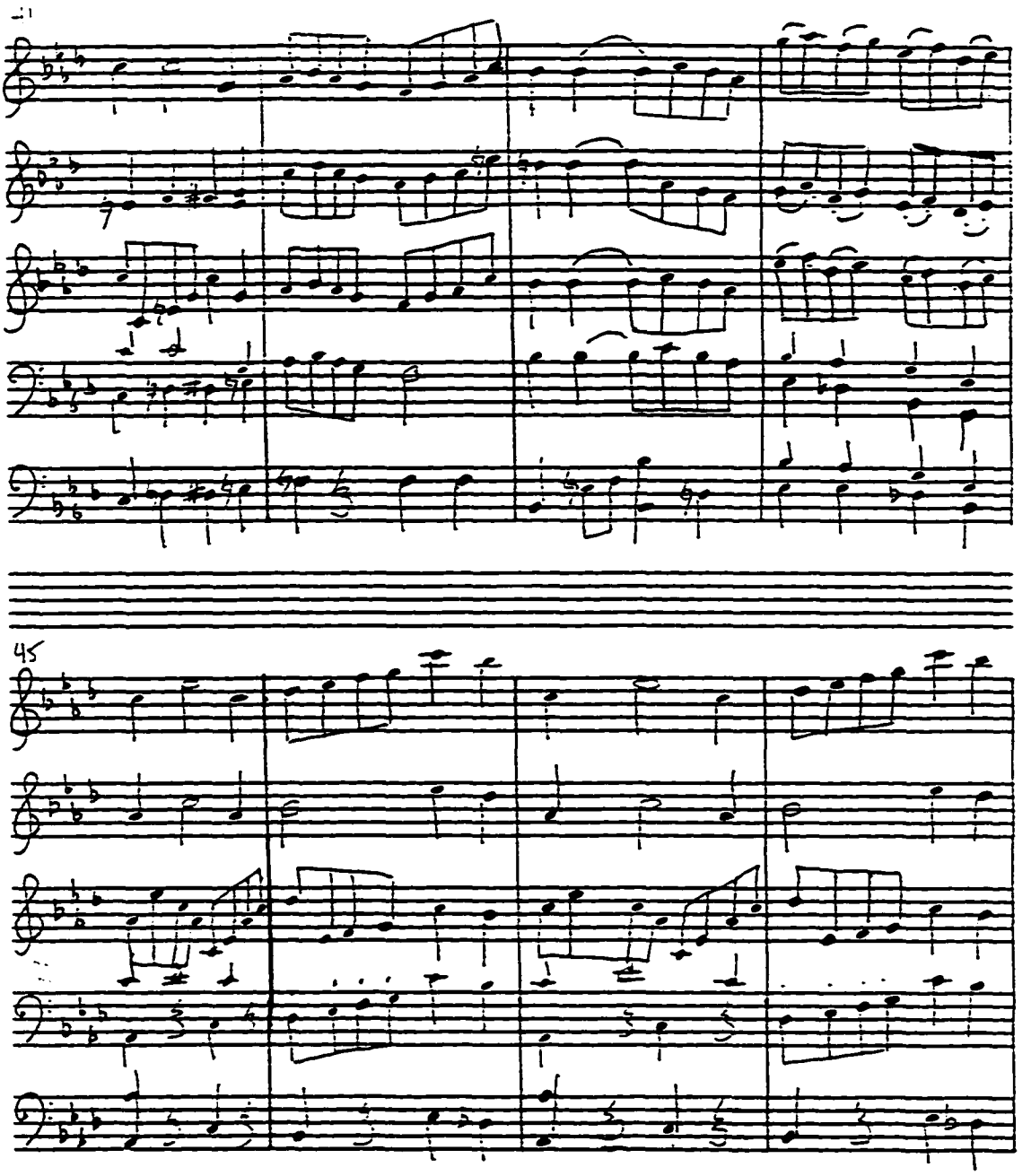


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
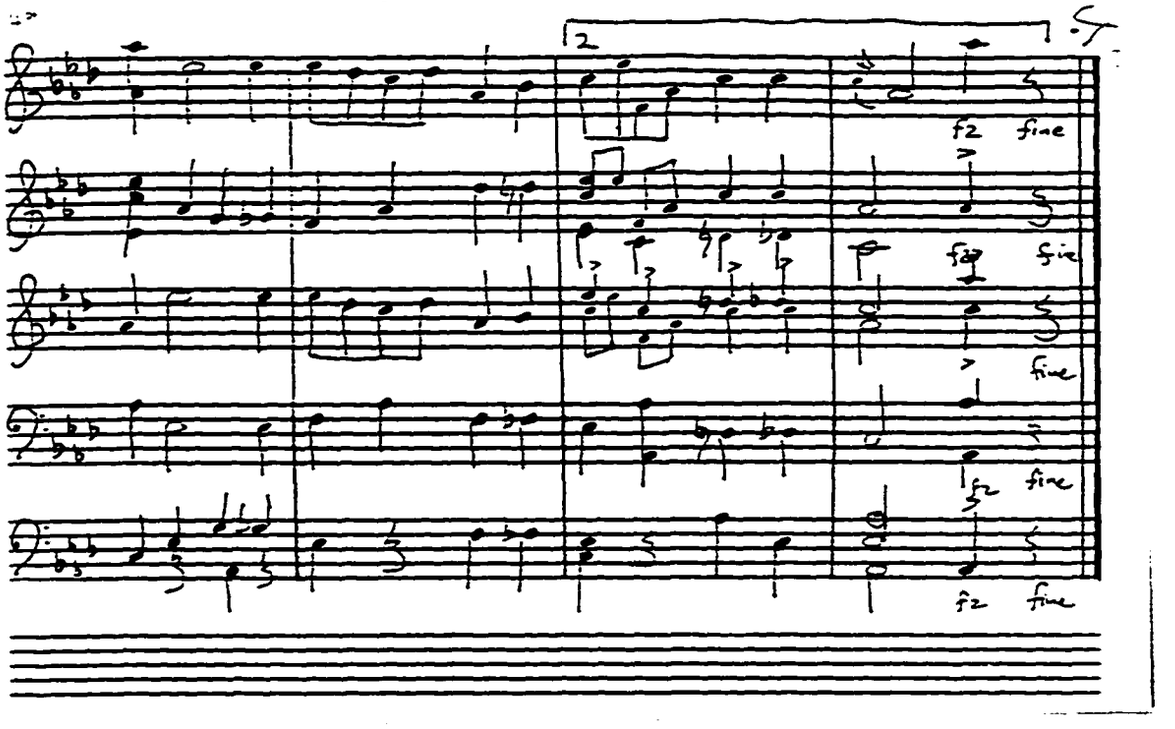


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
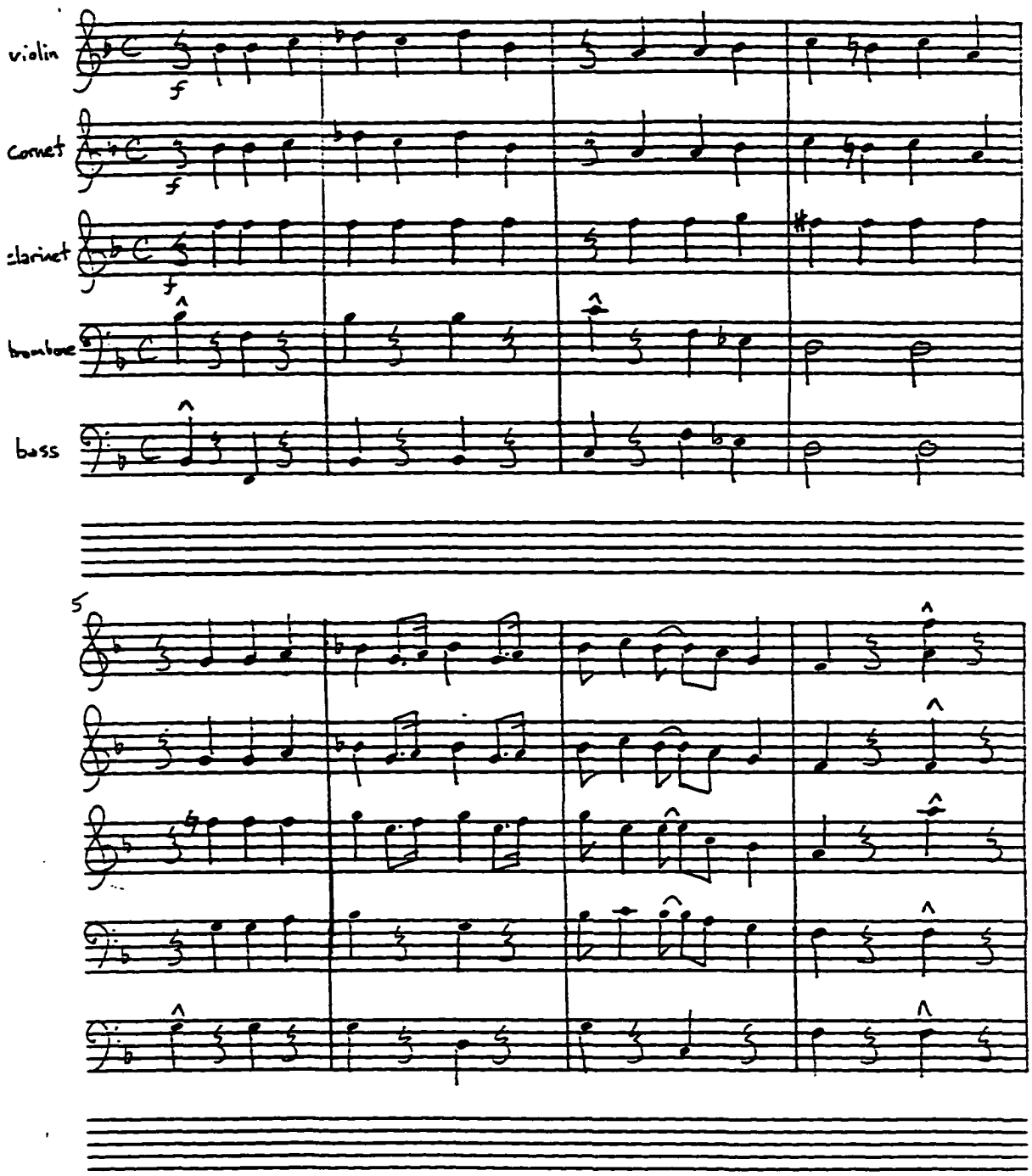


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
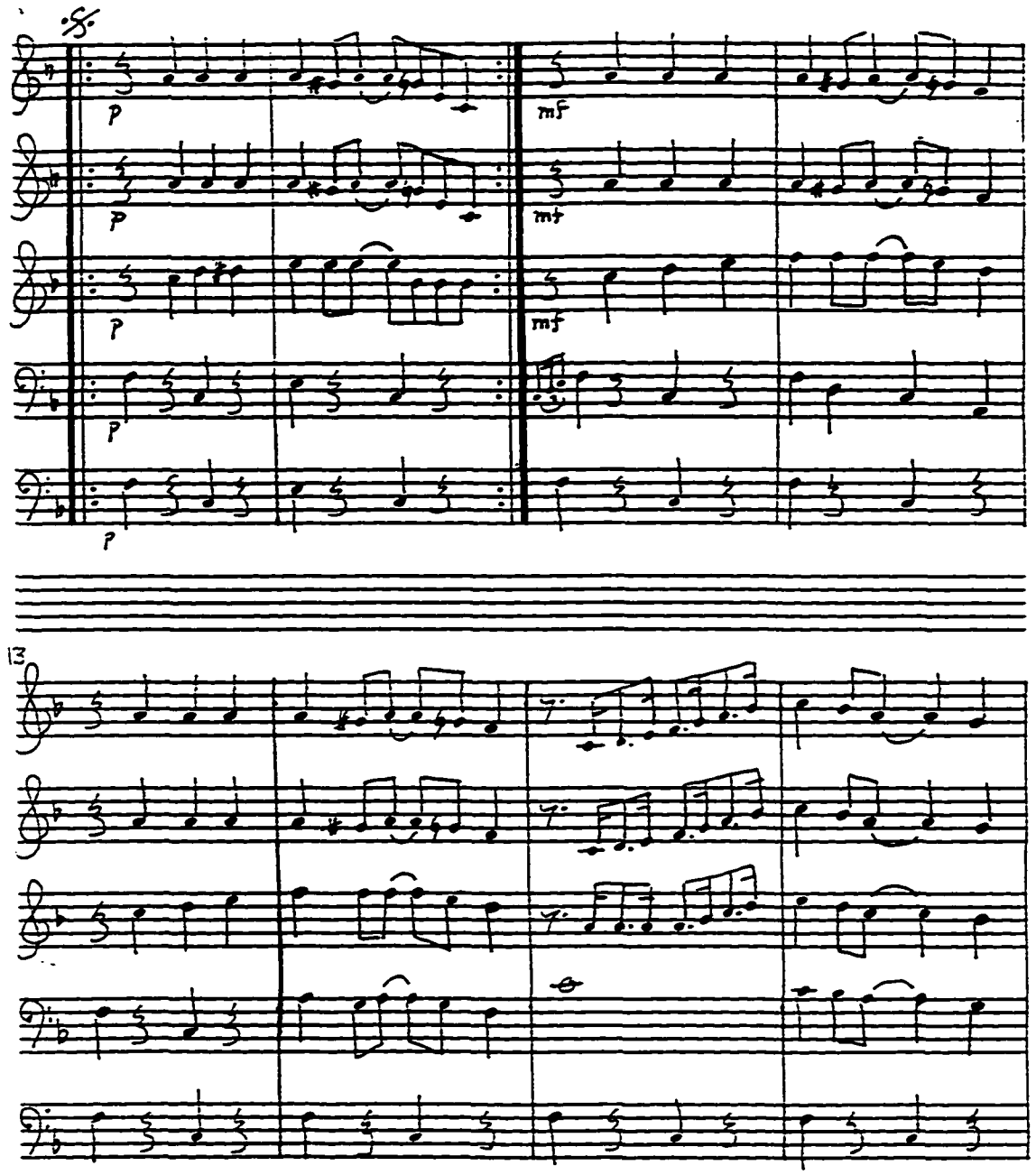


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
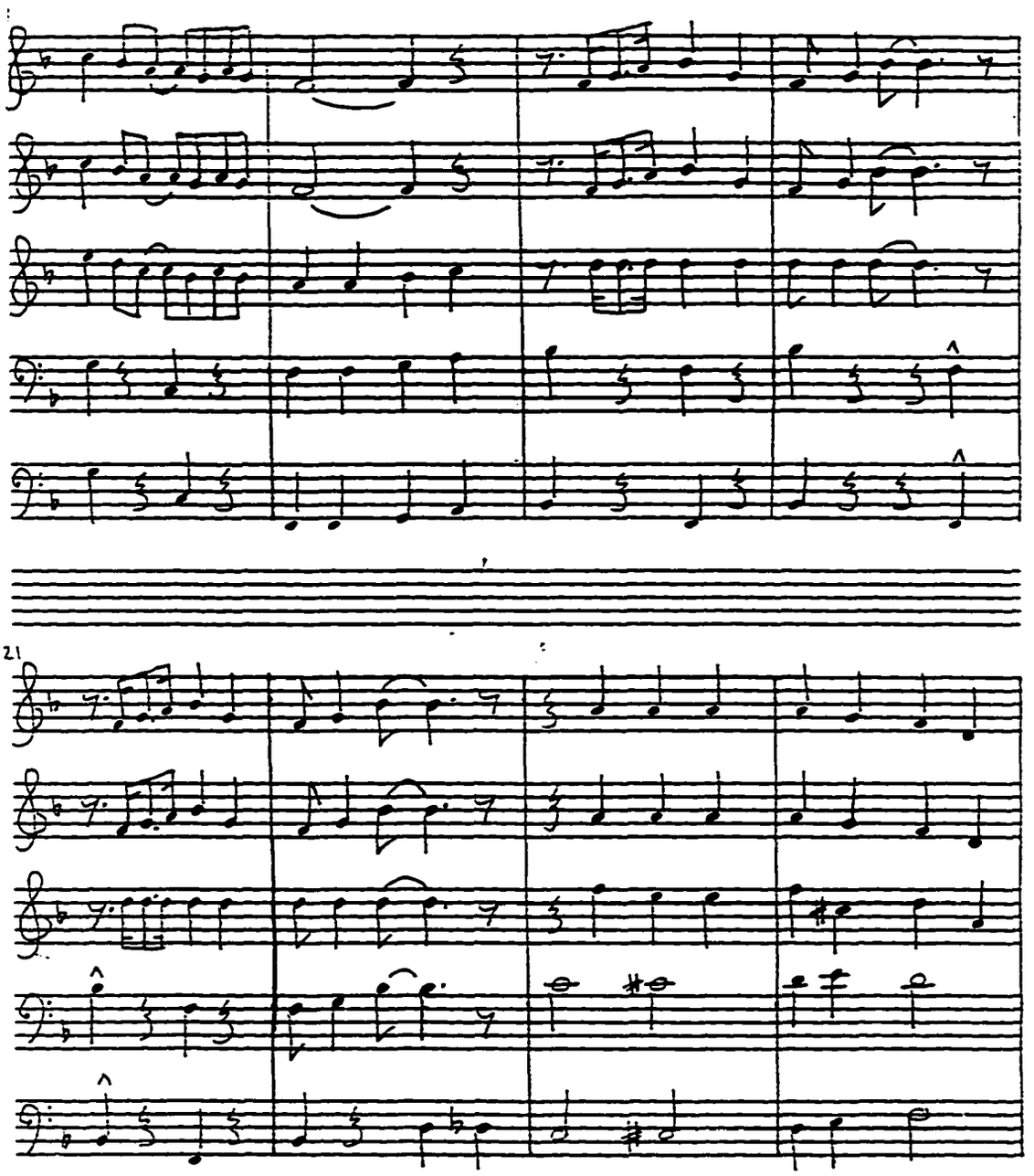
The International Rag
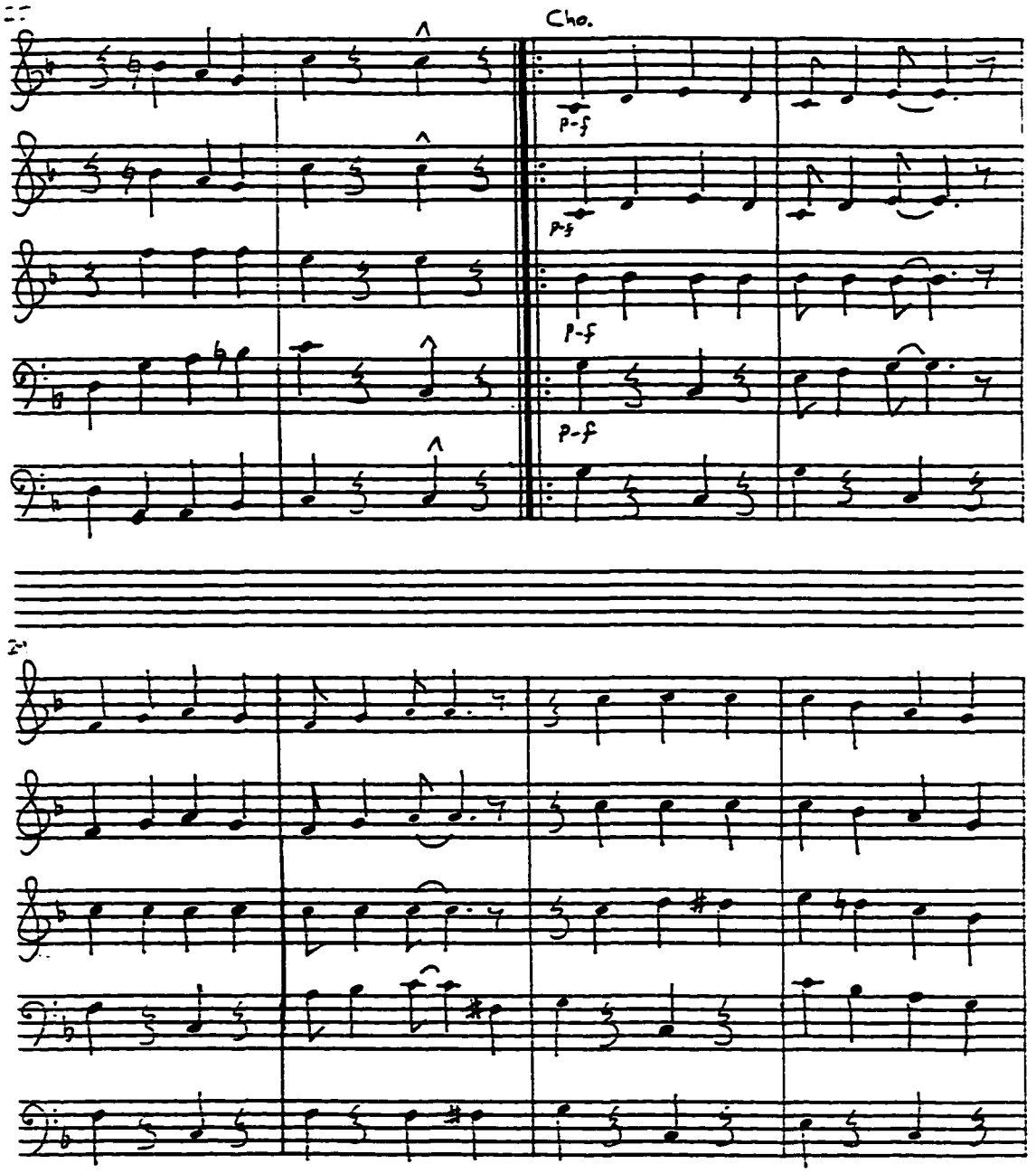


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
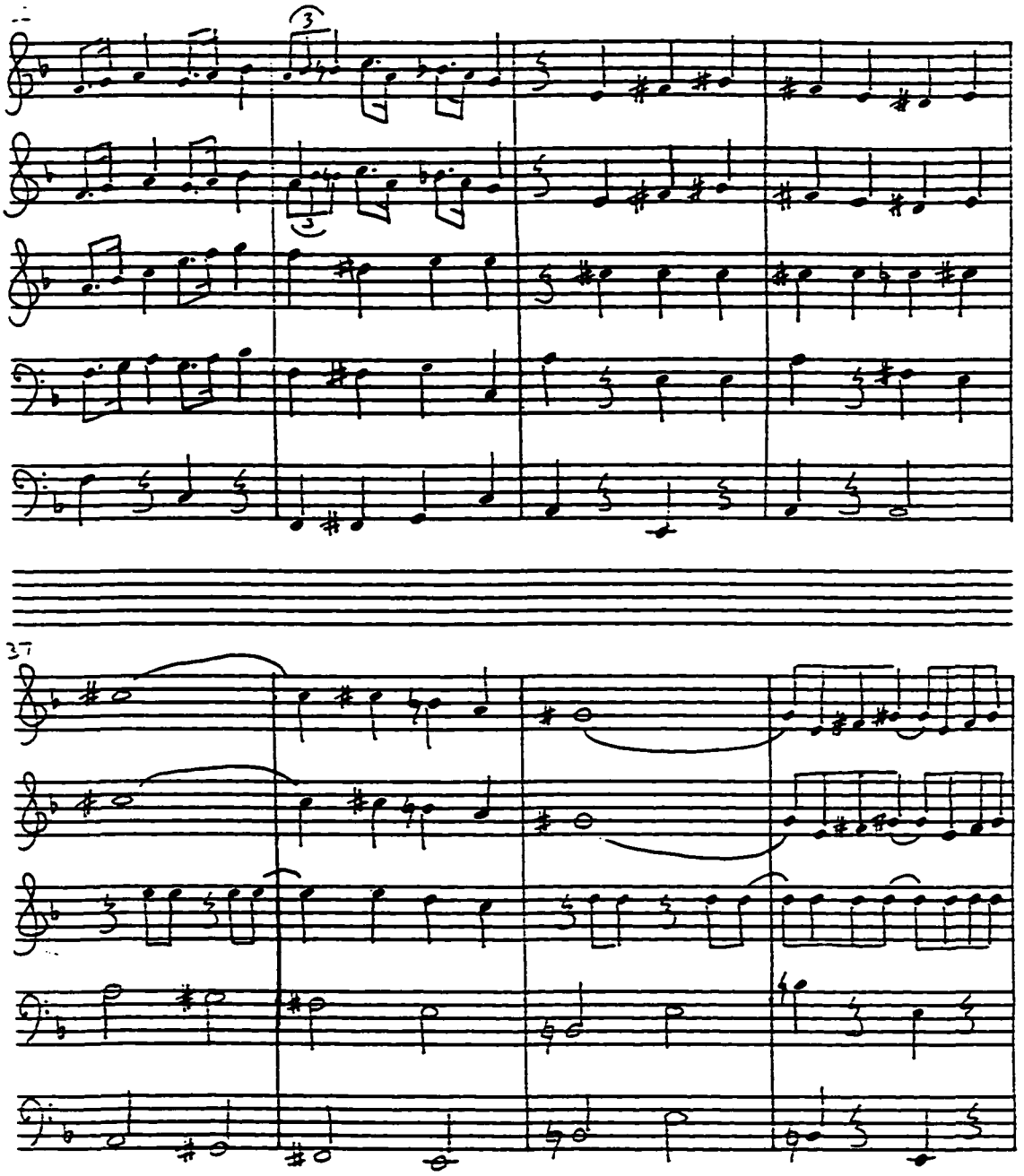


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
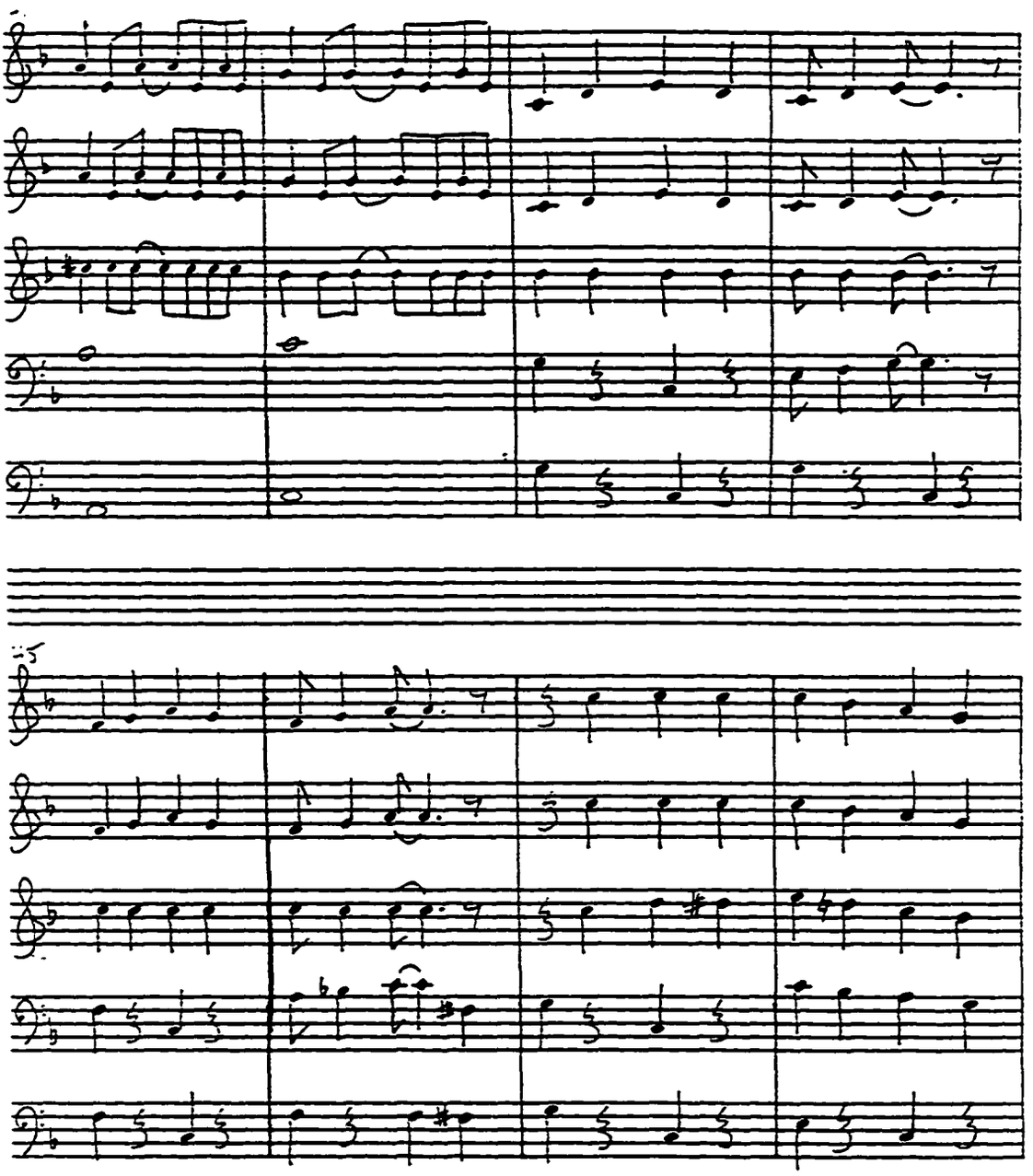


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
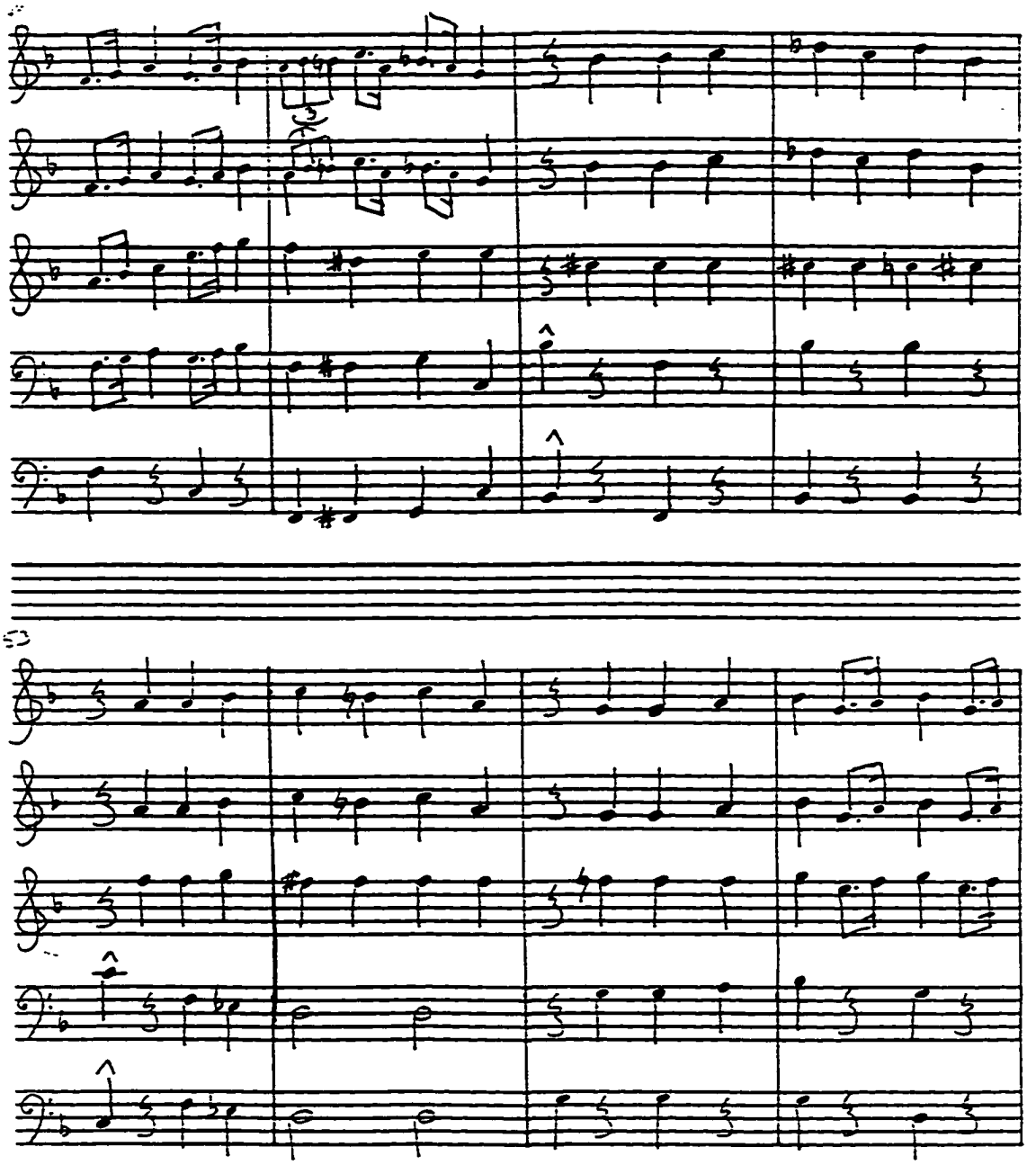


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
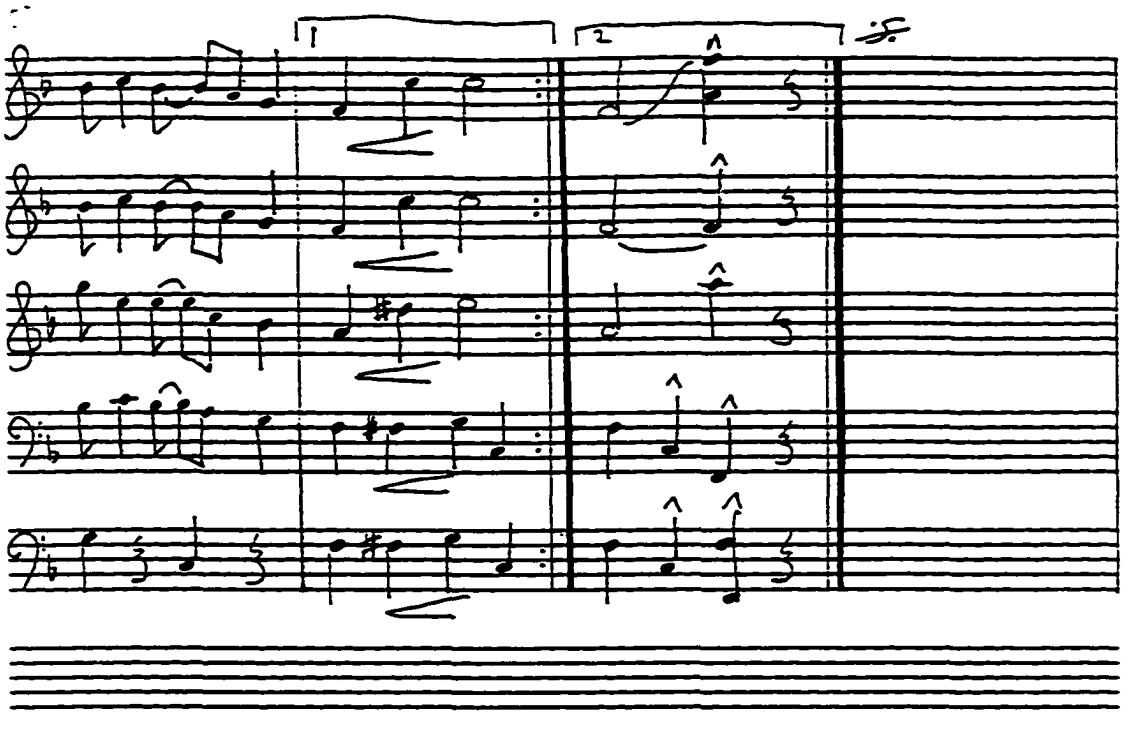


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
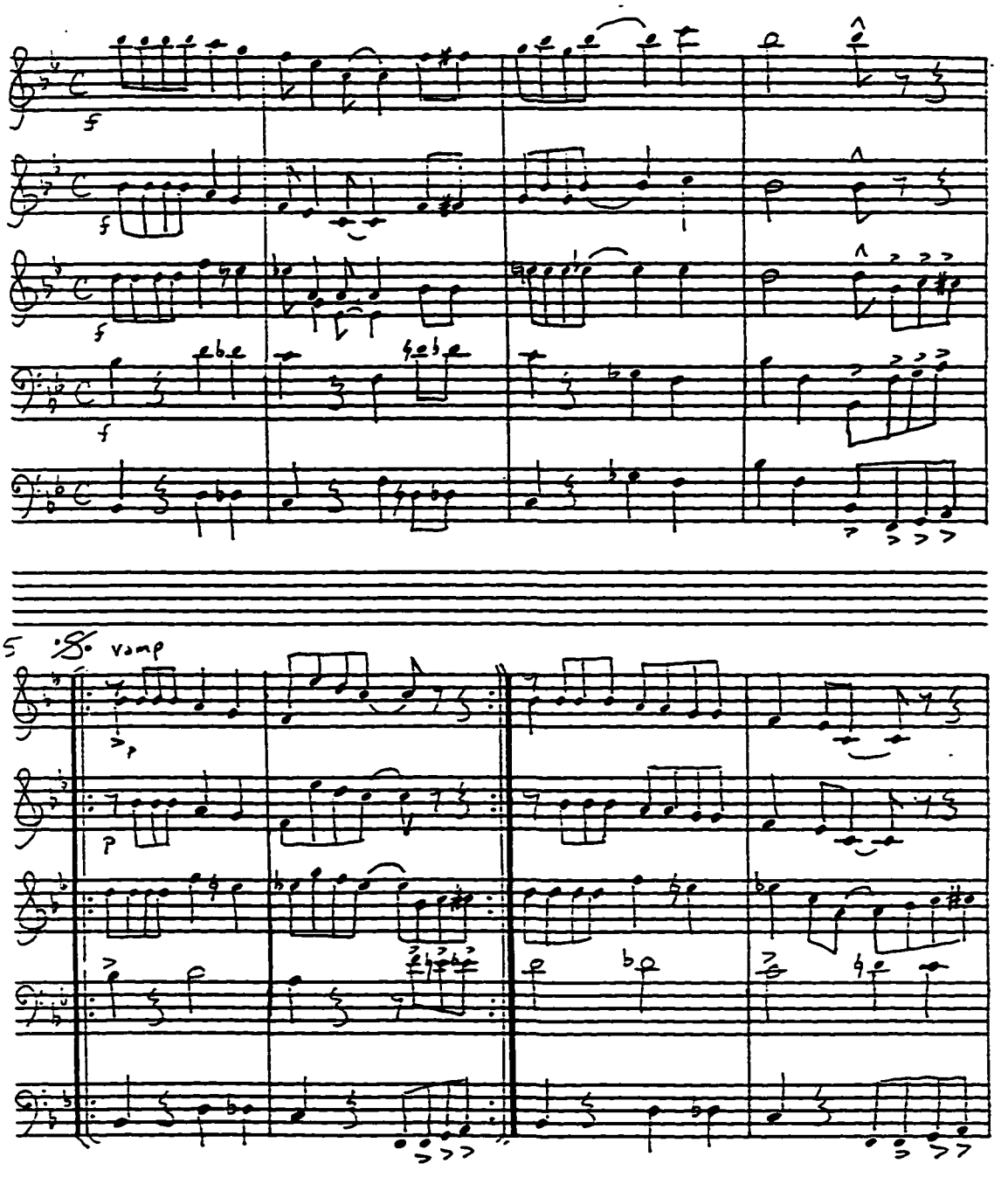


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
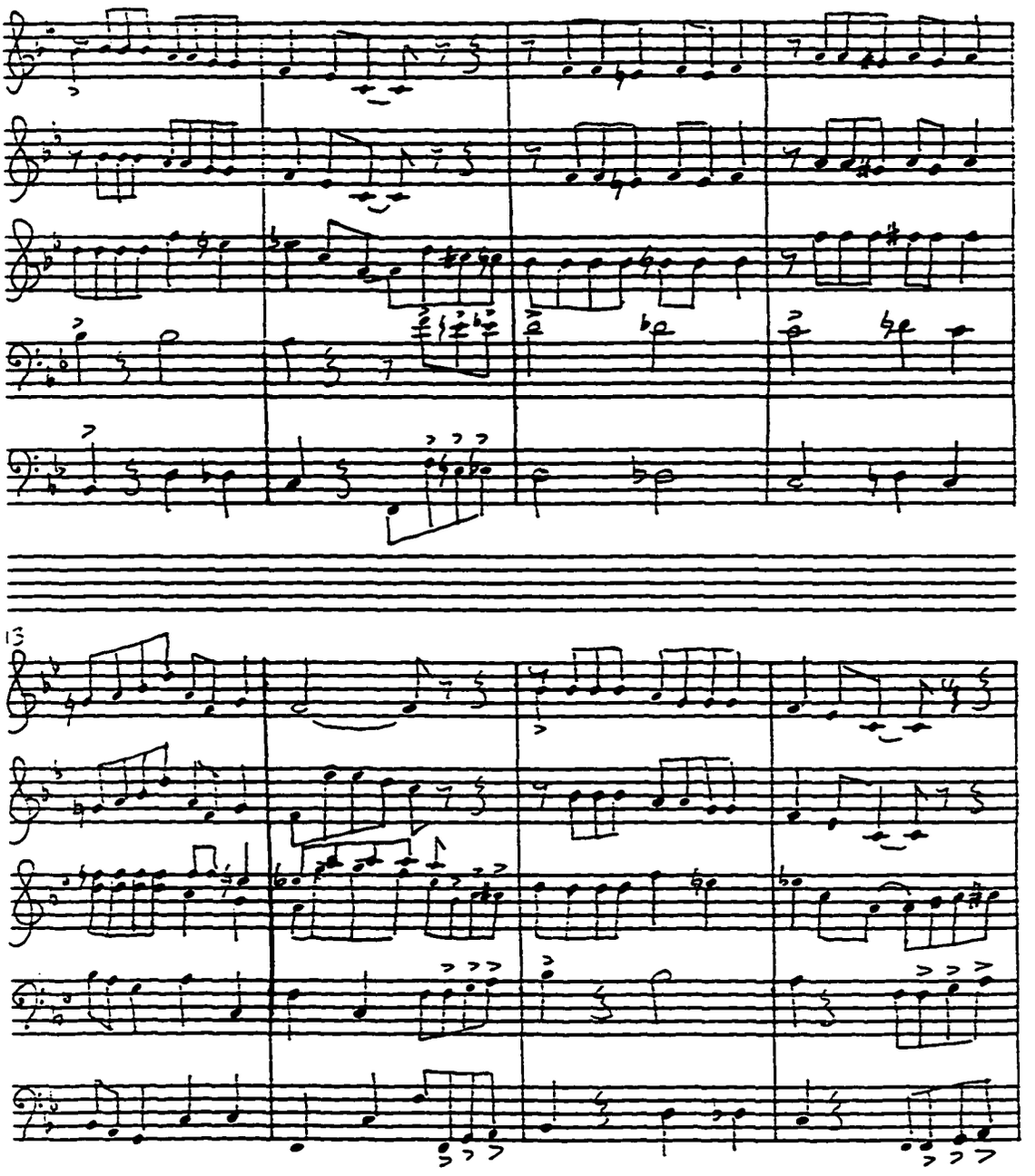


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
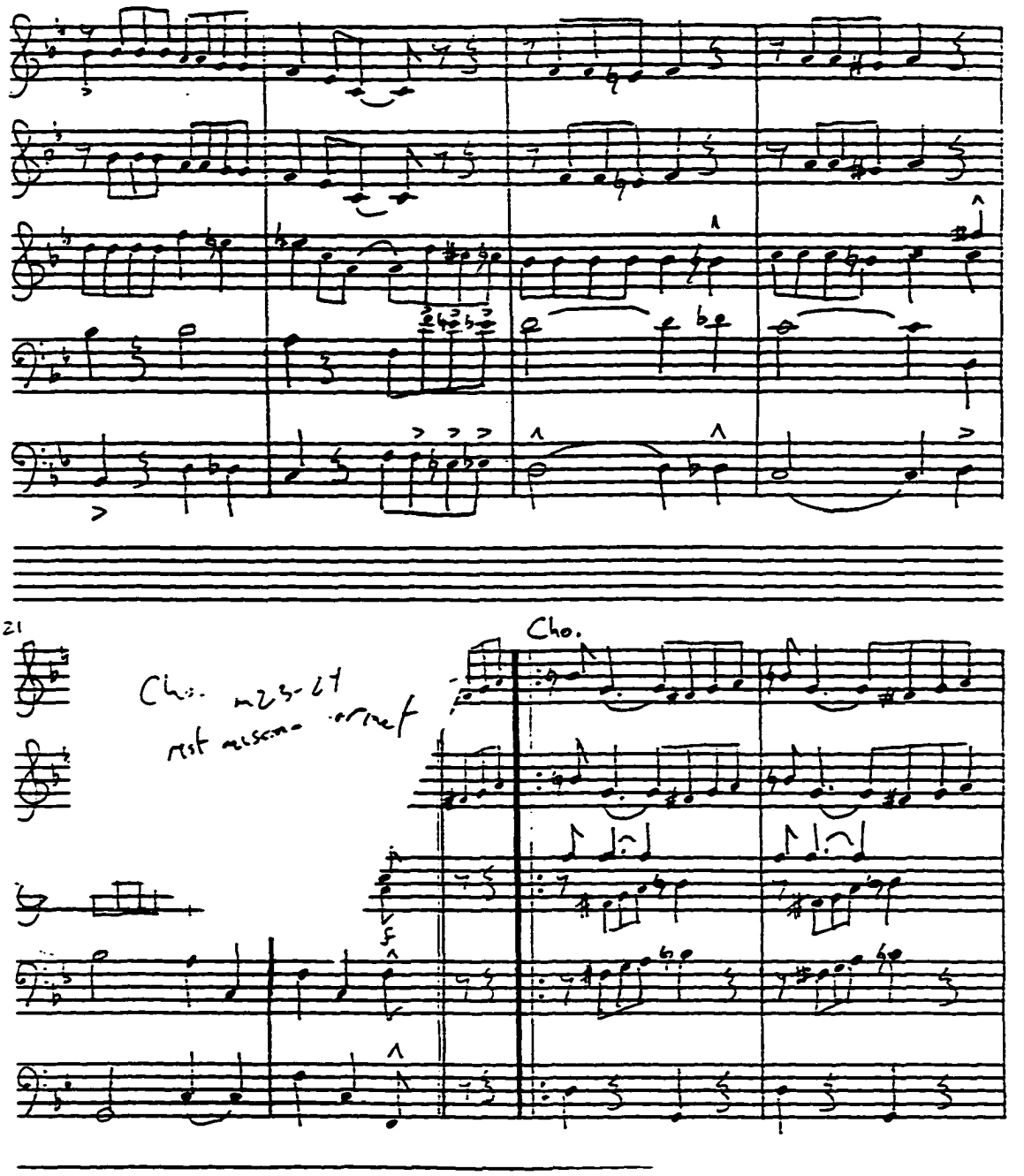
I Want My Man
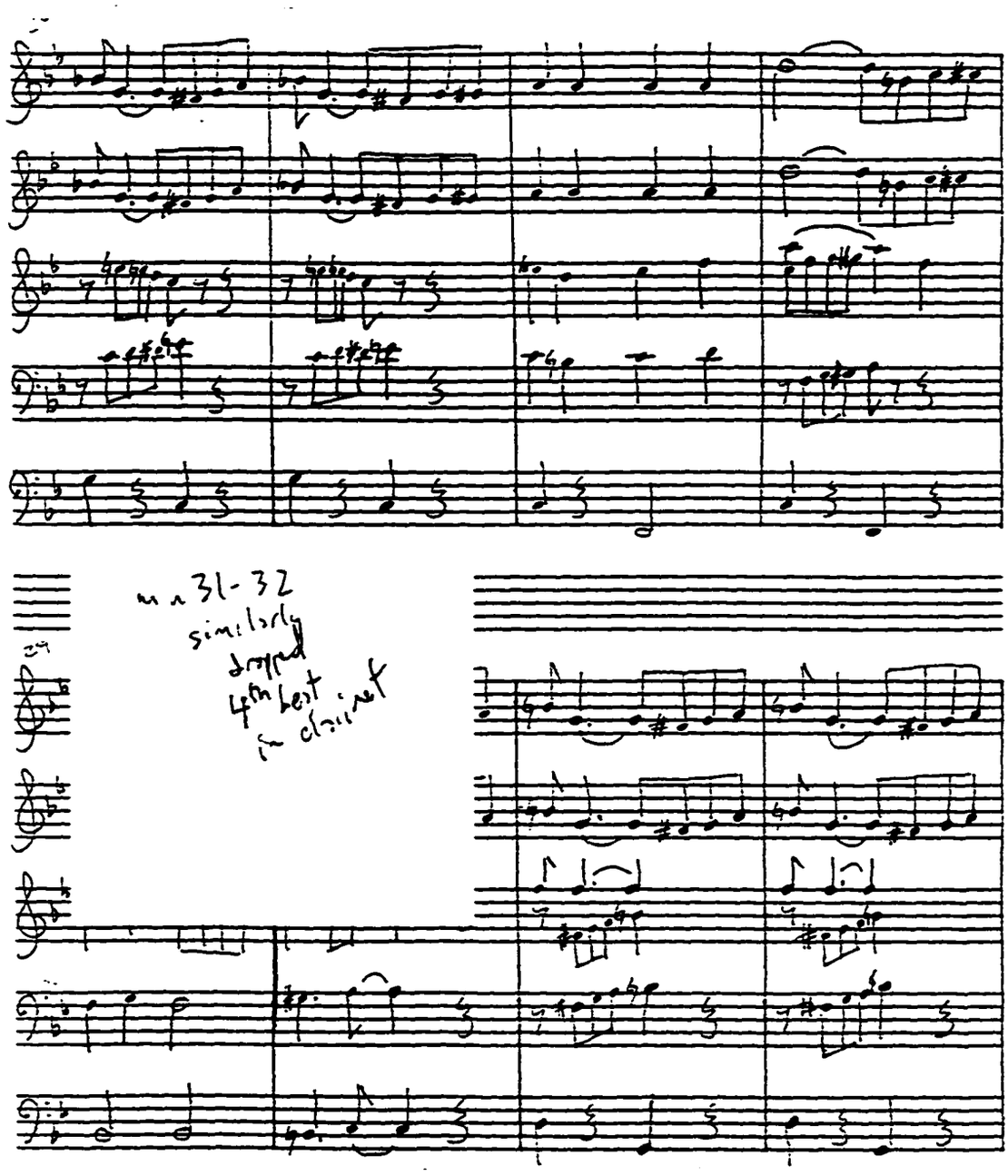


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
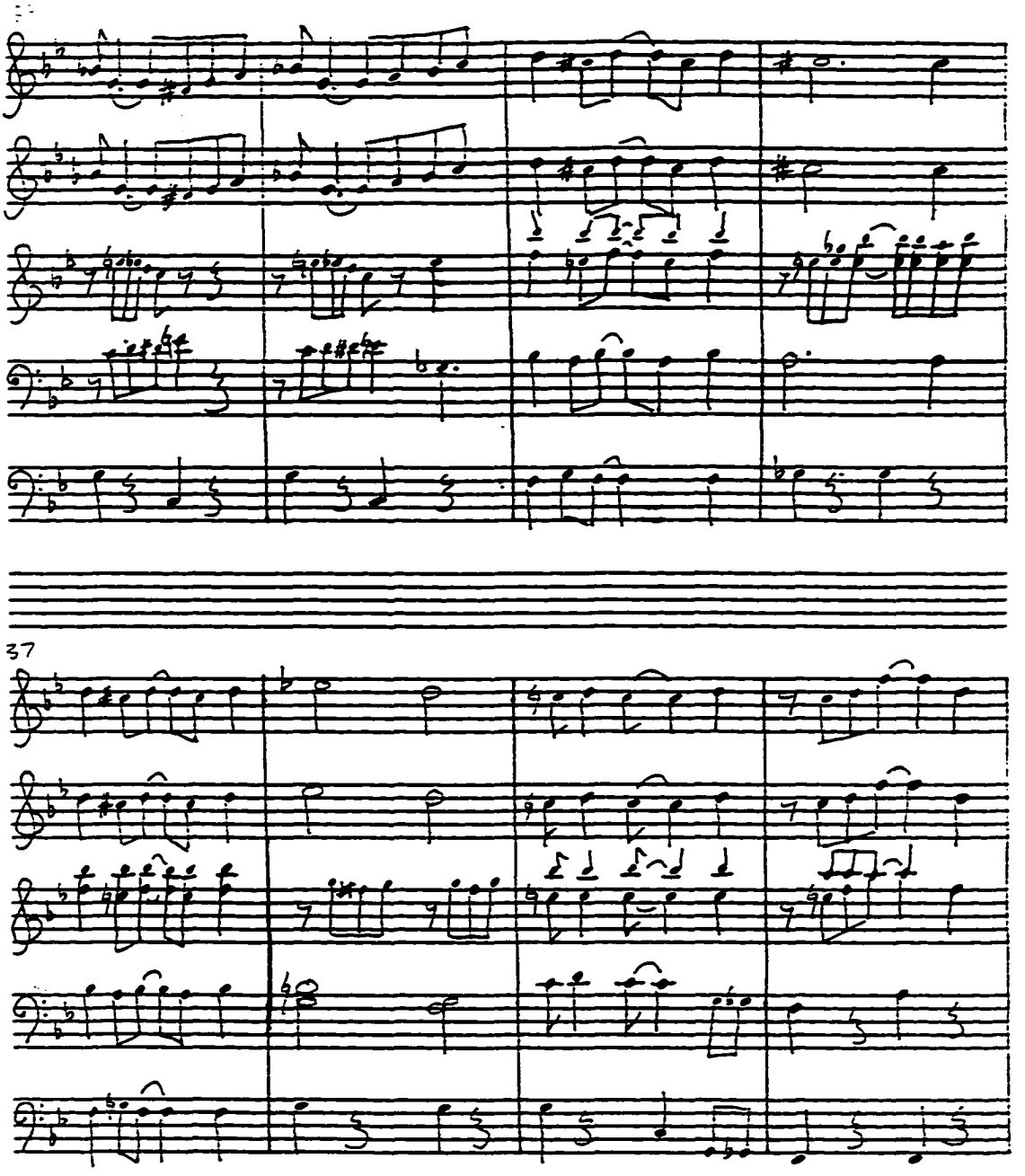


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
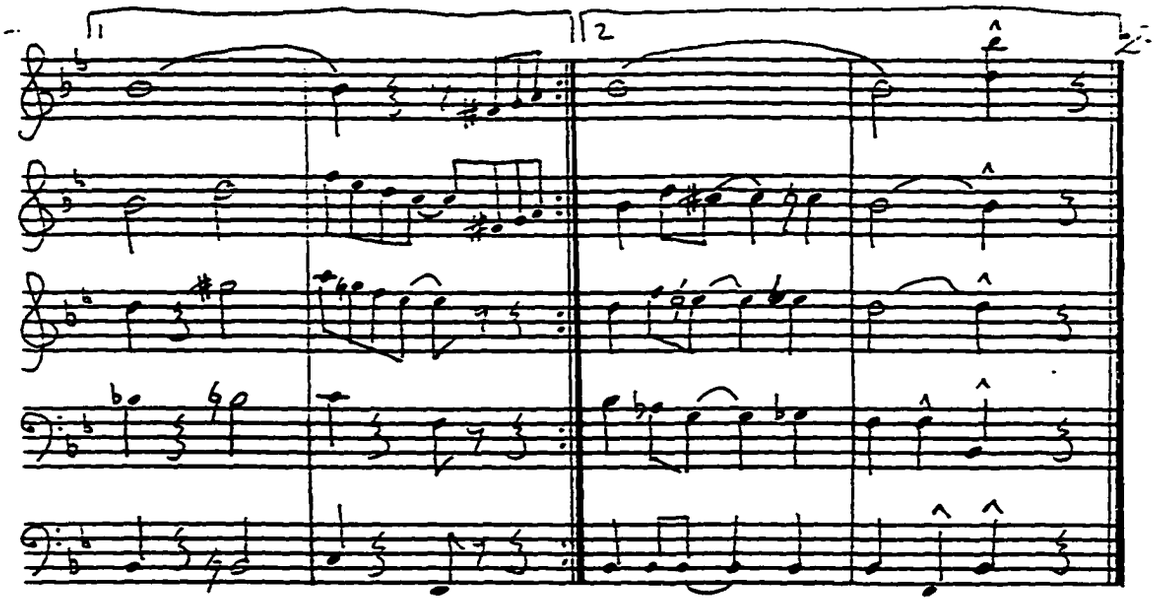


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
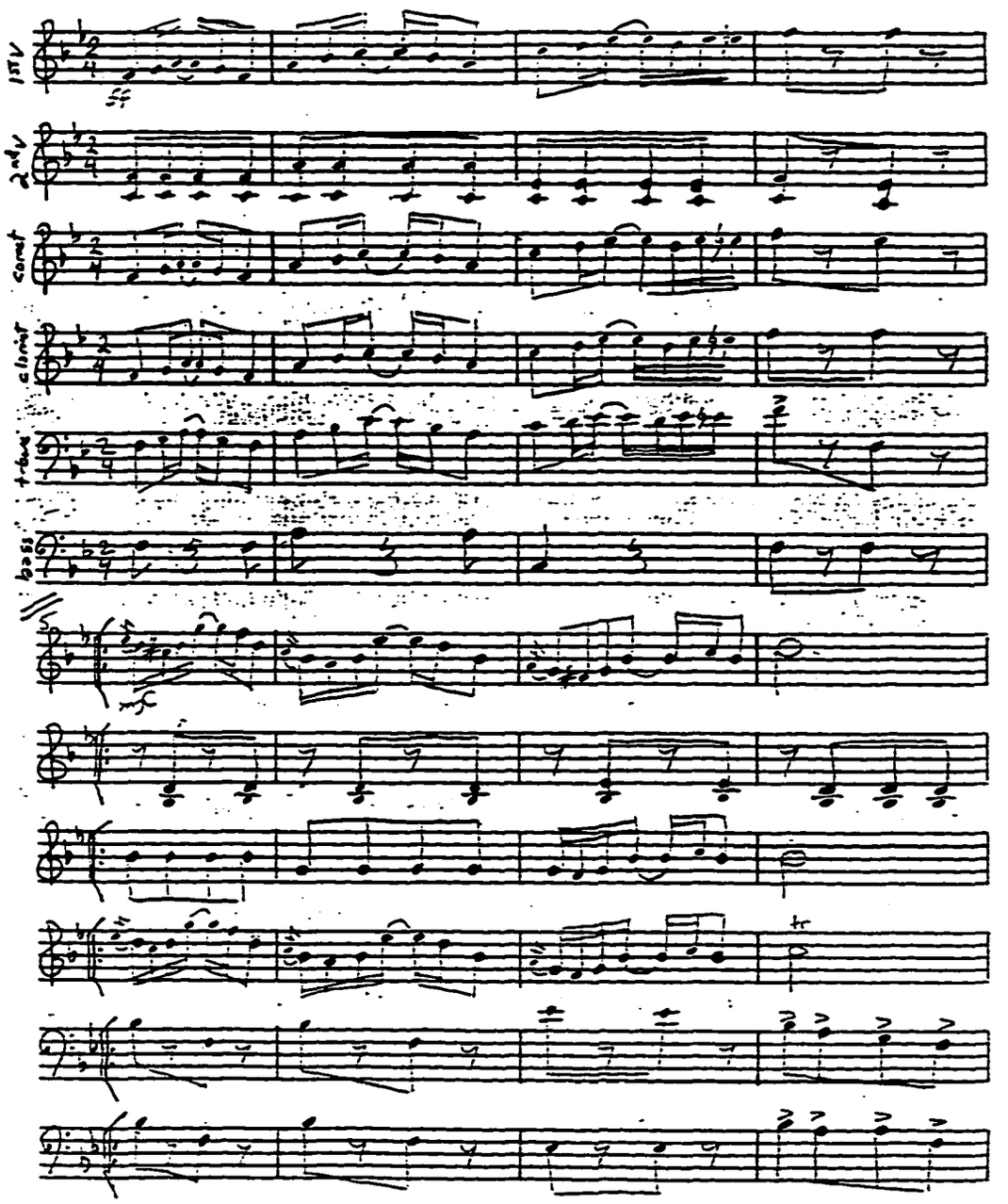


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
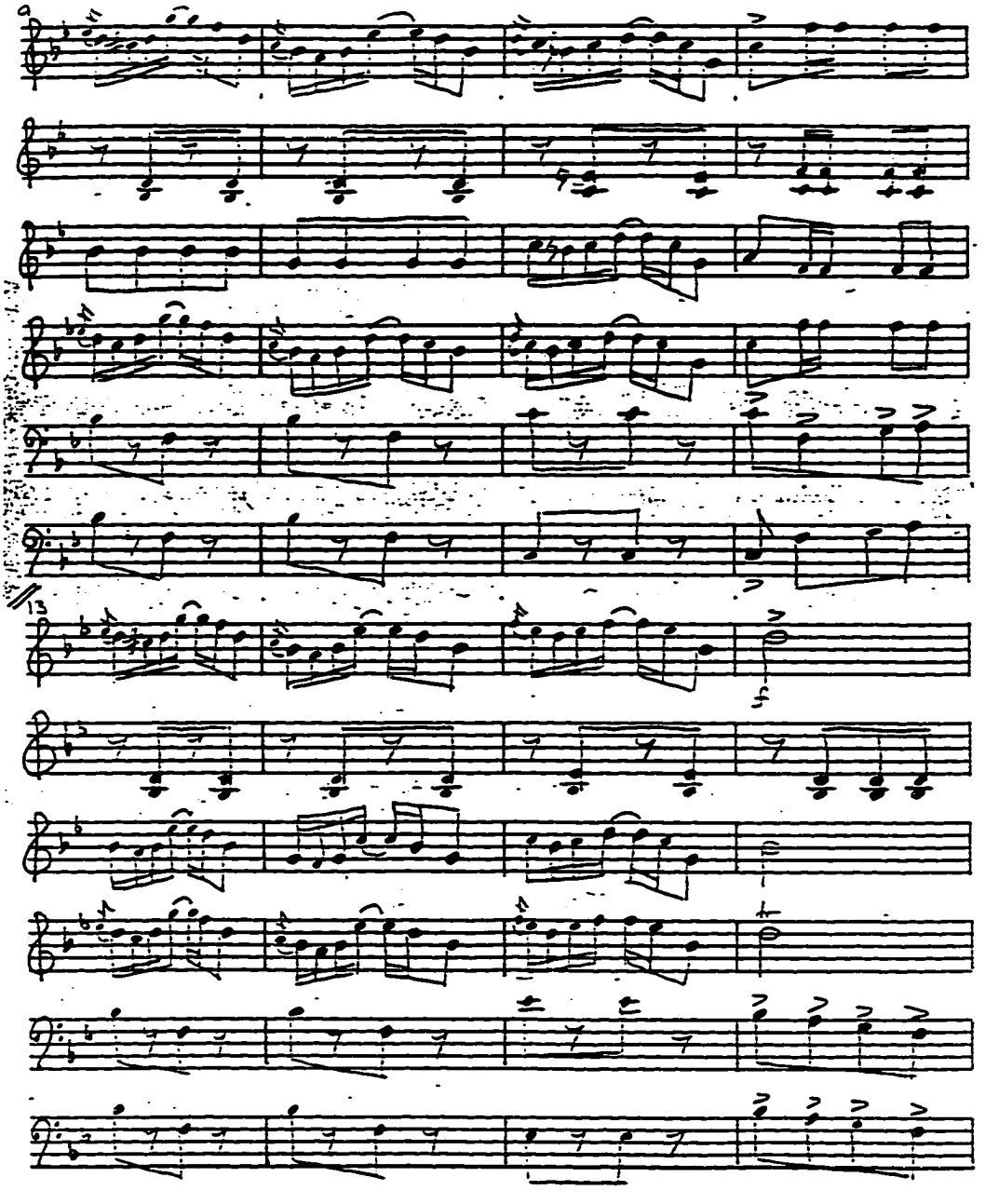


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
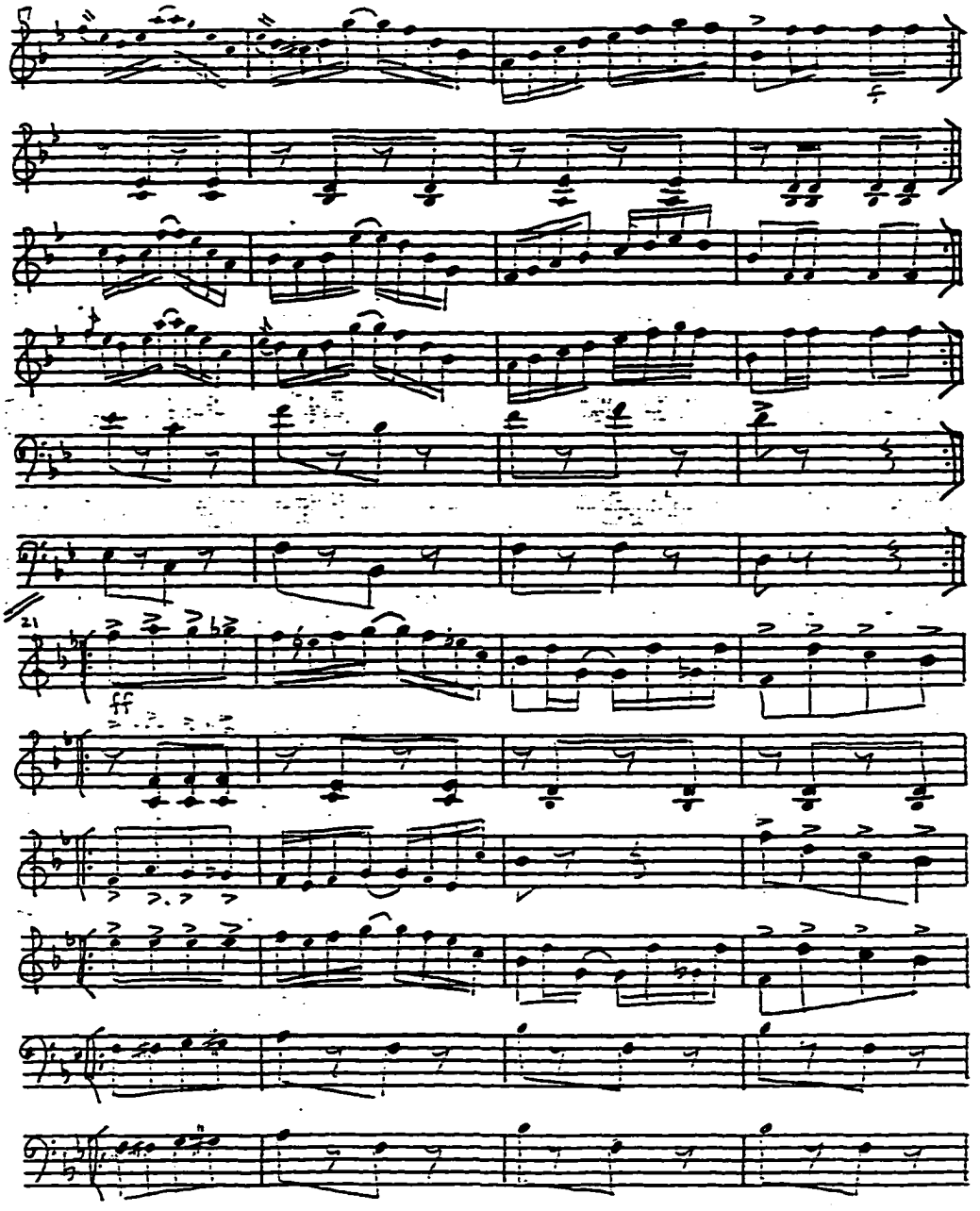
Mama Make Cinda 'Have Herself
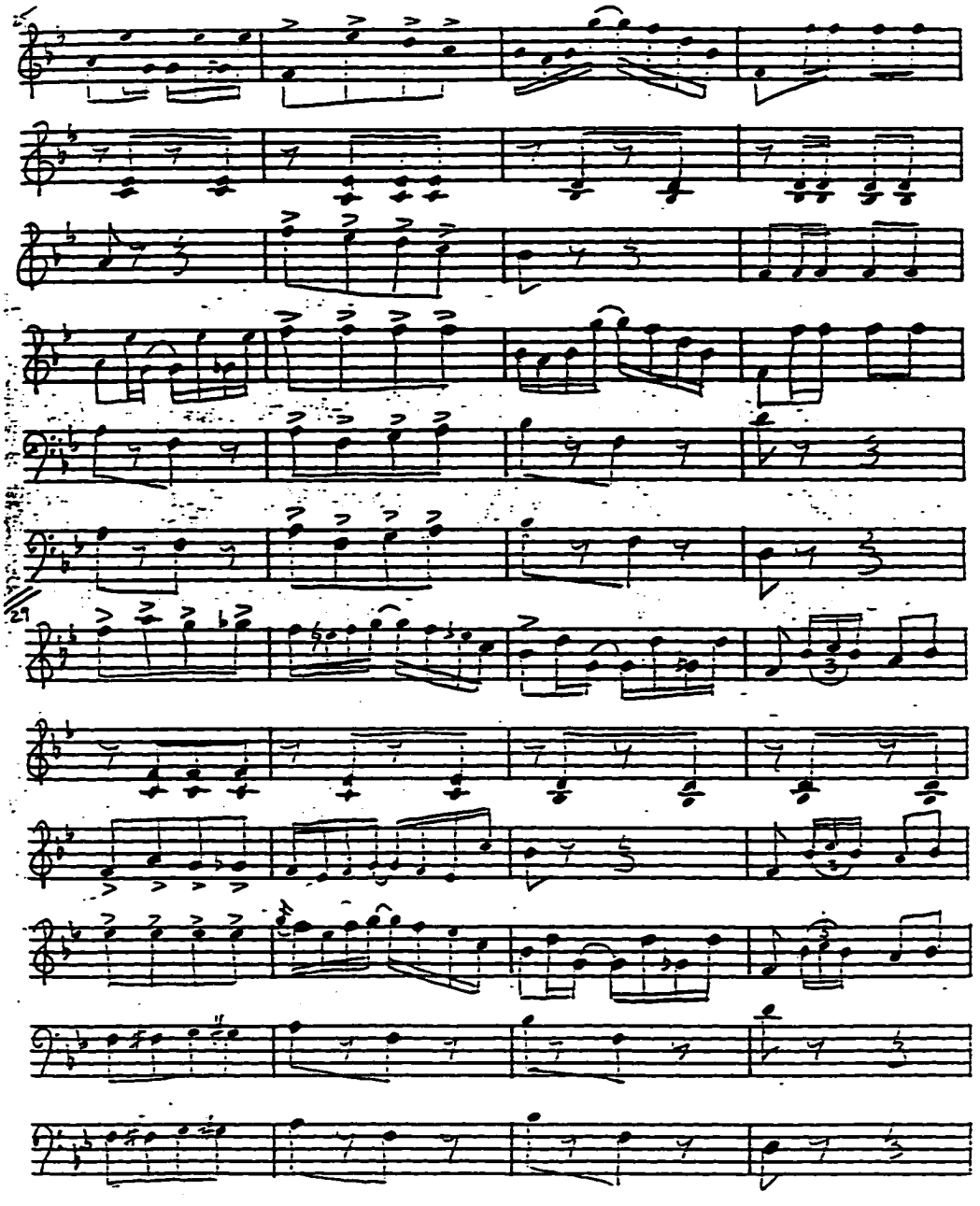


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
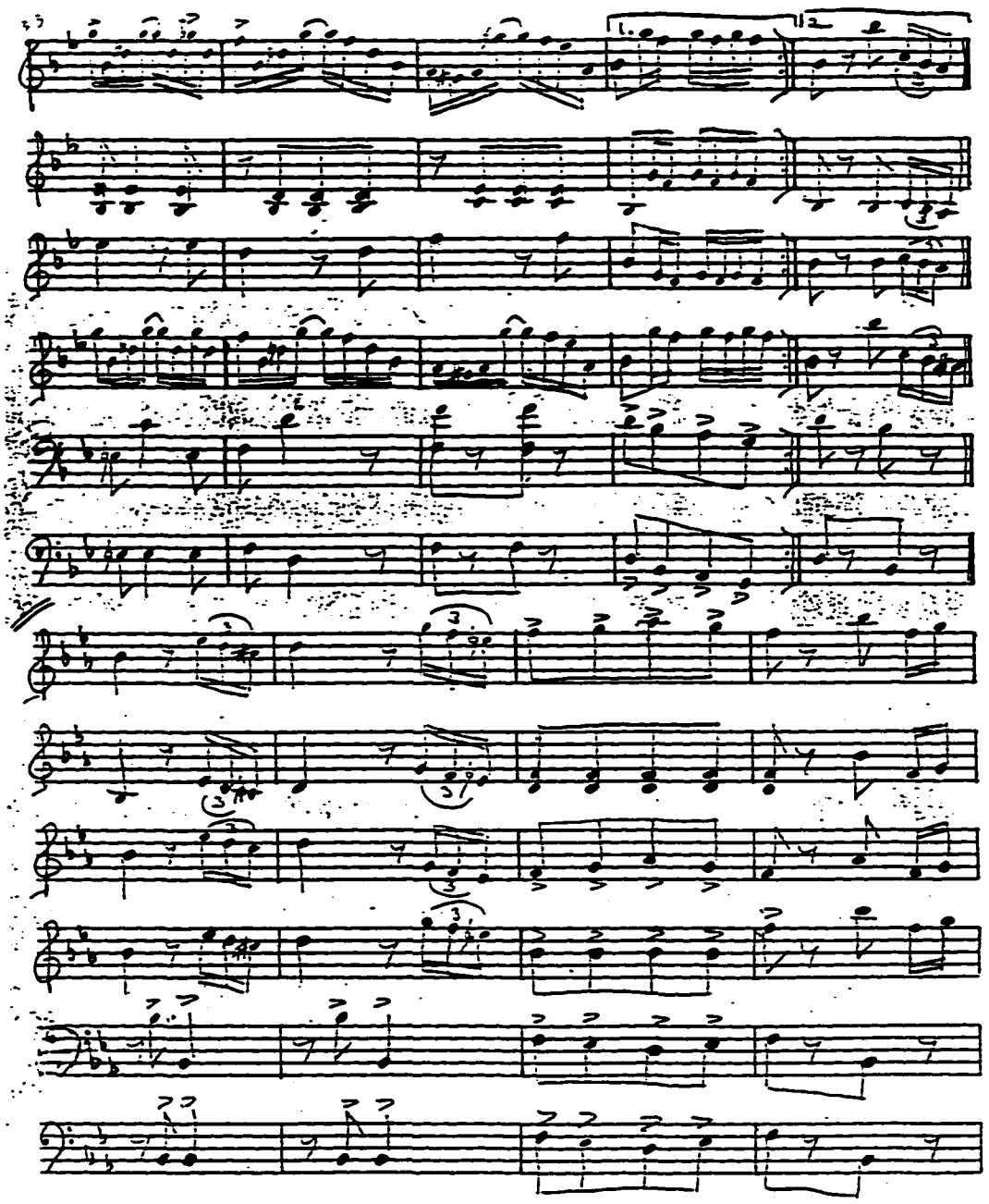


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
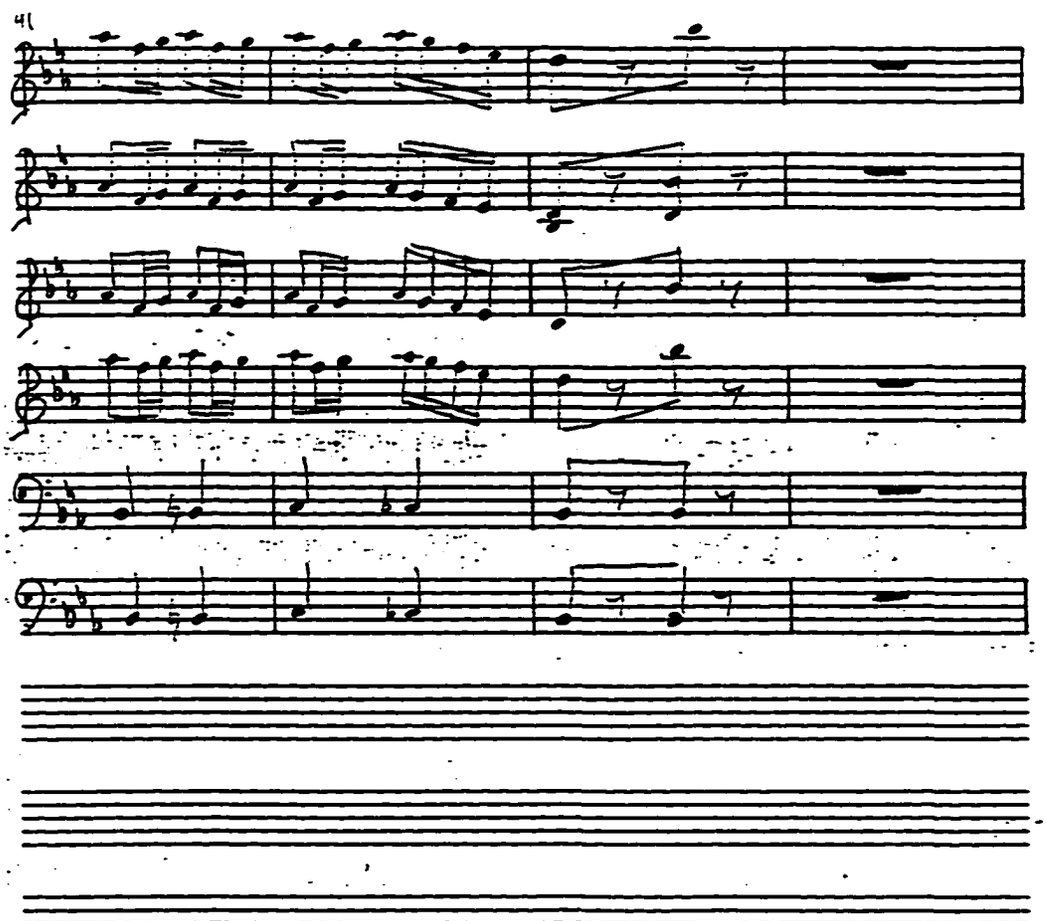


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
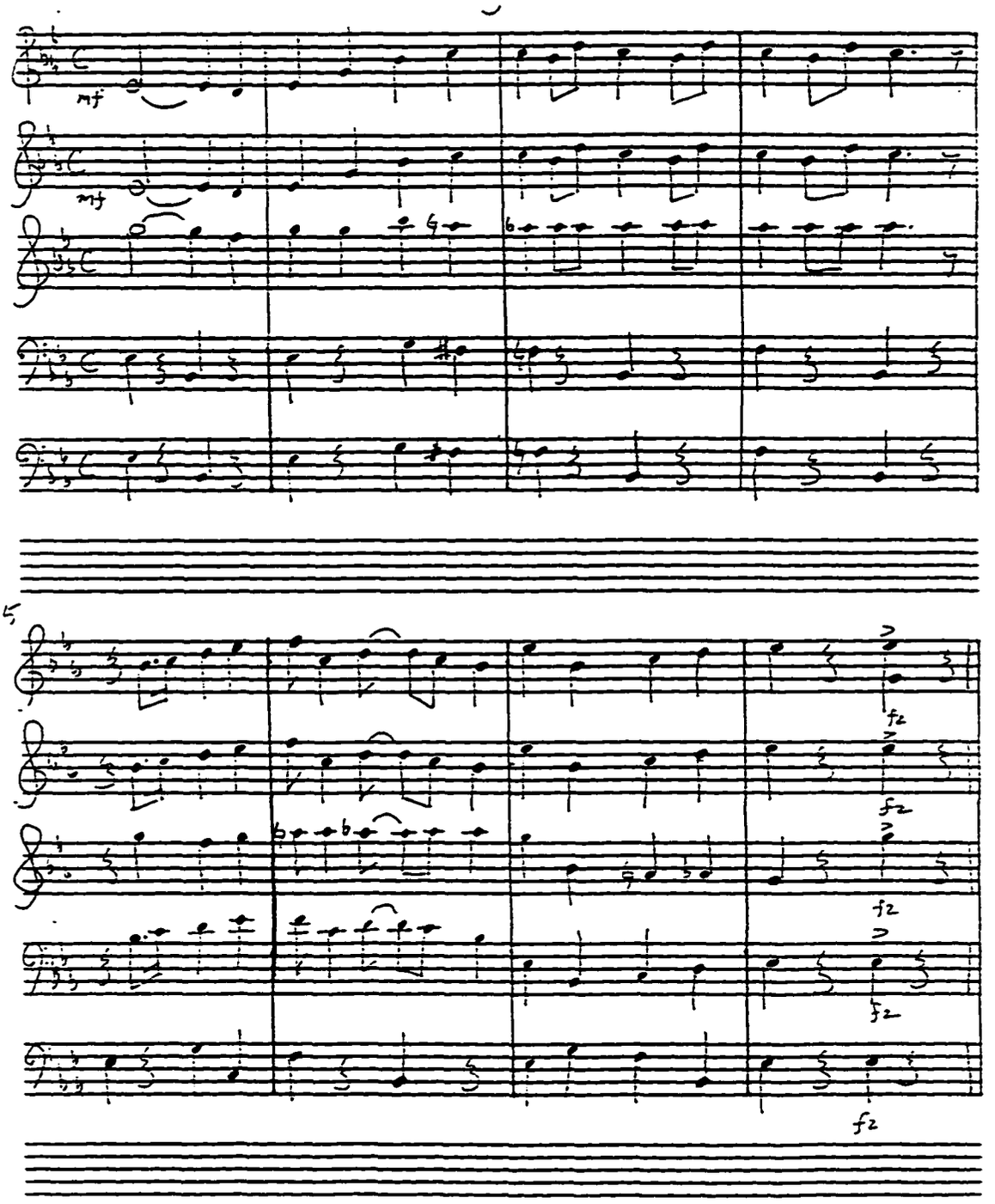


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
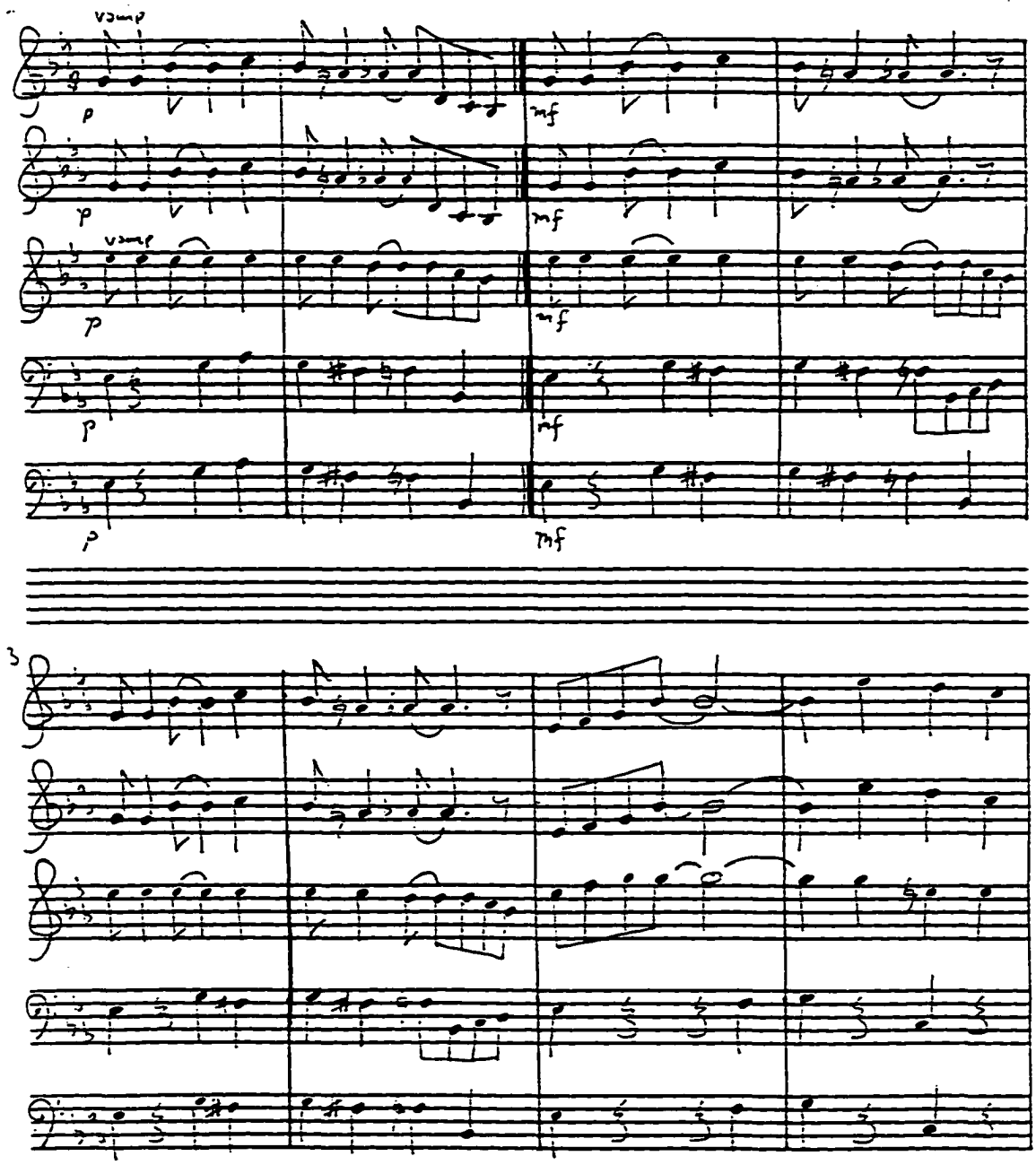


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
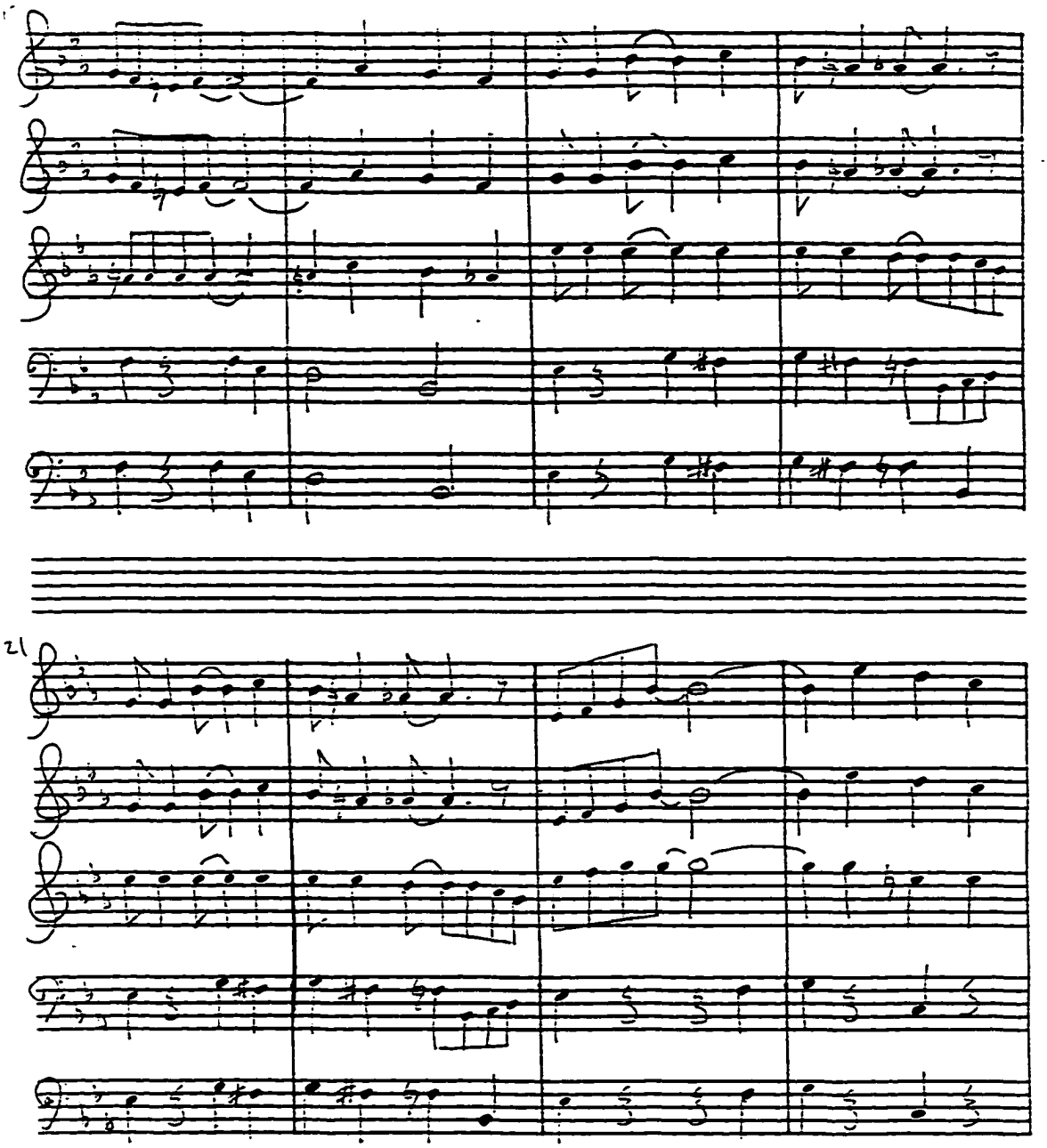
That Mellow Melody
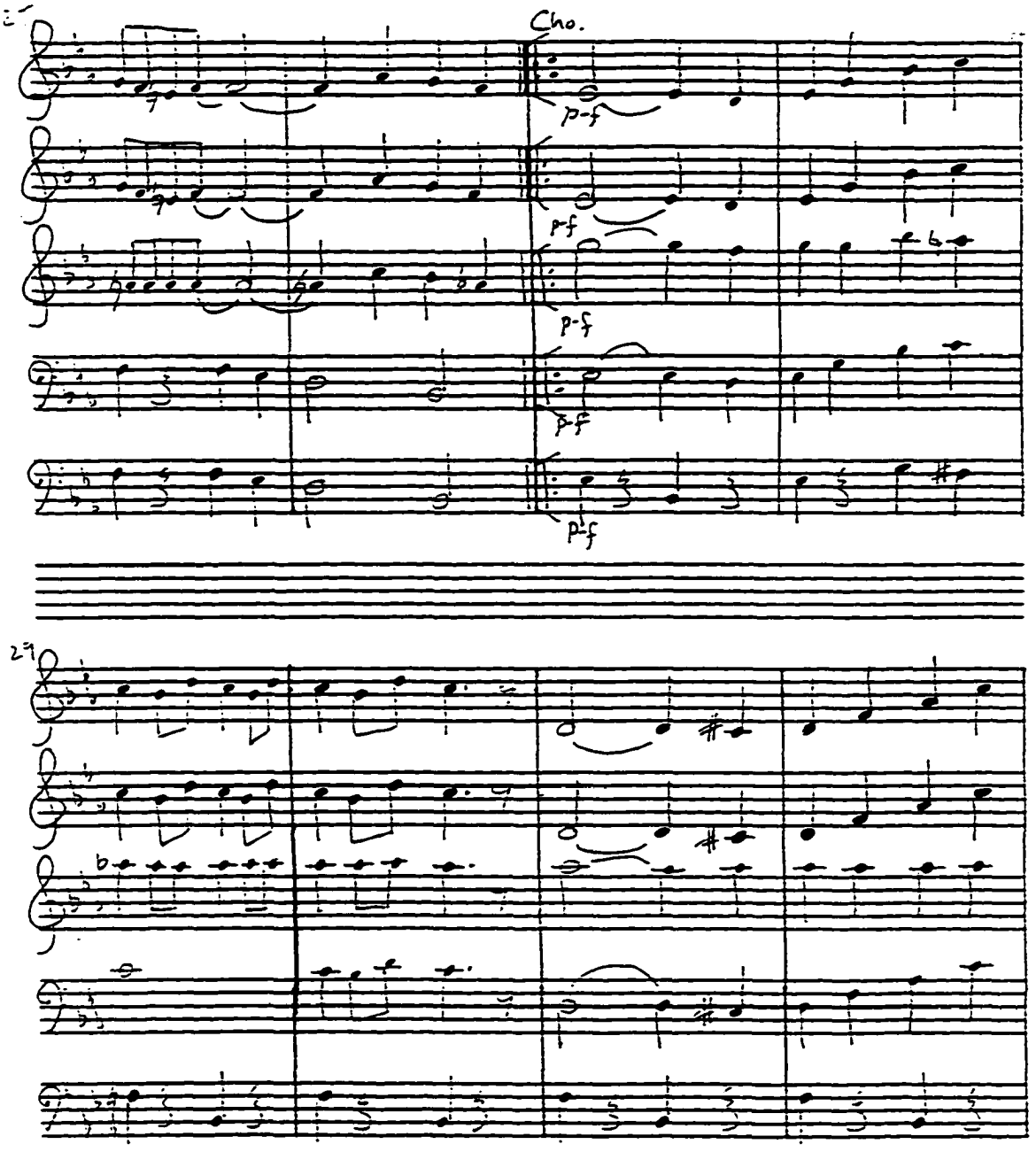


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
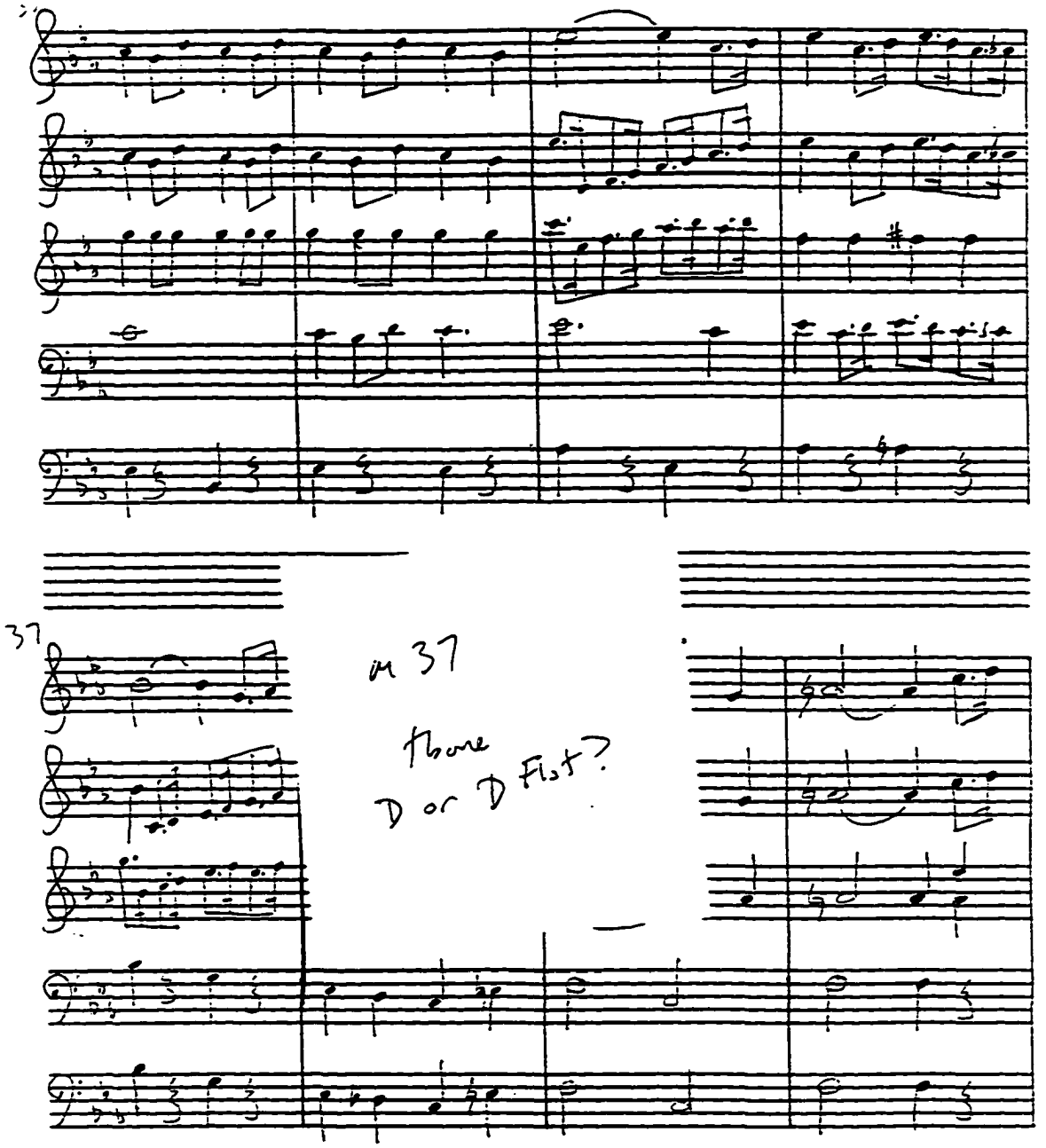


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
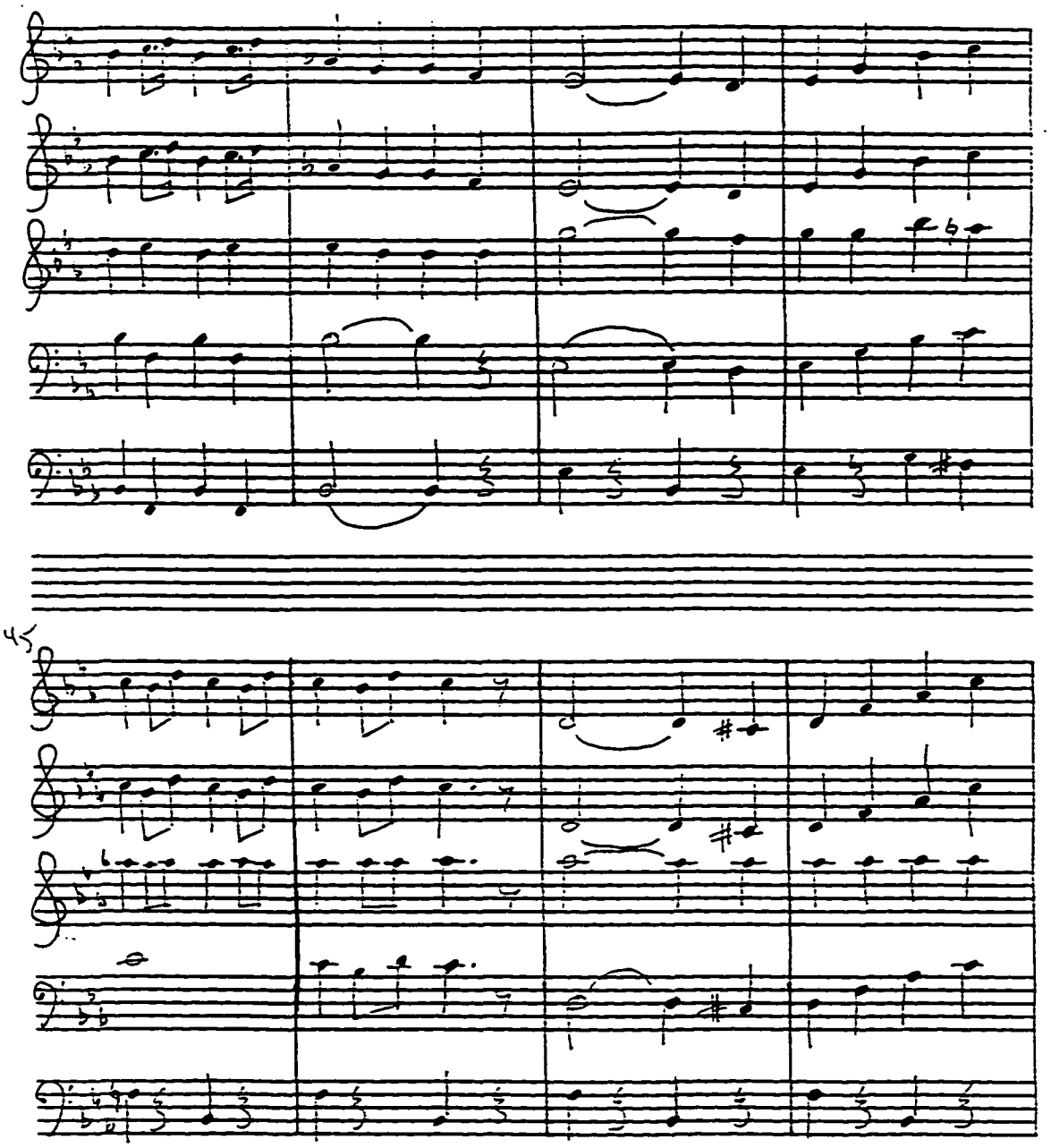


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
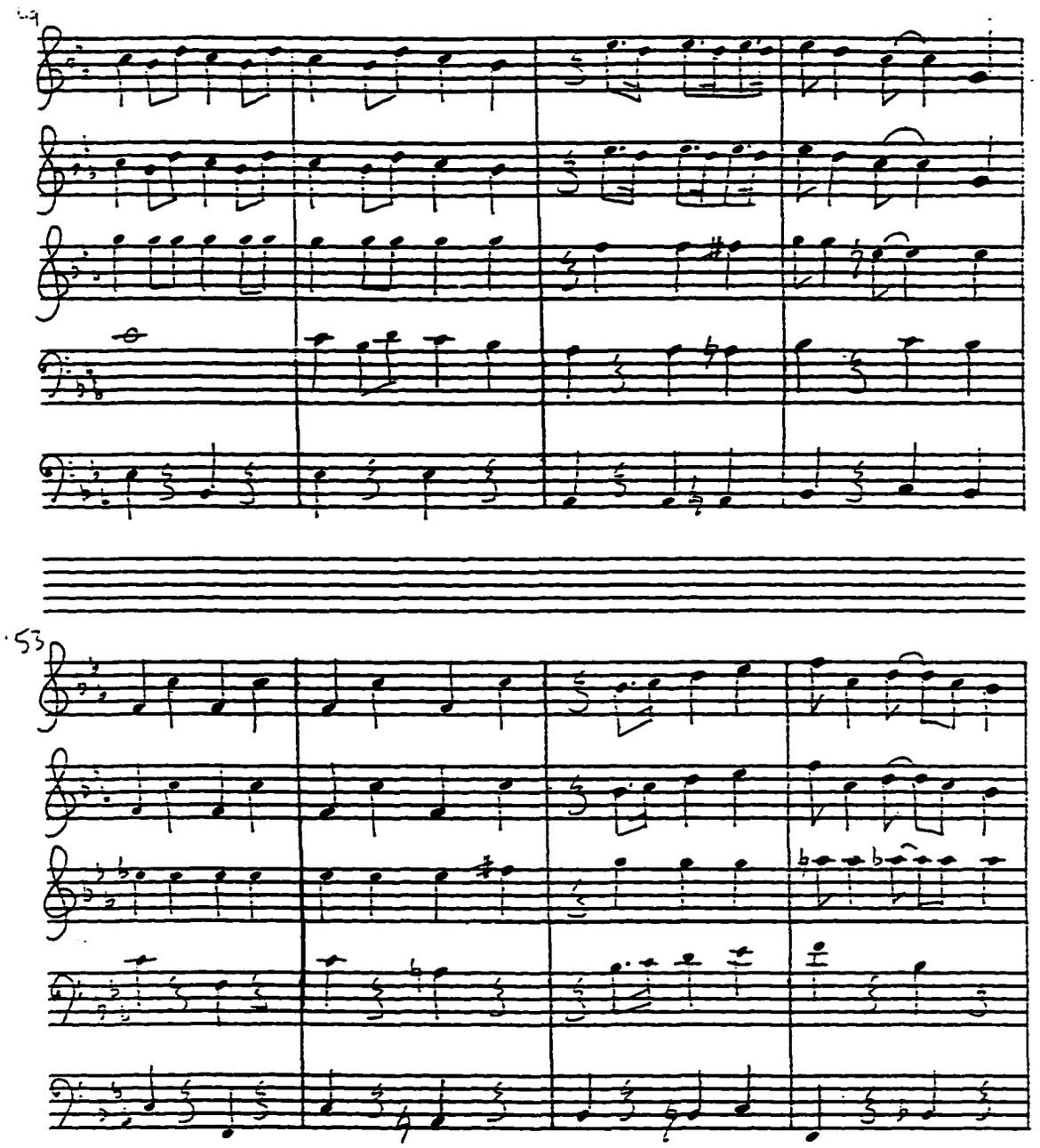


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
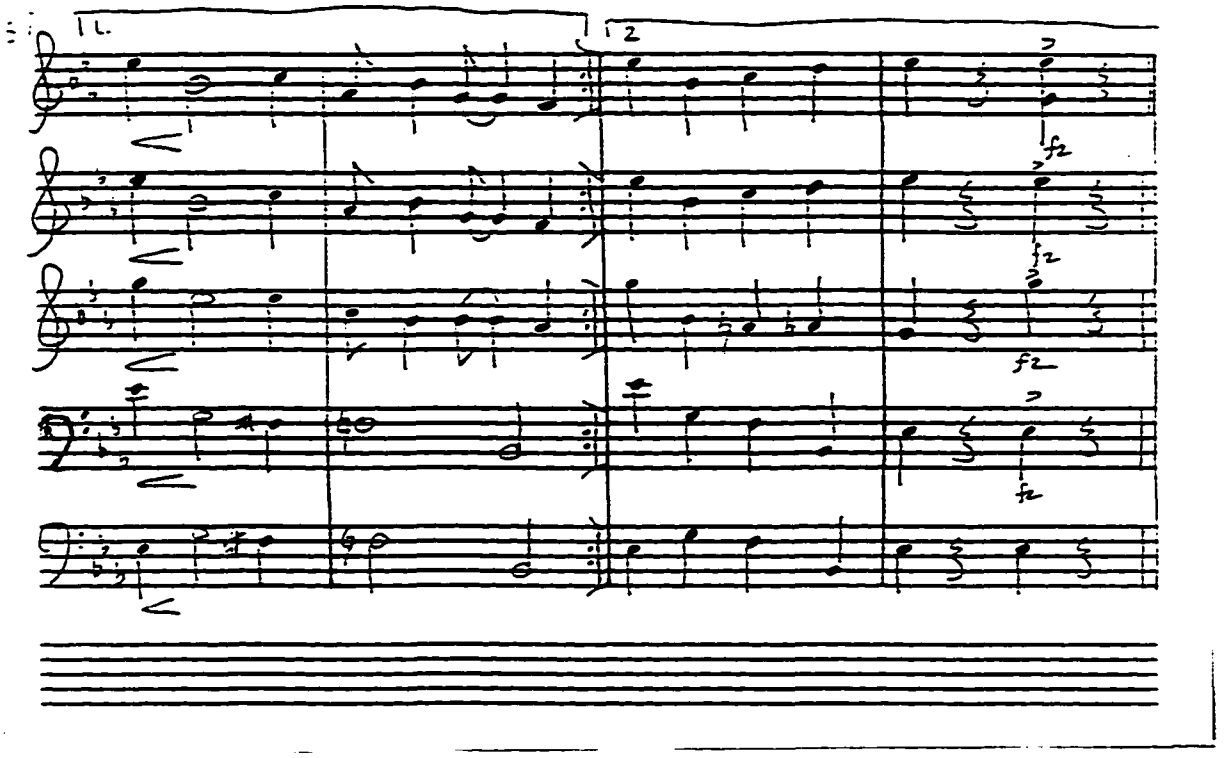


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
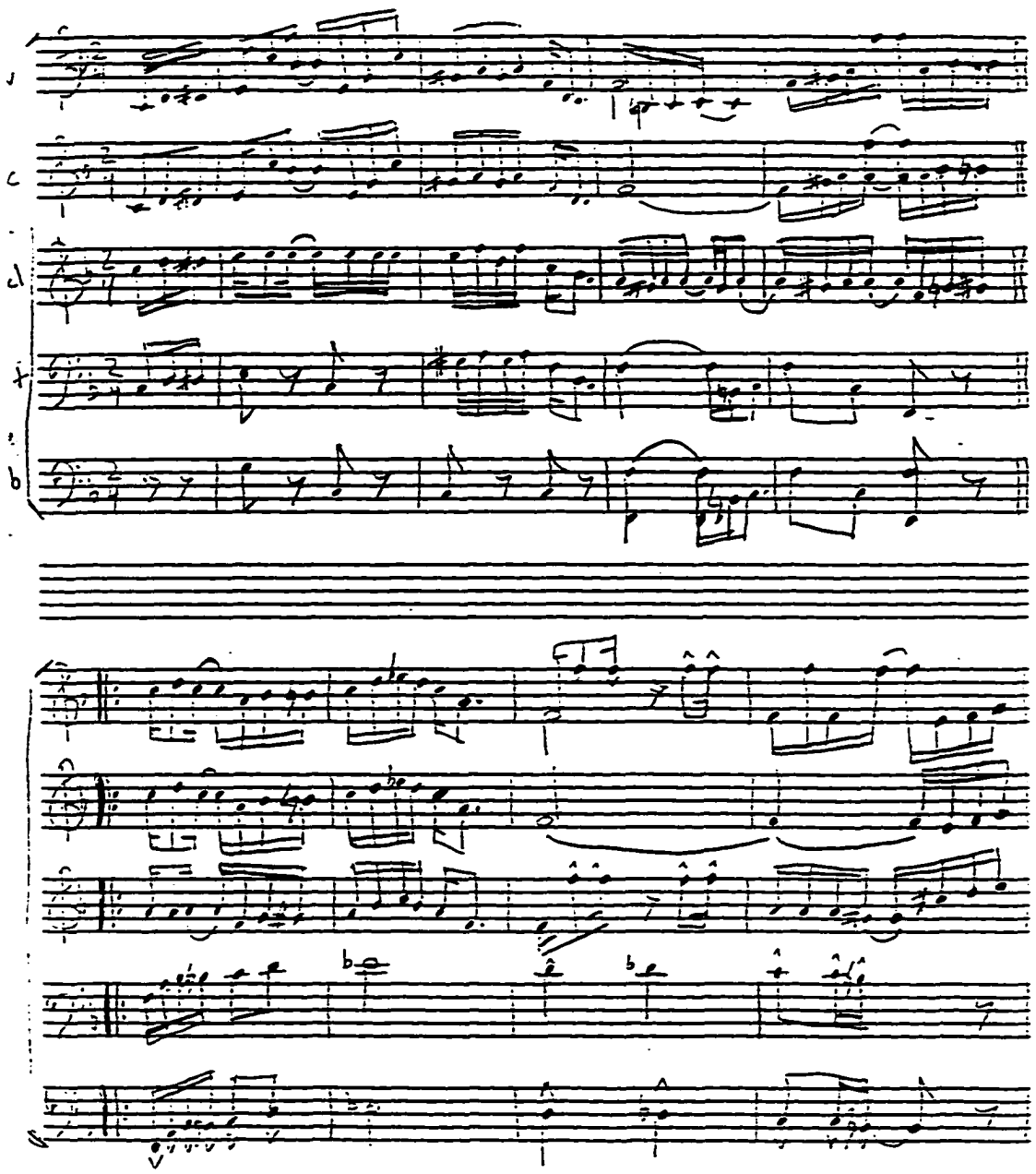


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
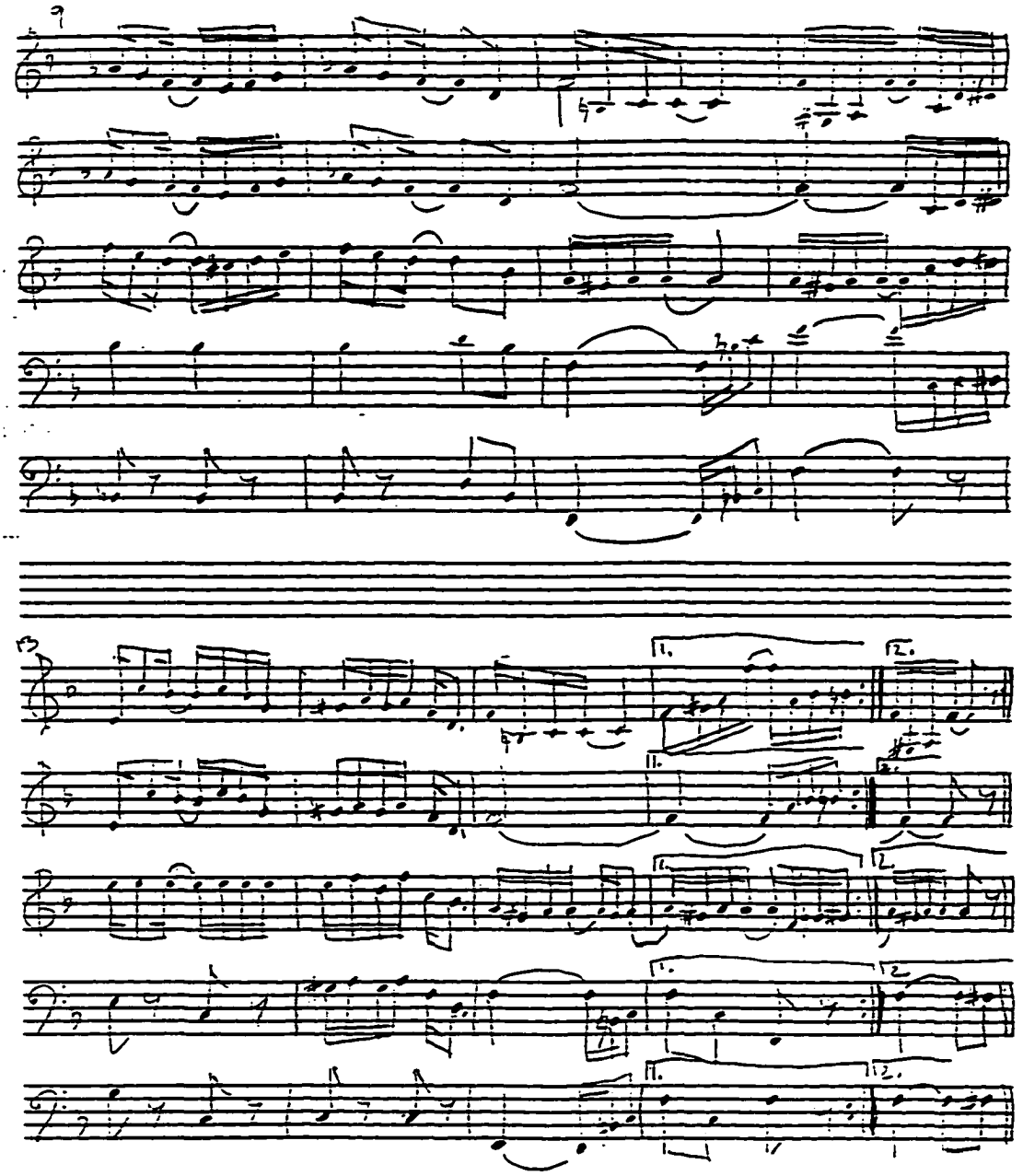


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
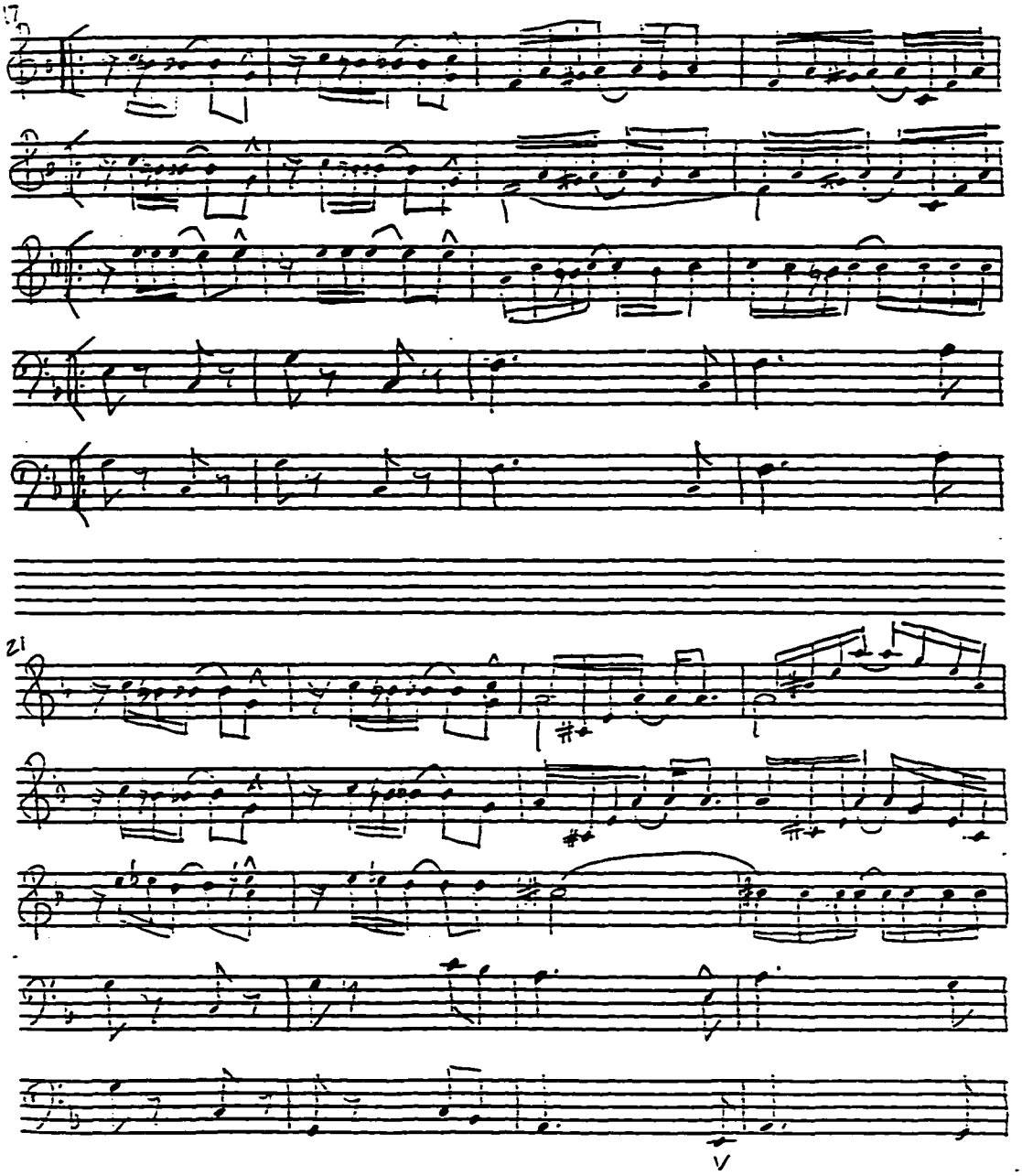
The Memphis Blues
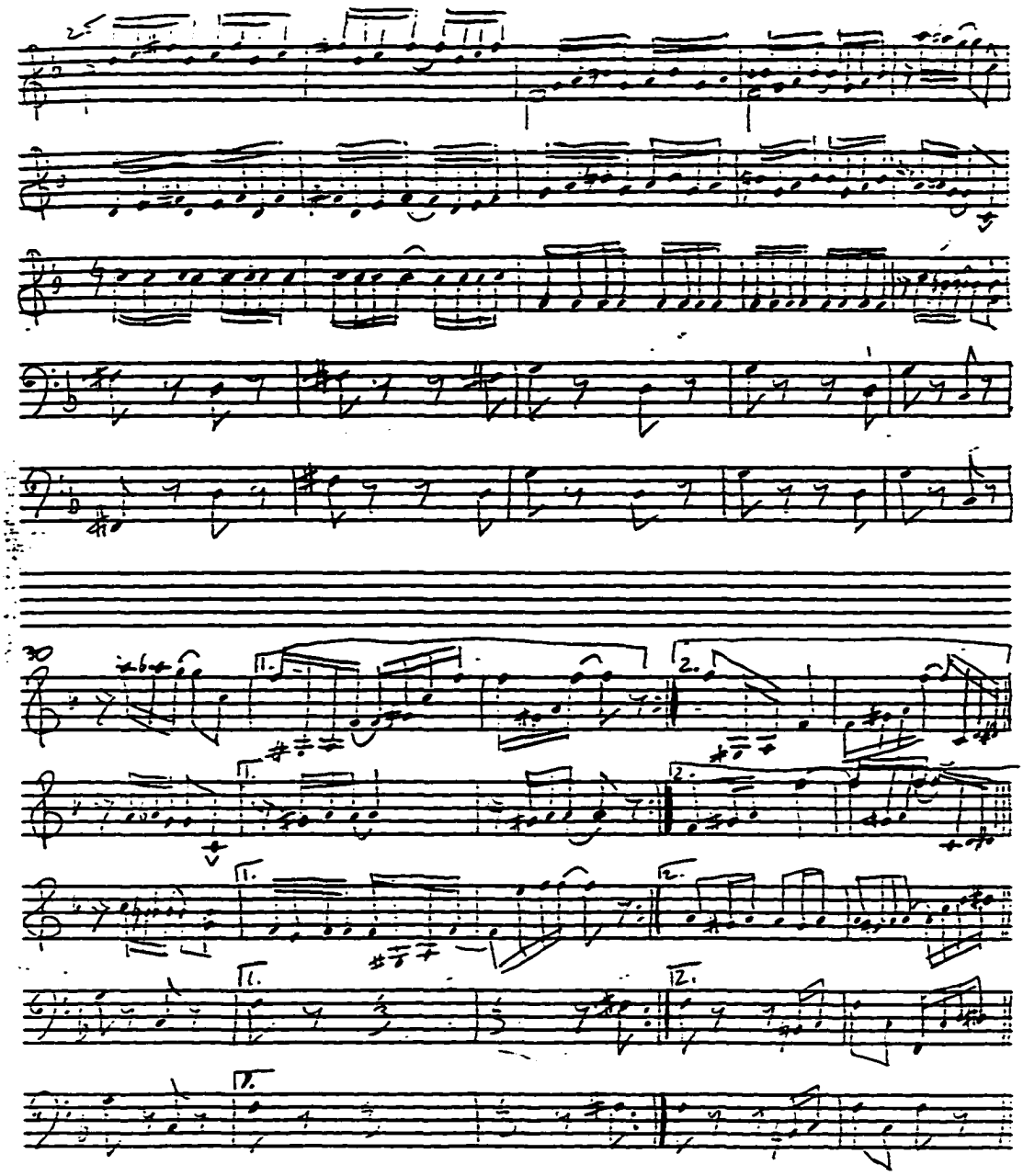


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
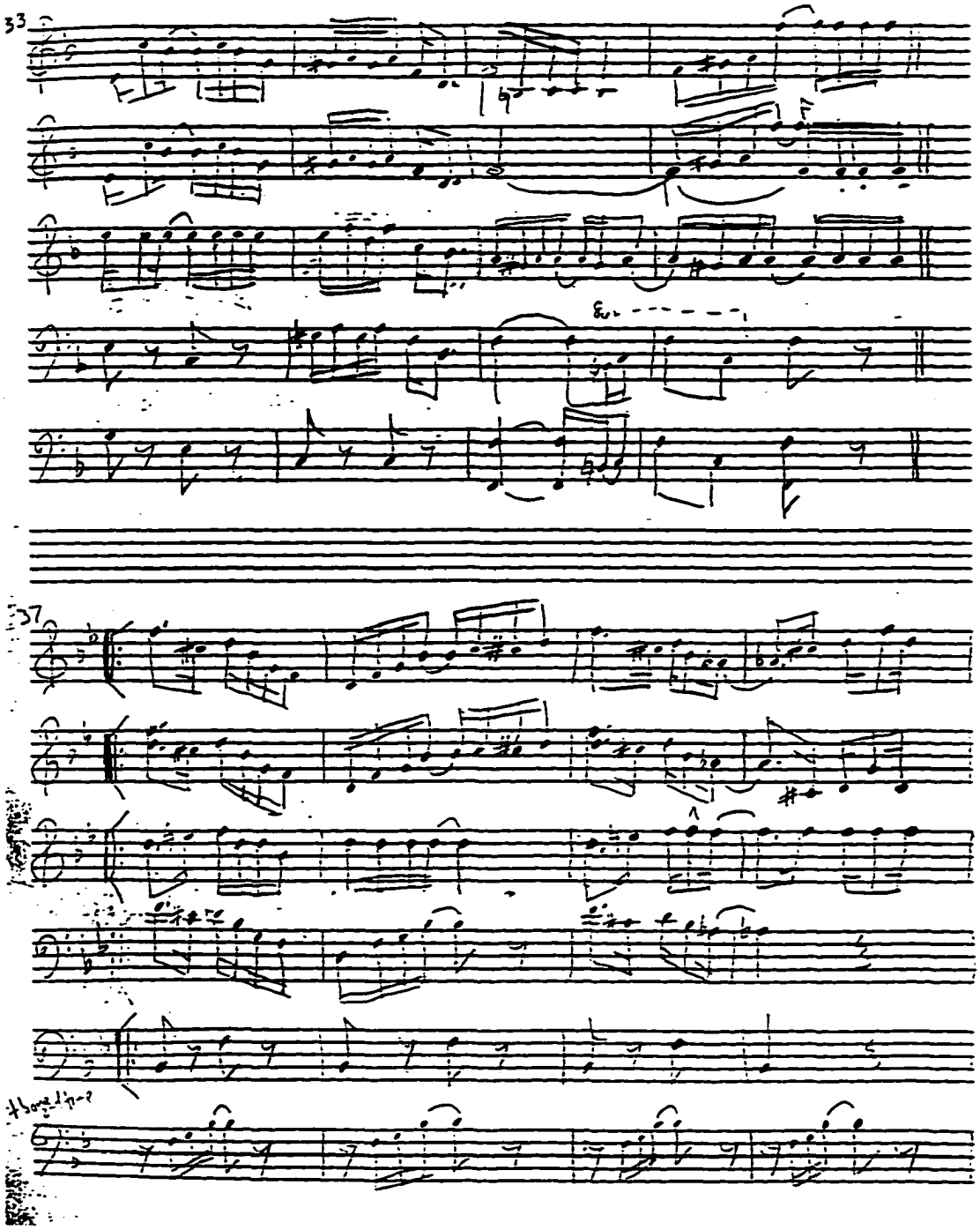


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
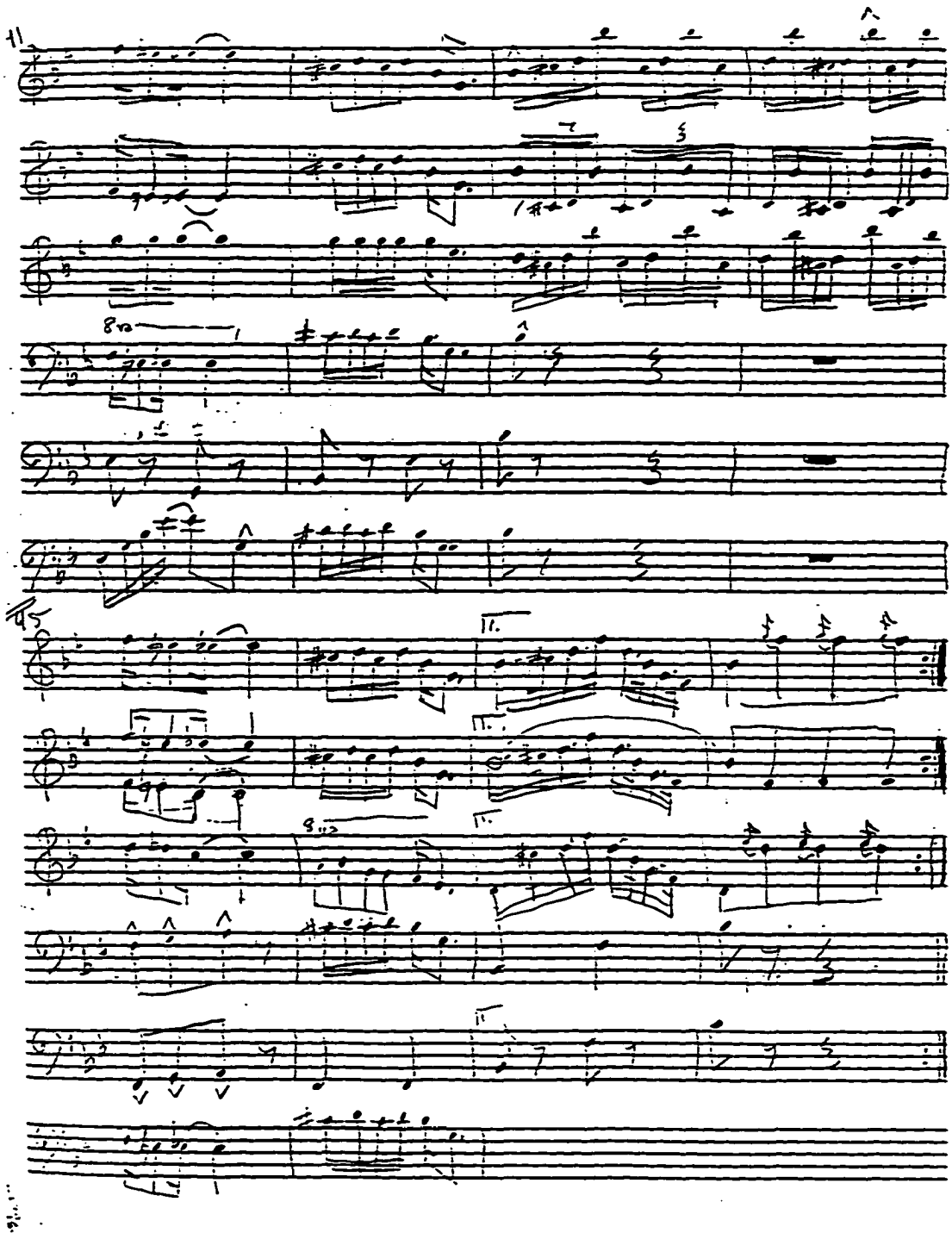


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
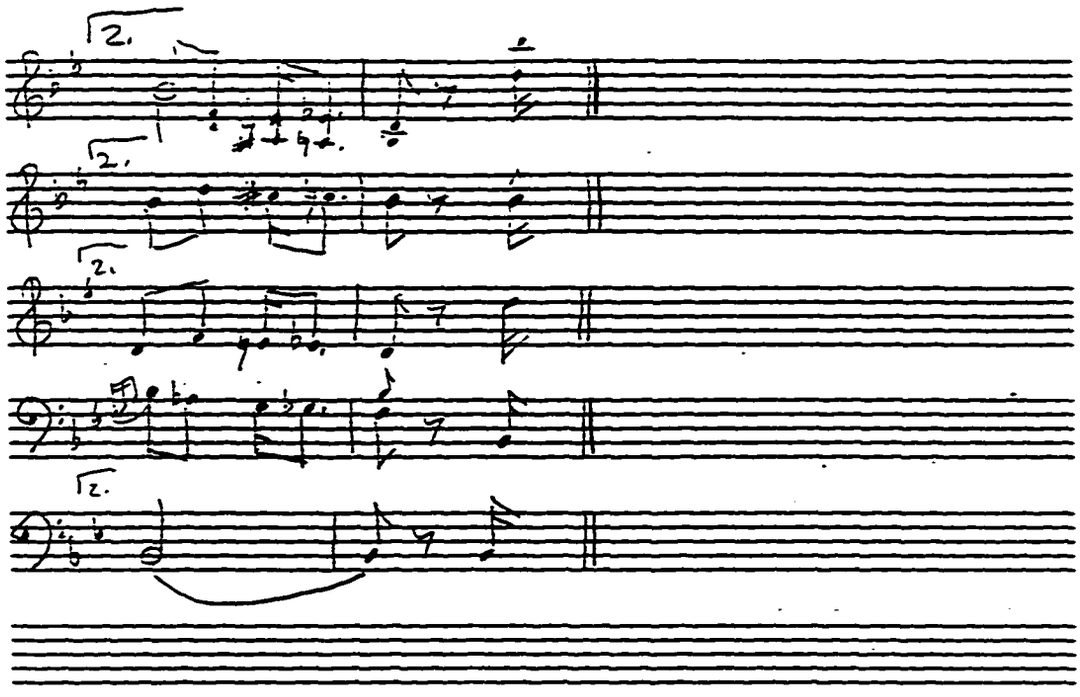


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
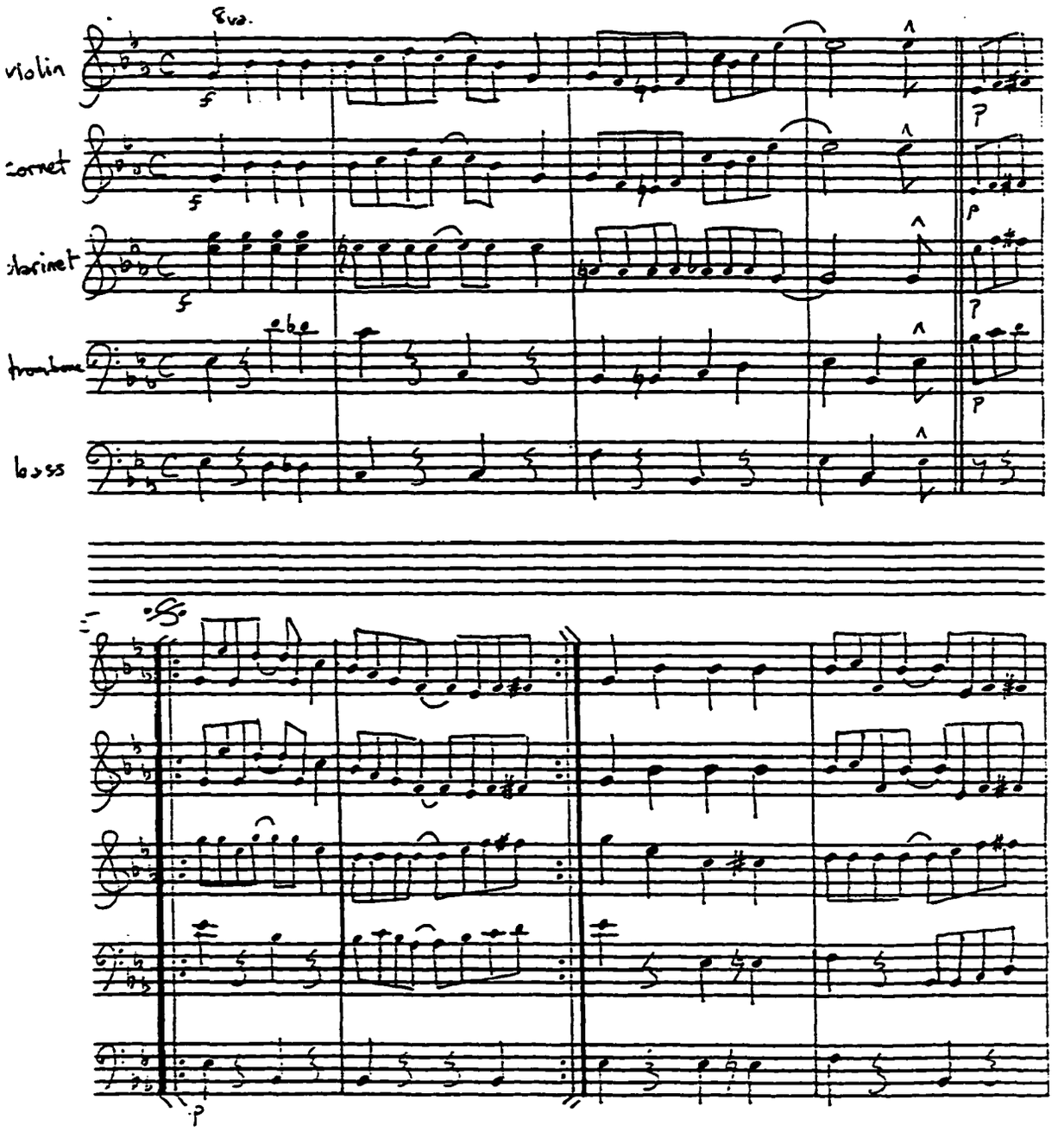


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
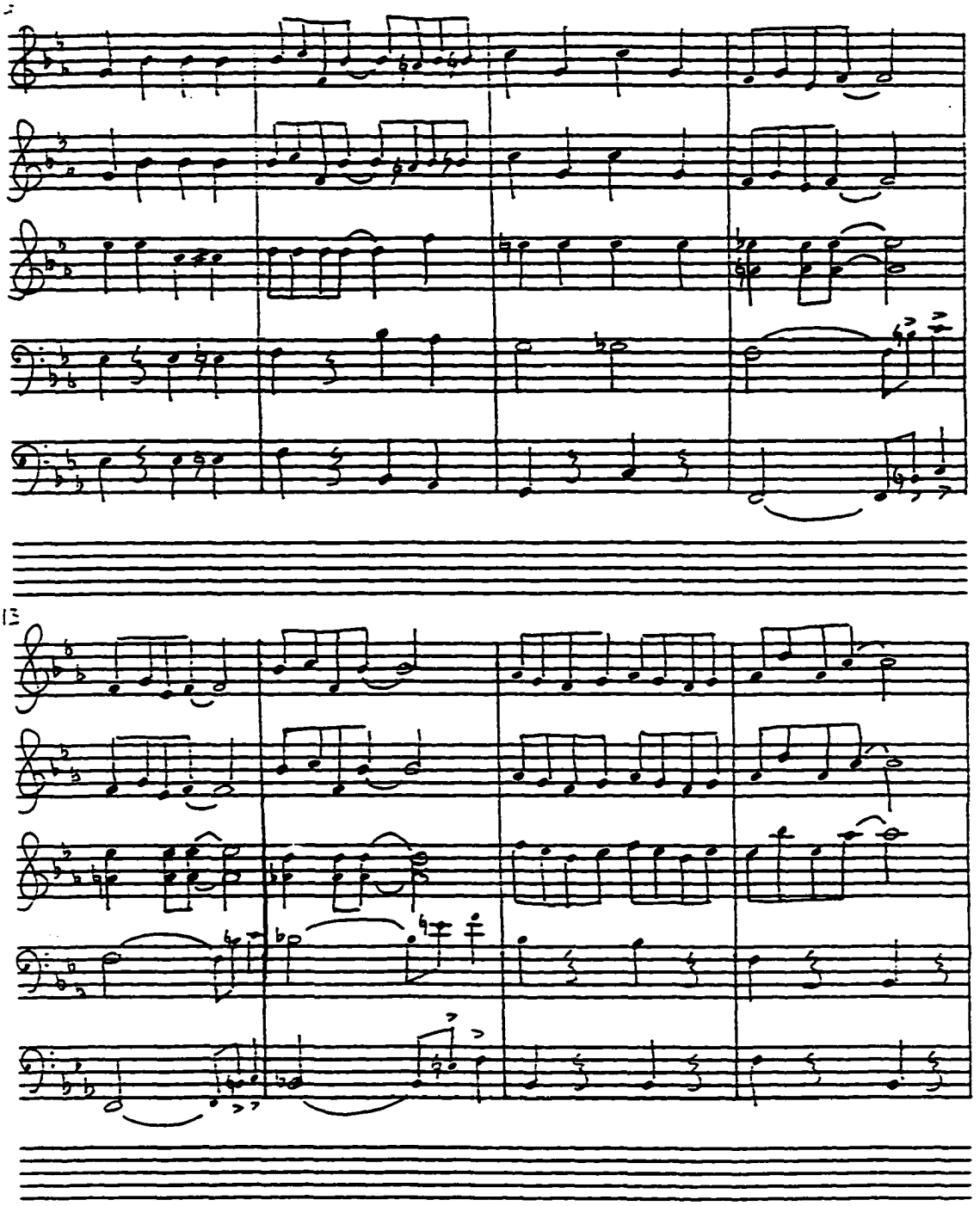


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
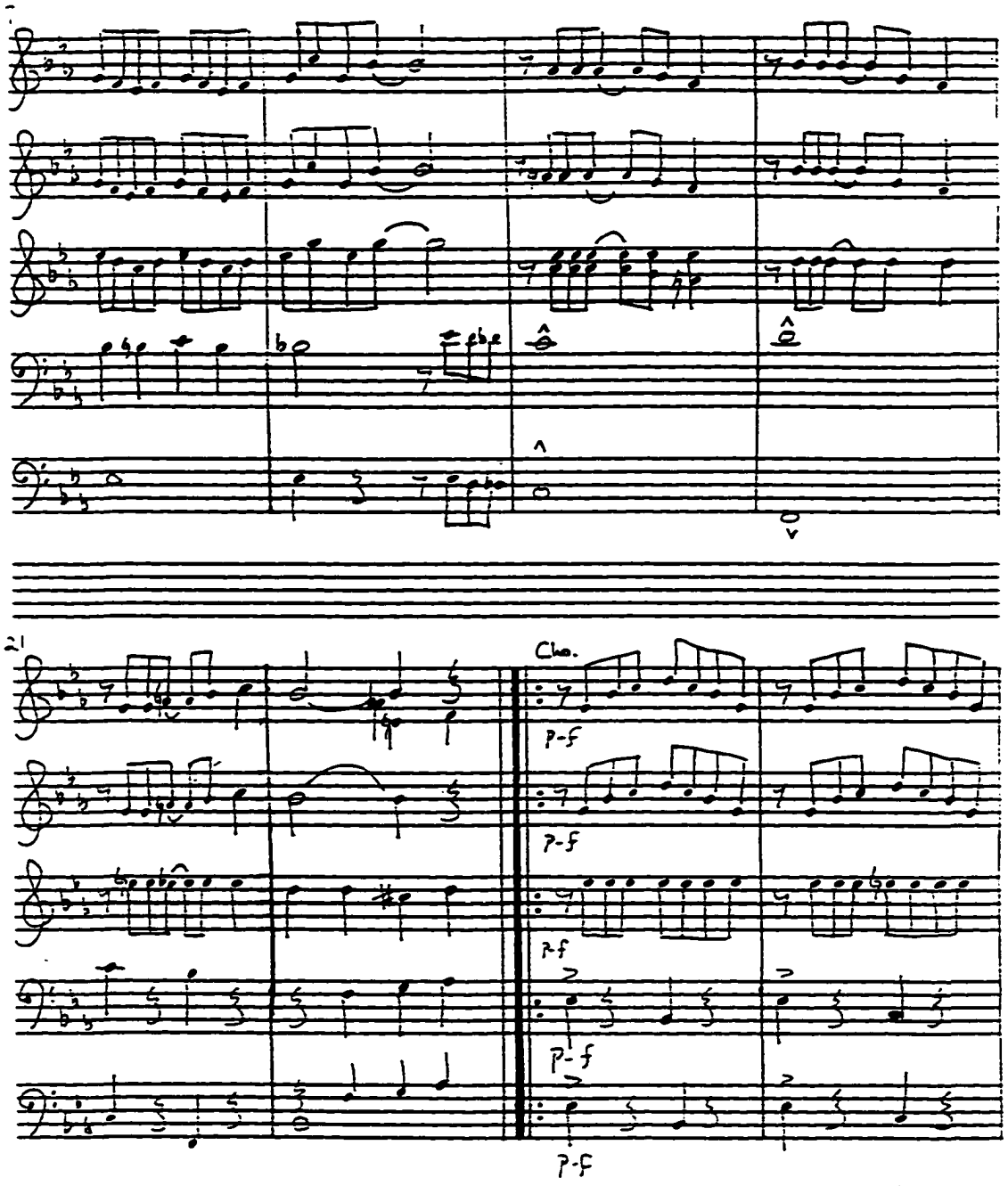
My Music Teacher
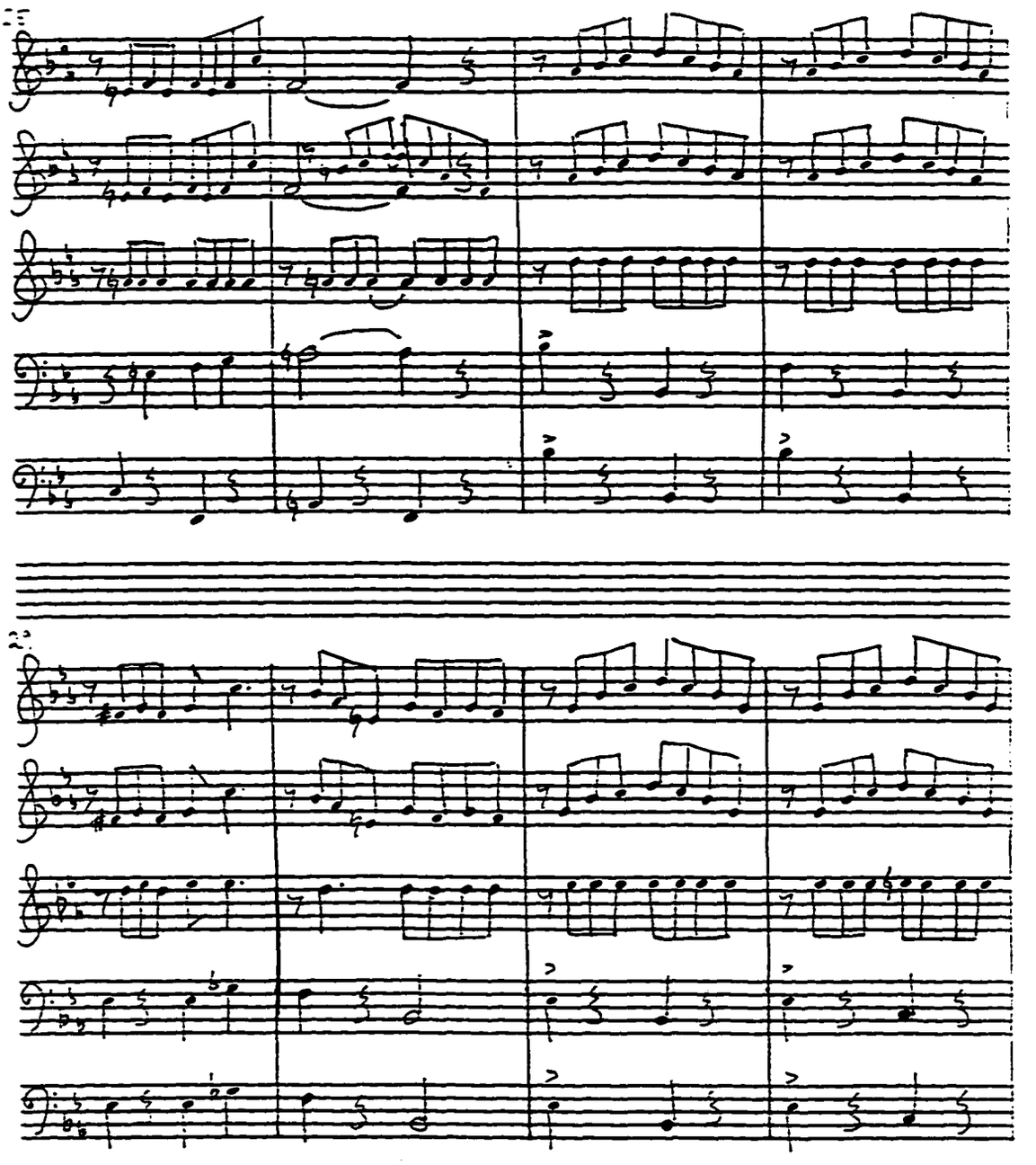


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
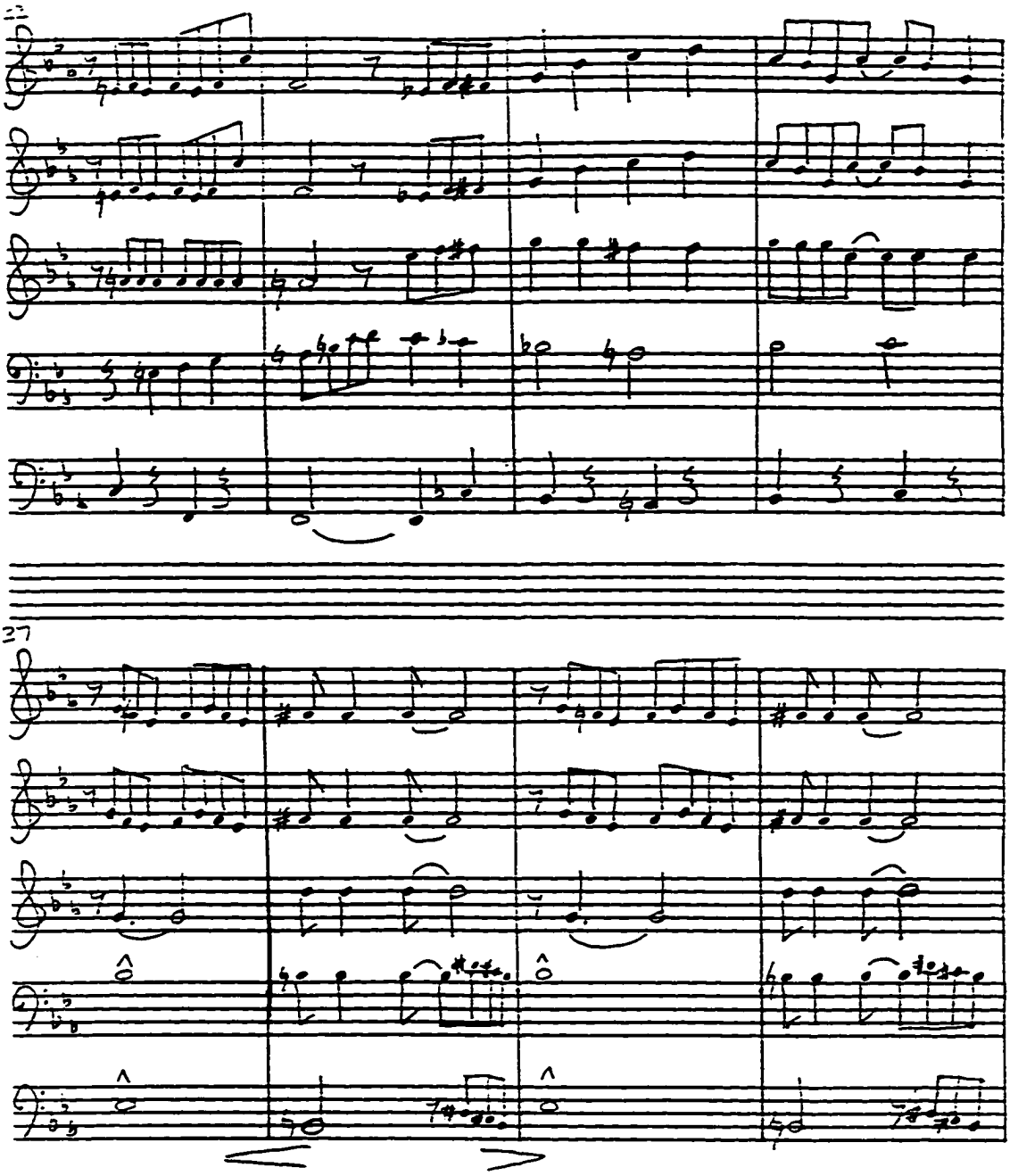


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
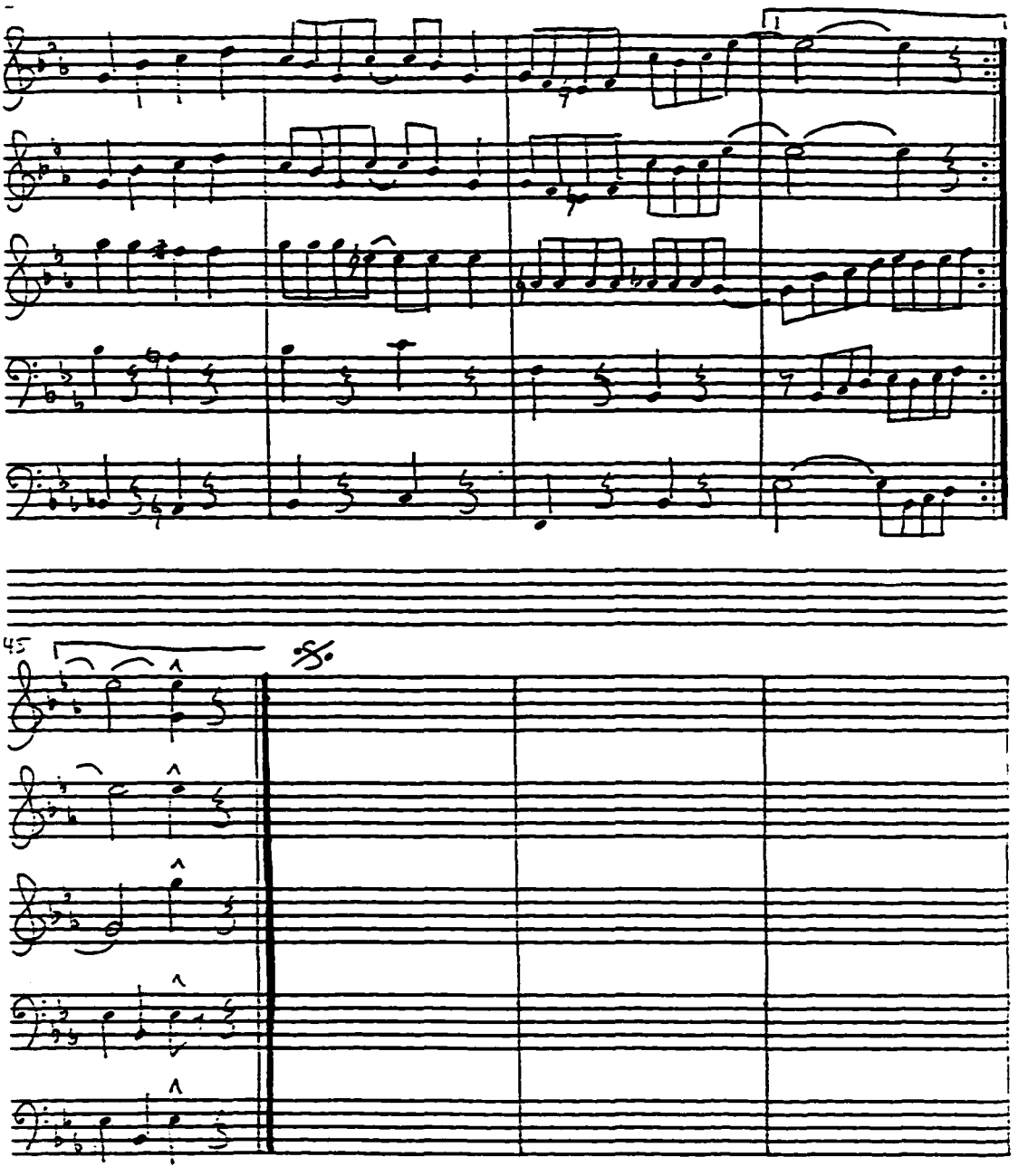


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
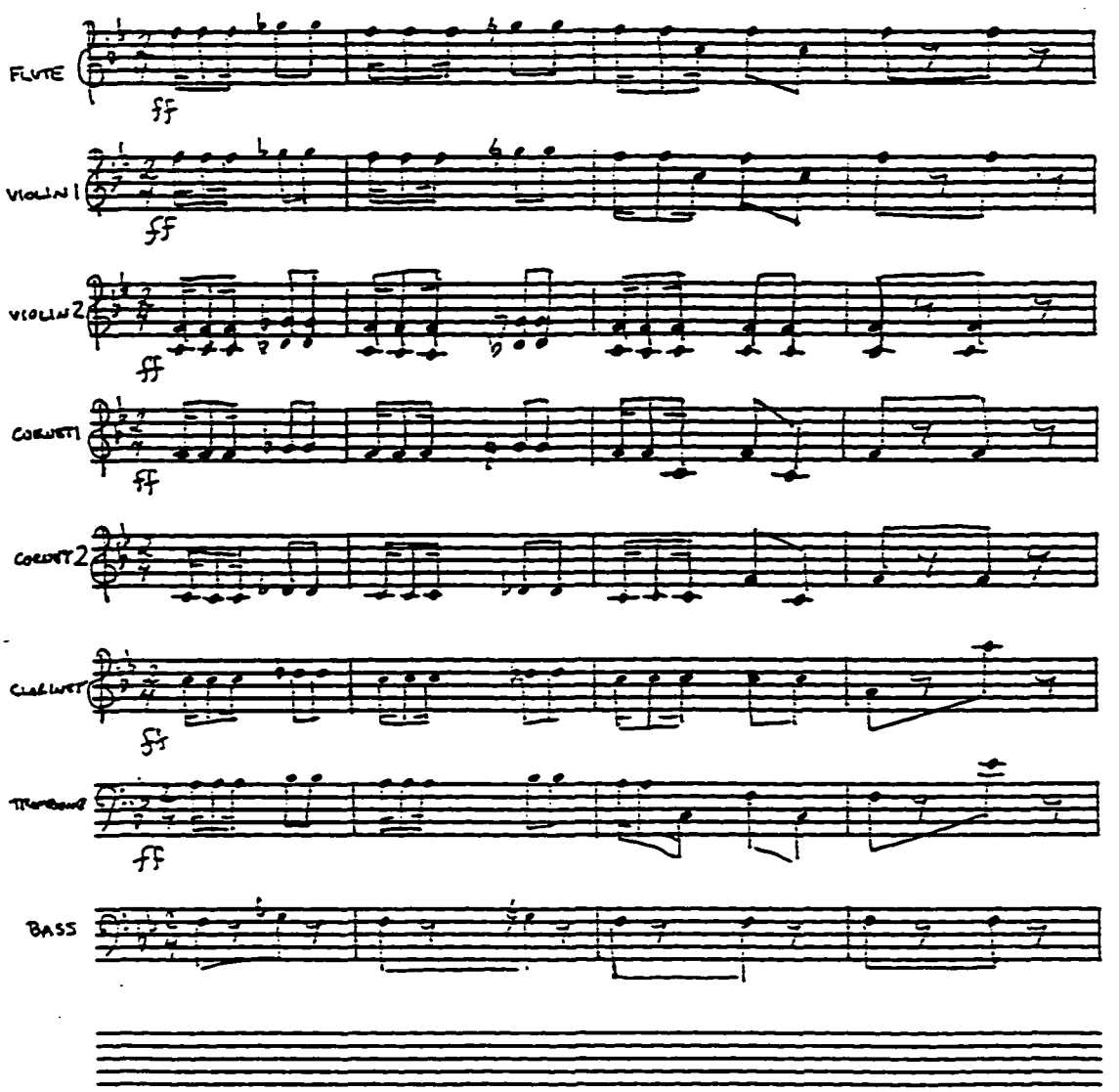


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
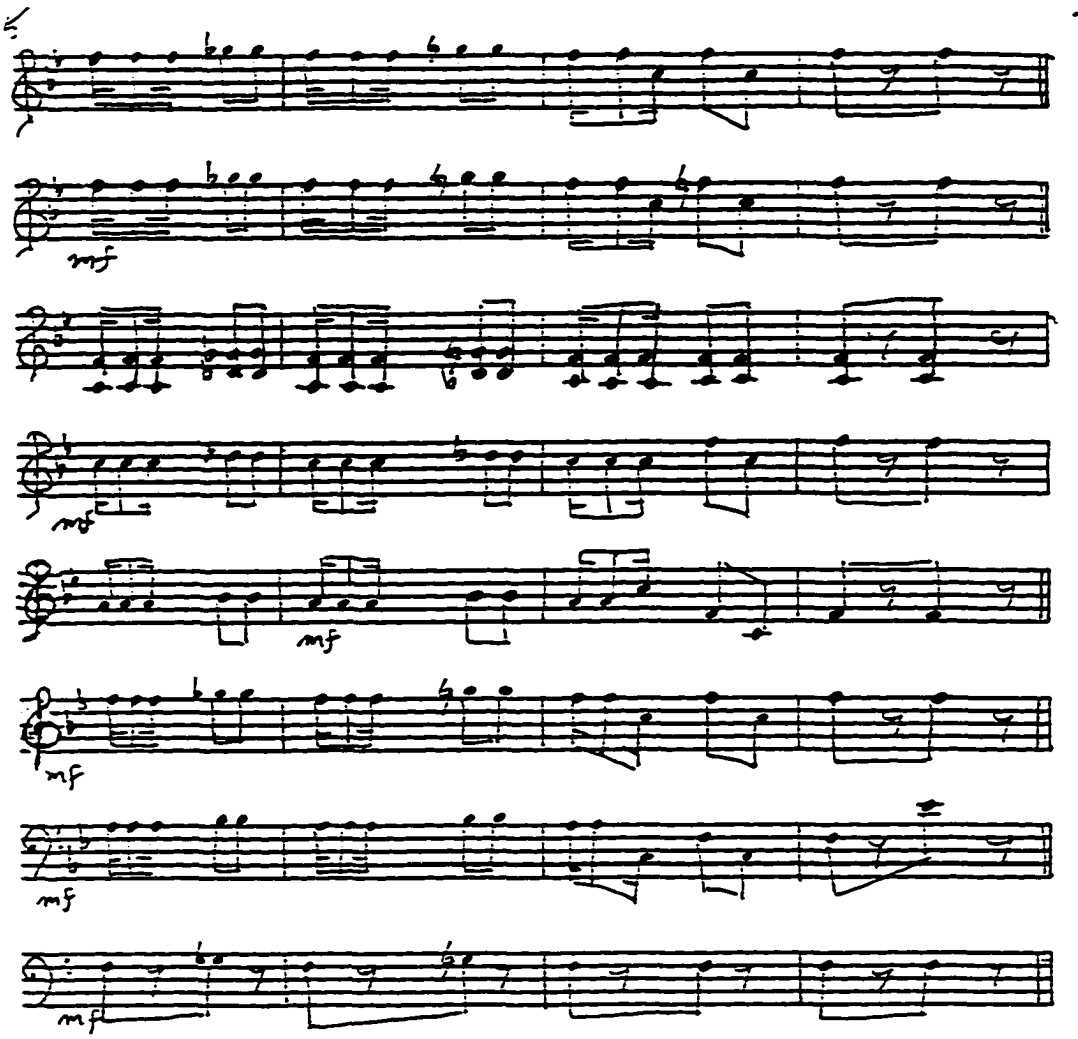


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
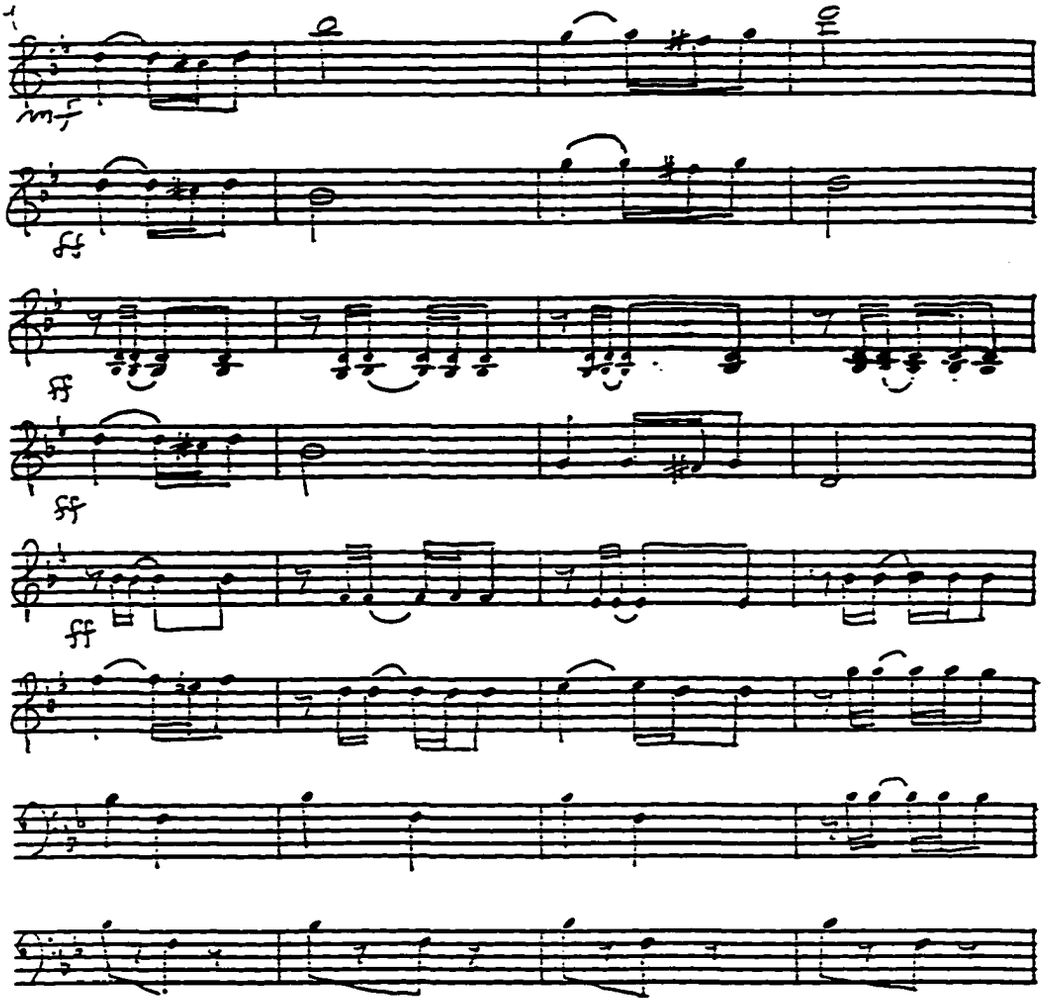
On Emancipation Day
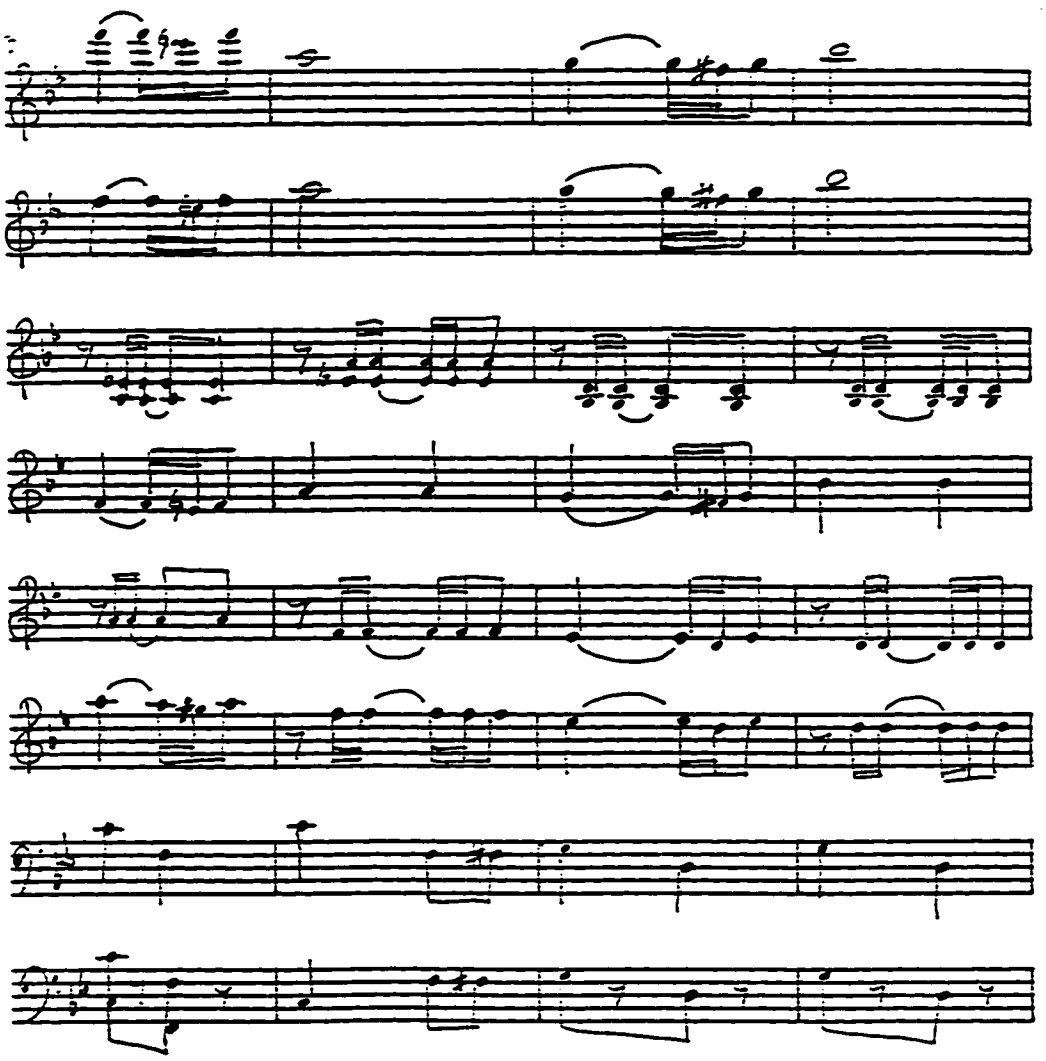


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
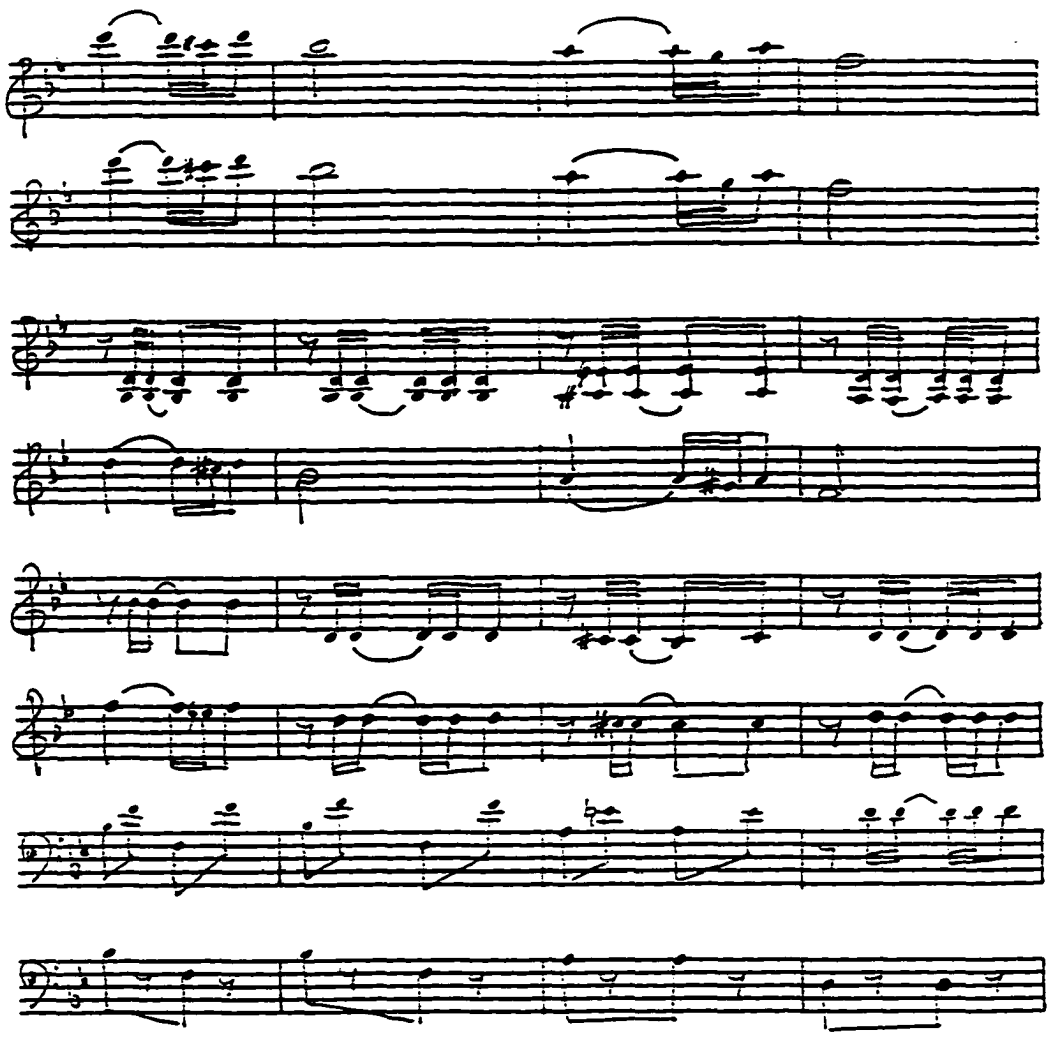


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
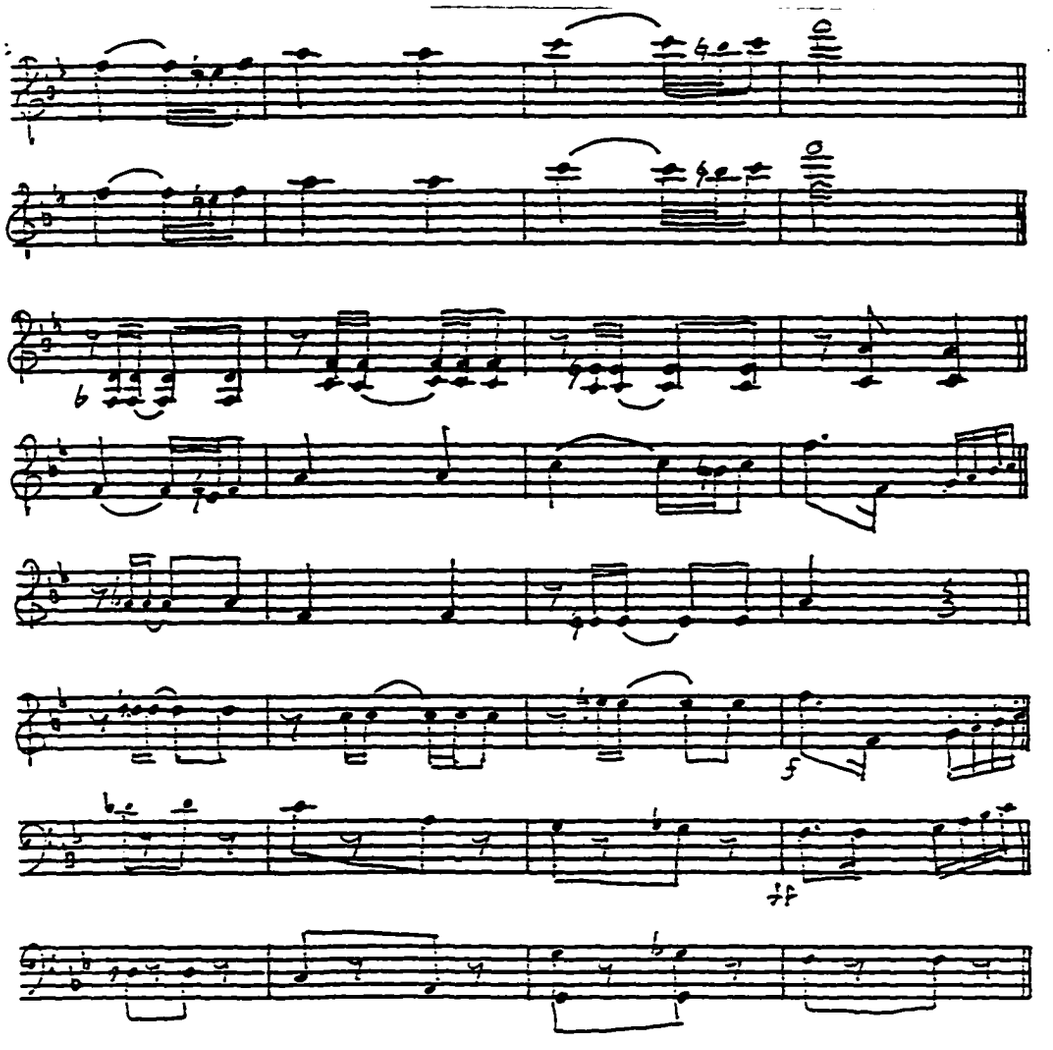


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
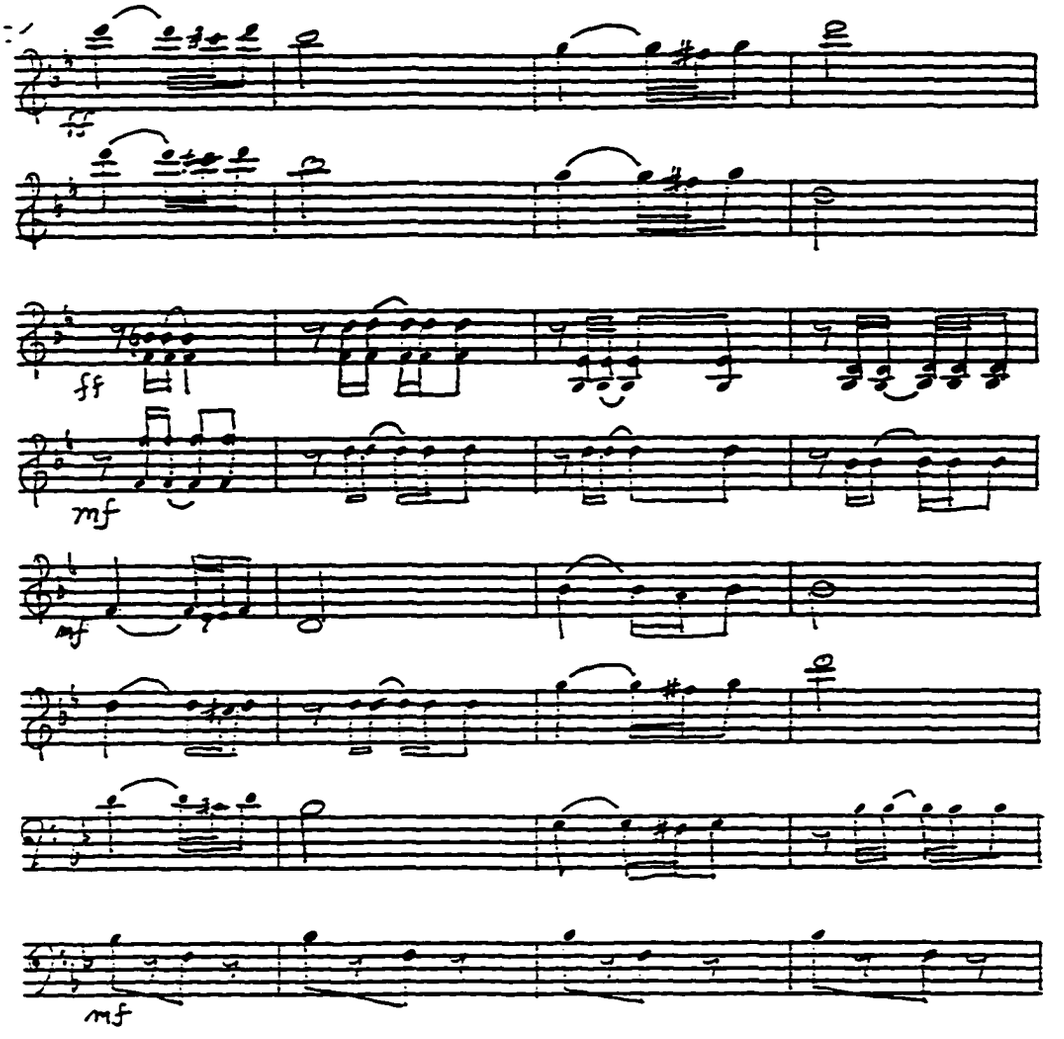


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
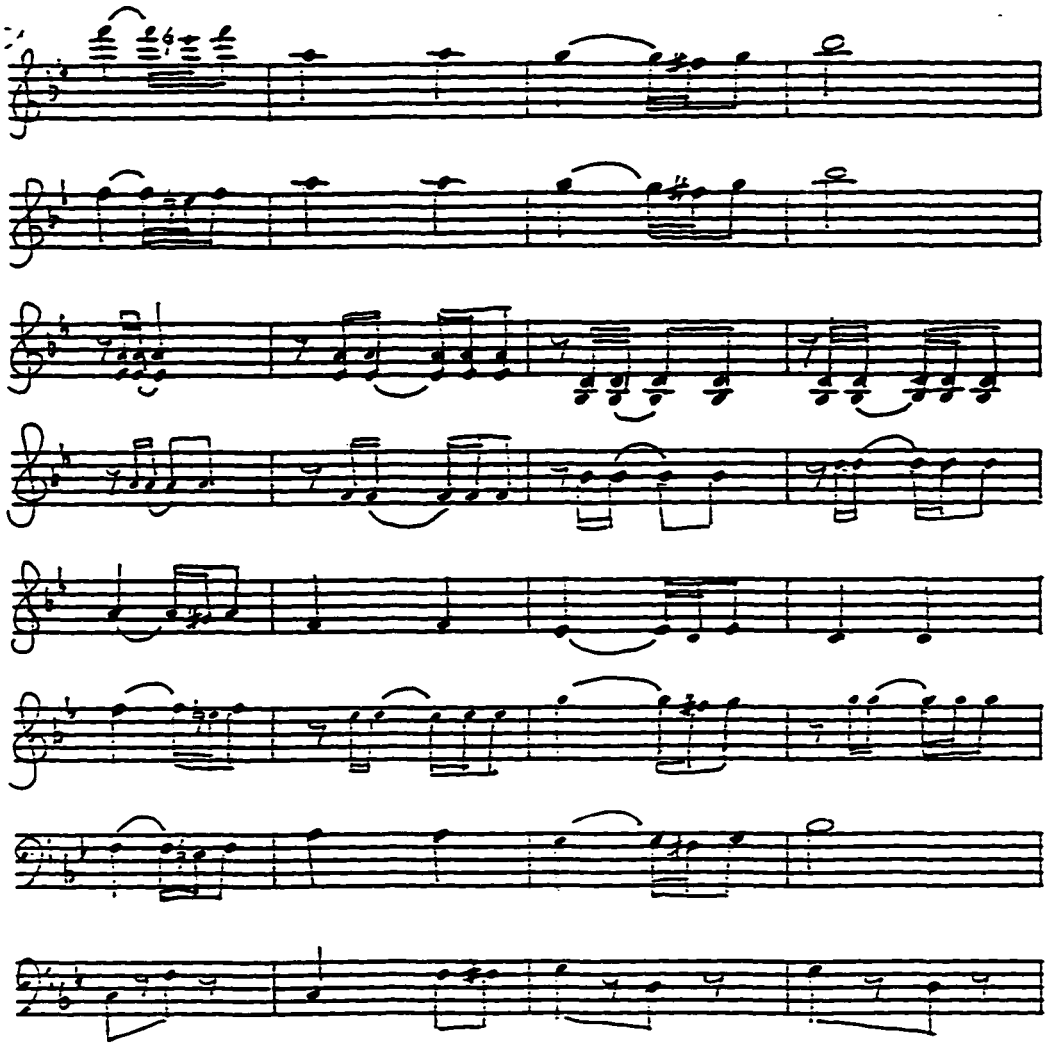


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
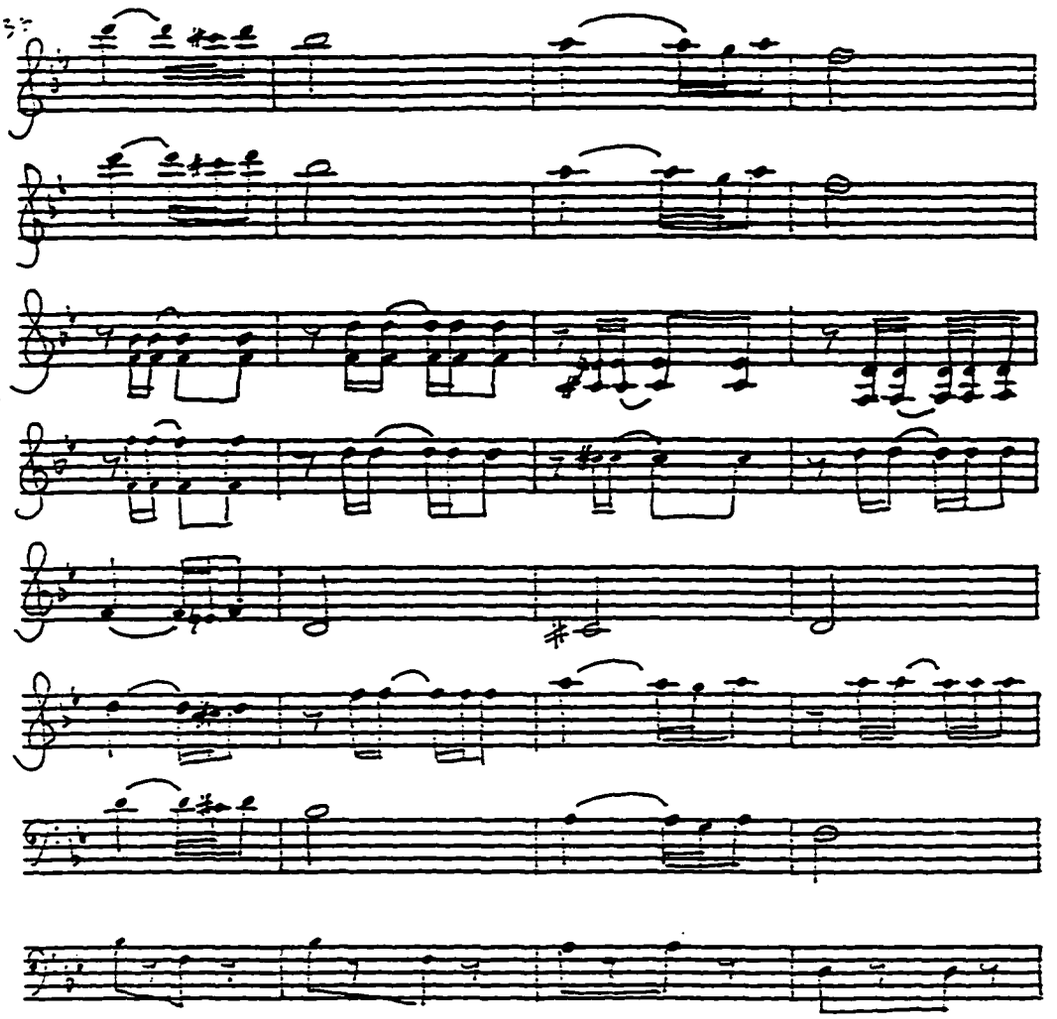


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
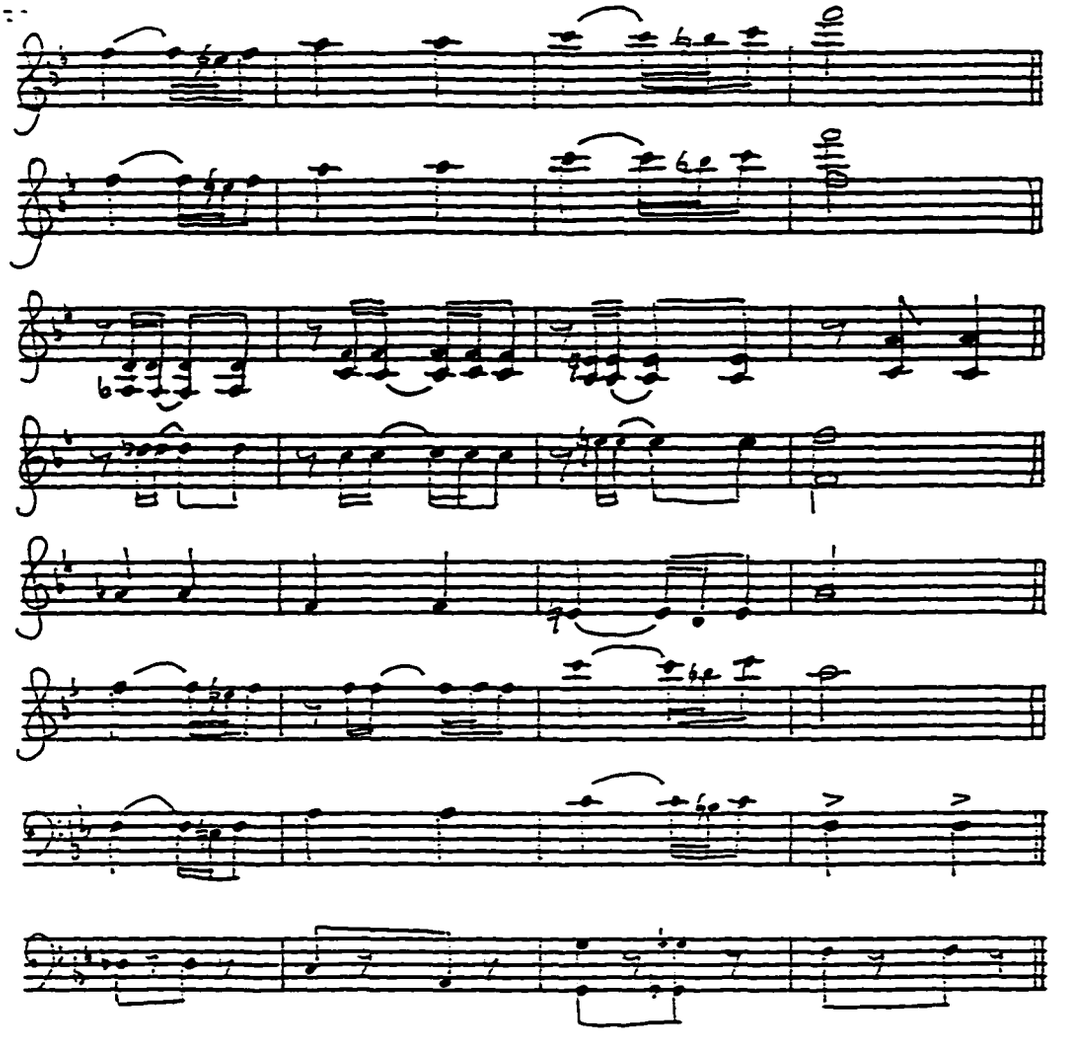


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
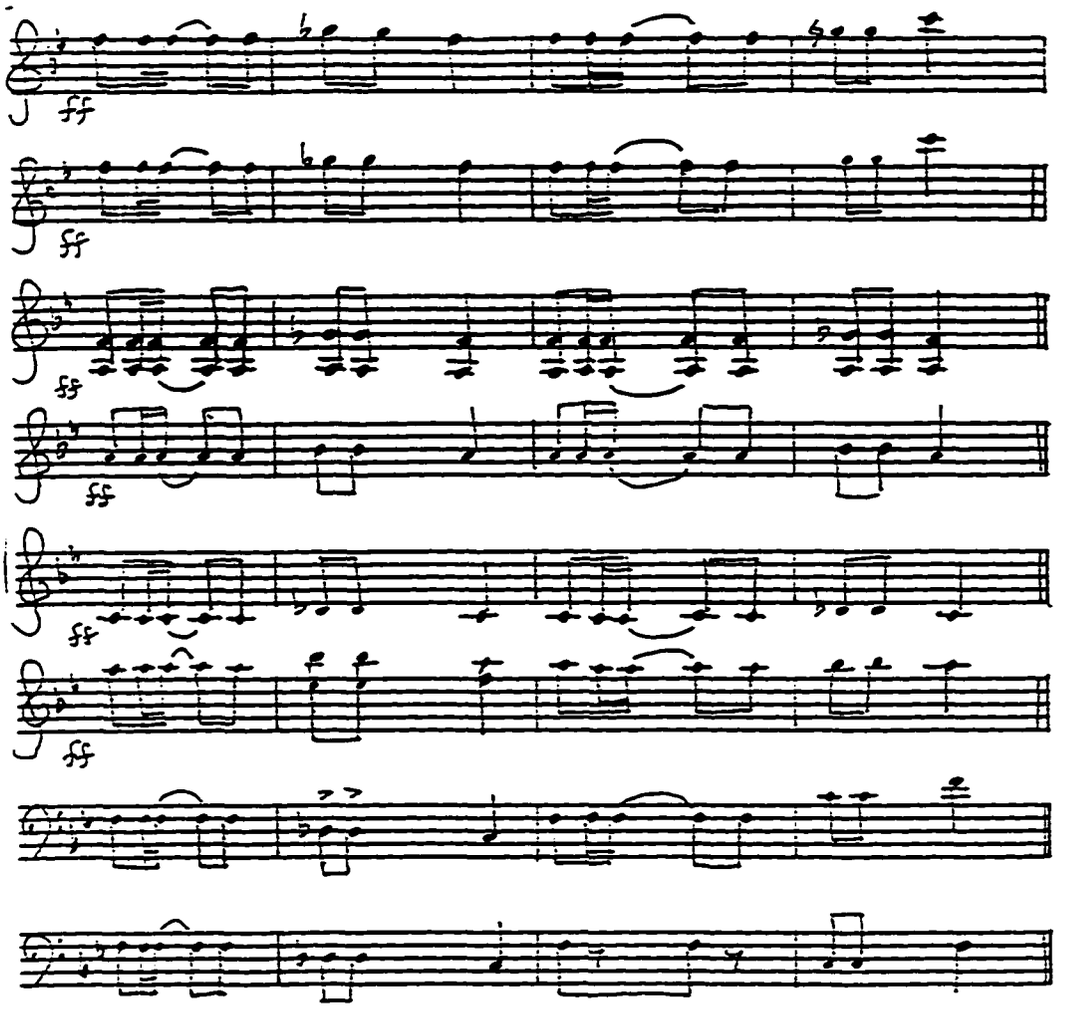


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
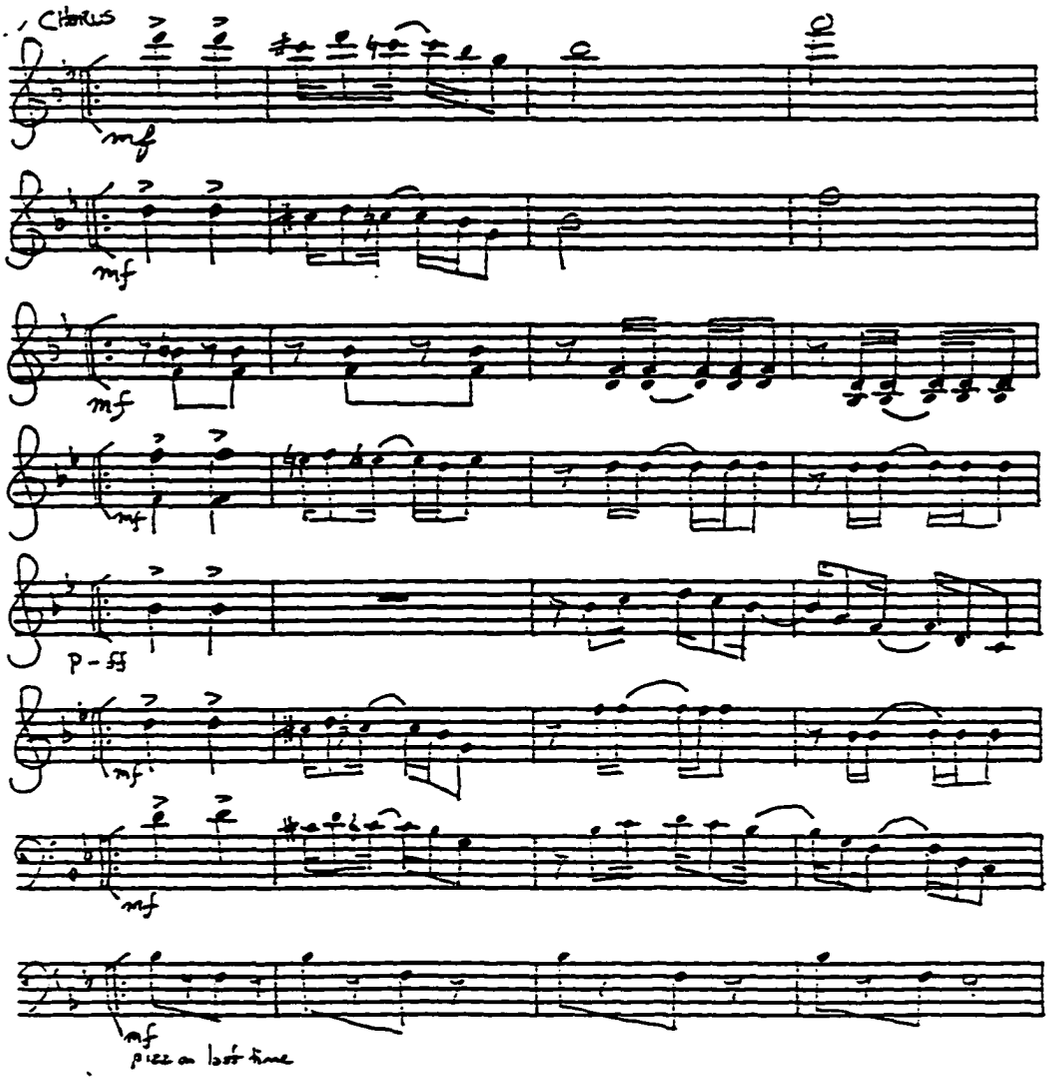


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
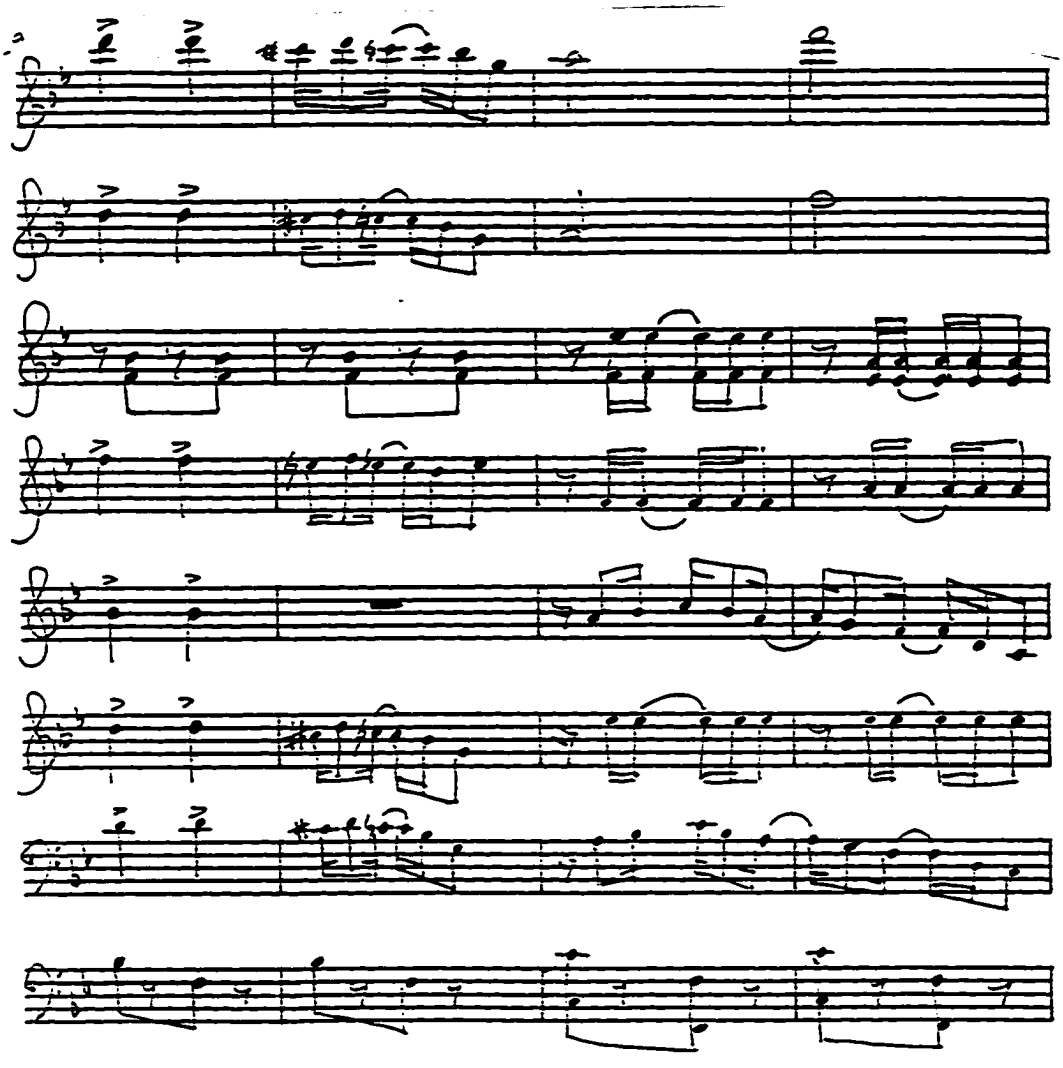


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
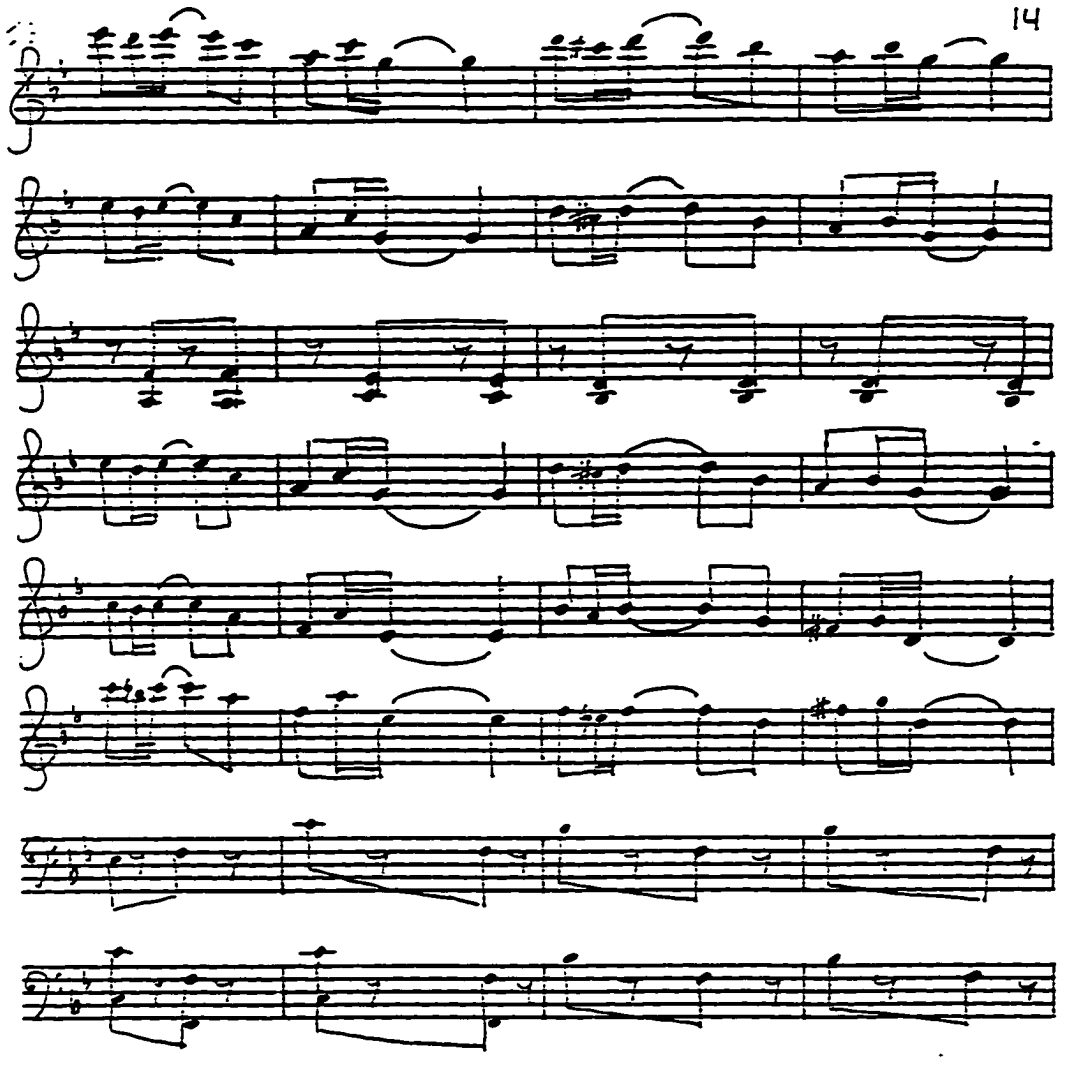


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
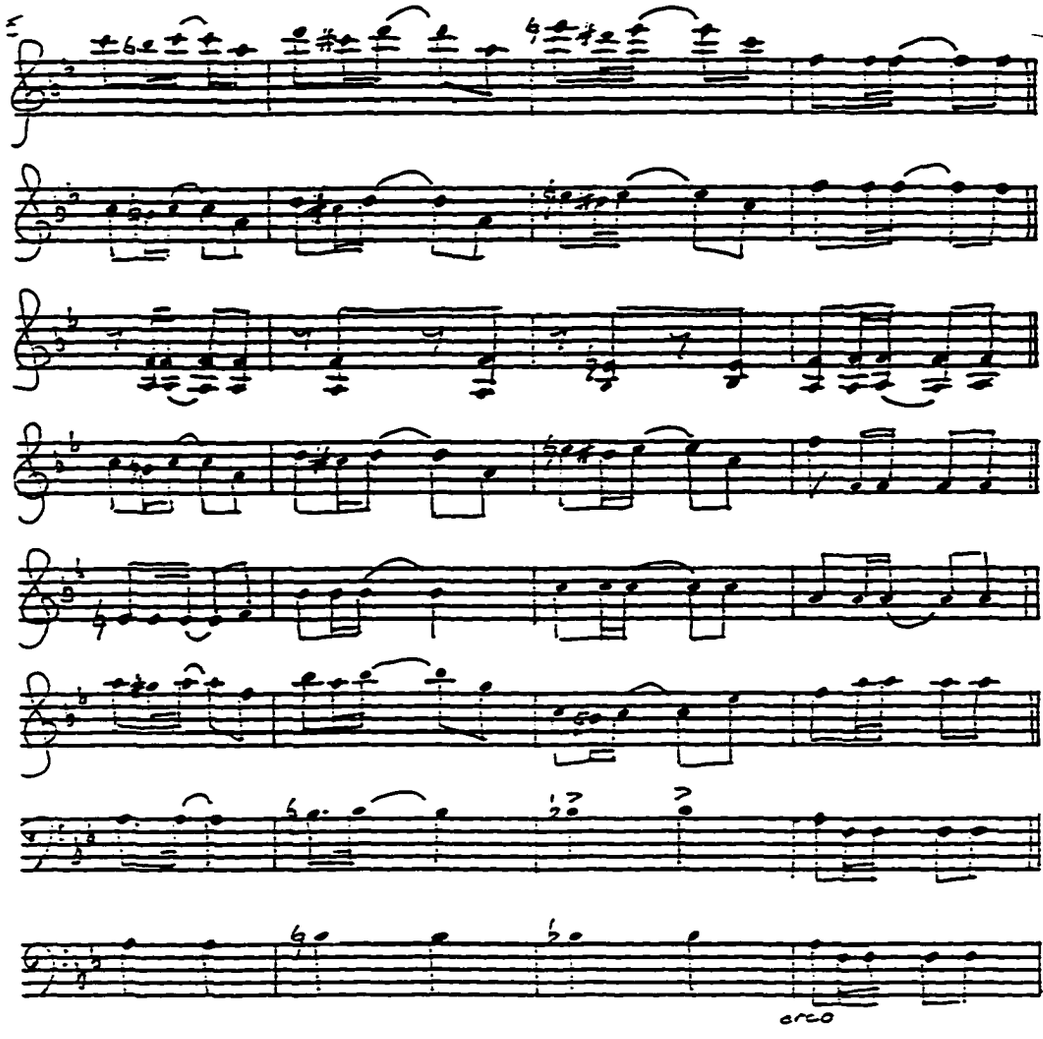


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
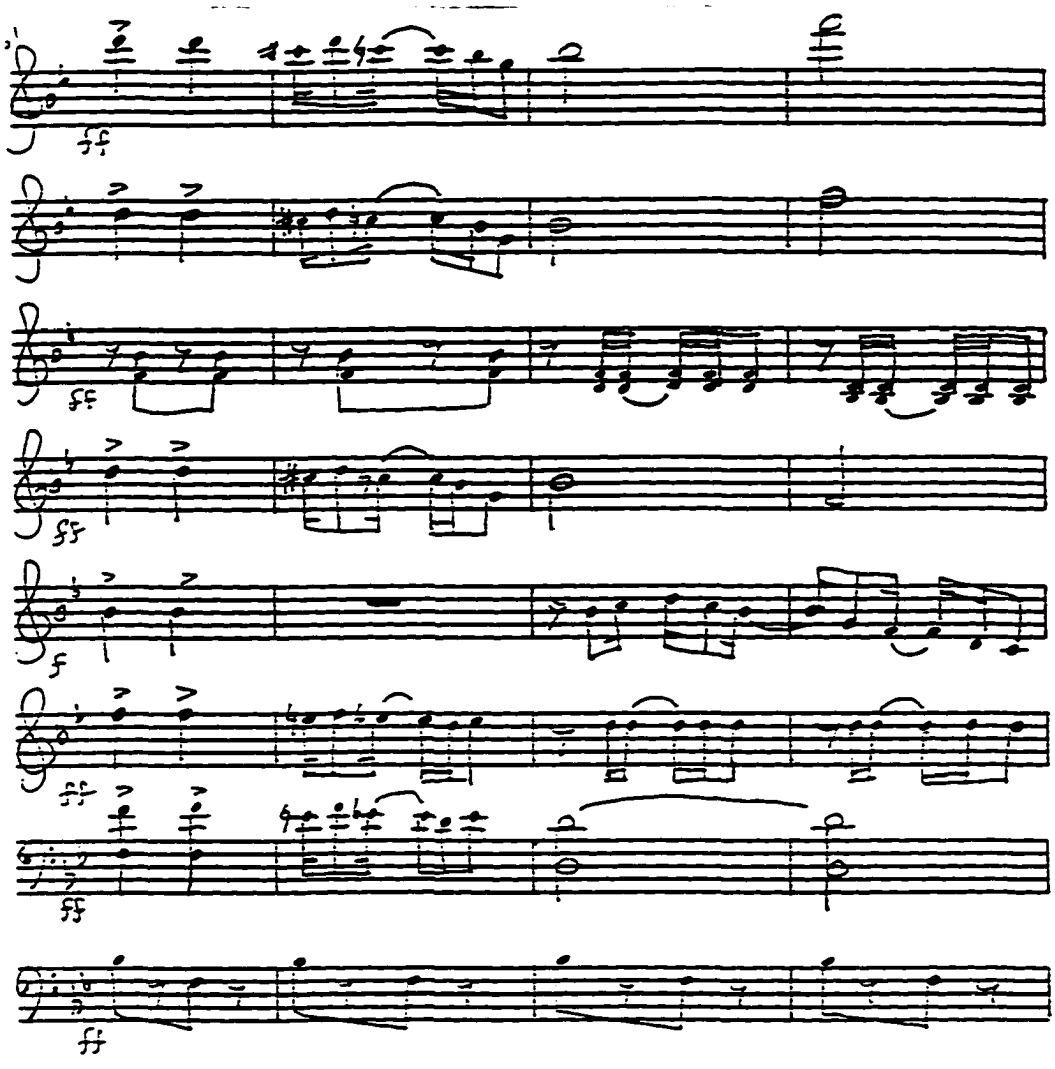


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
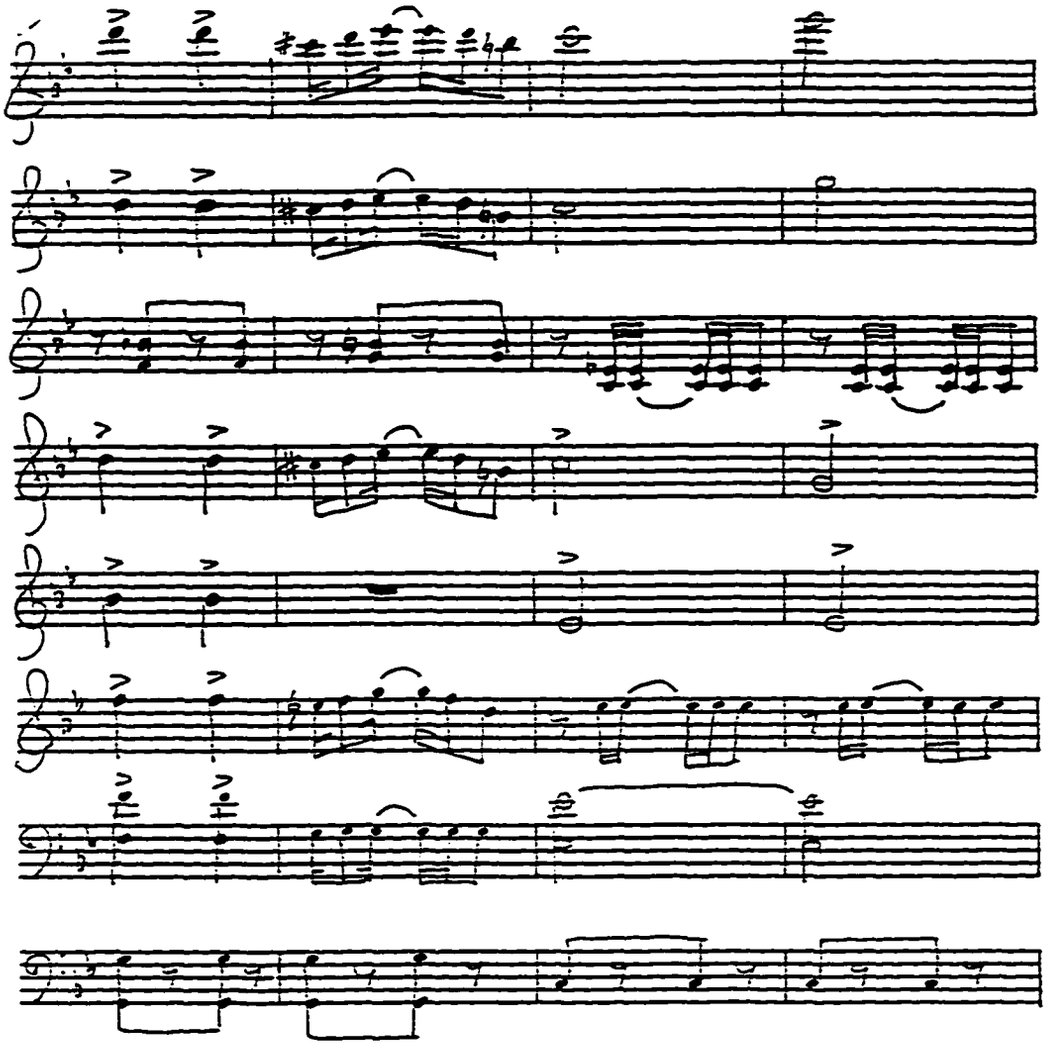


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
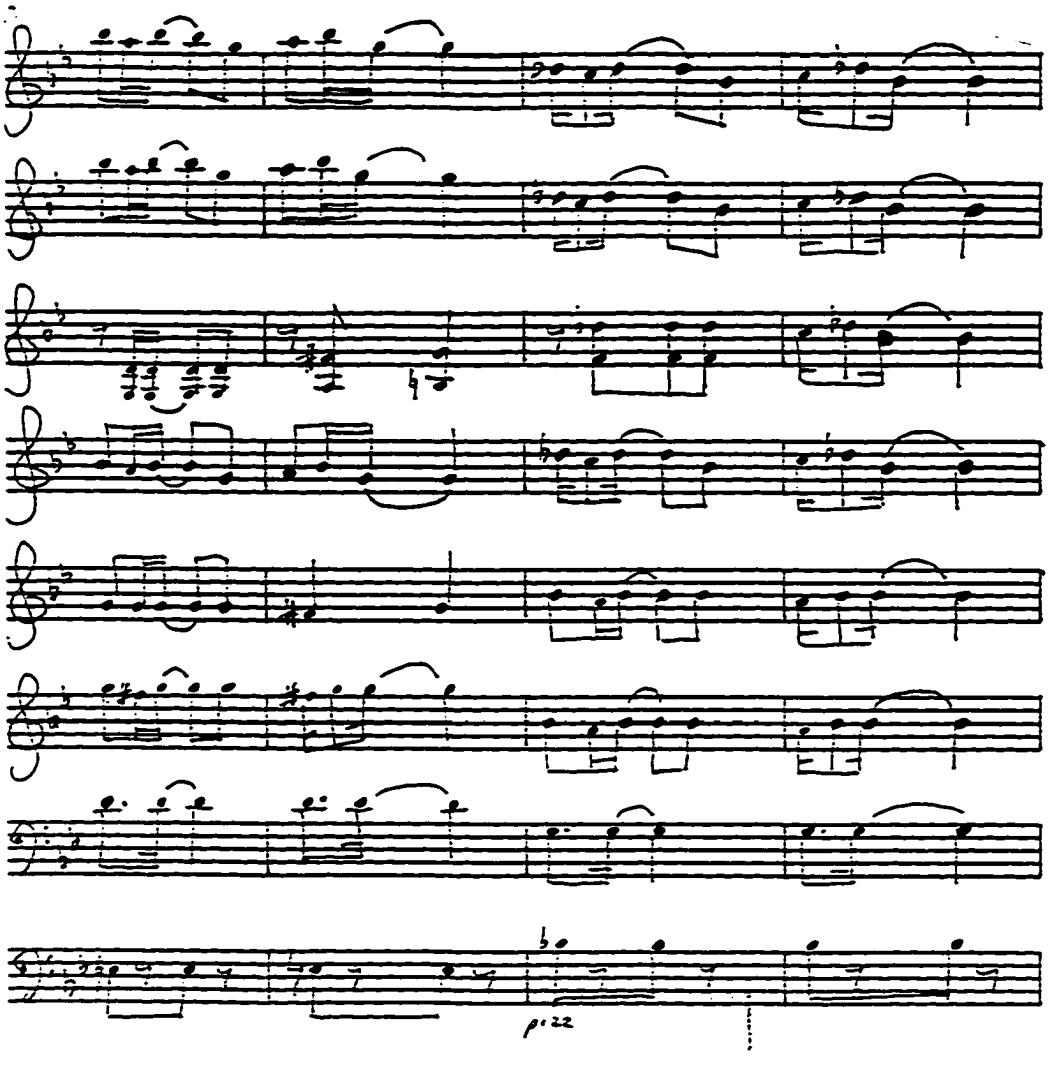


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
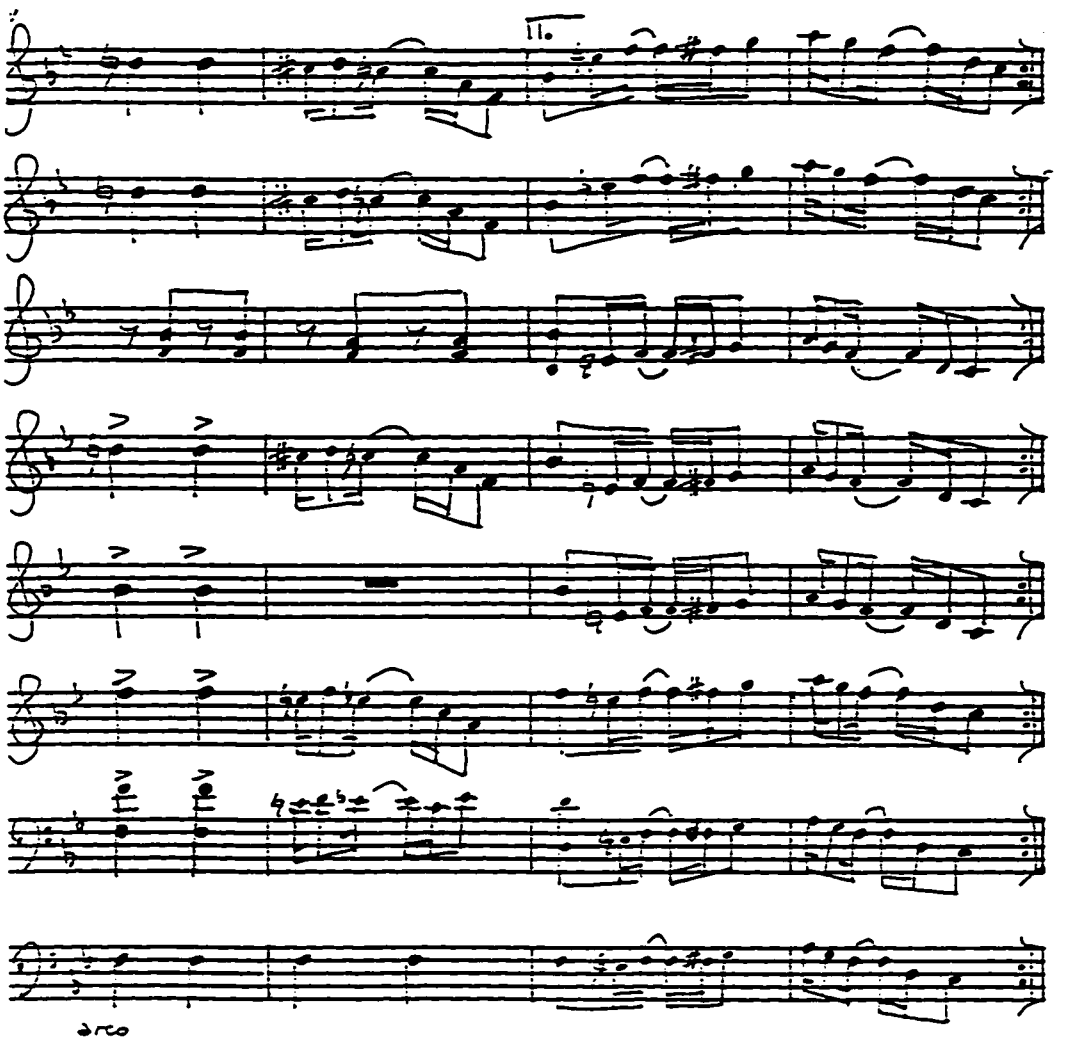


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
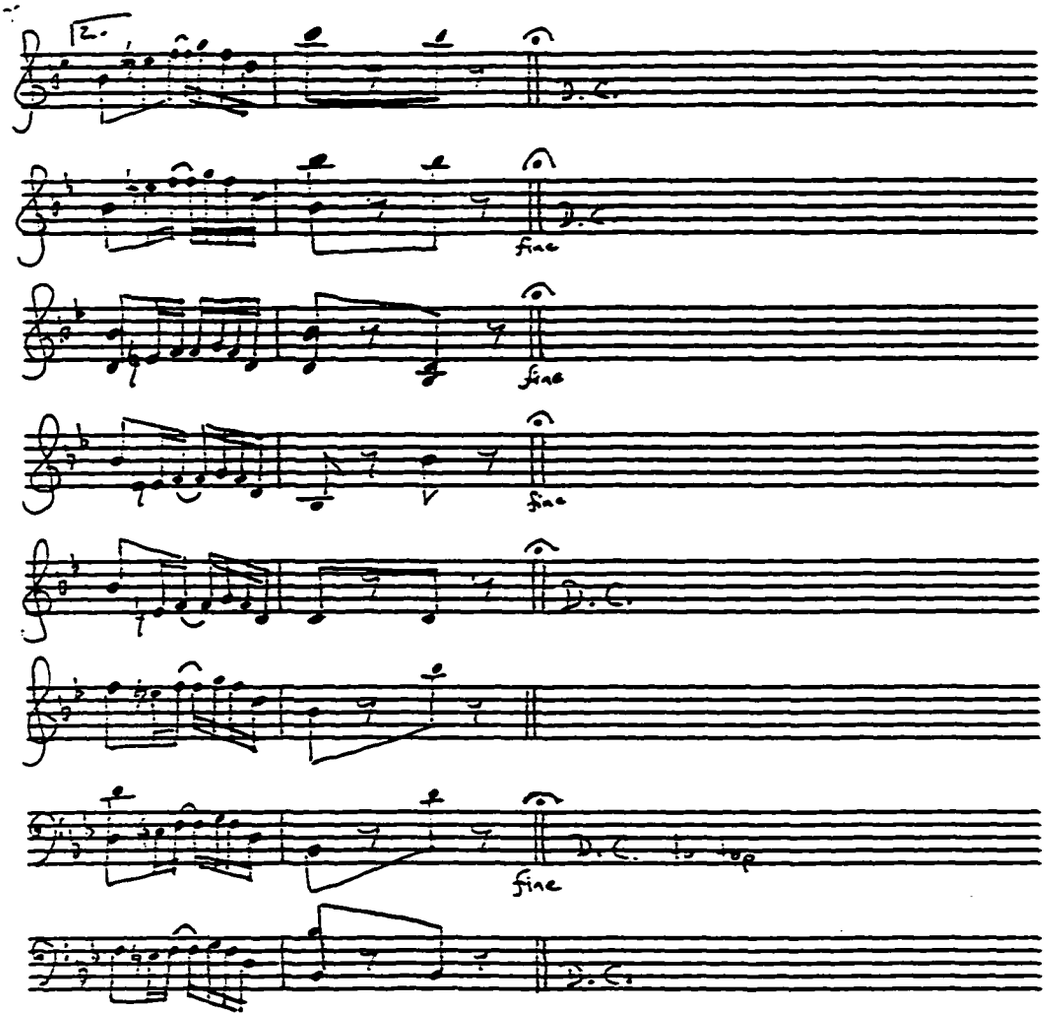


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
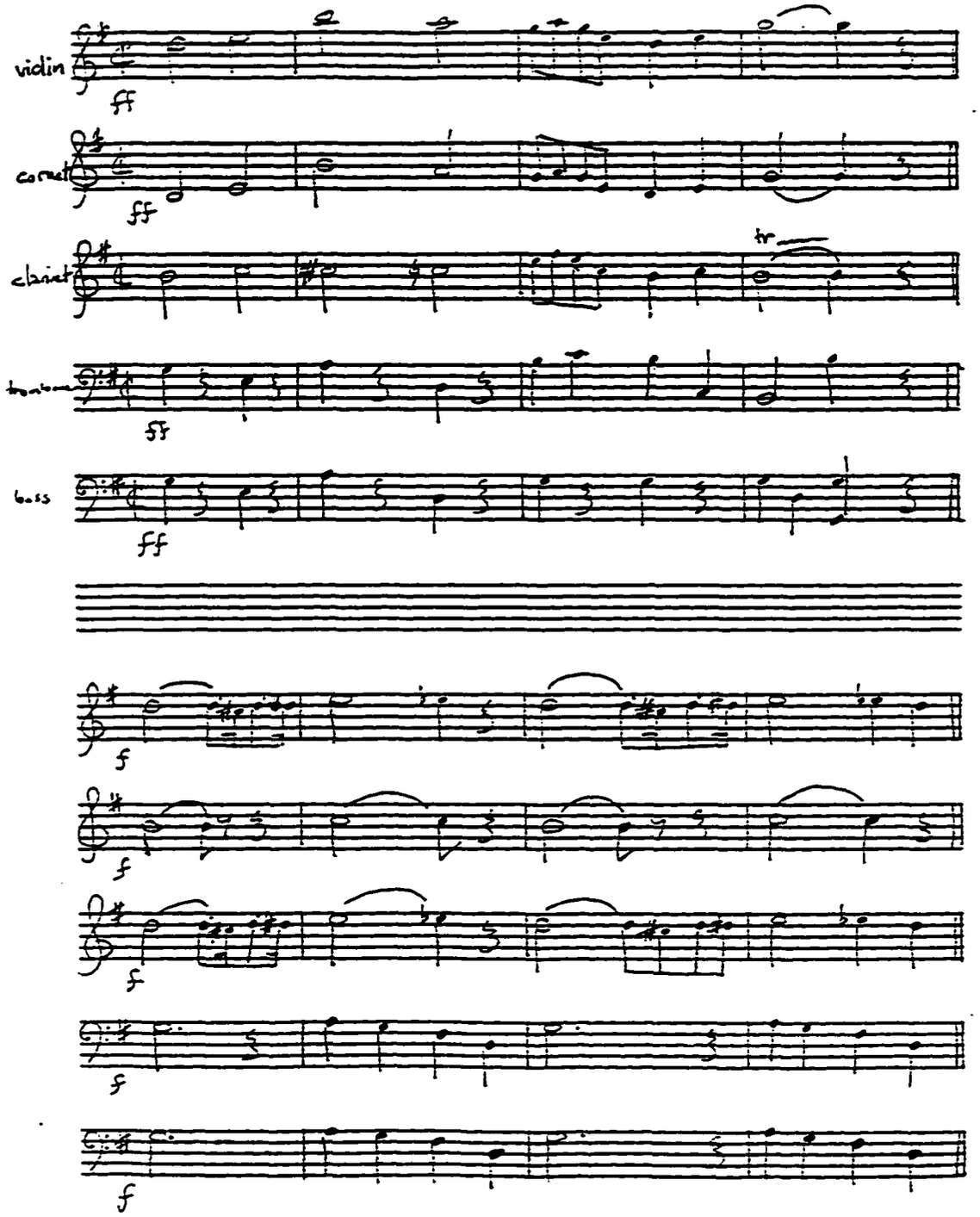


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
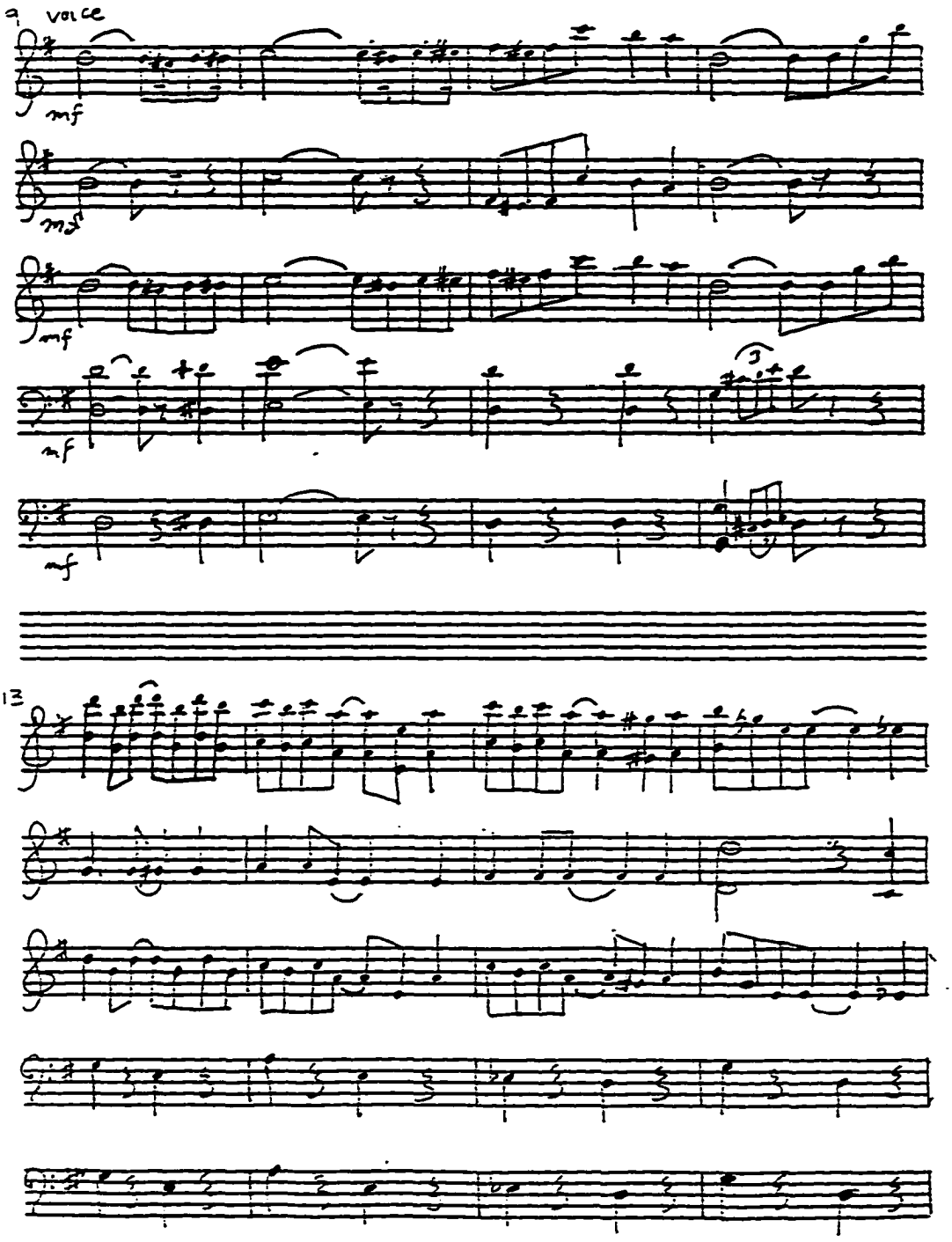


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
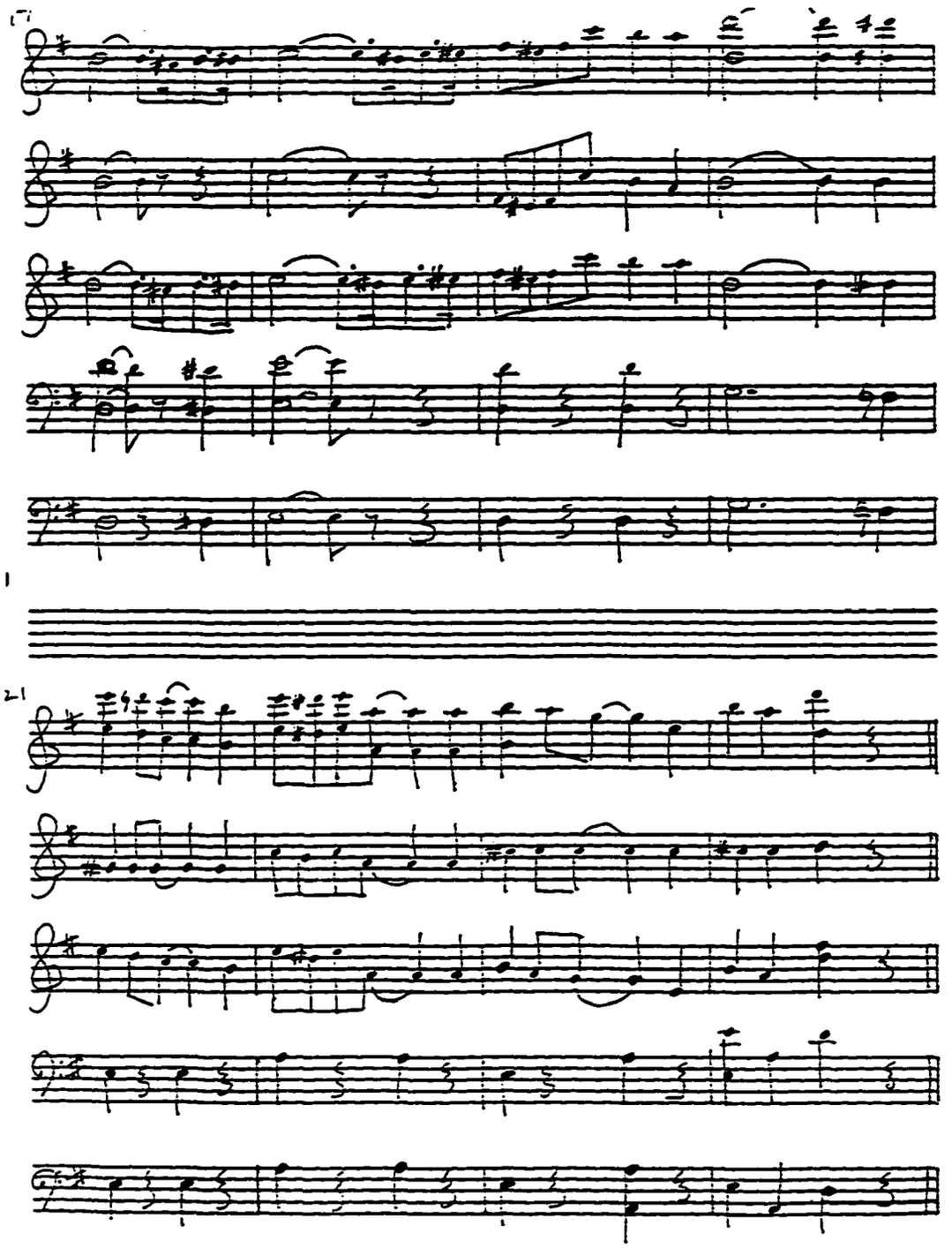
Teasing



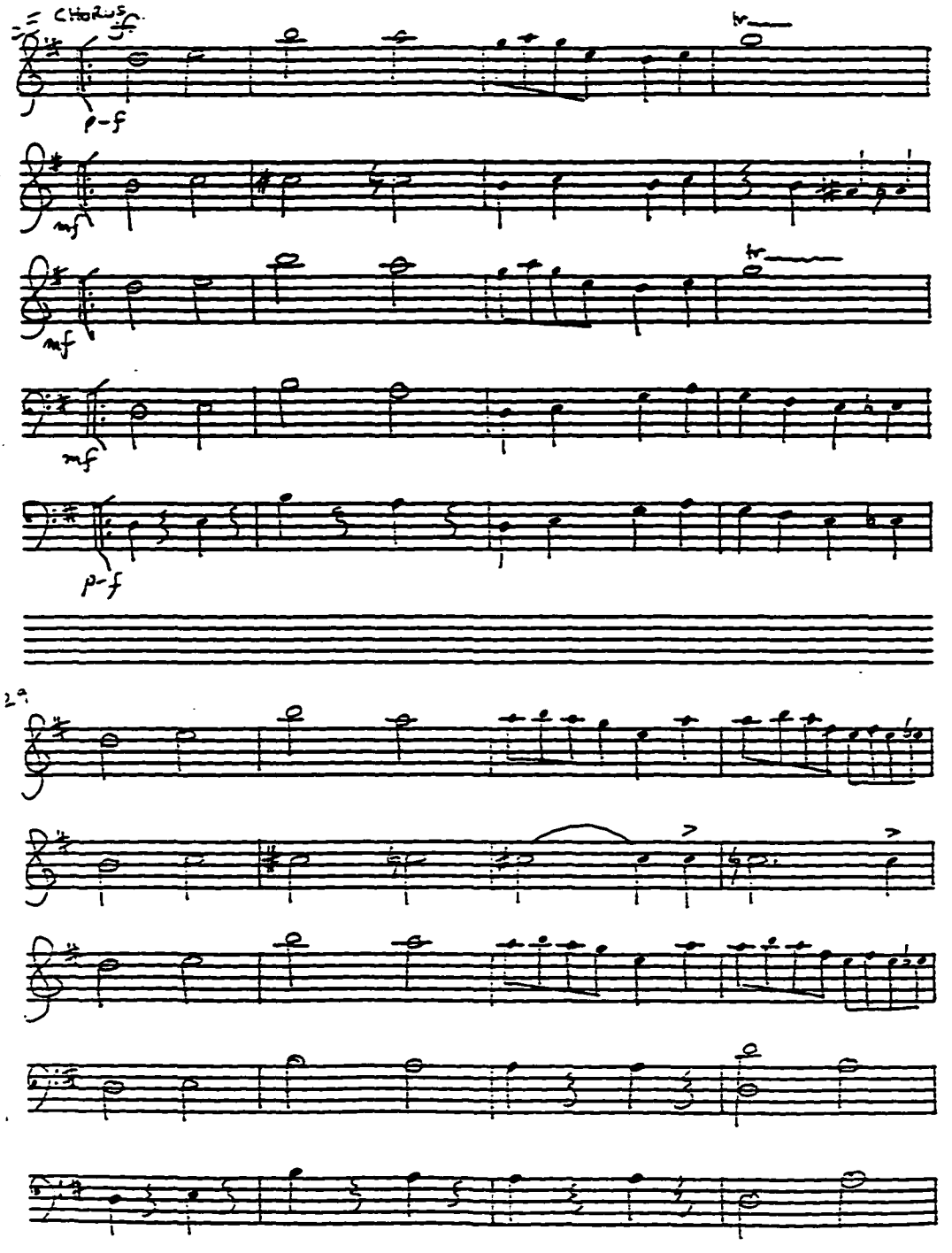
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
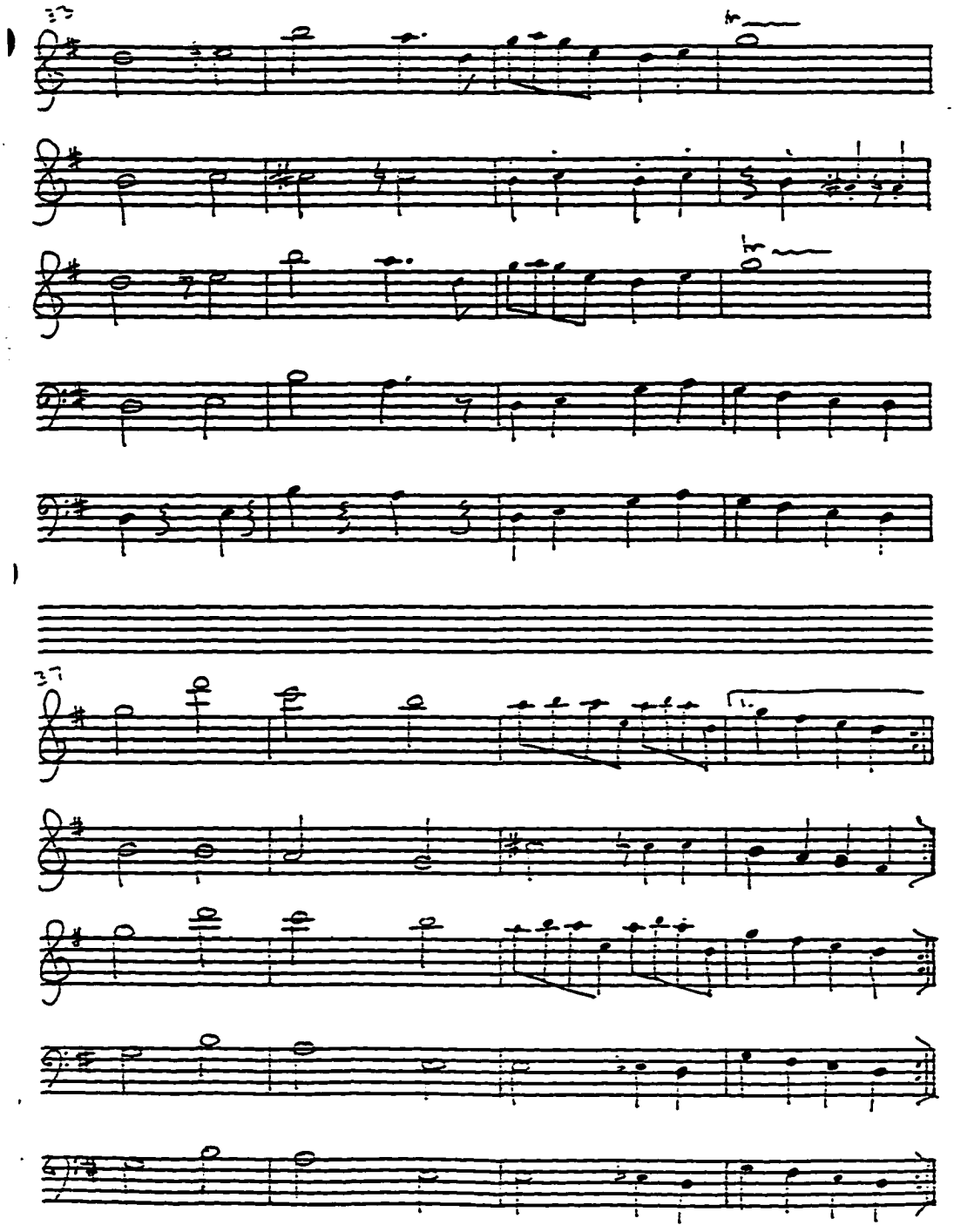


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



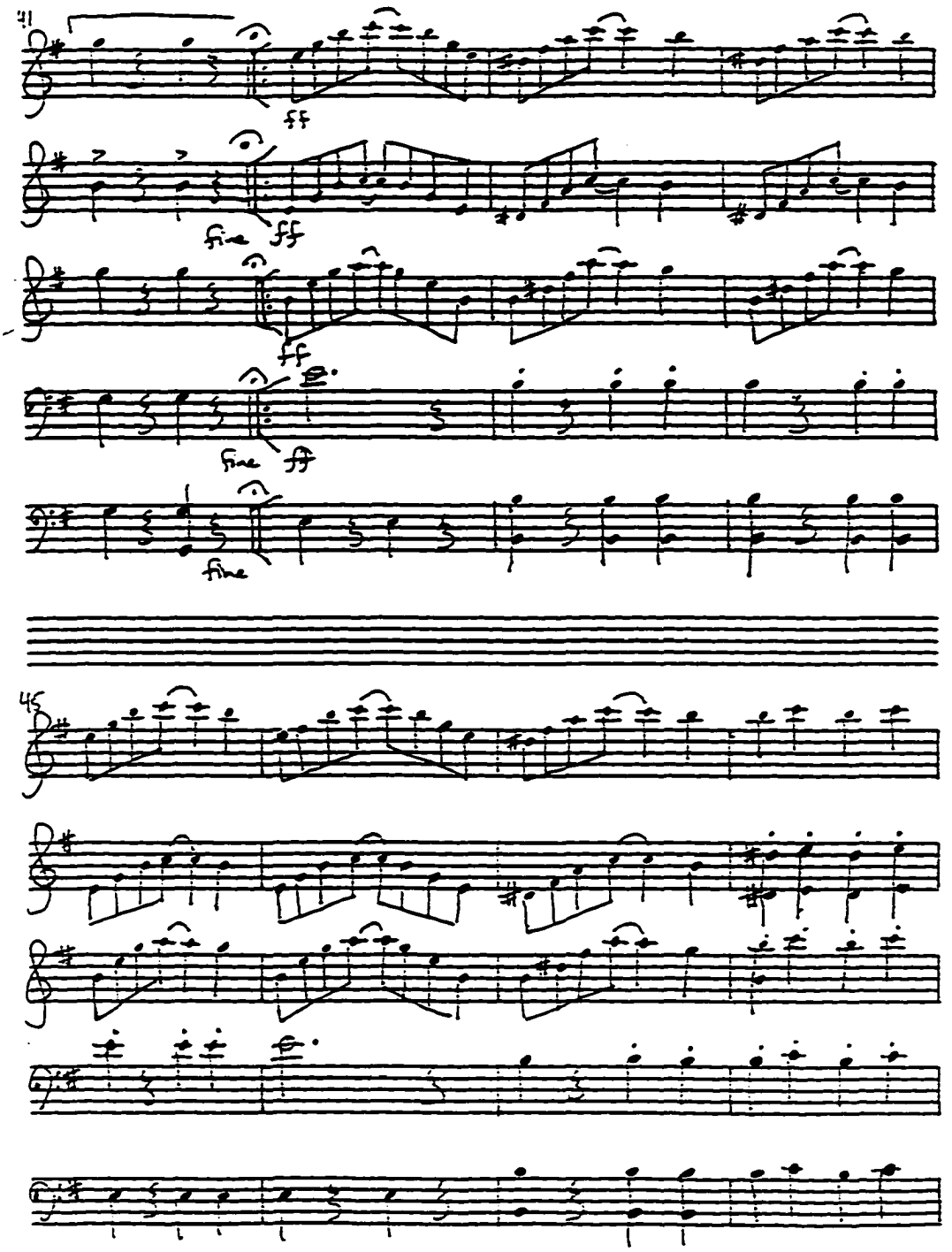
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
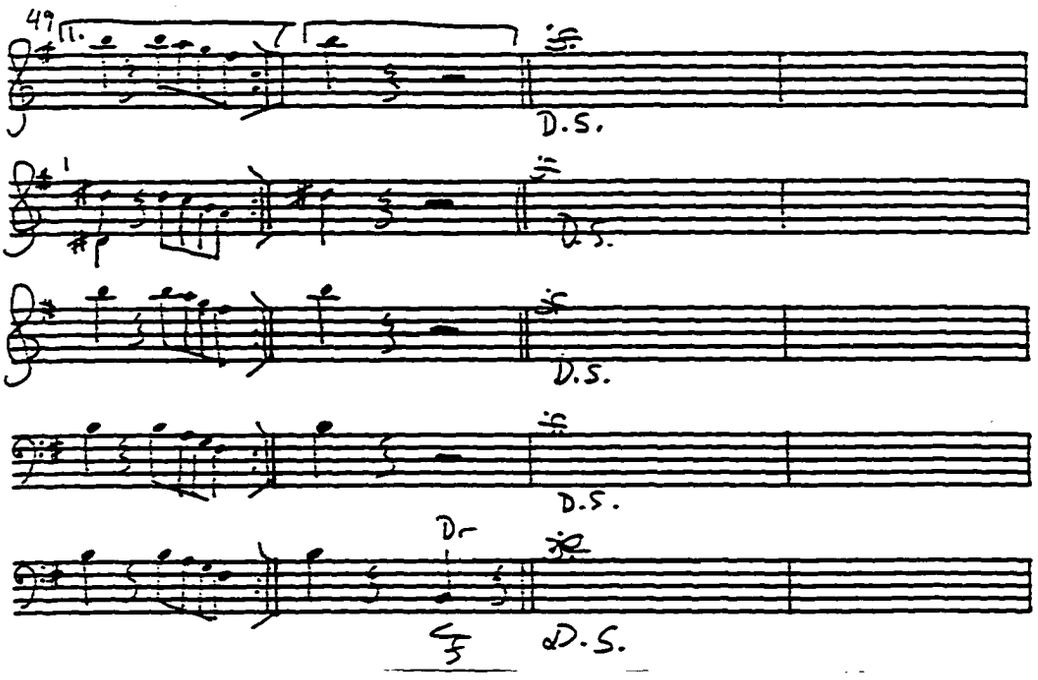


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
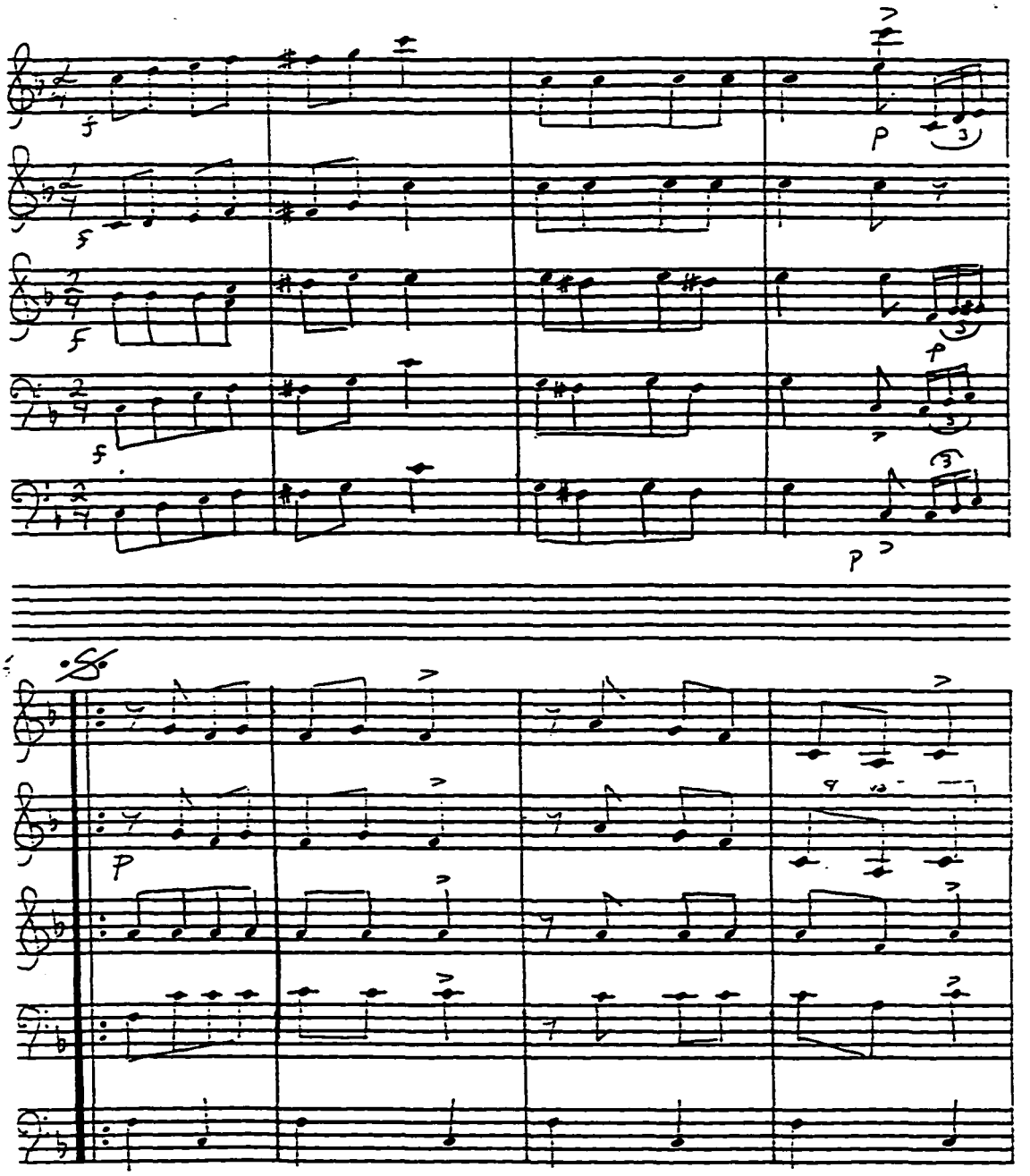


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
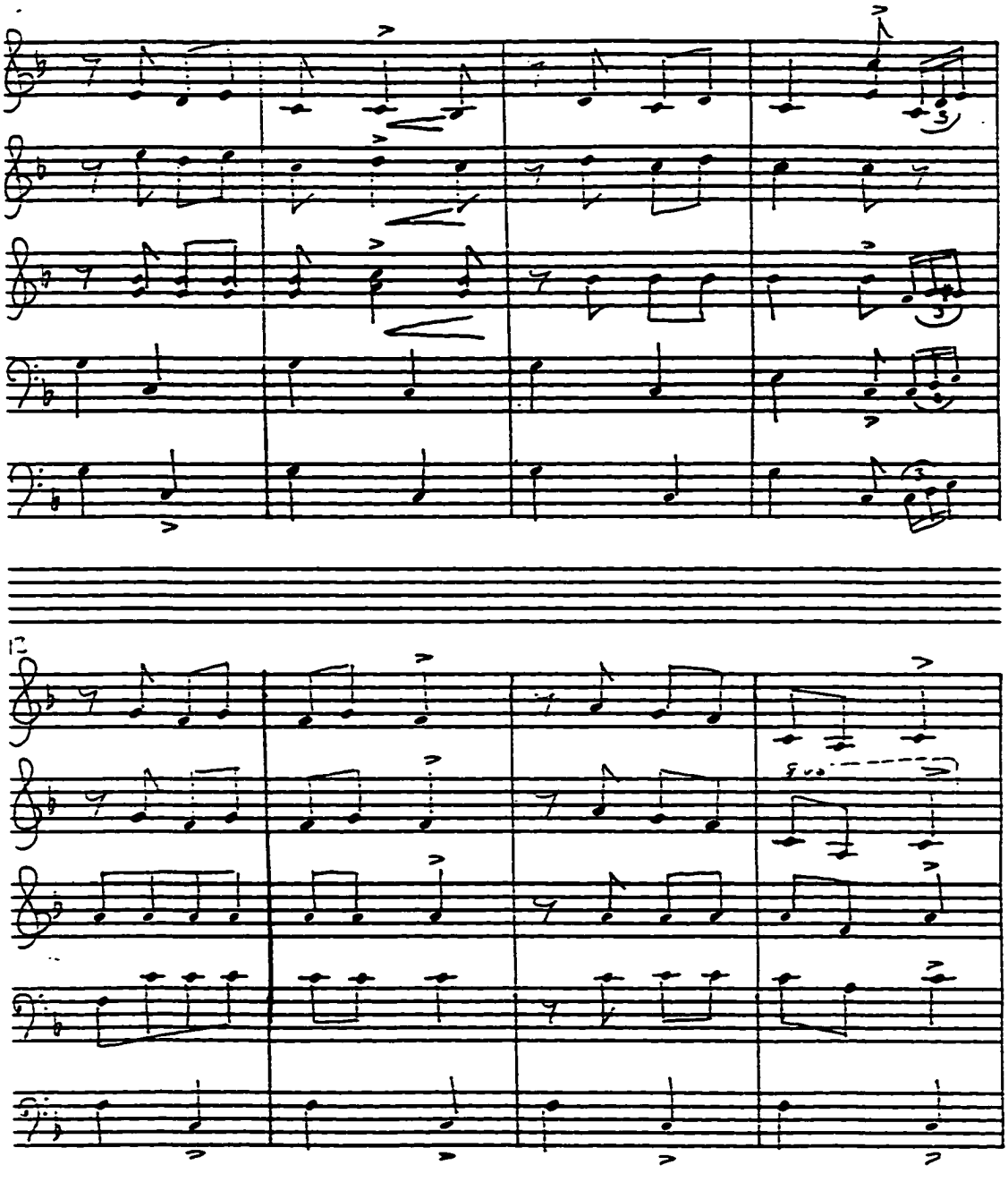


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
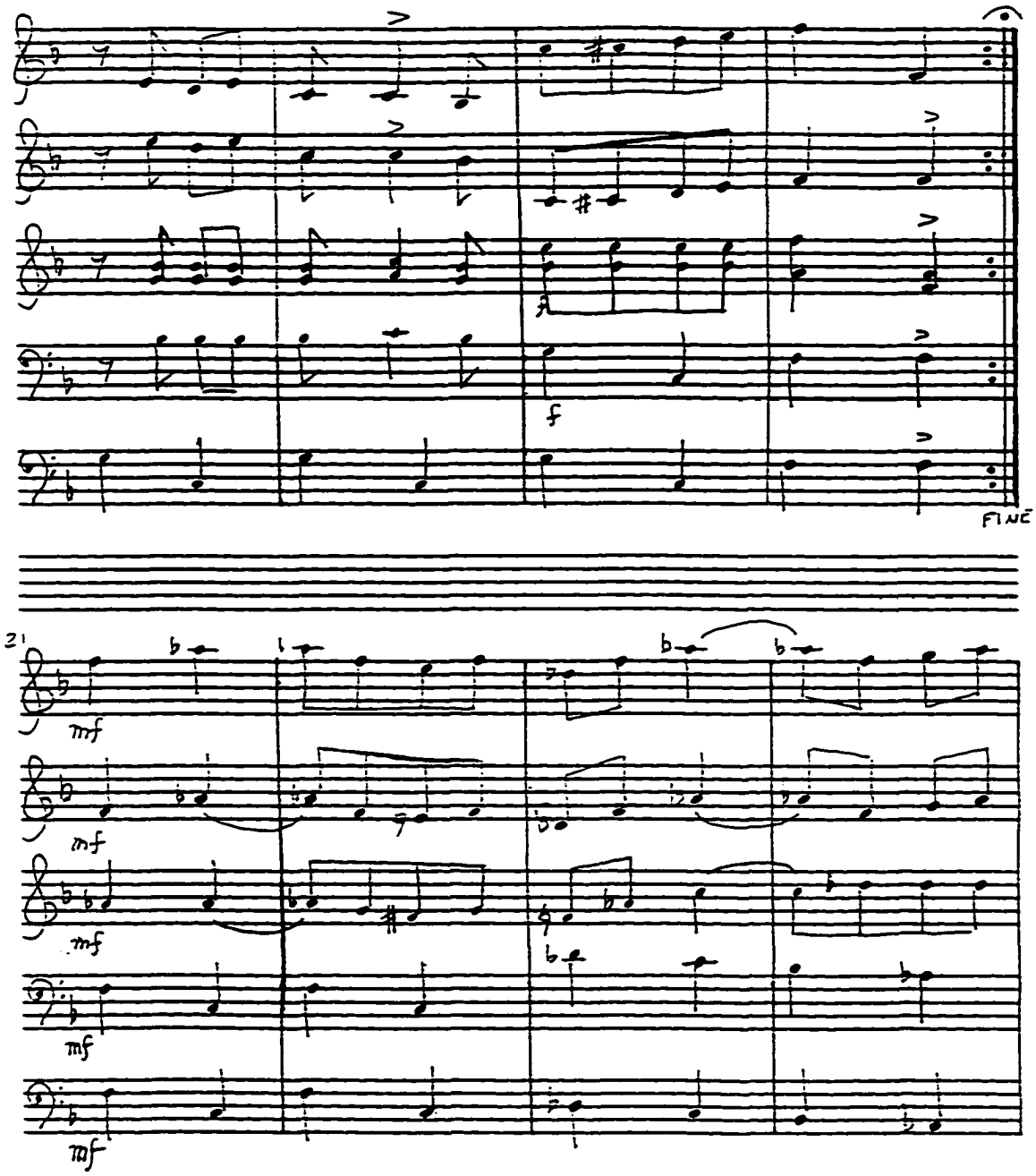
Too Much Mustard
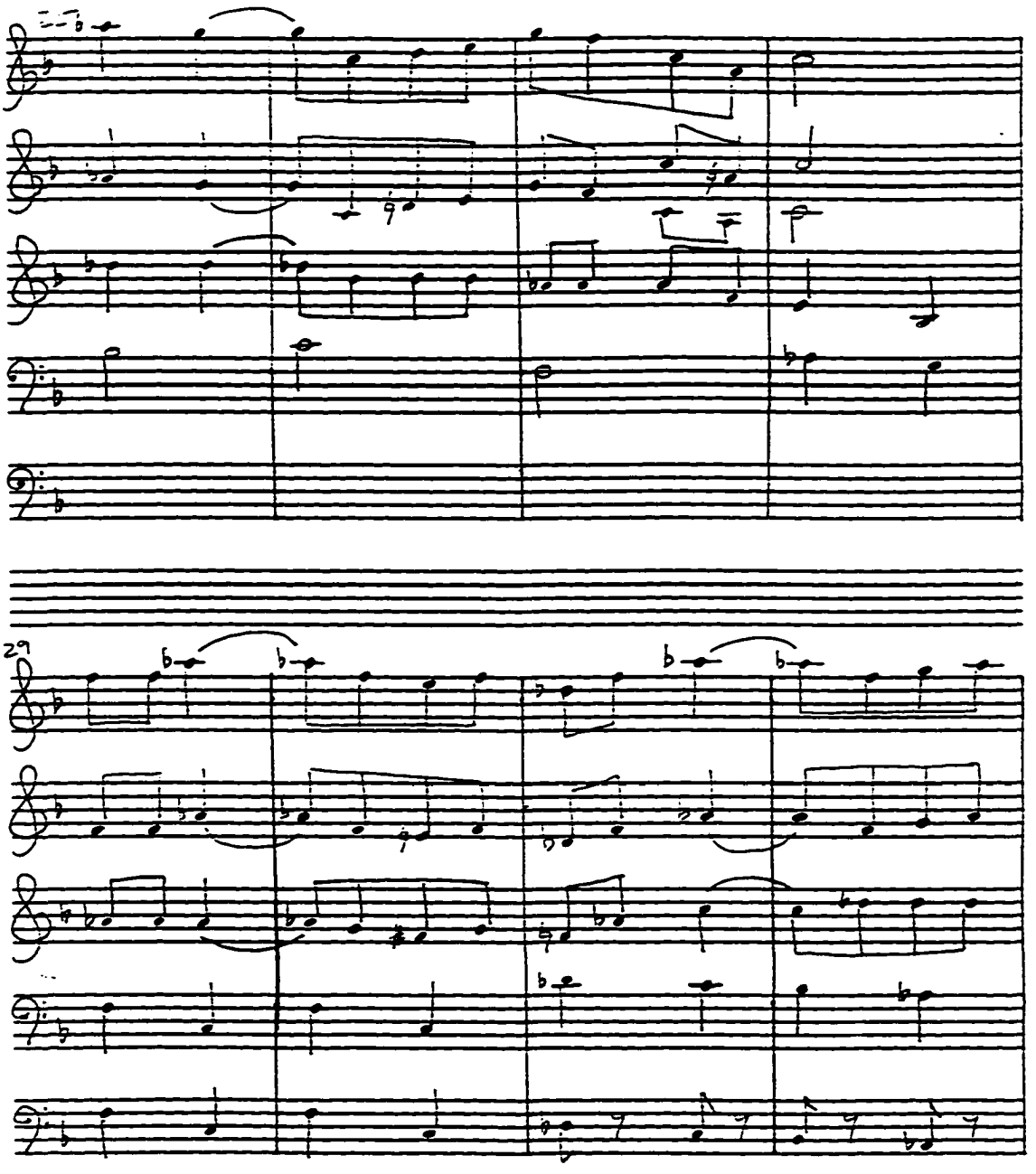


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
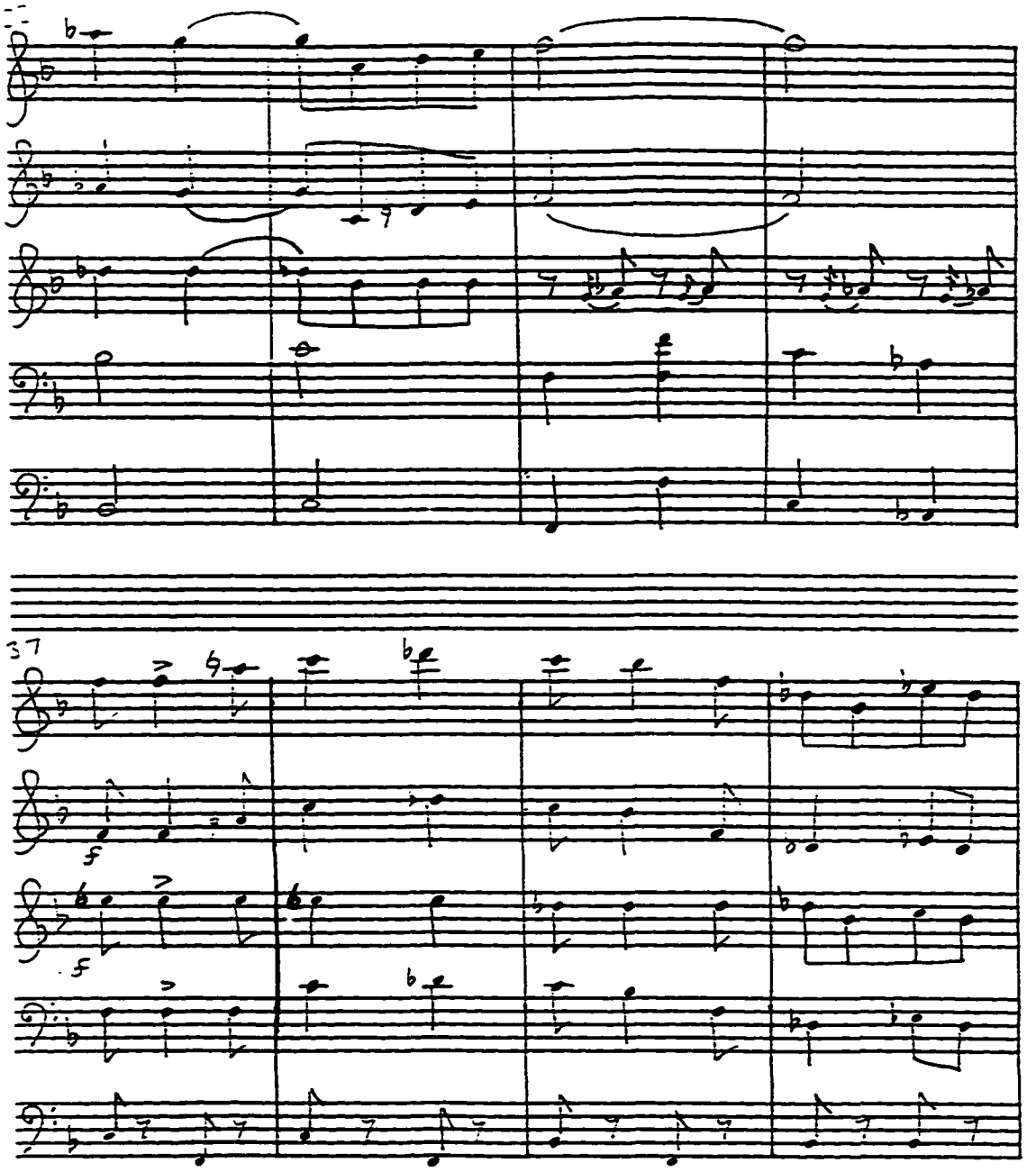


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
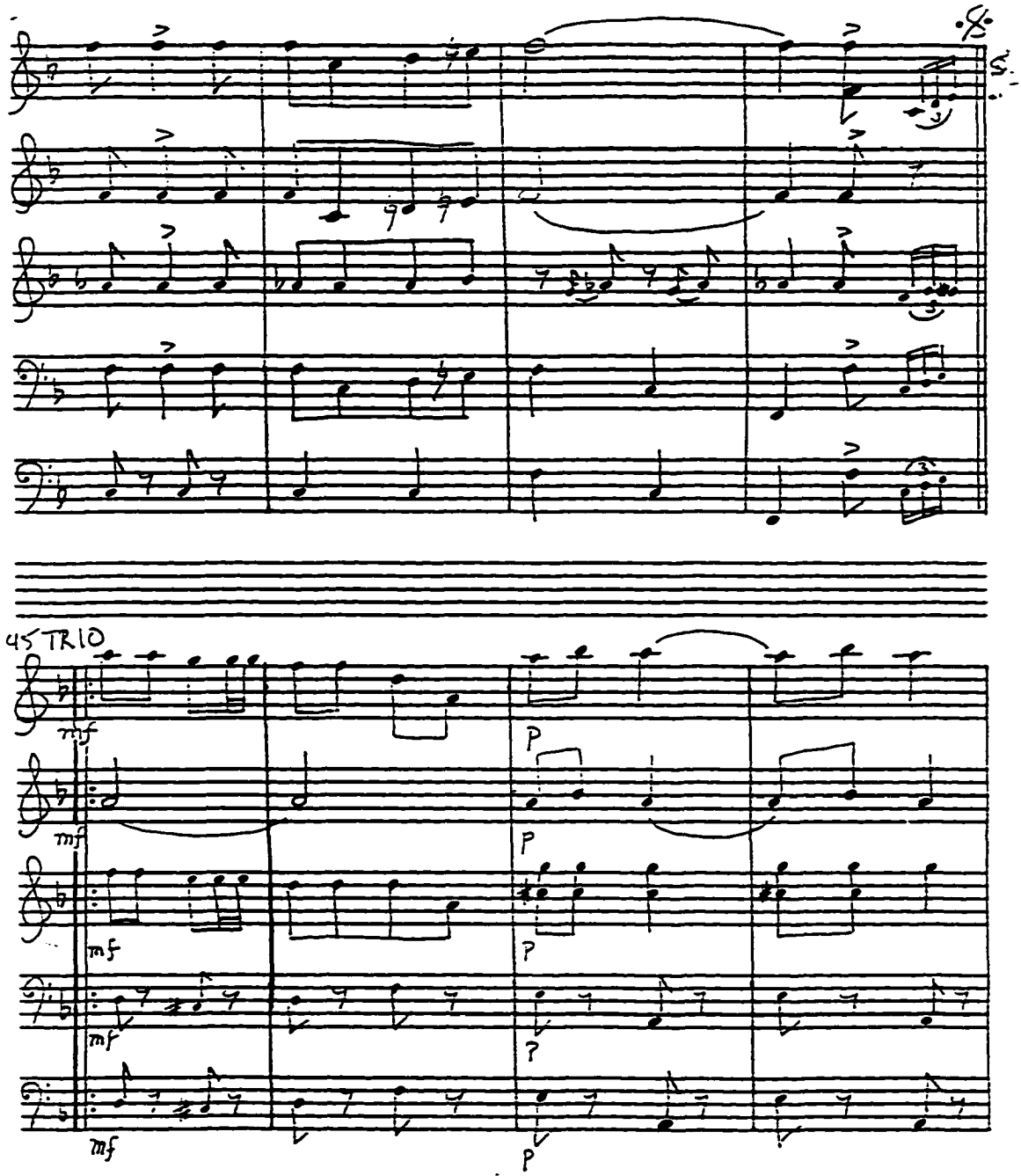


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
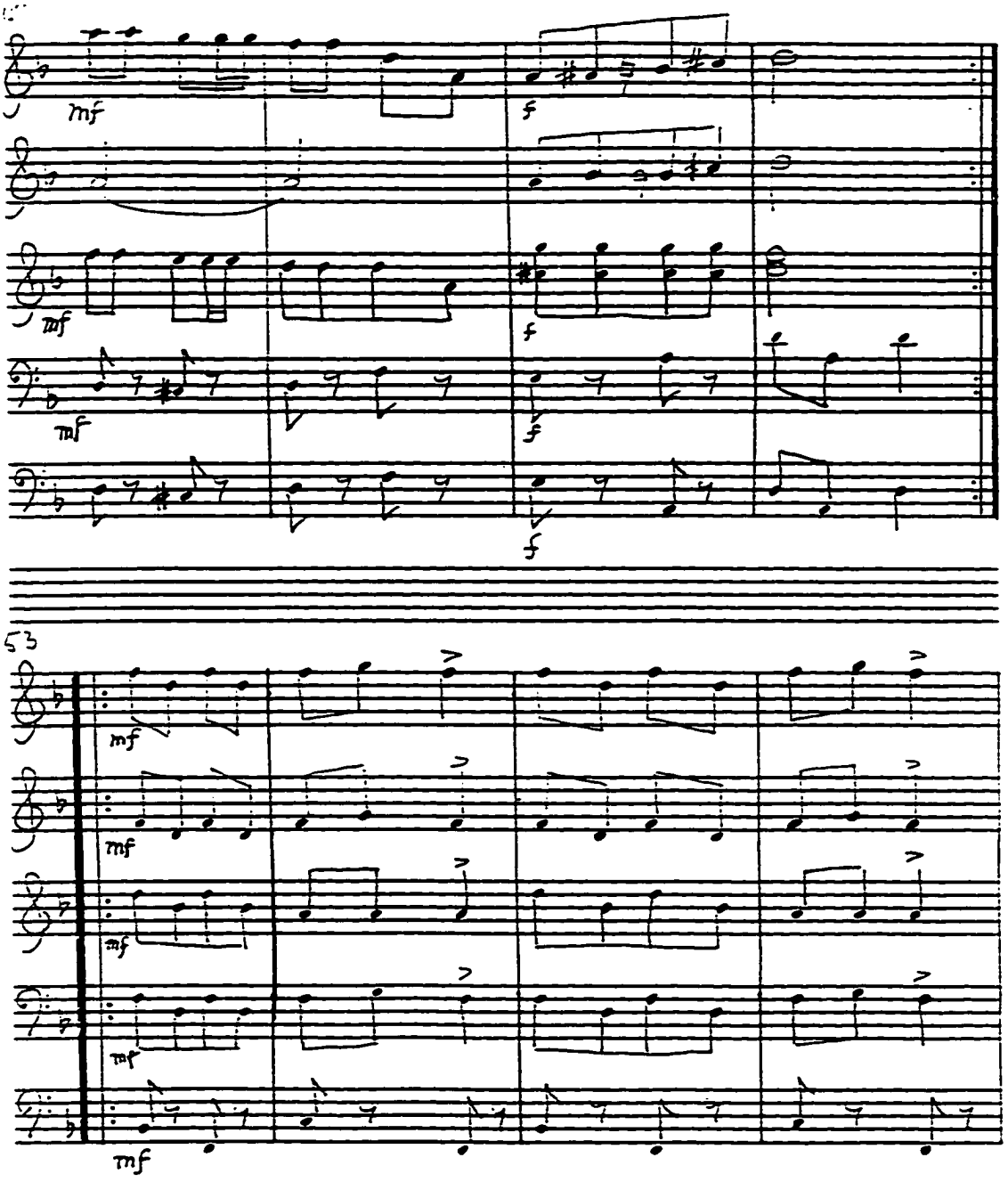


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
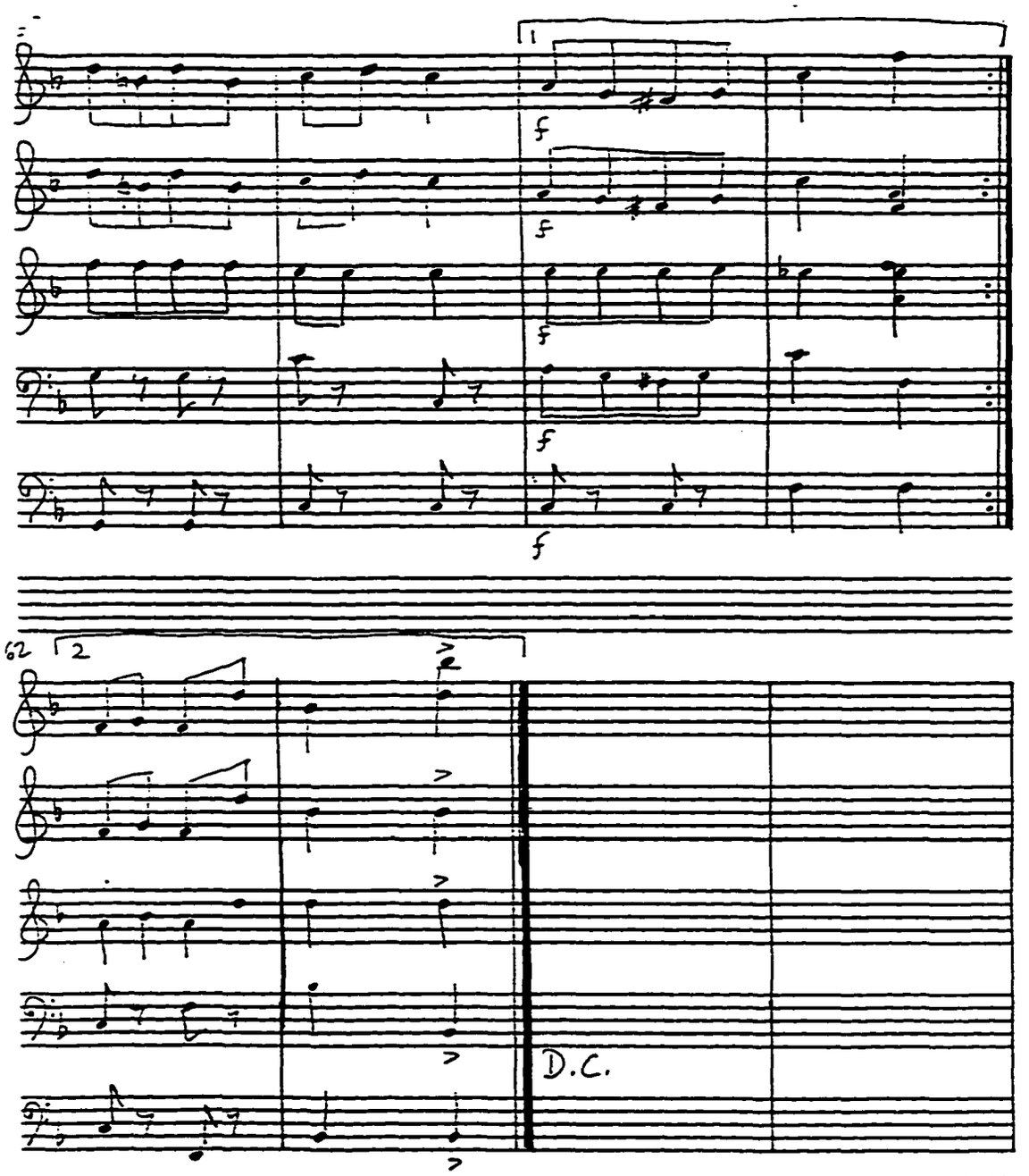


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX C

STOCK ARRANGEMENTS AND RECORDINGS CONSULTED FOR CHAPTER V

The choice of stock arrangements found in this appendix is not arbitrary. The pieces come from the private collection of the author. The pieces are listed in alphabetical order by song title. Information is included on name of composer and lyricist, arranger, publisher, and publisher's address, and copyright date if known. Following each entry is a list of the recordings that were studied. This list was compiled from the 5th edition of Brian Rust's Jazz Records: 1897-1942. Each entry lists the recording date, title of group that made the recording, city of recording, record label and issue number. The primary source for locating recorded versions of these songs was the recording collection at the Institute of Jazz Studies in Newark, NJ. Additional recordings came from my own collection. Finally, some of the listings include brief annotations. These were initially research notes that were retained. It is believed that some of these comments could serve as markers to a reader interested in issues for further research.

BEAU KOO JACK
words by Walter Melrose, music by Alex Hill and Louis Armstrong, arr by Donald Redman; orch. c. Nov. 27, 1928; 2c. Dec. 10; E-Pub. 1322; Melrose Bros. music, Chicago

1) Dec. 5, 1928, Armstrong and Savoy Ballroom Five, Chicago, OKeh 8680. L.A. records this piece eight days after copyright is submitted and only five days before

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

published version was received for copyright in D.C.

CAFE CAPERS
by Mel Stitzel
Melrose Bros. Music Co., Chicago, copyright Mar. 2, 1926
E634856

1) Sept. 17, 1926 Elgar's Creole Orchestra, Chicago, Vocalion 15477

2) The Jazz Kings (Berlin) August/Oct. 1927 Tri-Ergon TE5057

FRANKIE AND JOHNNY
By Leighton Bros. and Ben Shields
Frankie and Johnny (You'll Miss Me in the Days to Come) Fox trot blues, Orch by Lee Terry; copyright 1922 by Tell Taylor Chicago, Ill. Copyright 1923 by Shapiro Bernstein and Co., Inc., cor Broadway and 47th St., New York

1) January 1923, Isham Jones and his Orchestra, New York, Brunswick 2423

2) c. February 1924, Harvey Brooks' Quality Four, Hollywood, Hollywood 1008

3) c. March 16, 1924, Fate Marable's Society Syncopators, New Orleans, OKeh 40113

HEEBIE JEEBIES
by Boyd Atkins and Richard M. Jones
Consolidated Music Publishing House, E. A. Fearn, Pres., 229 W. Washington Street, Chicago; copyright: Aug. 6, 1926, E645170; Fox Trot; Arr. Chas. L. Cooke

1) July 29, 1926, Ethel Waters, New York, Columbia 14153-D, 8928

2) c. September 13, 1926, Alberta Hunter (acc. by Perry Bradford's Mean Four), New York, OKeh 8383

3) October 1, 1926, Fess Williams and his Royal Flush Orchestra, New York, Vocalion 1054, Brunswick 3341, A-150

4) October, 1926, Original Indiana Five, New York, Bell 456 Dandy 5248
5) September 14, 1927, Marek Weber und Sein Orchester, Berlin, Electrola (Germany) EG-650

HOT NOTES
by Gene Rodemich and Tom Satterfield

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Melrose Bros. Music Company, Loop End Bldg., 177 No. State Street, Chicago, Ill., copyright: June 21, 1926, arr. Mel Stitzel

1) October 11, 1926, Savoy Bearcats, New York, Victor 20460

JACKASS BLUES
by Art Kassel and Mel Stitzel
Melrose Bros. Music Company, Chicago, copyright: May 3, 1926, E640595, arr. Mel Stitzel

1) April, 1926, Lovie Austin and her Serenaders, Chicago, Paramount 12361

2) April 7, 1926, Clarence Williams Stompers, New York, OKeh 40598

3) April 14, 1926, The Dixie Stompers (Fletcher Henderson and his Orchestra), New York, Harmony 166-H

4) April 23, 1926, King Oliver and his Dixie Syncopators, Chicago, Vocalion 1014, 15394

5) May 14, 1926, Fletcher Henderson and his Orchestra, New York, Columbia 654-D, 35669

6) June 29, 1926, Philip Spitalny and his Orchestra, New York, Victor 20108

7) July 13, 1926, Thomas Morris and his Seven Hot Babies, New York, Victor 20179

8) September 16, 1927, Alex Jackson's Plantation Orchestra, Richmond, Ind., Gennett 6249, Silvertone 5138

KING PORTER
copyright Dec. 6, 1924; 2c. Dec. 9; E603561; Melrose Bros. Music

1) c. December 1924, King Oliver and Jelly Roll Morton, Chicago, Autograph 617
2) Feb. 26, 1925, Lanin's Red Heads, New York Columbia, 327-D

3) March 1925, Charles Creath's Jazz-O-Maniacs, St. Louis, OKeh 8210

OH SISTER AIN'T THAT HOT
by Will Donaldson and Harry White
copyright 1923 by Stark and Cowan 234 W. 46th St., New York
arr. Ted Eastwood

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1) August 30, 1923, Charles Dornberger and his Orchestra, New York, Victor 19138

2) c. October 25, 1923, Original Memphis Five, New York, Banner 1282

3) January, 1924, Fletcher Henderson and his Orchestra, New York, Emerson 10713

4) August 25, 1928, Jimmie Noone, Chicago, Vocalion 1215

SATANIC BLUES
by Larry Shields and Emilie Christian
Leo Feist, Inc., Feist Building, New York, copyright: March 10, 1921, E501930, arr. Leroy Walker

1) c. January 24, 1922, Lanin's Southern Serenaders, New York, Emerson 10508, Regal 9191

SNAG IT
by Joe Oliver
Melrose Bros. Music Company, Loop End Bldg., 177 No. State Street, Chicago, Ill., copyright Sept. 7, 1926 E645909; arr. Mel Stitzel

1) January 20, 1927, The Dixie Stompers (Fletcher Henderson and his Orchestra), New York, Harmony 353-H

2) c. January, 1928, Arthur Briggs and his Savoy Syncopators Orchestra, Berlin, Deutsche Gramophone/Polydor 21130

3) January 22, 1930, Georgia Cotton Pickers, New York, Harmony 1127-H

4) April 30, 1930, Andy Kirk and his Twelve Clouds of Joy, Chicago, Brunswick 4878

STEADY ROLL BLUES
by Geo. Bates and Mel Stitzel
Melrose Bros. Music Co., Chicago, Ill., copyright March 30, 1925; E612506,arr. by Elmer Schoebel, Special Jazz Arrangement

1) February 25, 1924, The Bucktown Five, Richmond, Ind., Gennett 5419

2) September 29, 1925, Francis Craig and his Orchestra, Atlanta, Columbia 567-D

STOCKHOLM STOMP
by Jack Pettis and Al Goering
Robbins-Engel Inc., New York City; copyright Nov. 22, 1926,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

E651887, An original edition of Hot Dance Novelties, arr. Al Goering, #PO 30

1) c. December 16, 1926, Jack Pettis and his Band, New York, Banner 1907

2) December 25, 1926, Original Indiana Five, New York, Harmony 387-H

3) January 22, 1927, Fletcher Henderson and his Orchestra), New York, Brunswick 3460

29th AND DEARBORN
by Richard M. Jones
by Richard M. Jones, The Jazz Wizard, Melrose Bros. Music Co., Chicago, Ill., no piano part with my copy, Copyright: Oct. 21, 1925 E626232; Special Jazz Arrangement, arr. Elmer Schoebel

1) November 6, 1925, Richard M. Jones' Three Jazz Wizards, Chicago, OKeh 8260

2) March 10, 1926, [Luis] Russell's Hot Six, Chicago, Vocalion 1010

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX D

STRUCTURAL CHARTS OF STOCK ARRANGEMENTS AND RECORDINGS ANALYZED FOR CHAPTER V

This appendix includes structural charts for the stock arrangements and recordings analyzed and compared in Chapter V. In order to avoid redundancy most publishing and discographic information has not been included in this section. Complete publishing and discographic information for every entry has been included in Appendix 3. While the level of detail and description may vary from entry to entry, each structural chart presents a basic formal outline and account of the music events of the stock arrangement or recorded performance. The idea behind such a structure is to create a uniform field for comparative analysis. In the end this makes the comparison process easier not only for the musicologist but also, for example, for a social scientist with a serious musical interest. Where relevant, some research notes have been left in the analysis as a guide for the reader who is curious about how this author drew some of his conclusions.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Beau Koo Jack
Stock Arrangement

Introduction: ensemble 8 bars
A 16 bars melody call and response tpts w/saxes accomp. by ens.
B 16 bars sax has solo melody alternating w/ens.
C 4 bar interlude, brass has melody
D 30 bars alternating breaks and ens. passages
    2 bars ens.
    2 bars alto sax break
    2 bars ens.
    2 bars alto sax break
    6 bars sax w/ens.
    2 bars tpt and trombone break
    2 bars ens.
    2 bars piano break
    2 bars ens.
    2 bars piano break
    6 bars ens. w/sax lead
E 2 bar brass lead interlude
F 30+2 bars and 30 bars, a repeated section for vocal chorus and soloing, Louis Armstong's solo is written out on second system
G 4 bar break, essentially the last two bars of F with a two bar transition to H sax are alone
H 36 bars out chorus begins w/ensemble section, trumpet takes lead but ensemble is all part of it

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Beau Koo Jack
Louis Armstrong and Savoy Ballroom Five

formally this is a fairly straight reading of the arrangement as appears on the stock

Introduction: ensemble 8 bars

A 16 bars melody call and response tpts w/saxes accomp. by ens., Louis changes his line to make a perfect match with sax part (the line moves between g and e, his line goes between B-flat and G and includes the passing tone)

B 16 bars sax has solo melody alternating w/ens., Redman improvises a different part than that on the score for the solo sections

C 4 bar interlude, trumpet has melody, Redman fills for last two bars

D 30 bars alternating breaks and ens. passages
2 bars ens.
2 bars alto sax break, not what is written
2 bars ens.
2 bars alto sax break, not what is written
6 bars sax w/ens.
2 bars trombone break (no tpt), not what is written
2 bars ens.
2 bars piano break, not what is written (Piano part specifically states "ad lib."
2 bars ens.
2 bars piano break, not what is written
6 bars ens. w/sax lead

E 2 bar brass lead interlude

F solos, 1st Alto sax solo, 16 bars, 2nd piano solo 16 bars. Trumpet solo 30 bars w/harmony lines for horns not on stock

G 4 bar break, essentially the last two bars of F with a two bar transition to H alto sax solo

H 36 bars out chorus begins w/ensemble section, trumpet takes lead but ensemble is all part of it, essentially played as written

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Cafe Capers
Stock Arrangement

Key A-flat, modulates to D-flat

Introduction 8 bars

A1 16 bars, cnts have melody, saxes support, repeat sign

A2 16 bars, some lines are a bit different between 1st and 2nd time through, saxes also play the melody, break on last bar, saxes have the break

B1 24 bars (repeat sign) breaks at m. 4 and m. 16
saxes 4 bars
cnts 8 bars, everyone in for last two bars crescendo
saxes 4 bars
cnts 8 bars, everyone together for last two bars

B2 24 bars
saxes 4 bars, tbone added
cnts 8 bars, tbone added
saxes 4 bars tbone added
cnts 8 bars, tbone added, everyone together for las two bars

C 16 bars, return to melody from A, as first time through, last four bars are a bit more cadential

Interlude 4 bar modulation to D-flat, ens.

Trio

D 16 bars, trombone melody, others support

E 16 bars, saxes have melody, others accomp. cnts have break at mm. 7-8, then saxes again, everyone toegher at mm. 15-16
6 bars saxes
2 bars cnts
6 bars saxes
2 bars ens.

F 16 bars, piano solo, everyone in on last bar

G 16 bars, counter melodies between brass and winds

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Cafe Capers
Elgar's Creole Orchestra
very "straight" reading except for letter D and last section

Introduction 8 bars

A1 16 bars, cnts have melody, saxes support, repeat sign

A2 16 bars, some lines are a bit different between 1st and 2nd time through, saxes are in on melody line, break on last bar, saxes have the break

B1 24 bars (repeat sign) breaks at m. 4 and m. 16
saxes 4 bars
cnts 8 bars, everyone in for last two bars crescendo
saxes 4 bars
cnts 8 bars, everyone together for last two bars

B2 24 bars
saxes 4 bars, tbone added
cnts 8 bars, w/tbone added
saxes 4 bars tbone added
cnts 8 bars, w/tbone added, everyone together for las two bars

C 16 bars, return to melody from A, as first time through, last four bars are a bit more cadential, saxes might not be in

Interlude 4 bar modulation to D-flat, ens.

Trio

D 16 bars, trombone melody, no other parts played besides rhythm section

E 16 bars, saxes have melody, others accomp. cnts have break at mm. 7-8, then saxes again, everyone toegher at mm. 15-16
6 bars saxes w/ens accomp
2 bars cnts
6 bars saxes w/ens accomp
2 bars ens.

F 16 bars, piano solo, everyone in on last bar

G 16 bars, tbone is playing part, but others seem to be ad libbing until last two bars then everyone out as written

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Cafe Capers
The Jazz Kings

also a close reading with only a few albeit interesting changes

Introduction 8 bars, played as written

A1 16 bars, cnts have melody, saxes are not in, repeat sign

A2 16 bars, cornets out, saxes have melody, break on last bar, saxes have the break

B1 24 bars (repeat sign) breaks at m. 4 and m. 16
saxes 4 bars
cornt takes 8 bars, plays in solo-like manner even when play written notes, everyone in for last two bars crescendo
saxes 4 bars
cornet 8 bars, again as above, in a soloistic manner, everyone together for last two bars

B2 24 bars, features tbone
saxes 4 bars, tbone added
8 bars, tbone, cornet does not play, tbone plays in very loose soloistic manner
saxes 4 bars tbone added
8 bars, tbone, cornet does not play, tbone adds some pitches but reads line, everyone together for las two bars

C 16 bars, return to melody from A, as first time through, last four bars are a bit more cadential, as written

Interlude 4 bar modulation to D-flat, ens.

Trio

D 16 bars, trombone melody, others support, others are in rickyticky sound(!), together (as written) for last bar

E 16 bars, saxes have melody, others accomp. cnts have break at mm. 7-8, then saxes again, everyone toegher at mm. 15-16
6 bars saxes
2 bars cnts
6 bars saxes
2 bars ens., violin enters

F 16 bars, piano solo, everyone in on last bar

G 16 bars, counter melodies between brass and winds, everyone together as written

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Frankie and Johnny
Stock Arrangement

Isham Jones and his Orchestra

Does not match with stock. But it does sound arranged.

Harvey Brooks' Quality Four

Does not match with stock.

Fate Marable's Society Syncopators

Does not match with stock.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Heebie Jeebies
Stock Arrangement

Stock
Introduction 8 bars
ens. 1
tpt. 1
ens. 1
tpt 1
ens. 3
tbn. 1

Verse 8 bars
tpt. w/ens

A Chorus 1 16 bars
(melody)
A Chorus 2 19 bars
melody 16
transition to B 3

B clarinet solo 11:8:11

C trumpet solo 17 bars
16 melody changes
1 bar transition back to A
Charleston rhythm

A chorus 3 18 bars
melody 16
tag ending 2

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Heebie Jeebies
Original Indiana Five

Introduction 8 bars
ens. 4, new material
ens. 1 m 5 of stock
clarinet break 2
tbone break 1
A Chorus 1 16 bars
ens.--tbone is playing second accomp. line

Verse 8 bars

A Chorus 2 19
piano unacc. solo, ens. enters for 3 bar trans.

B clarinet solo 11:8:11

tpt solo 17 (w transition bar)

A Chorus 19 bars
melody with piano break at mm. 7-8
new tag ending added

Biggest difference is addition of new ending and beginning

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Heebie Jeebies
Fess Williams and his Royal Flush Orchestra

Introduction 8 bars
saxes 2 new
piano tuba 2 new
saxes 3 from stock mm. 5-7
trumpet break 1

A Chorus 16 bars
saxes bground figures sound modified, beginning melody line sounds altered, then goes to what's written

Verse tpt w/ens 8

A2 Chorus 16 NO TAG ENDING
tpt on melody

A3 Alto sax solo on Chorus changes 16

A4 piano solo on Chorus changes 19
16 plus 3 intro into next strain

B clarinet solo 11:8:11

C Trumpet solo over Charleston rhythm 17
16+1

C Out melody Chorus 21
16+5 tag ending

ending is based on Charleston rhythm

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Heebie Jeebies

Ethel Waters

Does not match recording

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Heebie Jeebies
Marek Weber und Sein Orchester

A very close and rhythmically quite stiff reading of the stock arrangement

Introduction 8 bars
ens. 1
tpt. 1
ens. 1
tpt 1
ens. 3
tbn. 1

Verse 8 bars
tpt. w/ens

A Chorus 1 16 bars
saxes (melody)
A Chorus 2 19 bars
violin melody 16
ens. transition to B 3

B clarinet solo 11:8:11 w/figure into

C trumpet solo 17 bars
16 melody changes
1 bar transition back to A
Charleston rhythm

A chorus 3 18 bars
violin w/ saxes(?) melody 16
tag ending 2

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hot Notes
Stock Arrangement

Stock
Key: C major

Introduction 8 bars
four bars, cornet, alto and tenor sax, followed by repeating two bar vamp played by ens

A 16 bars, trumpet melody w/ saxes paraphrasing, bones and rhythm acc.

B 32 bars
16 bars tbone w/ saxes and rhythm,
8 bar bridge, ens together
8 bars tbone w/saxs and rhythm

C 16 bars trumpet w/rhythm section, ens in for last two bars

D 32 bars, sax soli
16 bars saxes (on clarinet) w/rhythm
8 bars saxes still have melody, add brass

E 32 bars melody from B strain
16 bars saxes play melody brass play counter line
8 bars bridge
8 bars saxes play melody, brass plays counter line, last two bars use cadential figure to end w/in form on beat 3

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hot Notes
Savoy Bearcats

new introduction and completely new last chorus (letter E)

Introduction 4 bars, but could be even more, recording sounds cut off and I could not obtain original source, nevertheless it was apparent that this was not what was written on the stock
2 bars saxes followed by
2 bars solo trumpet

A 16 bars, trumpet melody most of the notes are there, but a bit paraphrased w/ saxes playing background line as written. Cannot hear trombone, perhaps not playing (getting ready for letter B(?))

B 32 bars played as written on the stock
16 bars tbone w/ saxes and rhythm,
8 bar bridge, ens together
8 bars tbone w/saxs and rhythm, last two bars are cadential and set up next section

C 16 bars trumpet w/rhythm section, ens in for last two bars, played as written on the stock

D 32 bars, sax soli played as written on stock
16 bars saxes (on clarinet) w/rhythm
8 bars saxes still have melody, add brass
6 bars, soli continues as written
2 bars brass pickup (featuring tpt) into next section

C 16 bars this time played by alto sax w/ harmony played by horns VERY SOFTLY, line seems to emanate from trombone part not played at letter A 1st time, w/o hits (long tones added) build up during last two bars

E 32 bars follows form, but all new arrangement

16 bars, banjo solo horns enter at last two bars to bring it to the bridge, tpt line comes from figure in letter D

8 bars bridge solo for drums w/ off beat accents for horns accompanying, this is all new material

8 bars saxes and tpt play counter melodies, energetic finish still ends w/in form on beat 3

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jackass Blues
Stock Arrangement

Stock B-flat
Introduction 4 bars
2 bars trombone
2 bars ensemble

A melody, 12 bars (blues) cornet w/ rhythm
ens. in for last two bars

B melody 12 bars, tpt, 2nd alto sax, violin melody, other horns accompaniment

C 24 bars (2 choruses) written out trombone solo, ens in at last two bars of each chorus

D 4 bar vamp to set up clarinet solo, entire ens. except 1st alto

E 12 bars, written out clarinet solo, also written for alto

F 12 bars, repeat of melody from B, all parts are same as letter

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jackass Blues
Lovie Austin and her Serenaders
not much in common here!!!

Key: B-flat
Introduction 4 bars

A 12 bars, tpt plays rythmically varied version of A theme from stock, but not played as if from stock. Line is simplified and repeated, line is accompanied by ad lib. lines from tbn and clarinet

B 12 bars, same theme as previous chorus, tpt basically sticks to same melody

C 12 bars, piano plays melody from B strain of stock, acc. by obligato clarinet

D 12 bars, piano plays melody from B strain of stock while trombone solos

E 12 bars, trumpet w/ piano tpt begins line w/melody from B strain of stock, first two bars of 1st 2 four bar sections are correct, second two bars are more ad lib., last four bars is similar to, but not same as melody

F 12 bars, trumpet plays B strain from stock again w/ad lib. lines from cl and tbn and piano rhythm, ends on bt 3 of last bar.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jackass Blues
Clarence Williams Stompers

Introduction 4 bars played as on stock
2 bars trombone
2 bars ensemble

A melody, 12 bars (blues) cornet paraphrases written linew/ rhythm
ens. in with material as written on stock for last two bars

B melody 12 bars, tpt plays melody, others play acompanying figures as written

C 24 bars (2 choruses) trombone solo, soloist plays music essentially as written out ens in at last two bars of each chorus, played as written

D 4 bar vamp to set up clarinet solo, entire ens. plays music as on stock arrangement

E 12 bars, clarinet solo, not as on stock arrangement

F 12 bars, repeat of melody from B, all parts are same as letter B, all parts played as written

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jackass Blues
The Dixie Stompers

Key: B-flat
Introduction 6 bars
2 bars ensemble plays repeating riff figure which turns to chord tones that accompany the
2 bars trombone solo that flow into the
2 bars ensemble

A melody, 12 bars (blues) cornet plays variatoin of original melody ensemble plays a a repeating four beat riff behind cnt
some of ens. plays written part for last two bars, some seem to continue the riff

B melody 12 bars, tpt, 2nd alto sax, other horns accompaniment basically as written on stock

C 12 bars: 1 chorus trombone solo, background figure at last two bars is left out

D 4 bar vamp to set up clarinet section w/entire ens.

E 24 bars, two choruses of the written out clarinet solo appears to have been harmonized with very small changes for this performance, tbn and tpts play simple background figures

F 12 bars, repeat of melody from B, one clarinet is playing an ad lib. obligato part, otherwise all parts are same as letter B and basically as written

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jackass Blues
King Oliver and his Dixie Syncopators

Introduction 4 bars played as written
2 bars trombone
2 bars ensemble

B melody 12 bars, tpt plays melody as written, others play accompaniment as written on stock

A melody, 12 bars (blues) cornet improvised solo w/ rhythm, contours are similar to written passage, but at a higher chord structure level, begins on 7th instead of 5th
ens. in for last two bars music played as written on stock

B melody 12 bars, piano plays melody for first two bars, as written, others play accompaniment as written on stock, saxes then play melody at begining of second phrase, with other saxes playing accomp.

C 12 bars muted growl trombone plays written out trombone solo, ens in at last two bars of chorus

D 4 bar vamp played by solo piano w/o ens. used to modulate to F

E1 12 bars, sung lyrics to Jackass Blues accompanied only by piano in F, at end piano returns to B-flat

E2 12 bars, clarinet solo, improvised, not from the stock

F 12 bars + 3 bars, repeat of melody from B strain, all parts are same as letter B, everyone plays as written with some slight embellishment, at end 3 bar tag that repeats last bar three times to close

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jackass Blues
Fletcher Henderson and his Orchestra

Key: B-flat
Introduction 4 bars, new material not from stock, ens. together, two bar idea that is repeated

A melody, 12 bars (blues) cornets start together paraphrasing line on stock, but last four bars are clearly different from original, trombone plays obligato figures w/ rhythm
ens. in for last bar for pickup figure into B strain

B melody 12 bars, tpt and saxes play melody together, trombone moves between written part and obligato, everyone plays stock figures for last two bars of section

C 12 bars trombone solo, improvised--at least not as written on stock, no ens. part at end of solo

D 4 bar vamp to set up clarinet solo, entire ens., figure begins as stock, but second half differs

E 12 bars, clarinet solo, accompanied by horns playing two bar riff

F 12 bars, muted cnt solo, rhythm plays stop time figures accenting beats 2 and 4

G 12 bars, repeat of melody from B, all parts are same as letter B, melody players are straight, accompanying figrues are a bit looser than written

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jackass Blues
Philip Spitalny and his Orchestra

tempo is very fast

Key: probably B-flat, recording is closer to B due to recording error (?)
Introduction 8 bars
2 bars muted tpt break
2 bars clarinet break, both insts. use similar figures for breaks, probably written out (?)
4 bars vamp figure brass bass and reeds

A melody, 12 bars (blues) cornet w/ rhythm, melody played with embellishment, begins essentially as written, changes are mostly rhythmic
ens. in for last two bars, as written (tbn plays figure as written for winds)

A1 12 bars clarinet solo w/rhythm section, ens. plays figure during last two bars as from A strain

B melody 12 bars, played as written, clarinet seems to be playing some obligato figures in background, other horns accompaniment

C 12 bars, trombone solo does not play written out part, ens in at last two bars of chorus as written

C1 trumpet solo instead of 2nd chorus of trombone, ensemble in at last two bars of chorus as written

D 4 bar vamp by rhythm section, someone says hee-haw each bar on beats 2 and 3

E 12 bars, new material a written out clarinet soli

E1 12 bars, new material a written out brass soli, for tpts and tbn, saxes/winds play background figures

F 12 bars, repeat of melody from B, all parts are same as letter B, clarinet is playing an obligato figure

G 3 bar tag ending new material based on figure in last of written material

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jackass Blues
Thomas Morris and his Seven Hot Babies

Introduction 4 bars
2 bars trombone
2 bars ensemble, trumpet plays first measure as written then plays descending line for last bar

A melody, 12 bars (blues) cornet paraphrases written line, ensemble ad libs. sounds of jackasses and some obligato w/ rhythm, ens. comes in sloppily for last two bars, almost does not make it, but notes are as written

B melody 12 bars, tpt plays melody, all others play parts from stock for accompaniment, as written

C 24 bars (2 choruses) trombone solo, trombonist plays 1st chorus as written, then plays second chrous w/ a limited # of paraphrased sections, however much of it is note for note as written, ens in at last two bars of each chorus

D 4 bar vamp to set up clarinet solo, entire ens. plays parts as written (bass seems to be playing fourth bar instead of second bar)

E 12 bars, clarinet solo, not from the stock arrangement (most likely improvised), ens. begins to come in during last bar

F 12 bars, repeat of melody from B, band uses written lines but is looser in application, a sloppy feeling, strong ritard at end

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jackass Blues
Alex Jackson's Plantation Orchestra

The arrangement used for this recording seems to have its roots in the stock arrangement. The order of the opening routines is the same as are certain background figures during the melody

Introduction 8 bars
4 bars ensemble playing progression I-IV-I-I7, one chord per bar, then moves to
4 bars bass pedals on a tonic on the first beat with ens. answering with a one bar repeating figure

A melody, 12 bars (blues) cornet plays figure that is derived from and constantly refers back to the written melody w/rhythm winds quietly playing one bar repeating riff behind melody, ens. plays last two bars as from stock

B melody 12 bars, piano plays 1st two bars of melody alone then others join in for second half of phrase, other horns accompaniment

C1 10 bars trombone solo (blues changes) backed by rhythm and horns playing one bar riff in background, break at 1st beat of bar 11 for
2 bars of trumpet break rhythm back in and

C2 12 bars clarinet solo, backed by rhythm and horns play wa-wa riff

D 10 bars piano seems to begin solo by paraphrasing B strain, horns playing background riff quickly drown out piano by sixth bar at 1st beat of bar 11 break
2 bars drum break

E 2 bars of ens. swell/crescendo
1 bar of accented hits on beats one two three
1 bar trumpet break
4 bars trumpet solo over ens.
2 bars of ens. swell/crescendo
1 bar of accented hits on beats one two three
on last beat of previous measure entire ensemble begins singing the phrase "that's the Jackass blues." hold on word "blues" and thats the end, sung unaccompanied

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Oh Sister Ain't That Hot
Stock Arrangement

Introduction 8 bars
first 4 bars are rising macabre figures (see Magee 88-89) followed by second four less macabre figures

A Verse 16 bars melody played by tpt w/ens.

B melody 22 bars played two times w/ ens. accomp.
1st time 1st cornet has melody, all others (rhythm section AND horns) have off-beat accents
2nd time trombone w/winds have melody, rhythm section still plays off-beat rhythm

C Patter, 12 bars, winds have melody

D melody "out chorus, 22 bars, cornet has melody acc. by alto sax, tenor sax, tbone. clarinet has obbligato figures throughout. Tune ends at end of chorus, no added tag ending

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Oh Sister Ain't That Hot
Charles Dornberger and his Orchestra

on surface fairly straight reading from stock with beginning and ending changed, background figures added at melody

Introduction 6 bars, 2 new 4 from stock arrangement
first 2 bars seem to be derived from second and fourth bar of intro, this is followed by mm. 5-8 from the stock the "less macabre figures"

A Verse 16 bars melody played by tpt w/ ens played as written

B melody 22 bars played two times w/ ens. accomp.
1st time 1st cornet has melody, winds and tbn have new figures behind melody, only the last bars seem to come from the stock, accents in fifth and sixth bar are still there as is figure in turnaround, no off-beat rhythms as in stock

2nd time clarinet has melody, similar background figures to first time, no off-beat rhythms as might be possible in stock

A verse, 16 bars played by saxes with newly written out breaks for brass on measure 4, 8, 12 and 14, tpts also back in on m. 16 for written figure from stock

B chorus 22 bars, played by trombone w/ ad lib. obligato trpt and rhythm section

C Patter, 12 bars, band uses written music but breaks on second and fourth bars for trombonebeats winds have melody

D melody "out" chorus, 22 bars and 2 bar ending, cornet muted plays line as written, saxes move back and forth between written and changed material, at breaks new material, but much of this is from the stock, bars 2, 4, 10 new fills, saxes are out at mm. 1, 3, 9, 13 and 15, to end is very close to as written

two bar tag ending is not from stock, but is a standard type of ending

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Oh Sister Ain't That Hot
Original Memphis Five

very square sounding

Introduction 4 bars
intro begins w/ second set of four less macabre bars

A Verse 16 bars melody played by tpt w/ horns, clarinet and tbone refer to their parts but never play them note for note, clarinet is closer to part

B melody 22 bars played two times w/ ens. accomp.
1st time 1st cornet has melody, trombone and clarinet play have off-beat accents, clarinet does not play part as written, but it feels like a reference, as though the part being played comes from an awareness of the stock, only a transcription would prove this however, similarly w/tbone, sometimes he's playing what's written, sometimes he's extemporizing

2nd time no off-beat rhythms, cornet sticks to melody, other horns are considerably looser and do not seem to be relying on parts, piano holds it together

C Patter, 12 bars, everyone returns to playing from score w/room for "interpretation", held notes are cut off so that tbone part is more prominent on breaks

X 22 bars piano solo on chorus, essentially playing melody (no drums) everyone comes in for last three bars to bring everyone into the

C Patter, 12 bars, everyone returns to playing from score again w/room for "interpretation", this time everyone gets one of the "breaks at the beginning of the section, first tbone, playing part as written, second clarinet, third tpt, there's a break for the last two bars taken by the tbone and cornet, not in unison

D melody "out" chorus, 22 bars, cornet has melody clarinet plays obbligato figures throughout, not from part, tbone refers only somewhat to part. Two added breaks at mm. 13-16. Tune ends at end of chorus, tag ending added, consisting of repetition of last bar

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Oh Sister Ain't That Hot
Fletcher Henderson and his Orchestra

Introduction 8 bars
trumpet part played as written, 4 bars plus 4 bars

A Verse 16 bars melody played by tpt w/ens.

B melody 22 bars alto sax has melody, tpt plays off-beat accents as written on mm. 1-4, 9-12, 17-19, 22, and is out on other measures, rhythm section plays on the beat, not off beat as written

A Verse 16 bars melody played by tpt in a "swinging" style w/ens.

X1 22 bars, chorus, clarinet solo w/ rhythm

C Patter, 12 bars, trumpet w/ rhythm section and trombone, some tpt lines are cut short which emphasizes Charleston rhythm

X2 22 bars, tenor sax solo, rhythm section plays off beats as is originally written on stock for the chorus

D melody "out chorus, 22 bars, trumpet has melody acc. , not played straight, material is not so much added to as rhythmically altered, sound is very difficult in this section, but it sounds like saxophones are playing lines very close to last section, there may be some instances where lines are simplified or a measure is skipped, but very hard to hear, tbone sounds like it doesn't always play its part.

four bar added tag ending, saxes play complex soli

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Oh Sister Ain't That Hot
Jimmie Noone

Is it possible that the alto and the bass are using the stock and everyone else is not?, there is very little else remaining of stock here, no intro, no patter

A verse, 16 bars melody played by sax and clarinet. Clarinet line is not from stock, but alto line is quite similar, seems to come from stock, notes are the same in most passages, even if rhythms are somewhat altered or cut short, bass also seems to using written part

B Melody played twice, 22 +22 bars, rhythmically dissimlar from stock, nor do parts seem to match, though alto could be reading the meldoy line printed above the accompanying line on the first system, bass also is following its part

Solos
C piano 2 choruses, 22 + 22 bars solo no other rhythm

D 22 bars, clarinet plays melody w/rhythm section, no alto, bass still playing the line from the bass stock

E 22 bars, alto plays melody, clarinet plays obligato in low register, rhythm section backs up, bass stays w/ written line

F 22 bars, alto plays melody, clarinet moves into higher register to bring up energy and take it out

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Snag It
Stock Arrangement

Key: E-flat

Introduction 8 bars
2 bars brass
2 bars tenor sax
2 bars brass
2 bars tenor sax

A 12 bars, melody, ens.

B 12 bars, written out trombone solo, acc. by ens. "organ effect"

C 12 bars, written 1st alto/clarinet solo, w/2 bar off-beat rhythm for rest of ens.

D 12 bars, written out trio for clarinets (all three wind horns) w/ rhythm section, ens. in on last two bars

E 12 bars, trumpet solo (written), ens. breaks on one for first three bars and is out for bar four, trumpet solos for entire chorus, everyone in w/background figures for last eight bars

F 12 bars (repeat sign) call and response between brass and winds, everyone together at last two bars, 2nd time everyone off on beat 3

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Snag It
King Oliver's Jazz Band, Vocalion 1007, take 1

This is not the stock, but clearly inspired it (or was inspired by it), many figures that give the stock its distinctiveness are missing, last two bars of a form, triplets in the intro, the shape of the call and response figures in the last strain

Introduction 8 bars
2 bars brass, not harmonized
2 bars tenor sax, triplet not present that is on stock
2 bars brass
2 bars tenor sax

A 12 bars, melody, trumpet clearly has lead, line is almost same on stock and on rec'ding, could it be a transcription, saxes do not play part on stock, could almost be an obligato part

B 12 bars, trombone solo, quite closely resembles material on the stock acc. by ens. "organ effect" is present but horns do not play figure in last two bars

C 12 bars, soprano solo, appears to be transcribed from the stock, very close note wise w/2 bar off-beat rhythm for rest of ens., accents are correct but parts not from stock

G 12 bars, RM Jones sings blues verse, ens. responds

E 12 bars, trumpet solo (written), ens. breaks on one for first three bars and is out for bar four, trumpet solos for entire chorus part on stock arrangement is very similar to what is played, possibly a transcription?, everyone in w/background figures for last eight bars

F 12 bars (repeat sign) call and response between brass and winds, tpt figure is not same as written at any point though some parts of the stock seem almost transcribed from the stock, the saxes are similar, especially the octave climb that makes its way onto the paper, last two bars of each time through are different, 2nd time everyone off on beat 3

Vocalion 1007, take 2

This is very similar to the first take, the trombone solo is almost the same, the differences are telling, for example the contour of the clarinet solo is a bit different from the first take and also from the stock, so the first take becomes an even more likely candidate for the source of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

stock, similarly the order and shape of the tpt figures in the final 2 choruses is not the same as the previous take and the tpt figures found on the stock imitate those of the first take

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Snag It
King Oliver's Jazz Band, Brunswick 3361

The arrangement used here is not the same as the stock, it also seems more than obvious that the stock arrangement was derived from the first version and that the stock arrangement was not consulted very much, if at all for this performance

Introduction 8 bars
2 bars brass
2 bars tenor sax does not play figure as written, triplet dropped some notes turned around, w/ added tpt figure
2 bars brass
2 bars tenor sax, added tpt figure, same comments as above

A 12 bars, melody, tpt w/ obligato figures from winds, if it is arranged it is w/ a very loose feel, cannot hear trombone does not sound like it is in

B 12 bars, trombone solo is very close to written part, only a few changes, acc. by ens. w/ "organ effect"

C 12 bars, solo for clarinet does not follow the written line, ens does not come in at end of solo, w/2 bar off-beat rhythm ens does not participate in this figuration

G 12 bars, tuba solo, w/rhythm, only tpt comes in during last bar, no other ens. figures in this section

E 12 bars, trumpet solo (written), ens. breaks on one for first three bars and is out for bar four, trumpet solos for entire chorus, everyone in w/background figures for last eight bars

F 12 bars (repeat sign) call and response between brass and winds, winds lack pick up to figure, winds do make octave climb during second time through, everyone together at last two bars, ending is extended, tag ending

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Snag It
The Dixie Stompers

This is the sort of adaptation for which it is quite likely the stock wasn't even in the room when recorded. Perhaps Don Redman adapted in a manner similar to what is described in Magee's JAMS article. A new part is superimposed over an existing part in B, horns are pulled out at E, F is played one more time than on the stock, intro is played as written w/an ad lib feel.

Introduction 8 bars
2 bars brass, as written
2 bars tenor sax, playing the notes w/ad. libbing
2 bars brass, as written
2 bars tenor sax, playing the notes w/ ad libbing

A 12 bars trumpet solo, saxes play chord tones softly behind, part could have been derived from B section, all horns out on last two bars

D 12 bars, trumpet continues to solo over the written out trio for the clarinets (all three wind horns) played as written, w/ rhythm section,

E 12 bars, trumpet solo (written), just rhythm section in to break on one for first three bars and is out for bar four, trumpet solos for entire chorus, everyone in w/background figures for last eight bars

F

F

F 12 bars three times (some parts use repeat sign) call and response between brass and winds, sax parts are different for last two bars, (simpler, more chord tones). Last time ending is similar to a sort of Jitterbug Waltz I-IV-I thing, still ends on beat three though everyone holds note longer HEY this comes from written out first ending

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Snag It
Arthur Briggs and his Savoy Syncopators

loose feeling (read sloppy and weak), but clearly following the stock from beginning to end

Introduction 8 bars, played as written
2 bars brass
2 bars tenor sax, plays the line but in an improvised manner
2 bars brass
2 bars tenor sax, plays the line but in an improvised manner

A 12 bars, ens. melody, very closely to as written, trumpet gets off a bit in last four bars

B 12 bars, written out trombone solo, first three or so bars are played as written then player moves away from written line bit by bit, acc. by ens. "organ effect" very quiet, cadence figure in last two bars is a bit different than written for trumpet

C 12 bars, written 1st alto/clarinet solo, sounds like not played, horns are not in for their written part but do come in for figures on last two bars, w/2 bar off-beat rhythm for rest of ens.

D 12 bars, written out trio for clarinets (all three wind horns), drummer in rhythm section continues hits from previous strain w/ rhythm section, ens. in on last two bars

E 12 bars, trumpet solo (written) trumpet player tries to make figures but is not virtuosic enough to get them off, then gives up and gives a semi improvised solo for rest of chorus, compare, for example the effortless fluidity of the Andy Kirk performance, which is note for note, but so smooth that it doesn't hurt one bit, ens. breaks on one for first three bars and is out for bar four, trumpet solos for entire chorus, everyone in w/background figures for last eight bars

F 12 bars (repeat sign) call and response between brass and winds, everyone together at last two bars, 2nd time figure is changed a bit in the brass, looser feel, ending, everyone off on beat 3, basically as written, but Briggs (tpt) sounds winded and unable to get into his part well enough to complete the performance at a high level

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Snag It
Georgia Cotton Pickers

trombone follows part on and off in letter B, strain D is dropped, piano solo added after one time through letter F, brass figures in F changed, stock arrangement format is otherwise followed

Introduction 8 bars
2 bars brass
2 bars tenor sax, basically as written w/ an ad lib feel
2 bars brass
2 bars tenor sax, entirely new figure put in instead of stock line

A 12 bars, melody, ens., played w/ panache but mostly as written

B 12 bars, trombone solo, based upon written line w/added ideas after basic first three bars, but does return to written ideas more frequently than some others see for example mm. 4, 5, 6. and 8 acc. by ens. "organ effect", does not sound like tbone is playing written part (does not sound like tbone is playing at all)

C 12 bars, clarinet solo, not as written, w/2 bar off-beat rhythm for rest of ens., horn lines used sparingly

E 12 bars, trumpet solo (written), ens. breaks on one for first three bars and is out for bar four, trumpet solos for entire chorus, but tbone is not following part and drowns out the trumpet, everyone in w/background figures for last eight bars

F 12 bars, call and response between brass and winds, brass are playing different line derived from but not same as stock line, no pickup, just inside the measure figure, w/ banjo soloing

G 12 bars, piano solo, everyone else out

F 12 bars call and response between brass and winds, brass are playing different line derived from but not same as stock line nor is it the same as the previous F chorus, winds stick to their part, everyone together at last two bars, ending everyone off on beat 3

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Snag It
Andy Kirk and his Twelve Clouds of Joy

An incredibly "straight" performance of the stock arrangement w/ the exception of the trombone player, not what you might expect (I think) from a group w/ Mary Lou Williams as the arranger

Introduction 8 bars, played as written
2 bars brass
2 bars tenor sax
2 bars brass
2 bars tenor sax

A 12 bars, ens. melody, very closely to as written

B 12 bars, trombone does not use written out solo, plays a fairly square improvised (?) solo, acc. by ens. "organ effect"

C 12 bars, written 1st alto/clarinet solo, played as written on clarinet, w/2 bar off-beat rhythm for rest of ens.

D 12 bars, written out trio for clarinets (all three wind horns), w/rhythm section, ens. in on last two bars

E 12 bars, trumpet solo (played as written), ens. breaks on one for first three bars and is out for bar four, trumpet solos for entire chorus, everyone in w/background figures for last eight bars, only tbone sounds at all off the figures, but only occasionally

F 12 bars (repeat sign) call and response between brass and winds, everyone together at last two bars, 2nd time everyone off on beat 3

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Steady Roll Blues
Stock Arrangement

E-flat major

Introduction 4 bars
melody cornet, other harmony or counter line, w/rhythm

A Verse 16 bars
melody 1st trumpet w/ens. accomp.

B Chorus 16 bars, w/ repeat to play twice
melody tpt w/ accomp.

C Patter 16 + 16 bars, two sections of 16 bars, (?) not labeled or given a letter name

1st 16 bars is for either clarinet or alto solo w/rhtyhm, breaks written in at mm. 7-8 of section

2nd 16 bars is for trumpet w/rhythm section, break at mm. 7-8 of section, then ens. in during last bar a pick-up to the da capo of the chorus

B Chorus da capo 16 bars (includes ending)
melody and accomp. as w/ letter B above

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Steady Roll Blues
The Bucktown Five

structure of stock is followed but not all parts are played-definitely not the trombone, perhaps the clarinet is playing only the patter correctly, difficult to hear because of surface clutter and bad recording

Introduction 4 bars
melody cornet, others harmony or counter line, tbone not playing written part w/rhythm, difficult throughout to hear clarinet, cl may not be reading part

A Verse 16 bars
melody 1st trumpet w/ens. accomp., tbone and cl do not seem to be following stock parts

B Chorus 16 bars (not repeated)
melody tpt w/ accomp., tpt does not play all the notes as written, but gets most of the figures always in the correct place (is he reading this, perhaps a combination of reading and ad libbing), trombone is not reading from stock part, some notes are there but not many

C Patter 16 + 16 bars, two sections of 16 bars,

1st 16 bars clarinet w/ rhythm section, the entire section is played by the clarinet almost note for note as written, break is not played

2nd 16 bars is for trumpet w/rhythm section, break is taken at mm. 7-8 of section, tpt is very clearly playing the written part w/ only a handful of different gestures

B Chorus da capo 16 bars (includes ending)
melody and accomp. is mostly as w/ letter B above, begins w/ firt beat stop time breaks for first four bars of chorus, then rhythm and everyone comes in as above, trombone break added at mm. 13-14

2 bar tag ending added

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Steady Roll Blues
Francis Craig and his Orchestra

This is a new arrangement based on the tune, but set in minor, even the melody has been somewhat altered, there's a tango intro and a mandolin in the rhythm section, its been exoticized!! It is a good example of what Perretti might have referred to as a dance band arrangement, good groove and playing and it sounds like a whole lotta readin's going on here.

I will put together a structural outline only if absolutely demanded

Intro piano and mandolin

16 bar verse (?) saxes

16 bar chorus cornet and rhythm section

16 bars trombone w/tango rhythm and saxes response

16 bars mandolin solo w/piano and drums

16 bars clarinet and rhythm

16 bars trumpet and trombone w/rhythm

16 bars clarinet w/rhythm

16 bars melody w/cornet out in front of accomp., cl obligato, piano at breaks

16 bars out chorus w/clarinet at breaks and tag ending

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Stockholm Stomp
Stock Arrangement

Introduction: 6 bars

A 24 bars in C, melody, entire ens.

B 16 bars Solo section, melody written out for all insts. note on part says, "repeat 4 times 1st time, saxs 2d time, trb. 3rd time cls. or sops., 4th time trpt." many parts also include below written line, "ad lib Hot", ens. in for last two bars of each solo

C 24 bars, melody played by saxes w/ brass accomp.

D 4 bars + 16 + 18 bars 1st four bars are figure that modulates piece to F, 1st and 2nd endings are what give the longer and shorter forms, last two bars of 2nd ending sets up a modulation to E-flat
16 bars, first time played by brass
4 bars brass
4 bars ens.
4 bars brass
4 bars ens.
16 + 2 bars figures played by saxes
4 bars saxes
4 bars ens.
4 bars saxes
2 bars ens.
4 bars modulation toward E-flat

E 24 bars, in E-flat, melody, played by ens., ends w/in form on beat 3

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Stockholm Stomp
Jack Pettis and his Band

substitutions, 1 substitute violin solo for sax melody section, substitute violin and mandolin for saxes in another; solos more or less read from stock

Introduction: 6 bars as on stock

A 24 bars in C, ens. plays as written from chart, trumpet adds a note here and there, but mostly as written

B 16 bars Solo section, 3 solos, alto, tpt, and tbone, ens. in for last two bars of each solo
16 bars, alto sax, adapting material from stock, some improvised, some as written
16 bars, trumpet, farther awy from written line, but clearly referencing it
16 bars trombone plays practically note for note as written

C 24 bars, violin plays, not as on arrangement, though harmonically it is the same, but violin is not play melody as written

D 4 bars + 16 + 18 bars 1st four bars are figure that modulates piece to F, 1st and 2nd endings are what give the longer and shorter forms, last two bars of 2nd ending sets up a modulation to E-flat
16 bars, first time played by saxes
4 bars saxes
4 bars ens.
4 bars saxes
4 bars ens.
12 + 4 bars figures played by mandolin and violin
4 bars mandolin and violin
4 bars ens.
4 bars mandolin and violin
2 bars ens.
4 bars modulation toward E-flat

E 24 bars, in E-flat, melody, played by ens. as written

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Stockholm Stomp
Original Indiana Five

new introduction, added tag ending, added cl solo at end, sections are abbreviated, arrangement is played, but changes take place in terms of who plays what when

New Introduction 8 bars, based primarily on the diminished seventh chord that is heard on the stock intro

A 24 bars in C, melody, entire ens., played note for note from stock

B 16 bars Solo section
1st solo tpt, uses first four bars of each phrase, second 4 less reliant on stock, no ens figures for last two bars
2nd solo, tbone, relies heavily on written passage, everyone is in for the written figures on the last two bars of his solo
3rd solo all three solo together, though tpt and tbone seem to be allowing more space for the clarinet, cl. seems to do most improv the other two pull more material from the stock, all go to the "fourth" ending on the stock which brings them into the C strain

C 12 bars, only one time through the melody, parts are taken from the A strain, not as written in C w/ saxes featured, after one meldoy chorus everyone goes to the figures in D

D 4 bars + 18 bars 1st four bars are figure that modulates piece to F, in this reading the first two bars are played straight and the stacatto rhythms of the second third and fourth bars are replaced by held notes. Only 2nd ending is played in this recording, everyone plays the melody figure to gether and then a freer approach is taken on the second phrase, last four bars of 2nd ending sets up a modulation to E-flat

16 + 2 bars
4 bars melody
4 bars ens. ad. lib on figures
4 bars melody
2 bars ens. ad. lib on figures
4 bars modulation toward E-flat, tbone takes break, does not play figure on stock

E1 24 bars, in E-flat, clarinet takes solo while tpt and tbone play figures that grow out of the melody figure

E2 12 bars of melody, played by ens., ending from stock is played, then a one bar tag is added

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Stockholm Stomp
Fletcher Henderson and his Orchestra

A reordering of intro not unlike Copenhagen: see Magee
Introduction is built from sections of D and B strain

Introduction: first 8 bars of strain in letter D (in repeat signs) followed by saxes playing letter B one time through using 2d ending into

A 24 bars in C, melody, entire ens., playing AS written, emphasis on brass in melody, cl is playing ad lib obligato figures in background

B 16 bars Solo section, no use of turn around figures for ens., there is a break placed at bars 7-8 and 15-16 of each solo
1st solo tenor sax, tbone comes on for solo at break at mm. 15-16
2nd solo tbone, clarinet comes in for solo at break at mm. 15-16
3rd solo clarinet, tpt comes in for solo at break at mm. 15-16
4th solo tpt, ens. takes ending to go into C

C 24 bars, melody played by saxes w/ brass accomp., tpt continues to solo while ens plays melody behind him as written

D 4 bars + 18 bars 1st four bars are figure that modulates piece to F, only 2nd ending version is used, last four bars of 2nd ending sets up a modulation to E-flat, entire ens. plays melody figure at repeat sign, tbone gets to answer w/ solo
16 bars,
- 4 bars ens.
- 4 bars tbone
- 4 bars ens.
- 2 bars tbone
- 4 bars ens., modulation toward E-flat

E 24 bars, in E-flat, melody, played by ens. as written, w/ clarinet obligato soloing on top, ends as written w/in form on beat 3

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

29th and Dearborn
Stock Arrangement

Introduction 4 bars ens.

A 1st strain, 2 choruses of 12 bars each
tenor sax, melody alone 12 bars
saxes 12 bars of melody

B 2nd strain 2 choruses of 12 bars each, 2 melodic figures 1 slow melody played 1st time by trumpets while saxes play the counter-melody, essentially Louis' "Chimes Blues" solo, this is reversed for second time through the changes, score includes three "endings" 1., 2., and last time

C 3rd strain 1 chorus of 12 bars, ensemble

D 4th strain 1 chorus of 12 bars, ensemble, ends with da capo

B twice through as above trumpet 1st time, saxes second 2 choruses of 12 bars each

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

29th and Dearborn
Richard M. Jones' Three Jazz Wizards

Chart may have been used, or at least taught by someone to band, like Jones.

Introduction 4 bars clarinet w/piano and banjo, note-for-note (nearly) as written

A 1st strain, 2 choruses of 12 bars, clarinet w/rhythm, cl plays melody straight both times for 3 bars then plays different line for remainder of chorus, some return to melody around mm. 9-10 1st time, the second chorus also begins w/written melody then follows pattern established during the first chorus, but this does not follow through for entire chorus

B 2nd strain 2 choruses of 12 bars each, clarinet begins w/ version (pretty much as written) of Louis' "Chimes Blues" solo, this becomes less and less as written as the chorus progresses. the second chorus begins with the long held whole notes, then the soloing comes back in for the remainder of the chorus

C clarinet w/ ens. 12 bars, clarinet begins with quarter note accents, but then improvises remainder of chorus

D clarinet w/ ensemble, 12 bars, clarinet begins (again) with quarter note hits and moves away from written music, solo at mm. 5 and 6 of the chorus paraphrase the written ideas

piano solo based on letter B, 2 choruses 12 bars each

B clarinet w/ ens. 2 choruses of 12 bars. 1st slow melody, 2nd "Chimes" chorus, both choruses begin with written ideas and then move away

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

29th and Dearborn
[Luis] Russell's Hot Six

Introduction 4 bars ens., 1st two bars are changed, 2nd two are similar to stock

A 1st strain, 2 choruses of 12 bars each
tenor sax, melody alone 12 bars, essentially a paraphrase of the A melody with numerous changes
saxes 12 bars of melody

B 2nd strain 2 choruses of 12 bars each, 2 melodic figures
1 slow melody played 1st time by trumpets while saxes play the counter-melody, essentially Louis' "Chimes Blues" solo, this is reversed for second time through the changes, score includes three "endings" 1., 2., and last time, fairly straight reading

C 3rd strain 1 chorus of 12 bars, ensemble fairly straight reading

D 4th strain 1 chorus of 12 bars, ensemble, ends with da capo, fairly straight reading

SOLOS: using Charleston rhythm

tenor sax
trombone w/ wa-wa mute
clarinet, playing solo based on Chimes but still more of a solo.
group solo out chorus

no return to the B chorus for taking it out
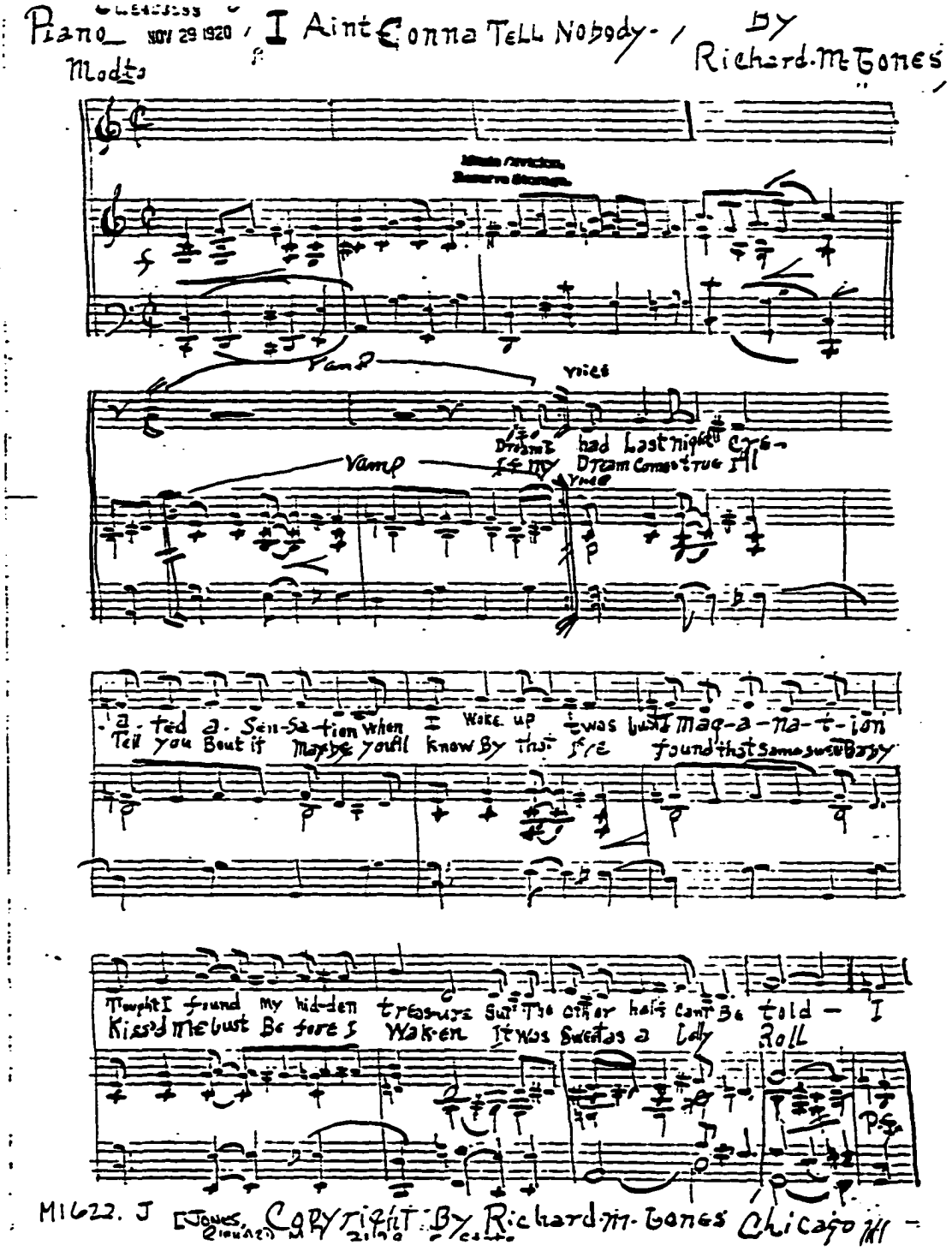
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX E
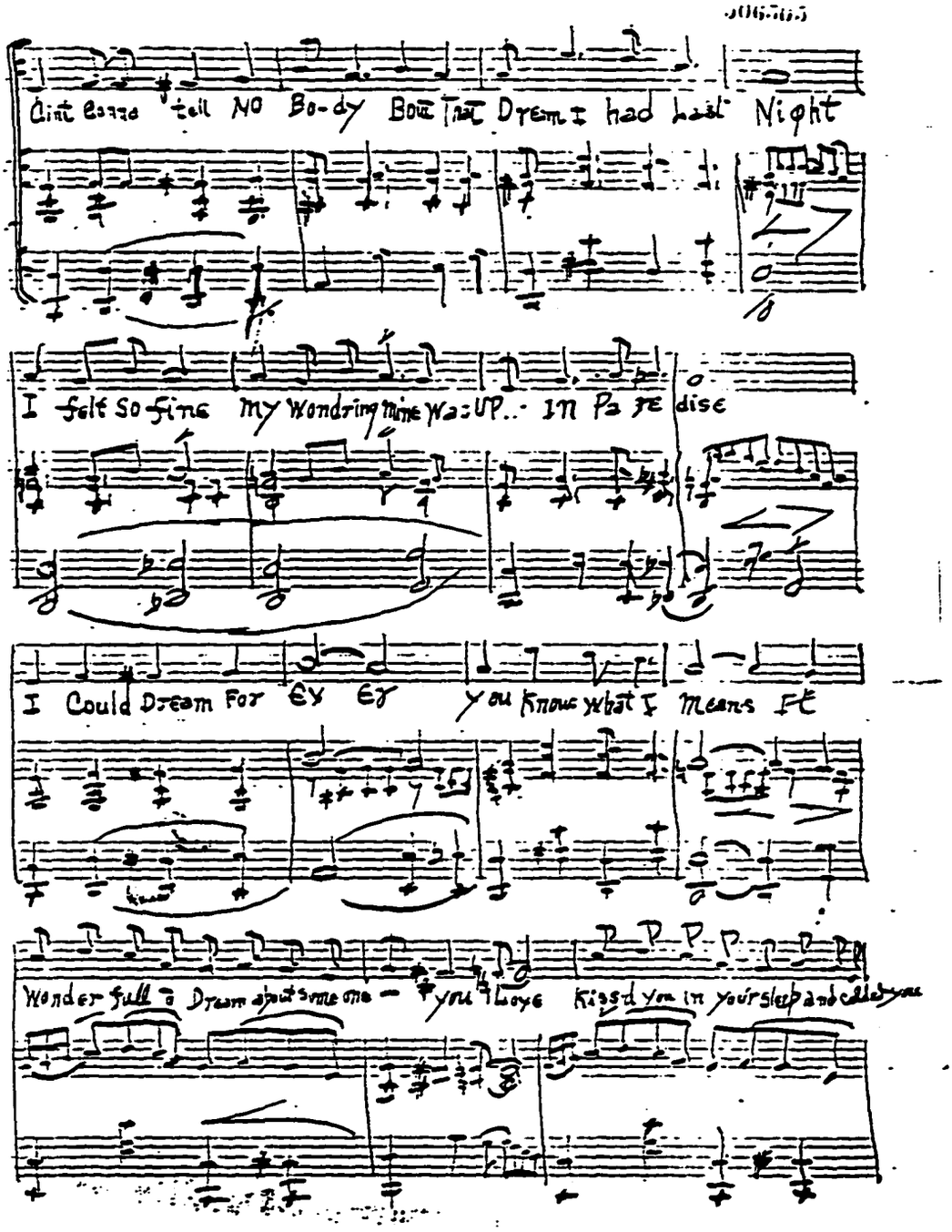
Copyright Deposit Manuscripts Submitted by
Richard M. Jones, Lillian Hardin and Louis Armstrong
1923-1930

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
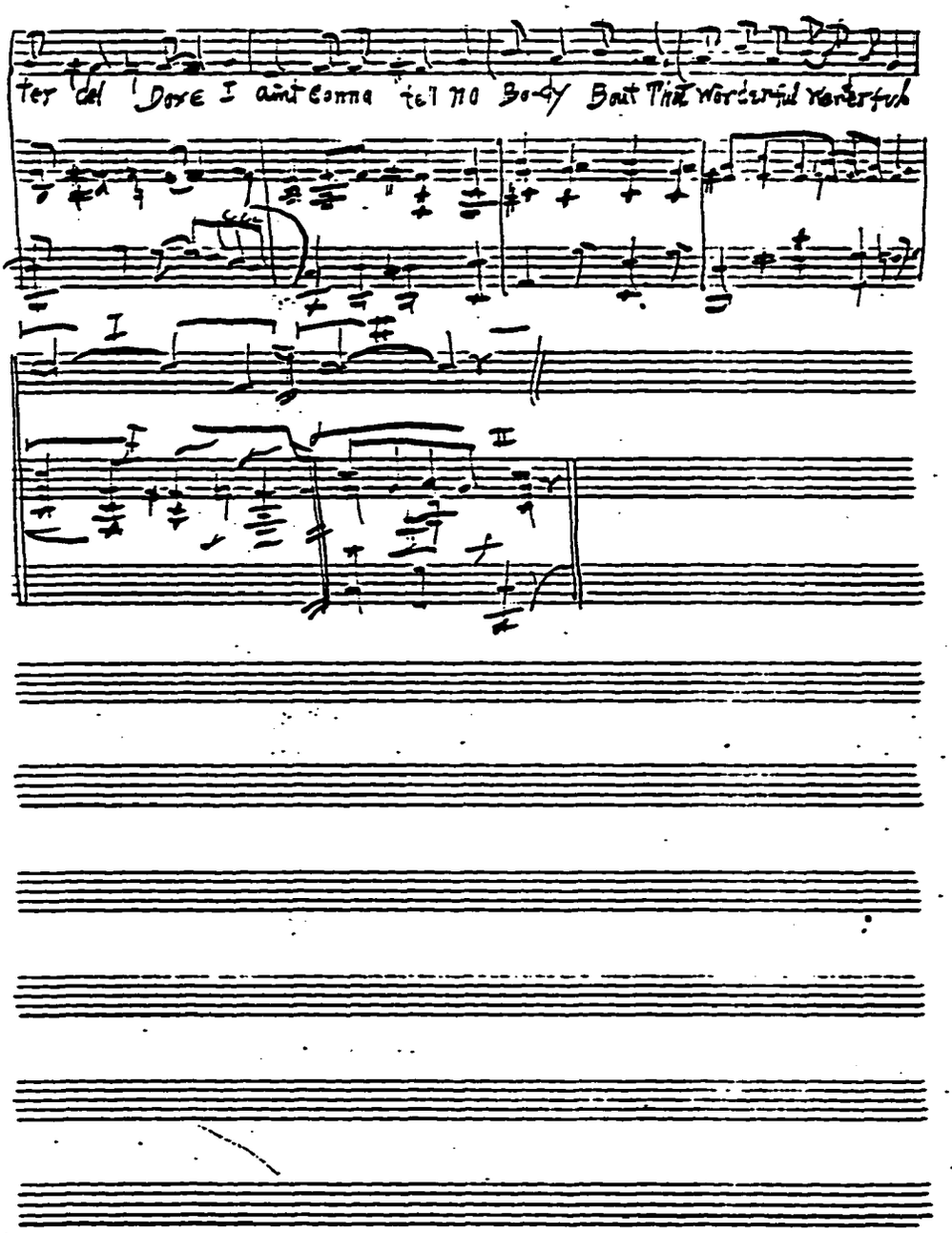
Richard M. Jones, "I Aint Gonna Tell Nobody"



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

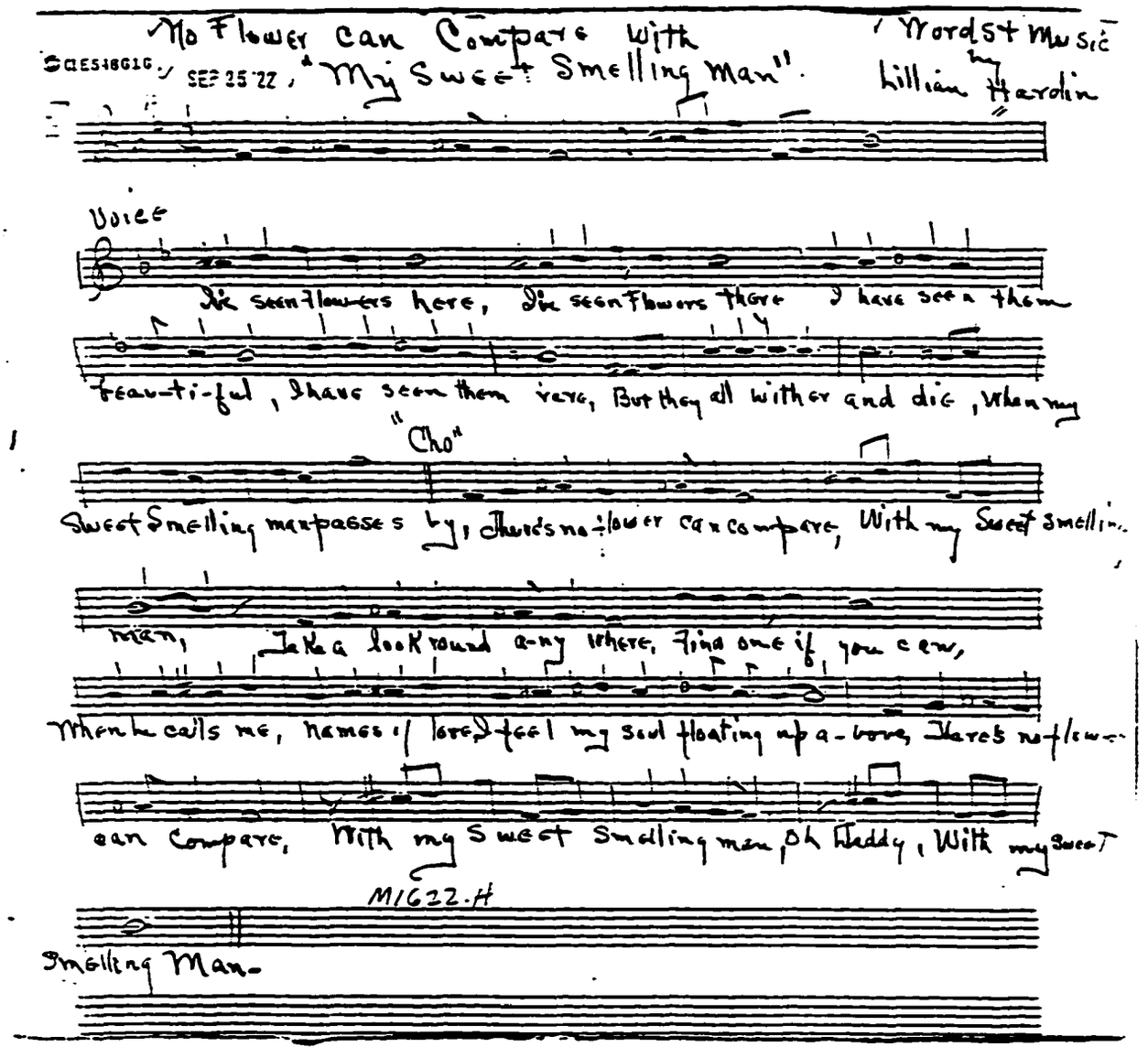


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



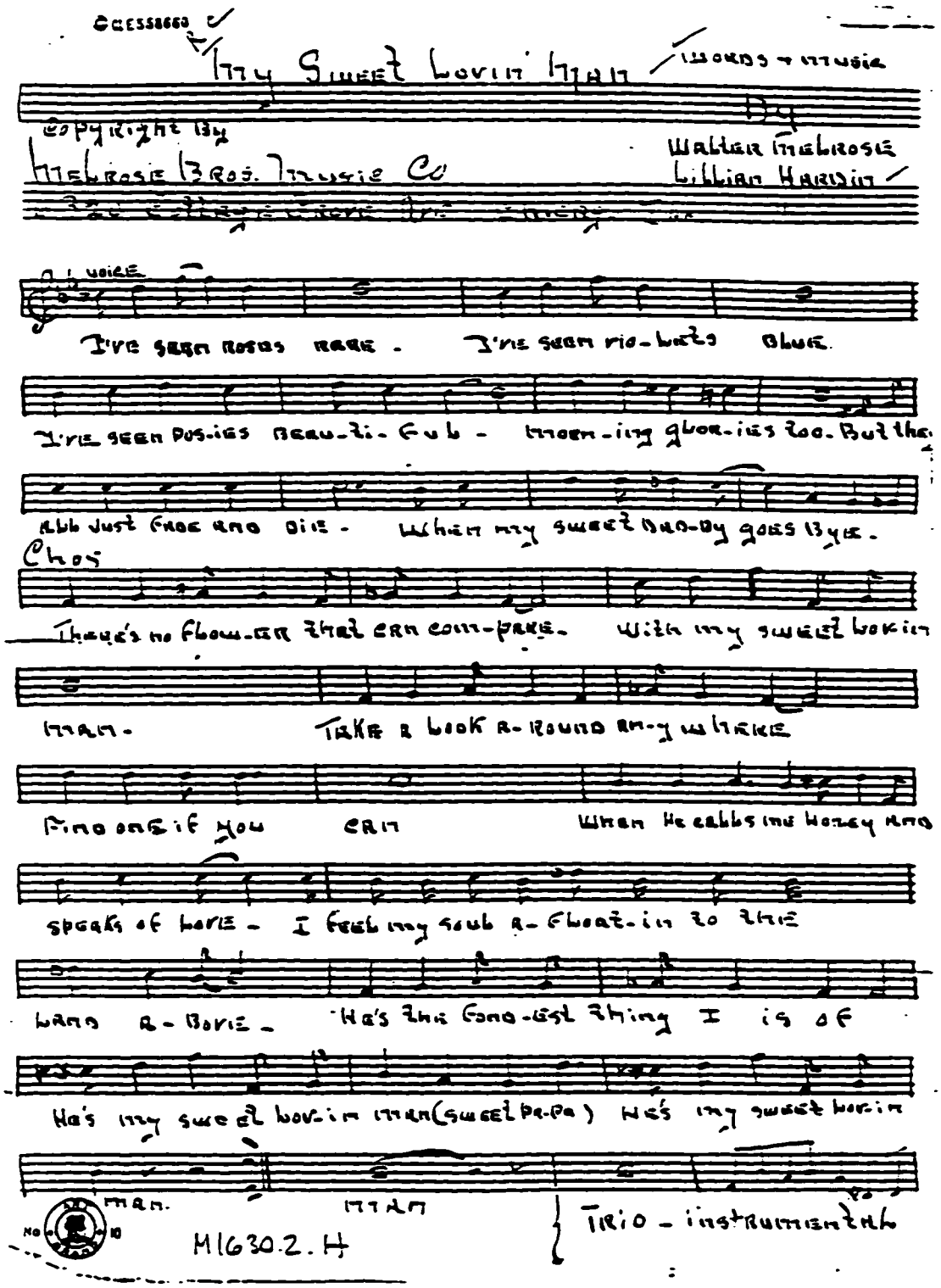
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Lillian Hardin, "No Flower Can Compare With My Sweet Smelling Man"
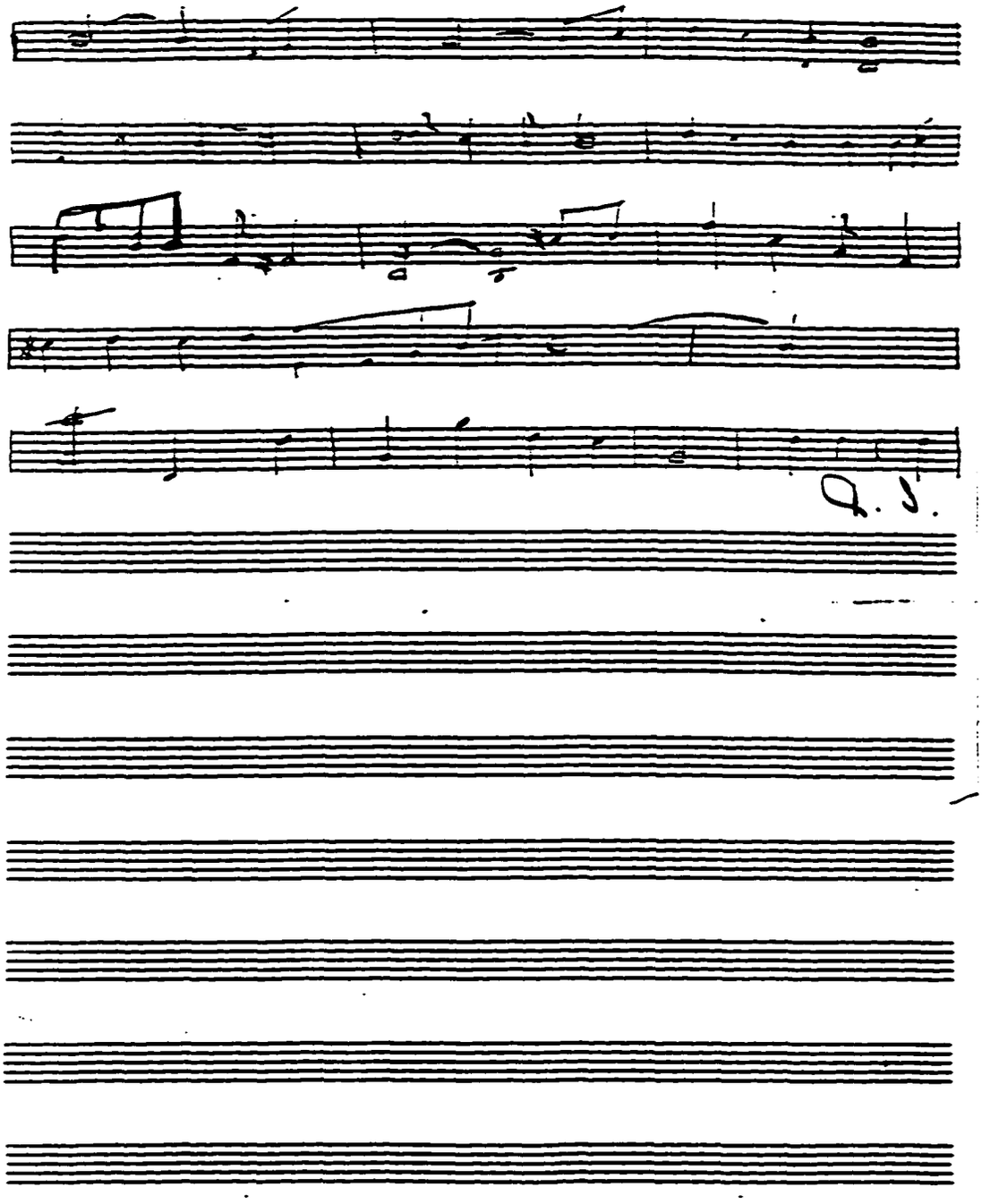


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Lillian Hardin and Walter Melrose, "My Sweet Lovin' Man"

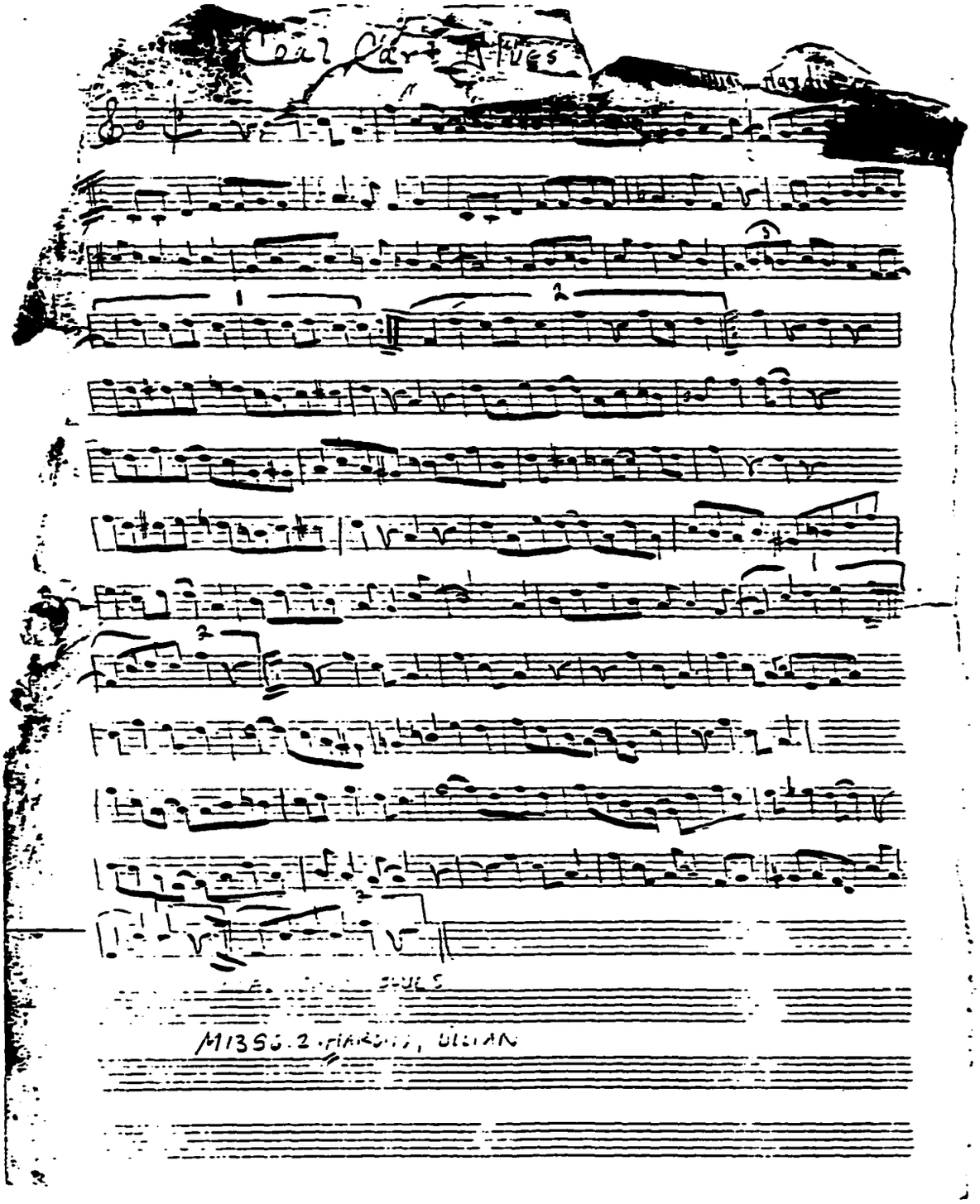


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
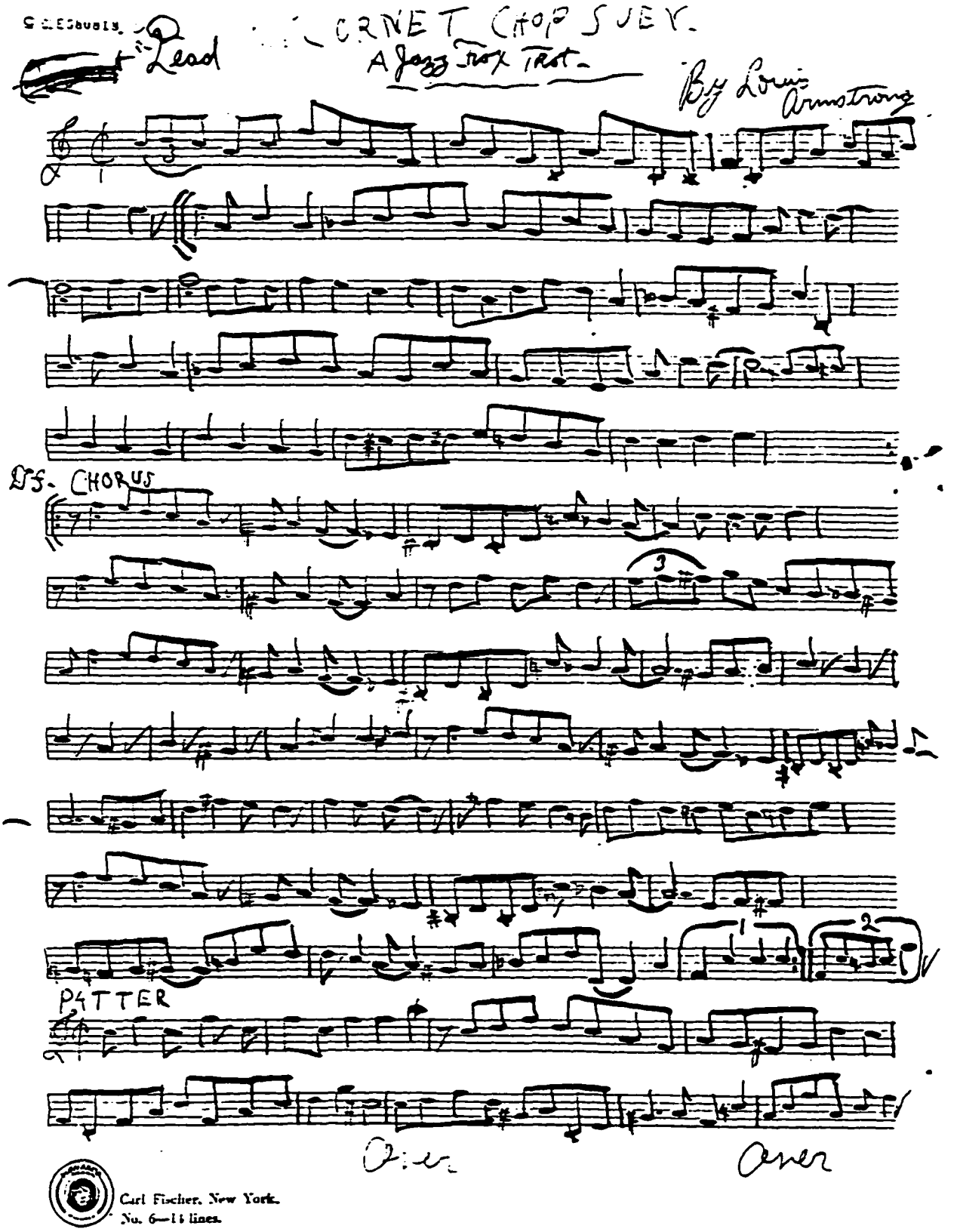


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Louis Armstrong and Lillian Hardin, "Coal Cart Blues"

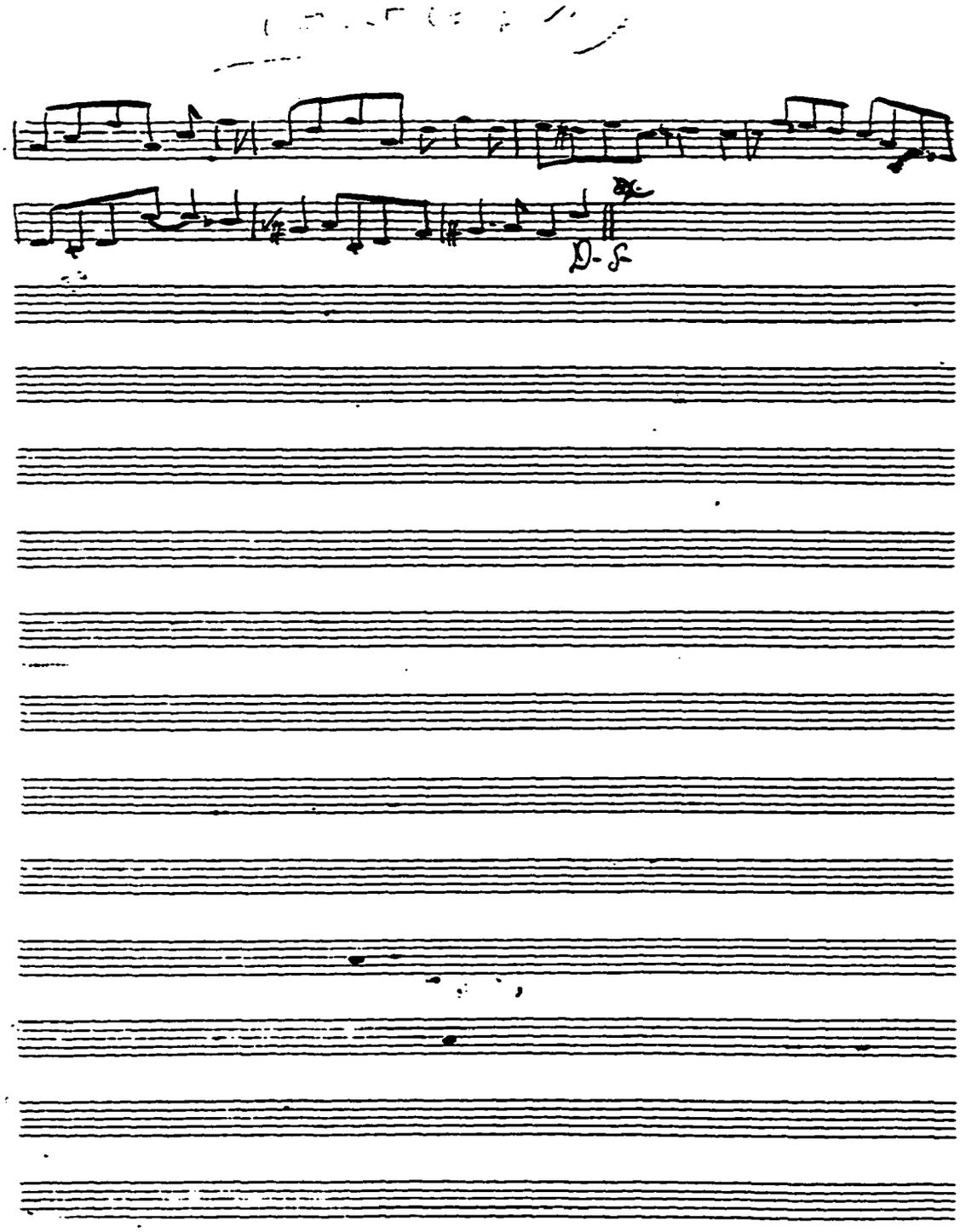


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Louis Armstrong, "Cornet Chop Suey"
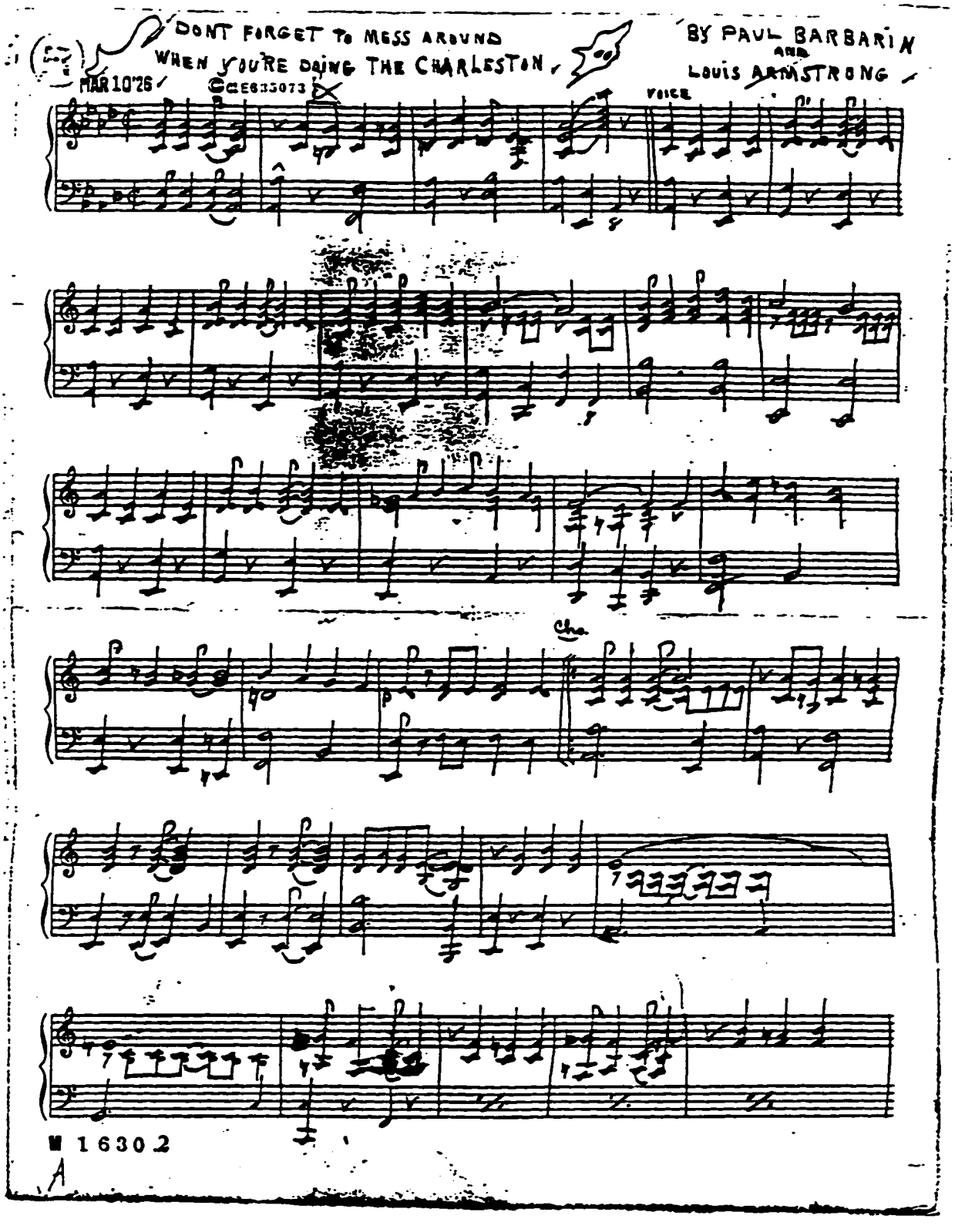


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
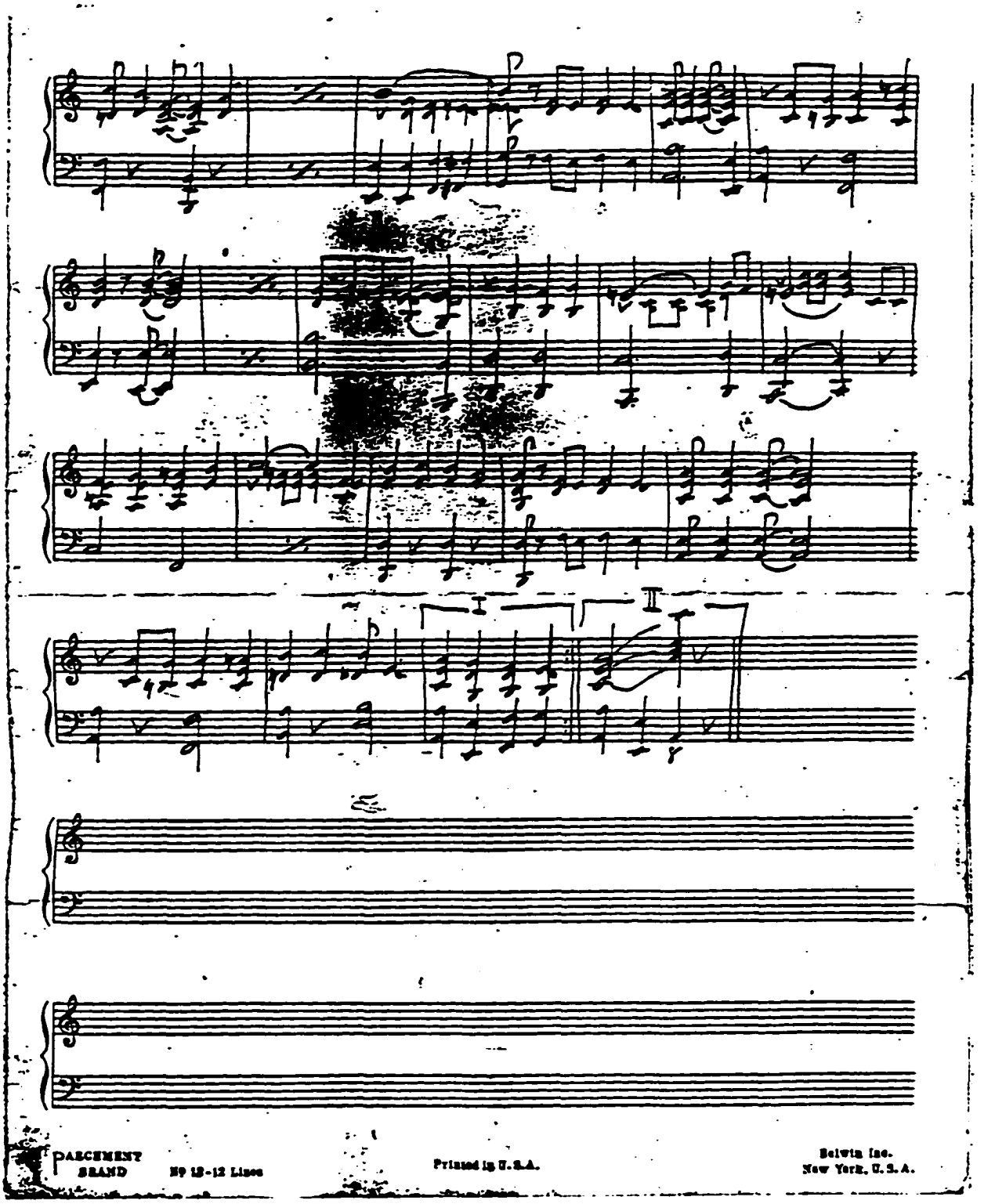


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Louis Armstrong and Paul Barbarin, "Don't Forget to Mess Around When You're Doing the Charleston"
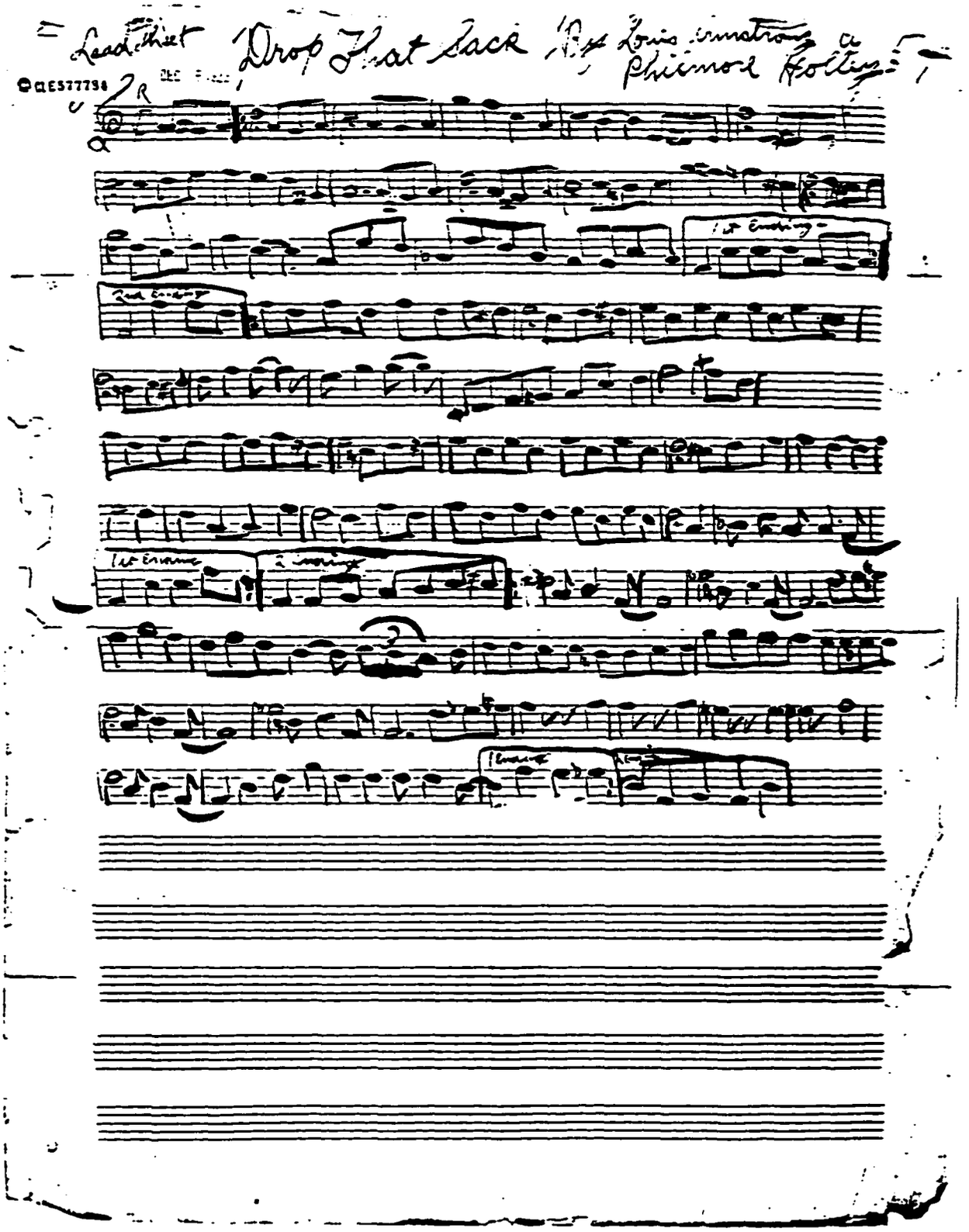


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



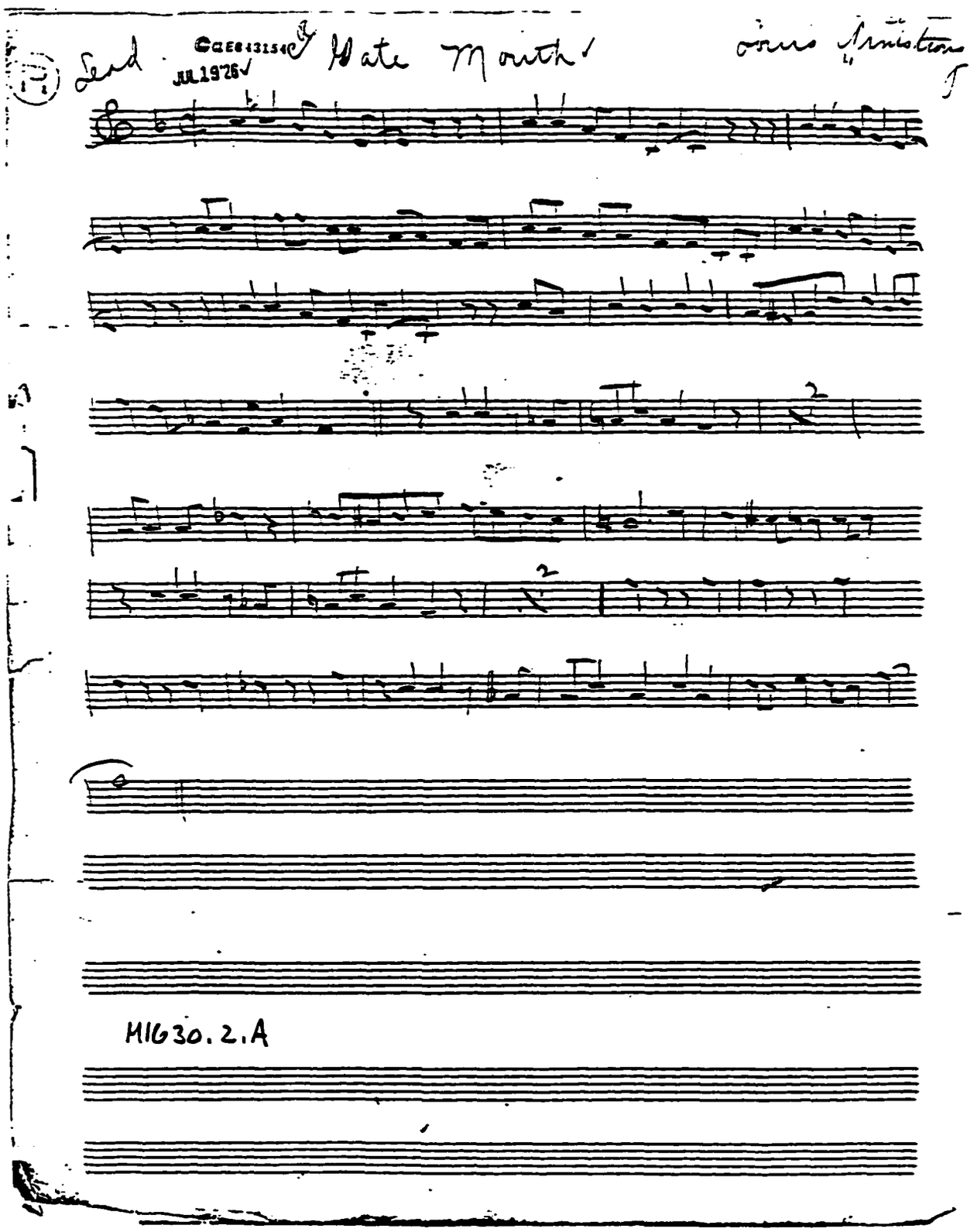
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Louis Armstrong and Philmore Holley, "Drop that Sack"



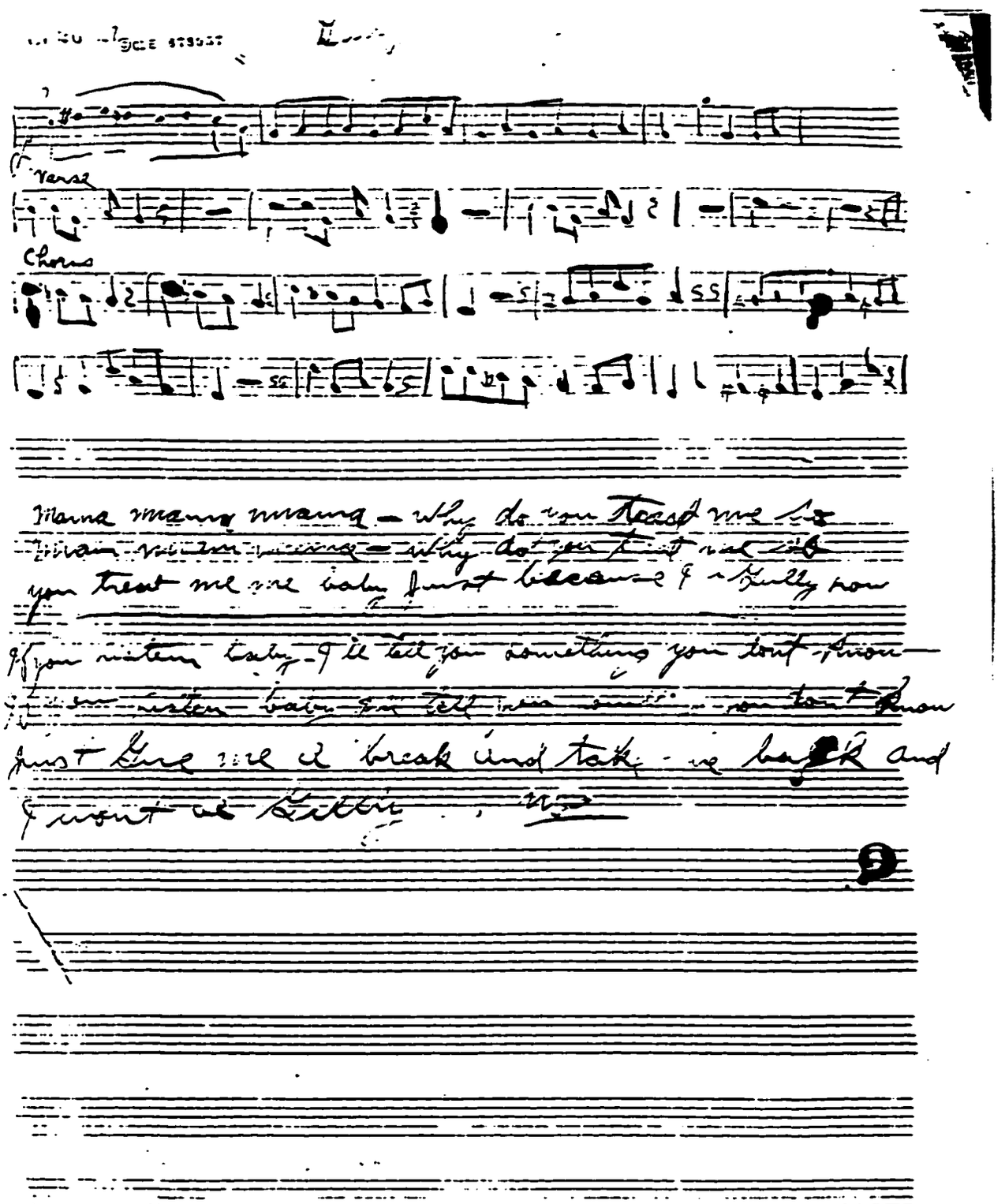
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Louis Armstrong, "Gate Mouth"



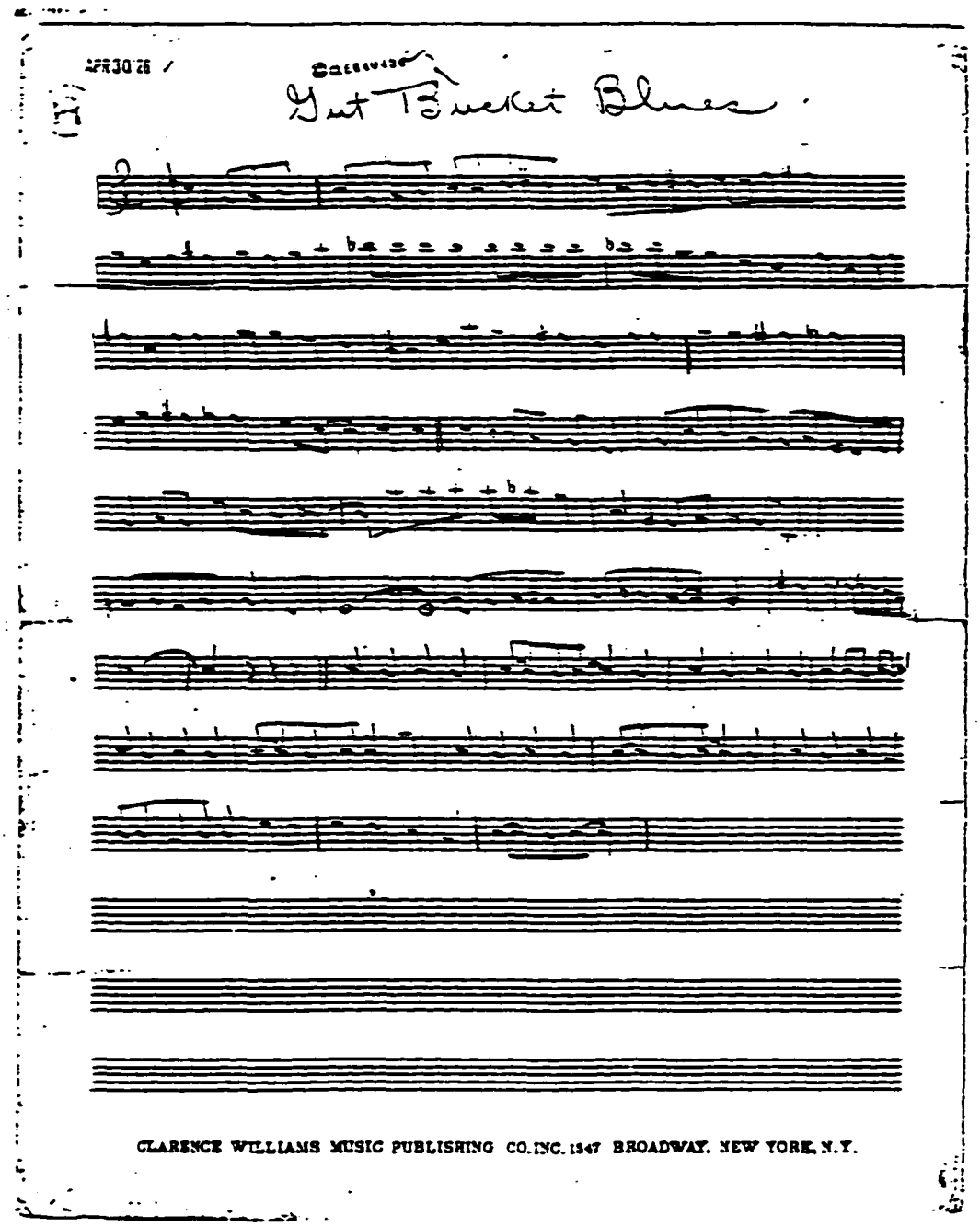
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Louis Armstrong, "Gully Low Blues"
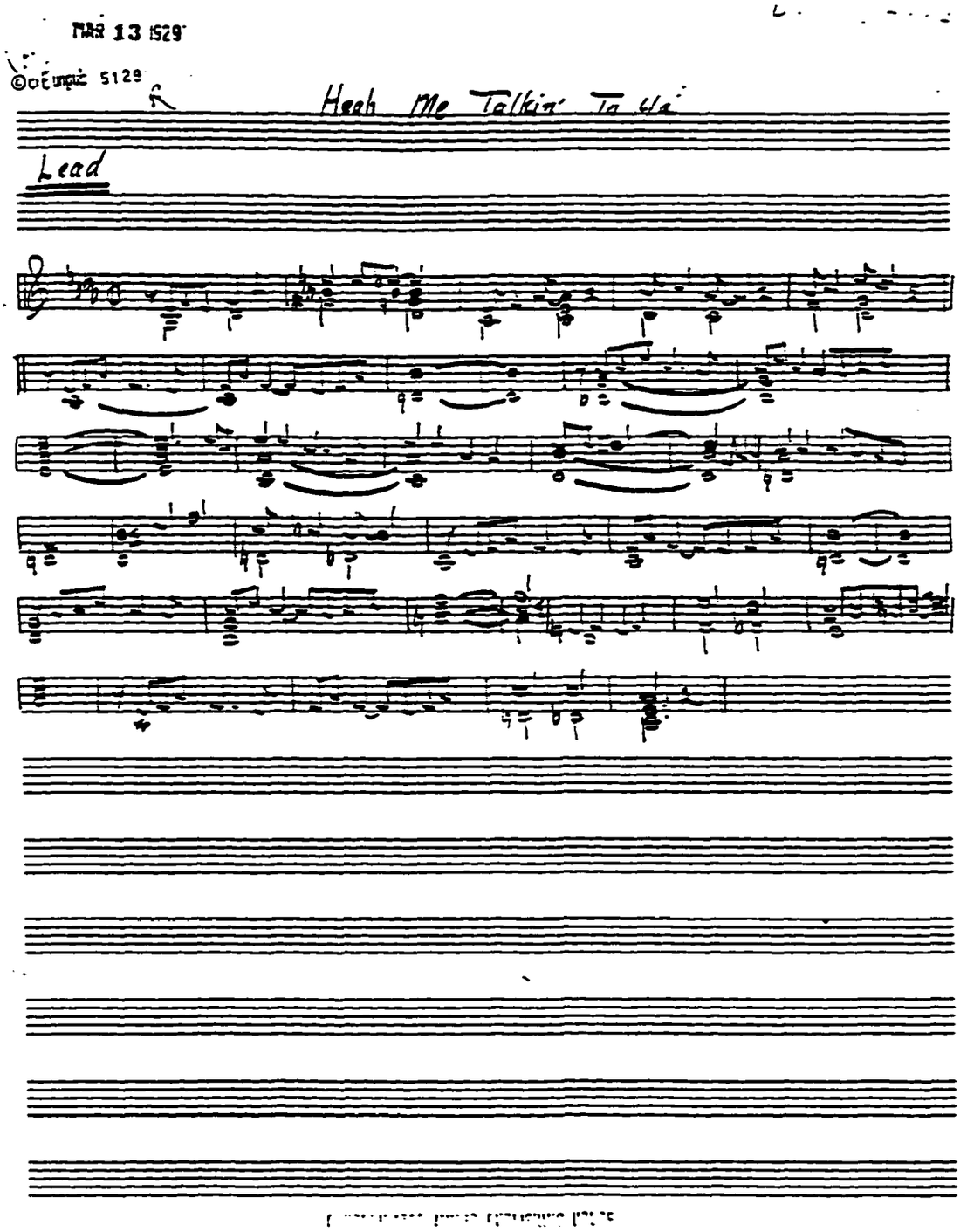


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Louis Armstrong, "Gut Bucket Blues"



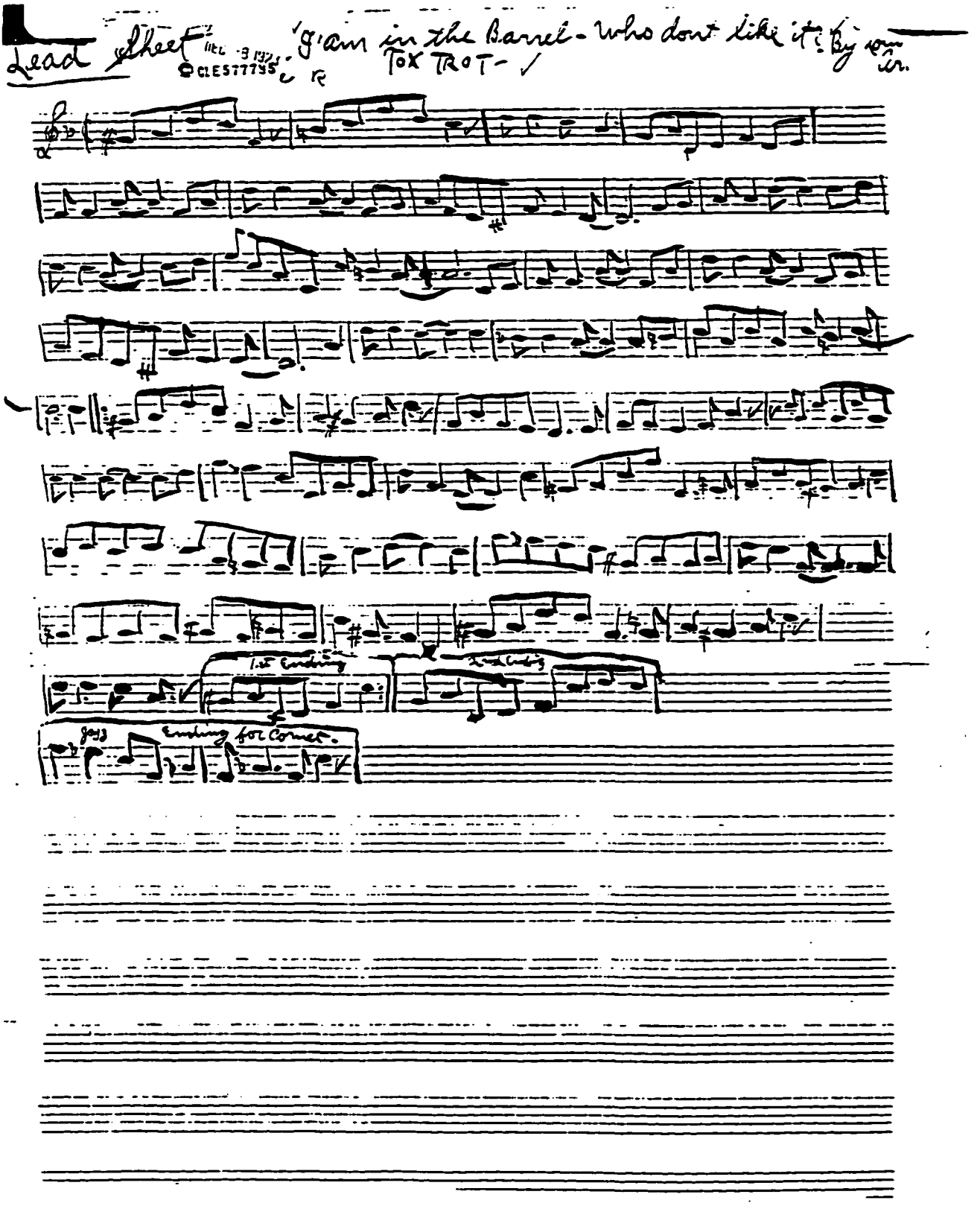
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Louis Armstrong, "Heah Me Talkin' to Ya'"
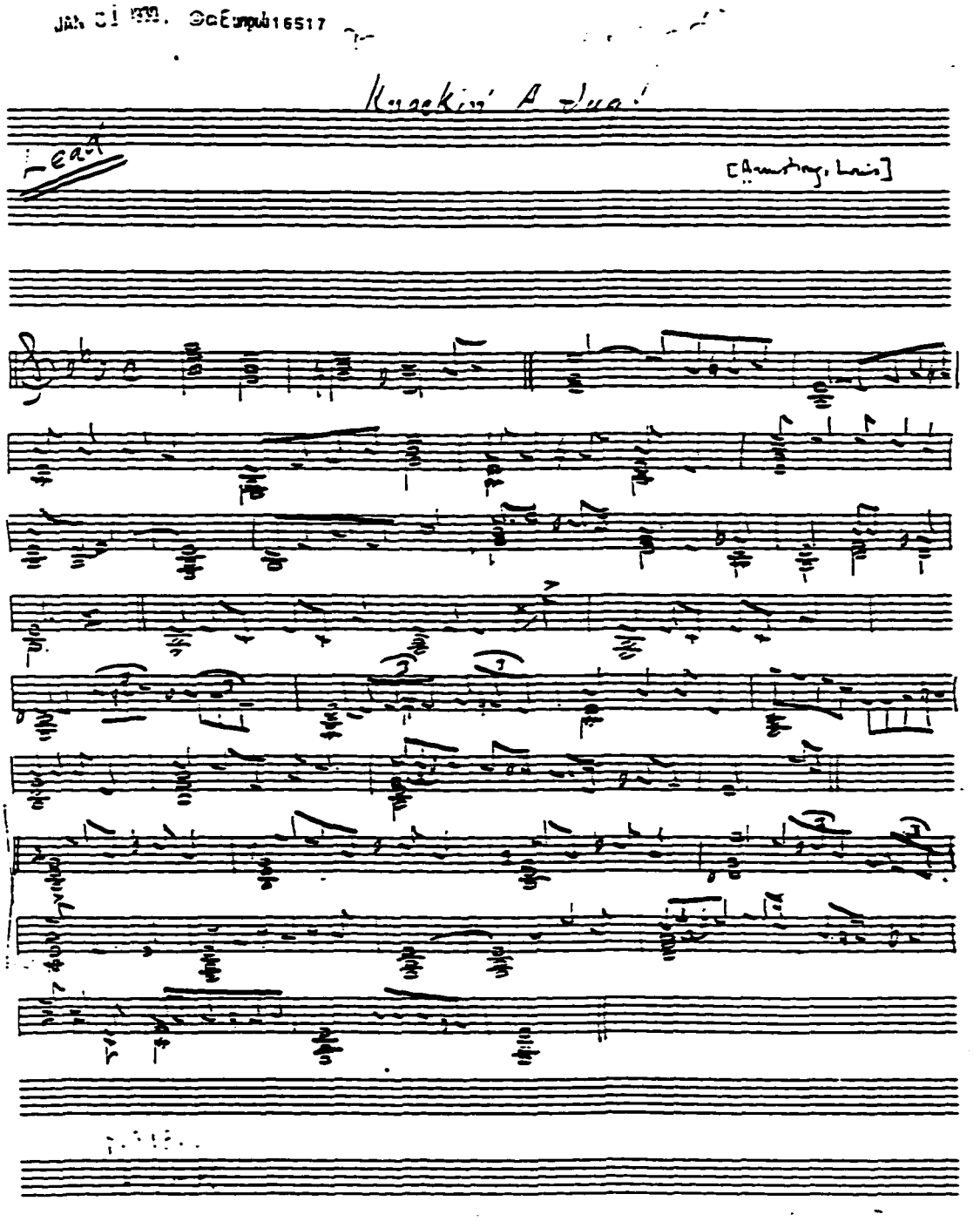


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Louis Armstrong, "I Am In The Barrel, Who Don't Like It?"
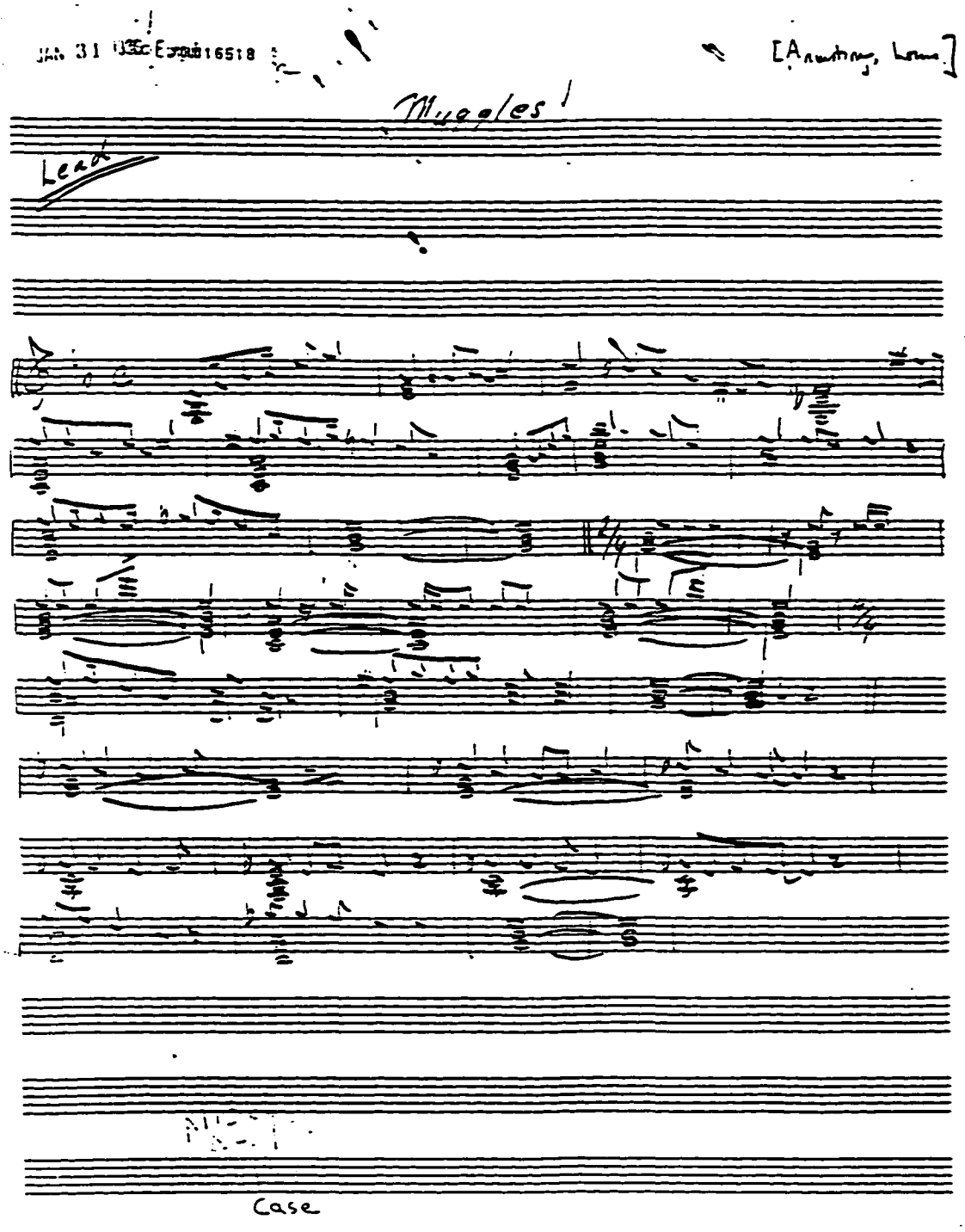


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Louis Armstrong, Knockin' a Jug



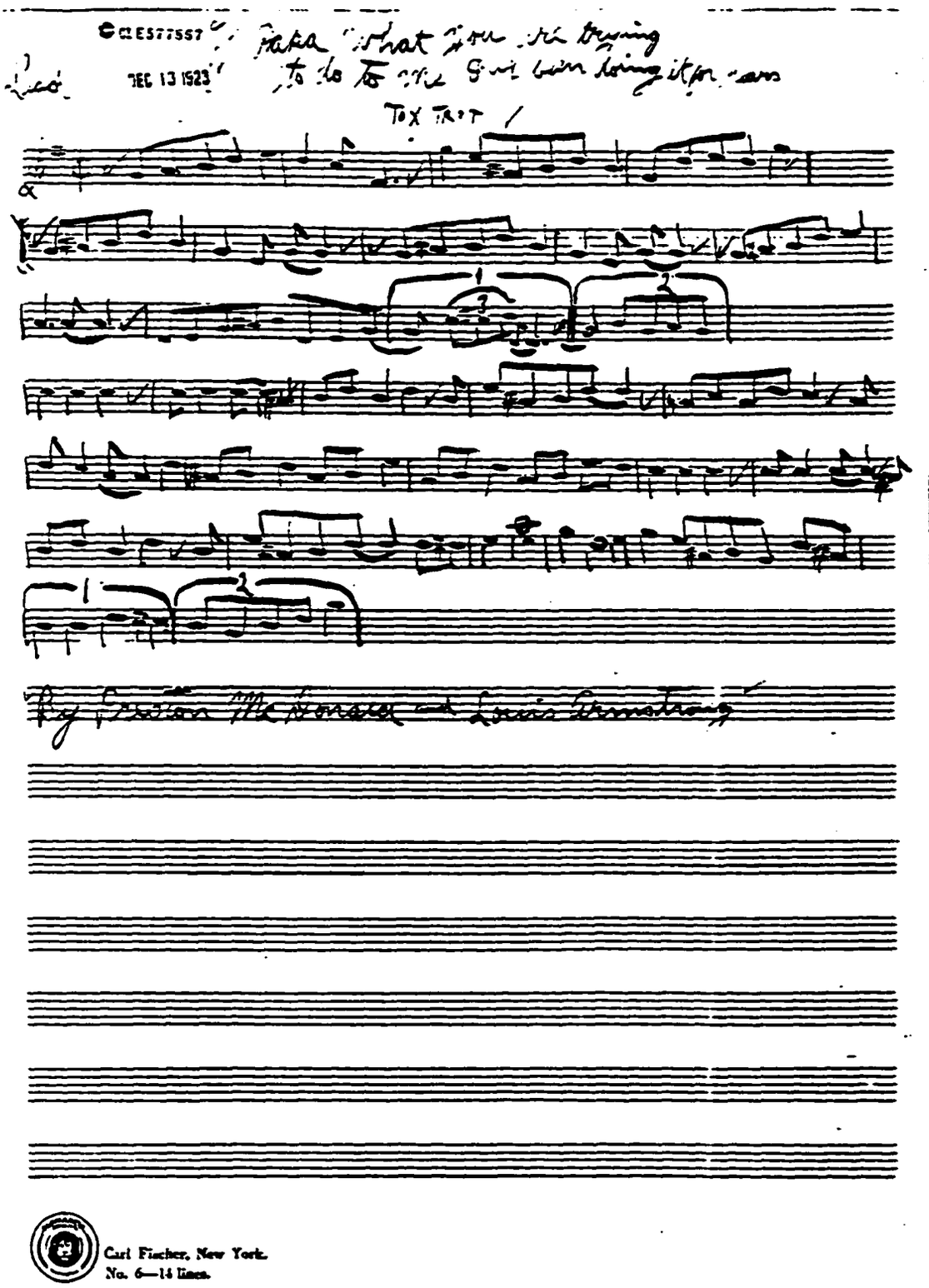
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Louis Armstrong, "Muggles"



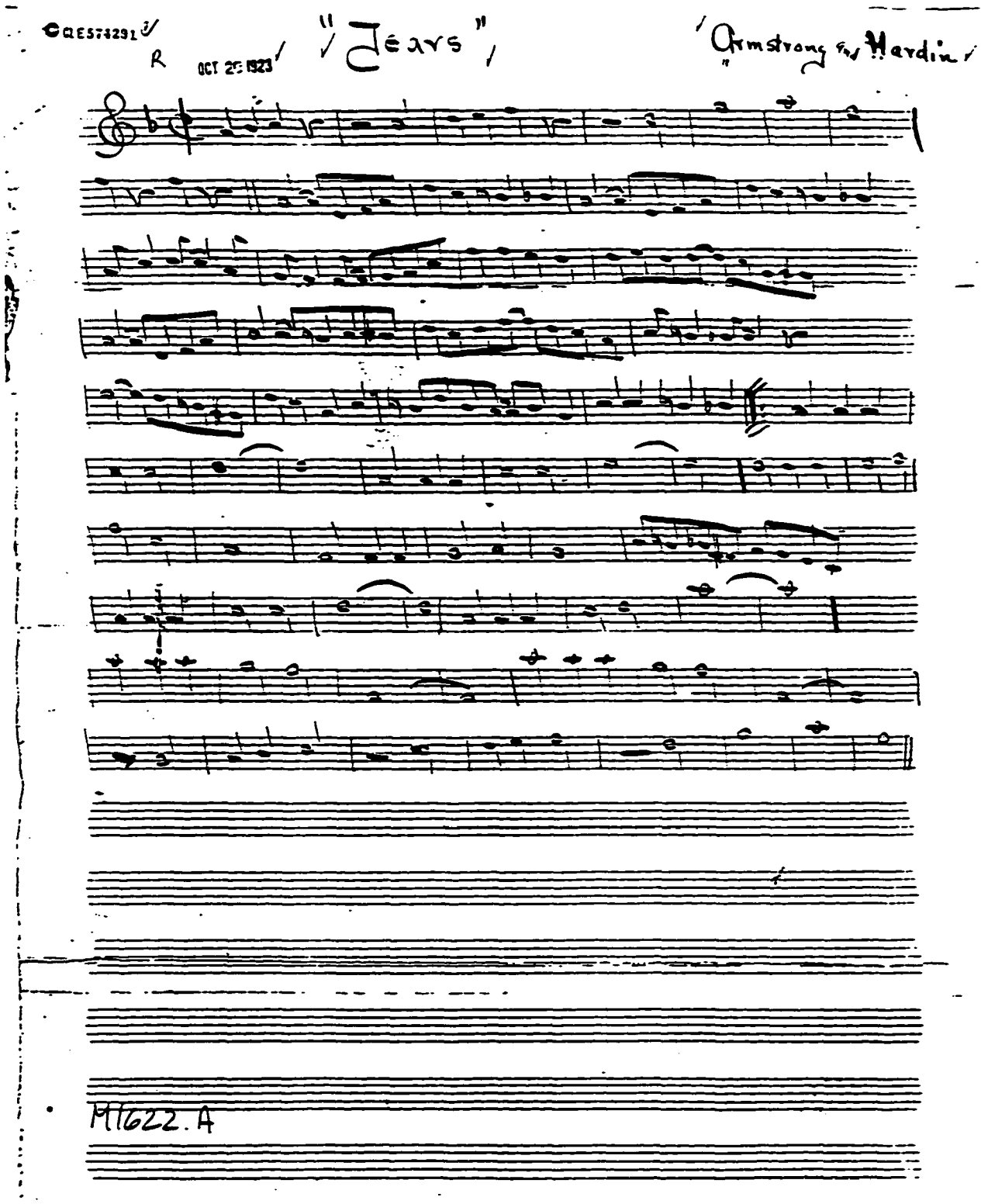
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Louis Armstrong and Preston McDonald, "Papa What You Are Trying To Do To Me I've Been Doing It For Years"



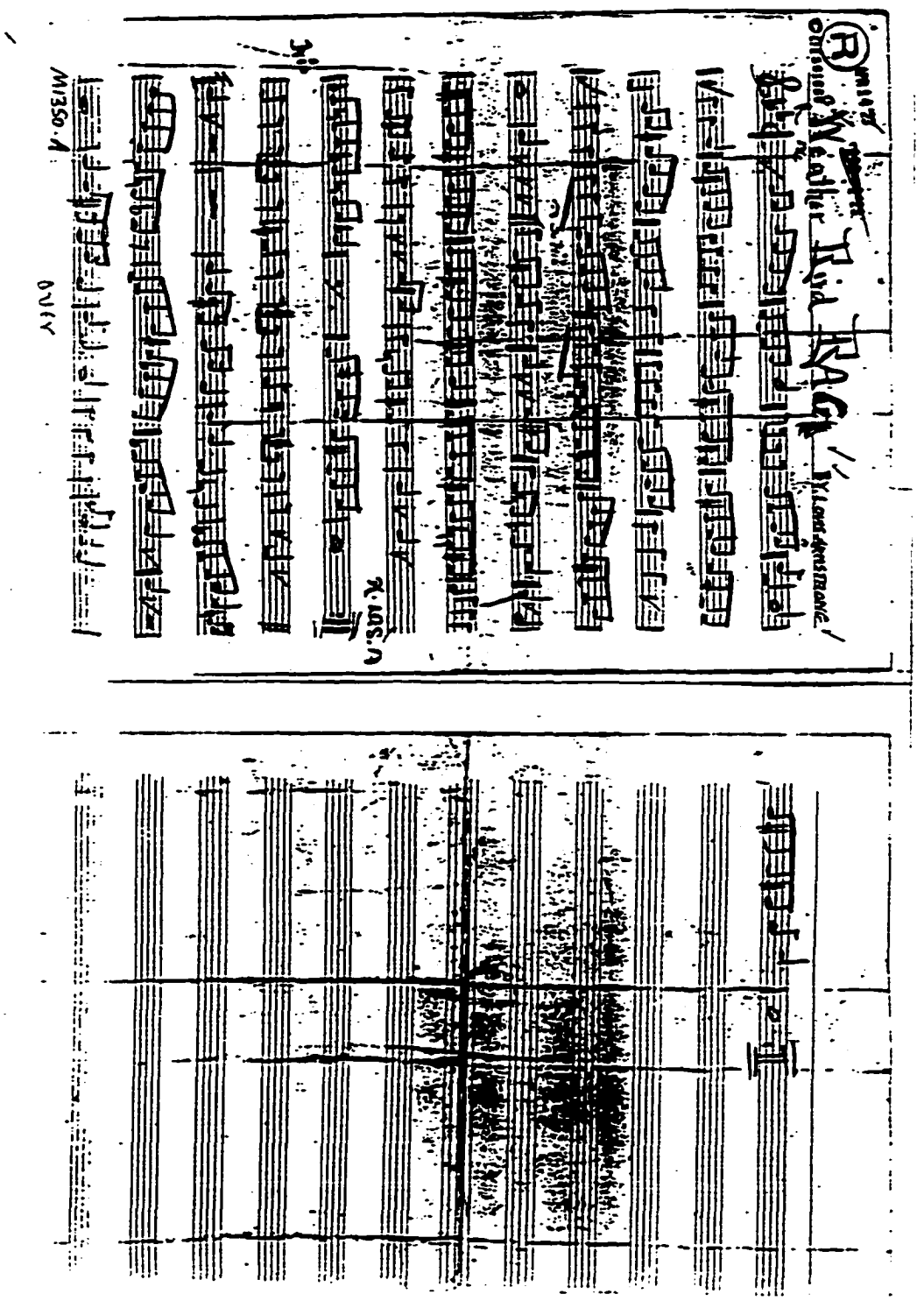
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Louis Armstrong, "Tears"
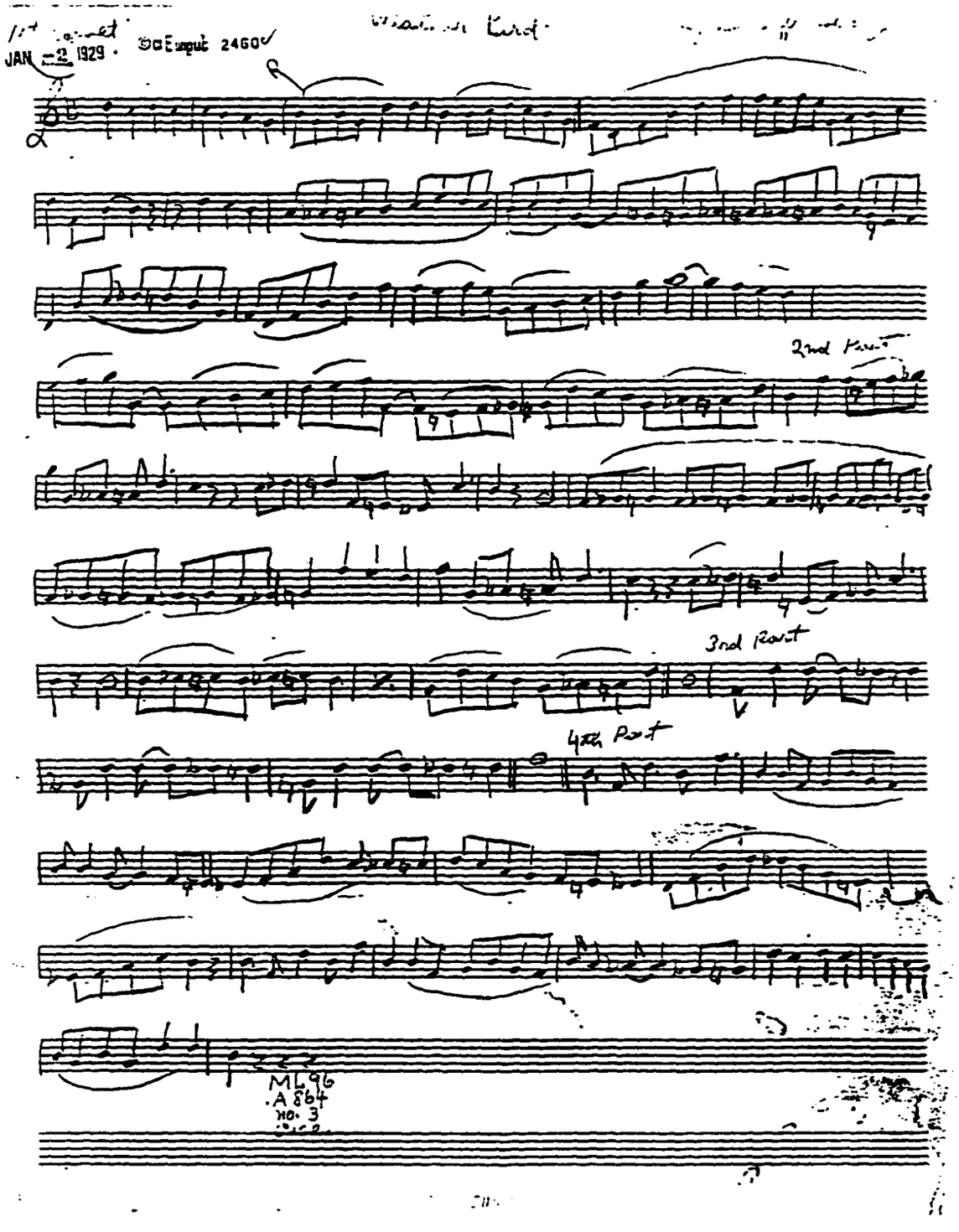


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Louis Armstrong, "Weather Bird Rag"
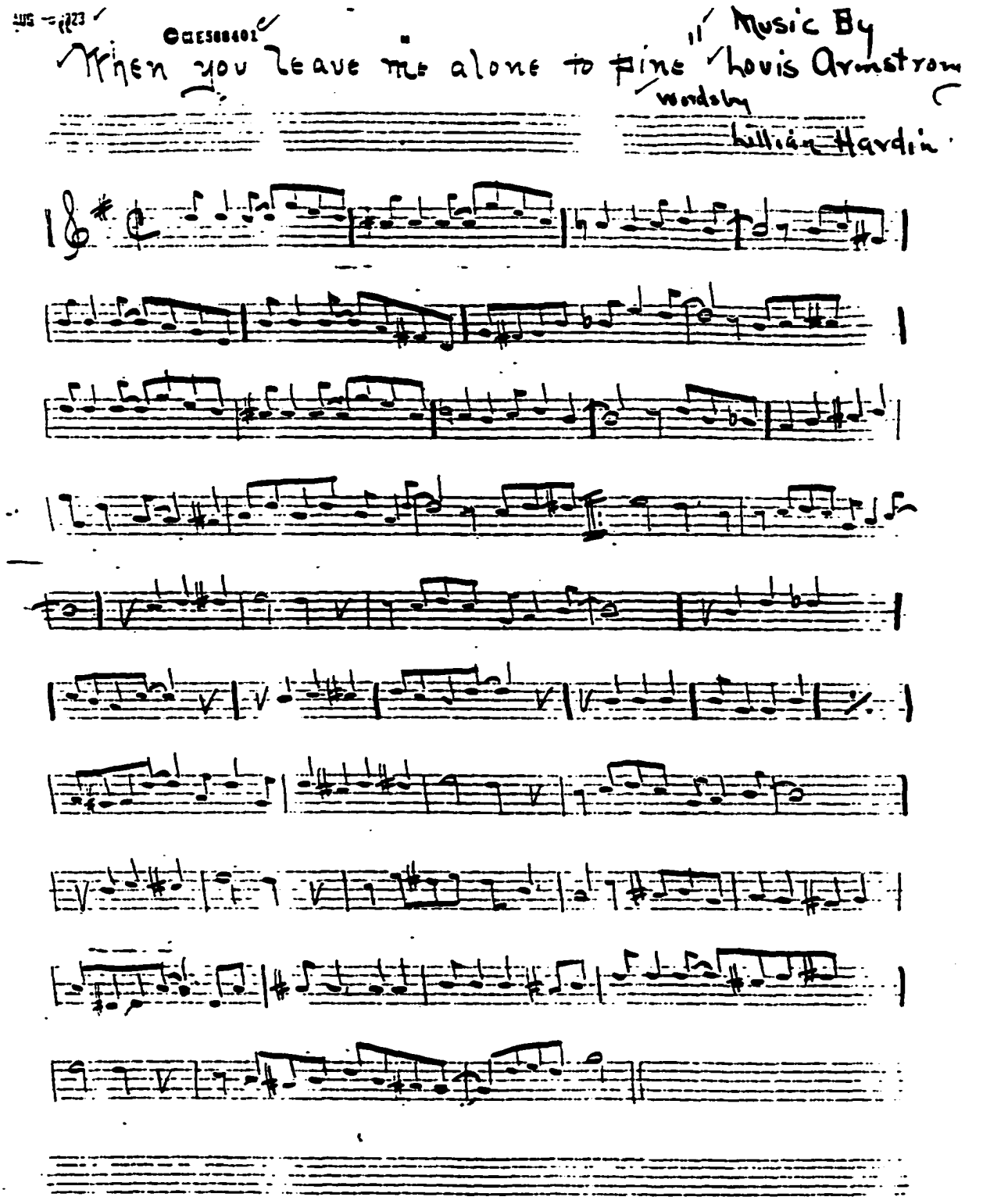


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Louis Armstrong, "Weather Bird"



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Louis Armstrong and Lillian Hardin, "When You Leave Me Alone To Pine"



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

AUG -6 1923 ©CLE568401

Words By,Lillian Harding.
Music By Louis Armstrong.

WHEN YOU LEAVE ME ALONE TO PINE

My Daddy and I have quarrelled [illegible] the,He says He's going away
I have done all I could to please Him,all I knew to ease Him
But I see that It's no use.
I guess He has another Baby and who knows that maybe,She will love abuse
But when He Packs His things and starts His way,He will surely hear me say.

CHORUS

When you leave me,leave me alone to pine,when you leave me I'm going to have some time----
There may be days I'll regret,but I will also forget-----
So don't you hesitate,to catch the freight and get right In line,
And when you leave me I'm going to start to speen
And when you leave me I'll have A Honeymoon,one day In June
And tho'I know I'll be missing your hugs and kissing
think of things I'll get that I've been missing
When you leave me,leave me alone to pine------

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX F

Catalogue of Copyrighted Compositions by 85 Jazz Composers, 1904-1930, Derived from Copyright Deposit Catalogue Information

This Appendix includes information about copyright deposits made by 85 composers of early jazz or jazz-related pieces between 1904 and 1930. The information is presented in the form of a list. It is organized alphabetically by composer with separate entries for each composition. The information in the entries is presented using a uniform procedure. However, because the sources used differed with regard to the degree of information offered, not all of the entries are complete. Three sources were used to obtain the copyright information:

1) The original copyright registration cards. These are kept on file at the Library of Congress. This was the most complete resource and included a great deal of information about the person or company making the deposit.

2) The copyright deposit catalogue for each year of this study. Copies of these catalogues were be found at the Music Research Library of the New York Public Library and at the Government Documents Library at Yale University. These documents are not as comprehensive as the copyright deposit cards.

3) The copyright deposit score. These contain very little information besides the name of the piece and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the composer. However, every deposit, whether it was published or unpublished, has on it a stamp containing the date of deposit and the copyright registration number.

The principal source of copyright information for this appendix was the copyright deposit catalogue. The information from all of these sources is presented in the entries in the following order: Composer (last name, first name); second composer or lyricist; title of composition; name of arranger (where listed); copyright registration number; date of deposit; name of owner of copyright, more frequently the composer, but often the publishing company; city of residence for the owner; miscellaneous information about the deposit. This miscellaneous category includes information that may not have been found with every deposit. For example, deposits that are known to be notated manuscripts are identified as "ms." and, where appropriate, "lead sheet." In addition, published materials are often described in the copyright catalogue by type. It is useful to know whether the piece is an arrangement for piano, a song, or an "orch., 4to."--an orchestration for dance band, a stock arrangement.

There is often a discrepancy of a few days between the copyright date and the actual arrival of published materials, in which case both dates are given in the copyright entry and this second date is included in the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

miscellaneous category. In addition, composers were expected to submit two copies of published materials. The result is that the deposit catalogue lists the arrival date of the materials along with the prefix, "2c."[1]

The copyright registration number is important for locating the copyright deposit at the Library of Congress. Since only pieces by well-known or historically significant jazz musicians, such as Louis Armstrong and Joe "King" Oliver, have been pulled from the warehouse that stores the copyright deposit collection, it is essential that a researcher obtain this number before beginning work at the Library of Congress.[2]

The object of this appendix was to create a list that might shed some new light on early jazz musicians and their professional activities. Since Louis Armstrong was a central figure in this research, he became the starting point for locating information about compositions and copyright. To this end an attempt was made first to

---

[1] For example, the copyright entry for the Ferdinand "Jelly Roll" Morton-Louis Armstrong tune, "Wild Man Blues," published by the Melrose Brothers Music Co. (see Table 2., 1927), indicates that a copyright number was assigned to the piece on June 8, 1927, but the two copies were not received until June 27.

[2] Prior to 1909, the copyright registration number for musical works was preceded by the letter "C" for copyright. This letter was changed to "E" in 1909. In 1928 the Copyright Office further refined its entry procedures, and music deposits were assigned one of two prefixes, "E-pub." or "E-unp." In 1946 the prefix was changed to "EP" and "EU." These prefixes are still in effect today.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

identify all of the available copyright information for the pieces recorded in 1923 by King Oliver and his Creole Jazz Band and for the pieces recorded by Louis Armstrong and his Hot Fives and Hot Sevens between 1925 and 1930. The remainder of the list was, to a considerable degree, developed using Louis Armstrong as a touchstone.

For example, the composer and publishing house of Clarence Williams was an obvious choice since Armstrong made numerous recordings for Williams in 1924 and 1925 as a member of Williams' "Blue Five". Williams became an even more interesting subject from a copyright and music publishing perspective when copyright research turned up two pieces composed by Louis Armstrong and Lillian Hardin and later published by Williams. Most of the deposits made by Williams appeared to be popular songs, ballads and blues by a variety of both well-known and obscure composers. What makes these deposits interesting in their own right is an apparent filing system used by Williams that can be found on many of the lead sheets he deposited. Most of the manuscripts deposited by Williams or his publishing company contain these numbers somewhere on the copyright deposit manuscript. This number, when found on a manuscript, has been included in the miscellaneous section of the Appendix entry.[3]

---

[3] The research with the collection of the Clarence Williams Publishing Company copyright deposit materials is far from over. The examples entered in this appendix are

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Not all of the connections to Armstrong may be immediately obvious. For example, the inclusion of pieces by Thomas A. Dorsey, better known as a seminal figure in the composition of modern gospel music, stems from a recorded performance of his "Riverside Blues" by King Oliver and his Creole Jazz Band in 1923. Pieces by Bessie Smith were included because Armstrong recorded a handful of pieces with her in 1925. The Bessie Smith copyright deposits were interesting because many were lead sheets that did not contain lyrics. This comes as a surprise since Smith was a blues singer and a copyright would have needed to protect the lyrics as well as the melody.[4]

There are several other composers whose connection to Armstrong may tease the imagination of the reader. While it is possible to extract a relationship for many, it should be acknowledged that there are a handful of composers listed in the appendix whose careers or colleagues did not intersect with Armstrong. These people were included because their historical importance was great enough to invite further research. These composers include: Roy Bargy; Perry Bradford; Charles L. "Doc" Cooke; James Reese Europe; and various members of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band,

---

intended to pique the interest of scholars and encourage further research.

[4] I am indebted to Wayne Shirley of the Library of Congress for graciously sharing his research on Bessie Smith with me and urging me to look at the Clarence Williams material.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

especially its leader, Dominick LaRocca.

Armstrong, Lillian. "Flat Foot," E643153, July 19,1926, Lillian Armstrong, Chicago, ms., lead sheet.

Armstrong, Lillian. "I Can't Say," E643155, July 19, 1926, Lillian Armstrong, Chicago, ms., lead sheet.

Armstrong, Lillian. "I'm Not Rough," E690494, May 10, 1928, ms., lead sheet w/lyrics typed at bottom.

Armstrong, Lillian. "Lonesome Blues," E643163, July 19, 1926, Lillian Hardin, Chicago, ms., lead sheet.

Armstrong, Lillian. "Mad Dog," E655467, January 14, 1927, Consolidated Music Publishing House, Chicago, copyright deposit not located.

Armstrong, Lillian. "Papa Dip," E643157, July 19, 1926, Lillian Armstrong, Chicago, ms., lead sheet.

Armstrong, Lillian. "Perdido Street Blues," E643157, July 19, 1926, Lillian Armstrong, Chicago, ms., lead sheet.

Armstrong, Lillian. "Struttin' With Some Barbecue," E695307, July 9, 1928, ms., lead sheet, appears to have been incorrectly notated.

Armstrong, Lillian. "Too Tight Blues," E643159, July 19,1926, Lillian Armstrong, Chicago, ms., lead sheet.

Armstrong, Lillian. "You're Next," E640504, April 30, 1926, Lillian Armstrong, Chicago, ms., lead sheet, Music is notated on Clarence Williams' paper.

Armstrong, Lillian Hardin. "Two Deuces," E696271, July 16, 1928, ms., lead sheet.

Armstrong, Louis. "Cornet Chop Suey," E580818, January 18, 1924, Louis Armstrong, Chicago, ms., lead sheet, Lillian Johnson Hardin is listed as arranger, but the handwriting looks more like Louis Armstrong's. For example, look at the word "cornet: crossed out of left hand corner and at the word "lead" which must have been written in later.

Armstrong, Louis. "Gate Mouth," E643154, July 19, 1926, Louis Armstrong, Chicago ms., lead sheet, Louis never recorded this, but Lil did. The recording was only 6 days before deposit.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Armstrong, Louis. "Gully Low Blues," E678957, November 26, 1927, Consolidated Music Publishing House, Chicago ms., lead sheet, lyrics written separately on the lead sheet beneath the music.

Armstrong, Louis. "Gut Bucket Blues," E640490, April 19, 1926, Louis Armstrong, Chicago, ms., lead sheet, this deposit was notated on Clarence Williams Music paper.

Armstrong, Louis. "Heah me Talkin' to Ya'," EUnp5129, March 13, 1929, Consolidated Music Publishing House, Chicago, ms., lead sheet.

Armstrong, Louis. "I am in the Barrel, Who Don't Like It?" E577785, December 8, 1923, Louis Armstrong, Chicago, ms., lead sheet, Lillian Hardin is listed as arranger.

Armstrong, Louis. "Knockin' a Jug," EUnp16517, January 31, 1930, Consolidated Music Publishing House, Chicago, ms., lead sheet, marked lead in left hand corner, looks like a transcription

Armstrong, Louis. "Muggles," EUnp16518, January 31, 1930, Consolidated Music Publishing House, Chicago ms., lead sheet.

Armstrong, Louis. "Potato Head Blues," E678956, November 26, 1927, Consolidated Music Publishing House, Chicago, ms. not located.

Armstrong, Louis. "Take Your Finger Out of My Salad," E643158, July 19, 1926, Louis Armstrong, Chicago, ms. not located.

Armstrong, Louis. "Weather Bird," EUnp5129, January 2, 1929, Melrose Brothers Music Co. Inc., Chicago, ms., lead sheet marked 1st cornet in upper left hand corner.

Armstrong, Louis. "Weather Bird Rag," E561680, April 14, 1923, Louis Armstrong, Chicago, ms., lead sheet.

Armstrong, Louis. "Where did you stay last night?" arr. Lillian Johnson, E565344, July 2, 1923, Louis Armstrong, Chicago, ms. not found, Lillian Johnson is Lillian Hardin.

Armstrong, Louis with Paul Barbarin. "Don't forget to mess around when you're doing the Charleston," E635073, March 10, 1926, Paul Barbarin and Louis Armstrong, Chicago, ms., lead sheet.

Armstrong, Louis with Lillian Hardin. "Coal Cart Blues," E574625, November 3, 1923, Louis Armstrong and Lillian

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hardin, Chicago, ms., lead sheet.

Armstrong, Louis with Lillian Hardin. "New Orleans Stomp," F. Alexander (arr), Epub50661, Published stock arrangement.

Armstrong, Louis with Lillian Hardin. "New Orleans Cut Out," E569080, September 7, 1923, Louis Armstrong, Chicago, ms. not found.

Armstrong, Louis with Lillian Hardin. "Tears," E574291, October 20, 1923, Armstrong and Hardin, Chicago, ms., lead sheet.

Armstrong, Louis with Lillian Hardin (w). "When You Leave Me Alone to Pine," E568401, August 6, 1923, Louis Armstrong, Chicago, ms., lead sheet, lyric sheet. Later published by Clarence Williams.

Armstrong, Louis with Alex Hill. Melrose Walter (w), "Beau Koo Jack," arr. by Donald Redman, EPub1322, November 27, 1928, Melrose Brothers Music Co. Inc., Chicago, 2c Dec. 10, orch. (stock arrangement). Score was later returned to either Melrose or Armstrong.

Armstrong, Louis with Philmore Holley. "Drop that Sack," E577784, December 8, 1923, Louis Armstrong and Philmore Holley, Chicago, ms., lead sheet, appears to be Louis Armstrong's hand, recording uses 3rd strain only.

Armstrong, Louis with Preston McDonald. "Papa What are you Trying to Do to Me, I've Been Doing it for Years," E577867, December 13, 1923, Louis Armstrong, Chicago. Lillian Hardin Johnson listed as arranger.

Armstrong, Louis with Fred (sic) Morton. "Wild Man Blues," E665814, June 8, 1927, Melrose Brothers Music Co. Inc., Chicago. 2c June 27, 1927.

Atkins, Boyd. "The Heebie Jeebies Dance," E640106, April 14, 1926, Boyd Atkins, Chicago, copyright deposit not found.

Atkins, Boyd. "Heebie Jeebies," Rube Bennet (arr), E651374, October 22, 1926, Consolidated Music Publishing House, Chicago, 2 c. Nov. 1, 1926; pf. and ukulele acc.

Atkins, Boyd with Richard M. Jones. "Heebie Jeebies," Chas. L. Cooke (arr), E645170, July 16, 1926, Consolidated Music Publishing House, Chicago, 2 c. Aug 6, 1926; foxtrot; stock arr.

Paul Barbarin with Luis C. Russell. "Come Back Sweet Papa," E637450, May 1, 1926, Luis C. Russell and Paul Barbarin

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chicago, ms., lead sheet.

Bargy, Roy. "Feedin' the Kitty," Fred K. Huffer (arr.), E605297, December 19, 1924, foxtrot, stock arrangement.

Bargy, Roy. "Get Lucky," Fred K. Huffer (arr.), E605298, December 19, 1924, stock arrangement.

Bargy, Roy with Charley Straight and Hal Billings (w). "Little Thoughts," E534879, April 20, 1922, pub song sheet, piano and vocal acc.

Bargy, Roy with Charley Straight and George Moriarty (w). "Lonely," E521044, September 29, 1921, piano vocal score.

Bloom, Marty with Walter Melrose. "Mandy Lee Blues," Harry Alford (arr), E561358, April 2, 1923, Melrose Brothers Music Co., Chicago, ms., lead.

Bradford, Perry. "Baltimo' Buzz," E410173, September 20, 1917, ms., lead sheet with words underlaid, 2 pages: verse on p.1, chorus on p. 2.

Bradford, Perry. "Crazy Blues," E496016, November 11, 1920, Perry Bradford Music Publishing Co., New York, published piano vocal score.

Bradford, Perry. "Slow Down (at Parlor Social Deluxe)," E621738, October 16, 1925, Perry Bradford Publishing Co. New York, ms., lead sheet w/mus and lyric on p.2, Kid Trent and Fred Longshaw are crossed out on lyric page, see Tucker's discussion in Early Ellington.

Bradford, Perry with Jim Burris. "I'm Gone Dat's All (I'm Gone)," E571572, October 4, 1923, Perry Bradford Music Publishing Co., New York, ms., lead sheet w/ underlaid lyrics, lyric sheet.

Bradford, Perry. "Loving Sam from Alabam," L. C. Caldwell (arr), E319618 June 26, 1913, Perry Bradford, New York, ms., lead sheet.

Bradford, Perry with Charley McCord. "So's Your Old Man," E634167, January 15, 1926, Perry Bradford Music Publishing Co., New York, ms., lead sheet w/ lyrics underlaid, deposited before recording.

Bradford, Perry. "The Baldy Jack Rag," Robert W. Ricketts (arr.), E321461, November 6, 1913, Perry Bradford, Cleveland, ms., lead sheet verse p. 1,2 cho. 2-4, words are oddly underlaid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Brown, Lilian with Wm E. Dumont, "Let's Do It Again," E649854, November 11, 1926, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., Williams number 919, lead sheet, verse sheet.

Brown, Lilian, with Wm E. Dumont. "Send Me a Man," E649853, November 11, 1926, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., Williams number 921.

Brown, Lilian, with Wm E. Dumont. "I'm Hurrying Home," E649855, November 11, 1926, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., Williams number 920, lead sheet and verse sheet.

Brunies, George with Frank Snyder and Jack Pettis. "Bugle Call Blues," E548904, October 21, 1922, John B. Pettis, Chicago, arranged by Elmer Schoebel.

Christian, Buddy with Sam Manning. "Charleston Hop," E650537, October 2, 1926, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., lead sheet, verse sheet.

Christian, Emile with Harry Foster. "Brown Skin Ball," E431690, October 4, 1918, Emile Christian, Detroit, foxtrot, arr. by E. Christian.

Christian Emile with Harry Foster, "Krazy Kat," E431689, October 4, 1918, Emile Christian, Detroit, foxtrot, instrumental, arr. by E. Christian.

Christian, Emile. "Monkey Trot," E431688, October 4, 1918, Leo Feist, Inc., New York.

Christian, Emile with Harry Foster Robinson J. Russel (arr) "Brown Skin's Ball," E438439, December 5, 1918, Emile Christian and Harry Foster, New York, jazz foxtrot.

Christian, Emile with Larry Shields, "Satanic Blues," J. Russel Robinson (arr.), E438441, December 5, 1918, D. J. LaRocca, E. Christian, L. Shields, H. Ragas, A Sbarbaro, New York, foxtrot.

Christian, Emile with Larry Shields. "You Ain't Been Doin' It," J. Robinson Russel (arr.), E433931, November 14, 1918, Emile Christian, New York, foxtrot blues, instrumental.

Cook, Charles L. with Howard C. Jeffrey, "Maybe I'll Come Back," E248115, December 30, 1910, Harold Rossiter Music Co., Chicago.

Cooke, Charles L. "Heroes of the Balkans," E308720, March 20, 1913, Jerome H. Remick and Co., New York, published

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

piano score, march and two-step, 2c, March 21, 1913.

Cooke Charles L. "Tom Brown's Trilling Tune," E393613, December 20, 1916, Buck and Lowney, St. Louis, foxtrot, piano, 2c Dec 29, 1916.

Cooke Charles L., with Harry Alford. "Ev'rybody Loves to Dance," E379866, May 3, 1916, Jerome H. Remick and Co., New York, 2c May 3, 1916.

Cooke, Charles L. with Richard A. Whiting and Ray Egan. "Bo-Peep," E377571, February 16, 1916, Jerome H. Remick and Co., New York, 2c Feb. 17, 1916.

Cooke Charles L. "Snappin' Turtle," E322871, October 27, 1913, Jerome H. Remick and Co., New York, published piano score, 2c Oct. 30, 1913.

Cooke Charles L. "Such is Life," E376541, December 30, 1915 Jerome H. Remick and Co., New York, piano, 2c Dec. 30, 1915.

Dorsey Thomas A. with Joe Meake. "Don't Shimmy No More," E563403, June 28, 1923, Thomas Andrew Dorsey, Chicago, arr. by T. A. Dorsey.

Dorsey, Thomas. "A Heart There Was for You," E558124, February 17, 1923, Thomas Andrew Dorsey, Chicago.

Dorsey, Thomas. "I Just Want a Daddy I Can Call My Own," E560715, March 7, 1923, Thomas Andrew Dorsey, Chicago.

Dorsey, Thomas. "I Just Want a Daddy I Can Call My Own," E568182, July 20, 1923, Jack Mills, Inc., New York, 2c July 26, 1923.

Dorsey, Thomas. "Miss Anna Brown Blues," E569827, October 1, 1923, Thomas Andrew Dorsey, Chicago ms., lead sheet, piano and vocal parts.

Dorsey, Thomas. "Muddywater Blues," E562634, May 24, 1923, Thomas Andrew Dorsey, Chicago.

Dorsey, Thomas. "River Side Blues," E568131, July 27, 1923, Thomas Andrew Dorsey, Chicago.

Dorsey, Thomas. "That Brown 'O-Mine," E561205, March 26, 1923, Thomas Andrew Dorsey, Chicago, ms., lead sheet, fully notated piano vocal score with separate vocal line.

Dorsey, Thomas with Mary Bradford, "Awful Lawdy Lawdy Blues," E696581, July 27, 1928, ms., lead sheet, lyric

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sheet.

Dorsey, Thomas with Lloyd Smith. "If You Don't Believe I'm Leaving, Count the Days I'm Gone," E491668, October 9, 1920, Lloyd Smith and Thomas Dorsey, Chicago.

Dorsey, Thomas with Alva White. "Blue Monday Blues," E568544, August 11, 1923, Chicago Music Co., Port Washington, Wis.

Dorsey, Thomas with Albert Wynn. "That Creole Band," E645554, August 23, 1926, ms., lead sheet.

Dorsey, Thomas A. "If I Don't Get There," E546182, September 11, 1922, Thomas Andrew Dorsey, Chicago.

Dowell, J. Edgar. "Hoot-el-ee-hoot," E649851, November 11, 1926, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., Williams #767, Part states 1st violin at top, (not lead), includes lead sheet and verse sheet.

Europe, James. "My Heart Goes Thumping and Bumping for You," 74730, July 21, 1904, published piano-vocal score.

Europe, James with William Estren (w). "Arizona ('Neath the rosy tinted skies of Arizona)," 71581, May 26, 1904, Publishing piano-vocal score.

Europe James R. "Blue Eyed Sue," 74370, Publishing piano vocal score.

Europe, James R. with "Jolly" John Larkins. "A Royal Coon," 1?3441 (# is illegible on Music), June 1, 1907, published piano vocal score.

Europe, James Reese. "Castle House Rag," E331380, March 9, 1914, Joseph W. Stern and Co. New York, trot and one step, piano, 2c Mar. 10, 1914.

Europe, James Reese. "Castles in Europe," E331379, March 9, 1914, Joseph W. Stern and Co., New York, the innovation trot, piano, 2c Mar. 10, 1914

Europe, James Reese. "The Clef Club," E245119, December 1, 1910, F. B. Haviland Publishing Co., New York, grand march and two-step.

Europe, James Reese. "Fiora," E348829, October 3, 1914, G. Ricordi and Co. Inc., New York, valse, piano, 2c Oct. 10, 1914.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Europe, James Reese. "Hilo," E387260, July 10, 1916, G. Ricordi and Co., Inc., New York, Hawaiian waltz, piano, 2c July 11, 1916.

Europe, James Reese. "Likin' Ain't Lovin'," 167177, November 15, 1907, Victoria Music Co., New York.

Europe, James Reese. "Myosotis," E365267, July 14, 1915, G. Ricordi and Co., Inc., New York, piano, 4to., 3c. July 15, 1915.

Europe, James Reese. "Obadiah (You took advantage of me)," 88284, January 26, 1905, published piano vocal score.

Europe, James Reese. "Rouge et Noir," E362278, May 7, 1915, G. Ricordi and Co., Inc., New York, piano, 2c May 8, 1915, [copyright is claimed on arrangement].

Europe, James Reese. "Valse Marguerite," E338837, April 28, 1914, Joseph W. Stern and Co., New York, hesitation, piano, 2c Apr. 29, 1914.

Europe, James Reese. "What It Takes to Make Me Love You--You've Got It," E329867, January 27, 1914, Joseph W. Stern, New York, words and music, copyright is for melody only.

Europe, James Reese. "Castle House Rag," Tom Clark (arr.), E339154, May 9, 1914, Joseph W. Stern and Co., New York, trot and one step, published arrangement for band, 2c May 11, 1914, copyright is claimed on arrangement.

Europe, James Reese. "Castles in Europe," Tom Clark (arr), E335577, April 17, 1914, Joseph W. Stern and Co., New York, innovation trot, 2c April 18, 1914, #303, published arrangement for band.

Europe, James Reese with Bob Cole. "Pliney, Come Out In the Moonlight," E223232, January 10, 1910, Jerome H. Remick and Co., New York, published song.

Europe, James Reese with Bob Cole (w). "I Ain't Had No Lovin' In a Long Time," 187816, August 24, 1908, Joseph W. Stern and Co., New York.

Europe, James Reese with Bob Cole (w). "On the Gay Luneta," 128082, March 29, 1906, published song.

Europe, James Reese with Bob Cole (w). "Picanninny Days," E219546, November 24, 1909, Jerome H. Remick and Co., New York, song from The Red Moon.

Europe, James Reese with Henry Creamer. "Droop Dem Eyes,"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

E285799, June 11, 1912, Waterson, Berlin and Snyder Co., New York, published.

Europe, James Reese with Henry Creamer (w). "Father's Gone to the War," E362201, May 3, 1915, G. Ricordi and Co., Inc., New York, 2 c. May 4, 1915.

Europe, James Reese with Henry Creamer (w). "Follow on (March Song)," E365184, July 8, 1915, G. Ricordi and Co., Inc., New York, published piano vocal score, march song, 2c July 9, 1915.

Europe, James Reese with Henry Creamer (w), "I Must Have Someone Who Loves Me," E361812, May 13, 1915, G. Ricordi and Co., Inc., New York, 2c May 14, 1915.

Europe, James Reese with Henry Creamer (w). "I'll Hit the Homeward Trail (Molly May)," E362202, May 3, 1915, G. Ricordi and Co., Inc., New York, 2c May 4, 1915.

Europe, James Reese with Henry Creamer (w). "Rat-a-tat Drummer Boy," E370853, September 24, 1915, G. Ricordi and Co., Inc., New York, 2c Sept 27, 1915.

Europe James Reese with Henry Creamer (w) Oh, Silvery Star E298629, November 16, 1912, Joseph W. Stern and Co., New York, 2c Nov.18, 1912.

Europe, James Reese with Henry Creamer (w). "Some Day You'll Want a Home of Your Own," E365185, July 8, 1915, G. Ricordi and Co., Inc., New York, 2c July 9, 1915.

Europe, James Reese with Henry Creamer (w). "Syncopated Minuet," E366985, September 20, 1915, G. Ricordi and Co., Inc., New York, 2c Sept 21, 1915.

Europe, James Reese with Henry Creamer (w). "Tinkle a Little Tune," E373096, October 25, 1915, G. Ricordi and Co., Inc., New York, 2c Oct 26, 1915.

Europe, James Reese with Henry Creamer (w). "Wait for Me," E361813, May 13, 1915, G. Ricordi and Co.,Inc., New York, 2c, May 14, 1915.

Europe, James Reese with Ford T. Dabney, "Castle Combination," E342319, June 2, 1914, Joseph W. Stern and Co., New York, waltz trot, 2c June 3, 1914.

Europe, James Reese with Ford T. Dabney. "Castle Perfect Trot," Carl F. Williams (arr), E342274, May 29, 1914, Joseph W. Stern and Co., New York, one trot, stock arrangement, 2c June 1, 1914, score is doubled w/Castle Walk.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Europe, James Reese with Ford T. Dabney and Gene Buck (w). "Boy of Mine," E365176, July 10, 1915, T. B. Harms and Francis, Day and Hunter, New York, 2c July 10, 1915.

Europe, James Reese with Ford T. Dabney. "Castle Innovation Tango," E338060, April 7, 1914, Joseph W. Stern and Co., New York, Argentine tango, piano, 2c Apr. 8, 1914.

Europe, James Reese with Ford T. Dabney. "Castle Lame Duck," E339026, May 5, 1914, Joseph W. Stern and Co., New York, waltz, 2c May 8, 1914.

Europe, James Reese with Ford T. Dabney. "Castle Maxixe," E338061, April 7, 1914, Joseph W. Stern and Co., New York, Brazilian maxixe, piano, 2c April 8, 1914.

Europe, James Reese with Ford T. Dabney. "Castle Perfect Trot," E338777, April 28, 1914, Joseph W. Stern and Co., New York, one step, piano, 2c April 29, 1914.

Europe, James Reese with Ford T. Dabney. "The Castle Walk," E335244, April 2, 1914, Joseph W. Stern and Co., New York, trot and one step, piano, 2c Apr. 3, 1914.

Europe, James Reese with Ford T. Dabney. "Castle's Half and Half," E334797, March 17, 1914, Joseph W. Stern and Co., New York, piano, 2c March 18, 1914.

Europe, James Reese with Ford T. Dabney. "Castle's Half and Half," Wm. Schultz (arr), E335629, April 24, 1914, Joseph W. Stern and Co., New York, orch. with piano acc. (stock arrangement), 2 c. April 25, 1914, copyright is claimed on arrangement.

Europe, James Reese with James Weldon Johnson. "What It Takes To Make Me Love You--You've Got It," E334051, February 13, 1914, Joseph W. Stern and Co., New York, 2c Feb. 14, 1914.

Europe, James Reese with Cecil Mack (w). "Someone's Waiting Down in Tennessee," E305081, February 21, 1913, Waterson, Berlin and Snyder Co., New York.

Europe, James Reese. "Monkey-Doodle," J. Louis Von der Mehden, Jr. (arr), E362392, May 11, 1915, G. Ricordi and Co., Inc., New York, piano, 2c May 12, 1915.

Europe, James Reese. "Monkey-Doodle," J. Louis von der Mehden, Jr. (arr), E361820, May 15, 1915, G. Ricordi and Co., Inc., New York, cake walk--one step, stock arrangement, 2c May 17, 1915.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Europe, James Reese. "Myosotis," J. Louis von der Mehden, Jr. (arr), E365266, July 14, 1915, G. Ricordi and Co., Inc., New York, valse, Orchestra (stock arrangement), 2c July 15, 1915.

Europe, James Reese. "The Castle Doggy Fox Trot," J. Louis von der Mehden, Jr. (arr), E359553, March 24, 1915, G. Ricordi and Co., Inc., New York, Orchestra (stock arrangement), 2c March 25, 1915.

Europe, James Reese. "The Castle Doggy Fox Trot J. Louis von der Mehden, Jr. (arr), E359552, March 24, 1915, G. Ricordi and Co., Inc., piano solo, 2c March 25, 1915.

Europe, James Reese. "Congratulations," J. Louis von der Mehden, Jr. (arr), E334916, March 21, 1914, G. Ricordi and Co., Milan, or "Castle's Lame Duck Waltz," Piano, 2c March 23, 1914.

Europe, James Reese. "Congratulations," J. Louis von der Mehden, Jr. (arr), E334915, March 21, 1914, G. Ricordi and Co., Milan, below title: Listed by Victor Talking Machine Co., as "Castle's Lame Duck Waltz," Orchestra (stock arrangement), 2c March 23, 1914.

Europe, James Reese. "Congratulations," J. Louis von der Mehden, Jr. (arr), E335658, April 24, 1914, G. Ricordi and Co., Milan, Castle's Lame Duck Waltz, 4to., 2c April 25, 1914.

Europe, James Reese. "Fiora," J. Louis von der Mehden, Jr. (arr), E347863, September 25, 1914, G. Ricordi and Co., Milan, valse, orchestra (stock arrangement), 2c Sept. 26, 1914.

Europe, James Reese. "Hey! There!," J. Louis von der Mehden, Jr. (arr), E362274, May 7, 1915, G. Ricordi and Co., Inc., New York, one step march, orchestra (stock arrangement), 2c May 8, 1915.

Europe, James Reese. "Hi! There!," J. Louis von der Mehden, Jr. (arr), E362279, May 7, 1915, G. Ricordi and Co., Inc., one step march, pf., 2c May 8, 1915.

Europe, James Reese. "Queen Louise," J. Louis von der Mehden, Jr. (arr), E361049, April 9, 1915, G. Ricordi and Co., Inc., New York, valse hesitation, piano fol., 2c April 10, 1915.

Europe, James Reese. "Queen Louise," J. Louis von der Mehden, Jr. (arr), E361050, April 9, 1915, G. Ricordi and Co., Inc., New York, valse hesitation, orch. 4to (stock

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

arrangement), 2c April 10, 1915.

Europe, James Reese. "Rouge et Noir," J. Louis von der Mehden, Jr. (arr), E361421, April 21, 1915, G. Ricordi and Co., Inc., New York, walk, orchestra 4to. (stock arrangement), April 22, 1915.

Europe, James Reese with Chris Smith. "Ballin' the Jack," E343525, August 7, 1914, Joseph W. Stern and Co., New York, foxtrot, 2c Aug 8, 1914, copyright is claimed on arrangement.

Europe, James Reese. "Castles in Europe," Maurice F. Smith (arr), E334983, March 24, 1914, Joseph W. Stern and Co., New York, the innovation trot, orchestra with piano acc. 4to (stock arrangement), 2c Mar. 25, 1914, copyright is claimed on arrangement, Stern #769.

Europe, James Reese with Henry Troy (w). "Sweet Suzanne," E237499, August 29, 1910, F. B. Haviland Publishing, Co., New York.

Europe, James Reese. "Castle House Rag," Carl F. Williams (arr), E331981, April 4, 1914, Joseph W. Stern and Co., New York, trot and one step, orch w piano acc., 4to. (stock arrangement), 2c Apr. 6, 1914, copyright is claimed on arrangement.

Europe, James Reese. "The Castle Walk," Carl F. Williams (arr) E338776, April 28, 1914, Joseph W. Stern and Co., New York, trot and one step, orchestra, piano acc. 4to. (stock arrangement), 2c April 29, 1914, copyright is claimed on arrangement.

Gray, Len. "Ariana," E691186, May 2, 1928, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., lead sheet.

Gray, Len. "Cassandra," E691187, May 2, 1928, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., lead sheet, Williams #1004.

Gray, Len. "Faithful (Meditation)" E691188, May 2, 1928, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., lead sheet, Williams # 1003, a great deal of info is given on ms. about hand usage, dynamics, this ms. appears to be piano work.

Gray, Len with Al Gifford Jr. "Lazy Mama," E691193, May 2, 1928, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., lead sheet, verse sheet.

Green, Eddie. "I'm Leaving You," June 21, 1924, ms., lead

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sheet, lyric sheet Williams #539.

Green, Eddie. "I'm Sorry for it Now," E589368, June 21, 1924, ms., lead sheet, lyric sheet, Williams #540, crossed out title "Everything I Ever Did to You."

Hardin, Lillian. "Don't Jive Me," E696270, July 16, 1928, ms., lead sheet.

Hardin, Lillian. "Dropping Shucks," E643160, July 19, 1926, Lillian Hardin, Chicago, ms., lead sheet, written on Clarence Williams Music paper.

Hardin, Lillian. "Got No Blues," E690493, May 10, 1928, ms., lead sheet, title is pasted over words, "I'm not rough".

Hardin, Lillian. "I'm Gonna Get Cha," E643153, July 19, 1926, Lillian Hardin, Chicago, ms., lead sheet.

Hardin, Lillian. "Jazz Lips," E654274, December 6, 1926, Consolidated Music Publishing House Chicago, ms. not located.

Hardin, Lillian. "King of the Zulus," E643162, July 19, 1926, Lillian Hardin, Chicago, ms. not located.

Hardin, Lillian. "King of the Zulus," E645978, September 9, 1926, comic talk, Consolidated Music Publishing House, Chicago, ms. not located.

Hardin, Lillian. "Knee Drops," E696269, July 16, 1928, Consolidated Music Publishing House, Chicago, ms., lead sheet.

Hardin, Lillian. "Last Time Blues," E674699, October 14, 1927, Lillian Hardin, Chicago, ms., lead sheet, on recording title is listed as "The Last Time."

Hardin, Lillian. "Lonesome Blues," E643163, July 19, 1926, Lillian Hardin, Chicago.

Hardin, Lillian. "No Flower Can Compare With My Sweet Smelling Man," E546616, September 25, 1922, Lillian Hardin, Chicago, ms., lead sheet w/lyrics underlaid.

Hardin, Lillian. "Skat Blues," E654276, December 6, 1926, Consolidated Music Publishing House, Chicago.

Hardin, Lillian. "Skit-dat-de-dat," E654276, December 6, 1926, Consolidated Music Publishing House, Chicago.

Hardin, Lillian. "My Sweet Smellin' Man," Harry Alford

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(arr), E552550, December 4, 1922, Melrose Brothers, Chicago, ms. not located.

Hardin, Lillian with Walter Melrose. "My Sweet Lovin' Man," Dave Peyton (arr), E558660, February 19, 1923, Melrose Brothers, Chicago, ms., lead sheet with lyrics underlaid.

Heywood, Donald. "Time Ain't Very Long," E691194, May 2, 1928, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., lead sheet, verse sheet, this appears to be a gospel song.

Hill, Jud. "Everlasting Blues," E649852, November 11, 1926, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., Williams #922.

Hines, Earl. "My Monday Date," E696268, July 16, 1928, ms., lead sheet.

Jackson, Mike. "The Keyboard Express," E691192, May 2, 1928, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., 2 page lead sheet, Williams #992, interesting arrangement on paper.

Johnson, Billy. "Everybody for Themselves," E540199, June 9, 1922, Jas. D. LaRocca, New York.

Jones, Richard M. "Big Fat Ma and Skinny Pa," E645932, September 7, 1926, Consolidated Music Publishing House, Chicago, foxtrot.

Jones Richard M. "Poor Wandering Boy Blues," E664947, May 27, 1927, ms., lead sheet, lyric sheet.

Jones, Richard M. with Hattie McDaniels. "Sam Henry Blues," E664945, May 27, 1927, ms., lead sheet, lyric sheet.

Jordan, Joe. "Beautiful," E650536, October 2, 1926, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., lead sheet, verse sheet.

Kassel, Arthur with Victor Burton. "Sobbin' Blues," E575364, October 10, 1923, Melrose Brothers Music Co., Chicago, 2 c. Dec 3, 1923.

LaRocca, Dominick J. "Barnyard Blues," E410670, September 24, 1917, Max Hart, New York, piano arrangement, received Oct. 12, 1917.

LaRocca, Dominick J. "Barnyard Blues," E411185, October 23, 1917, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, jazz foxtrot, 2c Oct 24, 1917 orch. 4to (stock arrangement), copyright is claimed on

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the arrangement.

LaRocca, Dominick J. "Barnyard Blues," E416593, December 24, 1917, Leo Feist New York, copyright catalogue also reports deposit made on Jan. 4, 1918, jazz foxtrot, band, copyright is claimed on arrangement for band (stock arrangement).

LaRocca, Dominick J. "Bugle Call Blues," E523367, November 29, 1921, D. Jas. LaRocca, c/o Maurice Richmond, Inc., New York.

LaRocca, Dominick J. "Come to my Arms," E508568, April 14, 1921, D. J. LaRocca, New York.

LaRocca, Dominick J. "Reisenweber Rag," E426369, June 4, 1918, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, instrumental.

LaRocca, Dominick J. "Reisenweber Rag," E437590, November 26, 1918, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, 2c Nov. 27, 1918.

LaRocca, Dominick J. "The King Tut Strut," E561399, April 4, 1923, D. Jas. LaRocca, New York.

LaRocca, Dominick J. "Toddlin' Blues," E560295, February 9, 1923, D. J. LaRocca, New York.

LaRocca, Dominick J. "When You Roll Those Dreamy Eyes," E426368, June 4, 1918, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, one step, instrumental.

LaRocca, Dominick J. with Carey Morgan and Arthur Swanstrom (w). "Once in a While," Lee Terry (arr), E502543, January 20, 1921, D. J. LaRocca New York.

LaRocca, Dominick J. with Carey Morgan and Mitchell Parish (w). "Some Rainy Night," E512225, May 12, 1921, Jack Mills, Inc., New York, 2c June 1, 1921.

LaRocca, Dominick J. "'Lasses Candy," J. Russel Robinson (arr), E439564, January 7, 1919, D.J. LaRocca, H Ragas, L Shields, E Christian, A Sbarbaro, New York, one-step.

LaRocca, Dominick J. "Belgian Doll," J. Russel Robinson (arr), E438440, December 5, 1918, D.J. LaRocca, E. Christian, L. Shields, H. Ragas, A Sbarbaro, New York, one-step.

LaRocca, Dominick J. with Larry Shields and Henry Ragas. "The Army Mule," E428195, June 26, 1918, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, foxtrot, piano.

LaRocca, Dominick J. with Larry Shields. "At the Jazz Band

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ball," E407970, September 17, 1917, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, instrumental one step.

LaRocca, Dominick J. with Larry Shields. "At the Jazz Band Ball," E424043, April 8, 1918, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, one-step, piano, 2c Apr. 9, 1918.

LaRocca, Dominick J. with Larry Shields Ragas Henry. "Bluin' the Blues," E428196, June 26, 1918, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, foxtrot, piano.

LaRocca, Dominick J. with Larry Shields. "Fidgety Feet," E439966, January 20, 1919, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, one-step, piano, 2c Jan. 21, 1919.

LaRocca, Dominick J. with Larry Shields. "Fidgety Feet," Leroy Walker (arr), E442167, January 28, 1919, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, jazz one step, orch. 4to. (stock arrangement), 2c Jan. 29, 1919.

LaRocca, Dominick J. with Larry Shields and Henry Ragas. "Lazy Daddy," E428470, July 3, 1918, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, foxtrot, piano.

LaRocca, Dominick J. Larry Shields and Henry Ragas. "Lazy Daddy," E430085, August 12, 1918, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, foxtrot, piano, Aug. 13, 1918.

LaRocca, Dominick J. Larry Shields and Henry Ragas. "Lazy Daddy," E444850, March 1, 1919, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, foxtrot, Leroy Walker (arr), orch 4to (stock arrangement), 2c March 3, 1919, copyright is claimed on arrangement.

LaRocca, Dominick J. with Larry Shields and Al Bernard. "Ramblin' Blues," E512234, June 1, 1921, Triangle Music Publishing Co., New York.

LaRocca, Dominick J. with Larry Shields and Al Bernard (w). "Ramblin' Blues," Geo. F. Briegel (arr), E514484, June 30, 1921, Triangle Music Publishing Co., New York.

LaRocca, Dominick J. with Larry Shields, and Henry Ragas. "War Cloud," E428197, June 26, 1918, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, one step, piano.

LaRocca, Dominick J. with Larry Shields. "War Cloud," E430045, August 9, 1918, Leo Feist, Inc., one step, piano, 2c Aug 10, 1918.

LaRocca, Dominick J. with Larry Shields. "War Cloud," Leroy Walker (arr), E440108, December 13, 1918, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, one step, orch. with piano. 4to. (stock

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

arrangement), 2c Dec. 14, 1918, copyright on arrangement.

LaRocca, Dominick J. "Skeleton Jangle," E423769, May 11, 1918, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, 2c May 13, 1918.

LaRocca, Dominick J. "Skeleton Jangle," Leroy Walker (arr), E432024, August 29, 1918, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, jazz foxtrot, orch. 4to. (stock arrangement), 2c Aug. 30, 1918, copyright is on arrangement.

LaRocca, Dominick J. "'Lasses Candy," Leroy Walker (arr), E504901, April 2, 1921, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, one step, orch. with piano acc. 4to. (stock arrangement), 2c April 4, 1921, copyright is claimed on arrangement.

LaRocca Dominick J. "'Lasses Candy," E462171, October 11, 1919, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, one-step, piano, 2c Oct. 13, 1919.

Morton, Ferdinand with John Spikes and Benjamin Spikes. "Wolverine Blues," E562442, May 10, 1923, Melrose Brothers Music Co., Chicago, 2c May 17, 1923.

Morton, Ferdinand. "The Pearls," E570416, August 20, 1923, Melrose Brothers Music Co., Chicago.

Morton, Ferdinand. "Frog-I-More Rag," E439269, May 15, 1918, Ferdinand Morton, Los Angeles.

Morton, Ferdinand with words by Benjamin F. and John C. Spikes. "Froggie Moore," J.C. Spikes (arr), E559684, April 16, 1923, Spikes Brothers Publishing Co., Los Angeles.

Morton, Ferdinand. "Grandpa's Spells," E570417, August 20, 1923, Melrose Brothers Music Co., Chicago, a stomp.

Morton, Ferdinand. "The Jelly Roll Blues," E372536, September 22, 1915, Will Rossiter, Chicago.

Morton, Ferdinand. "Kansas City Stomp," E570418, August 20, 1923, Melrose Brothers Music Co., Chicago.

Morton, Ferdinand. "London Blues," E569713, September 26, 1923, Melrose Brothers Music Co., Chicago.

Morton, Ferdinand. "Mr. Jelly Lord," E570415, August 20, 1923, Melrose Brothers Music Co., Chicago.

Morton, Ferdinand. "Big Foot Ham," E568564, August 11, 1923, Lloyd Smith, Chicago.

Morton, Ferdinand with Ben Spikes and John Spikes (w).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Wolverine Blues," Harry Alford (arr), E560032, February 14, 1922, Melrose Brothers Music Co., Chicago.

Nelson, Arnett. "Buddy's Habits," E564026, May 11, 1923, Arnett Nelson, Chicago.

Newton, Irving. "Room Rent Blues," E558864, March 16, 1923, Irving Newton, Chicago, 2 c. March 27, 1923.

Oliver, Joseph. "Chattanooga Stomp," E574457, October 25, 1923, Joseph Oliver, Chicago ms., lead sheet.

Oliver, Joseph. "Chimes Blues," Epub122601, Publishing stock arrangement, arranger not listed, identified as Phonograph arrangement as played by King Oliver and his Jazz Band.

Oliver, Joseph. "Junk Man Blues," E574458, October 25, 1923, Joseph Oliver, Chicago, ms. not located.

Oliver, Joseph. "Snag It," E640859, May 12, 1926, Joseph Oliver, Chicago, ms., lead sheet, lyrics.

Oliver, Joseph. "West End Blues," E694347, June 13, 1928, ms., lead sheet.

Oliver, Joseph, with Louis Armstrong. "Sugar Foot Stomp," Donald Redman and Elmer Schoebel (arrs), E620867, August 15, 1925, Melrose Brothers Music Co., Chicago, stock arrangement.

Oliver, Joseph with Paul Barbarin. "Every Tub," E660670, March 7, 1927, Joseph Oliver and Paul Barbarin, Chicago ms., lead sheet.

Oliver, Joseph with Paul Barbarin. "Tack Annie," E653931, February 14, 1927, Melrose Brothers Music Co., Inc., Chicago, ms. not located.

Oliver, Joseph with Paul Barbarin. "Tack Annie," E660669, March 7, 1927, Joseph Oliver and Paul Barbarin, Chicago ms., lead sheet.

Oliver, Joseph. "Alligator Flop," Lillian Hardin (arr), E574459, October 25, 1923, Joseph Oliver, Chicago, ms., lead sheet, ms. has Rag crossed out and replaced w/ Flop. What is meaning of the number 176 written in upper l.h. corner.

Oliver, Joseph. "High Society Rag," Lillian Hardin (arr), E570231, August 11, 1923, Joseph Oliver, Chicago, ms., lead sheet.

Oliver, Joseph. "Temptation Blues," Lillian Hardin (arr),

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

E570230, August 11, 1923, Joseph Oliver, Chicago.

Oliver, Joseph. "The Chimes," Lillian Hardin (arr), E563940, May 21, 1923, Joseph Oliver, Chicago ms., lead sheet.

Oliver, Joseph. "Working Man Blues," Lillian Hardin (arr), E574456, August 11, 1923, Joseph Oliver, Chicago, ms. not located, recorded as Working Man's Blues, recorded after deposit.

Oliver, Joseph. "Just Gone," Lillian Hardin (arr), E563941, May 21, 1923, Joseph Oliver, Chicago, ms., lead sheet.

Oliver, Joseph. "Just Gone," Lillian Johnson, E561597, April 11, 1923, Joseph Oliver, Chicago, ms., lead sheet.

Oliver, Joseph. "Canal St. Blues," Lillian Johnson (arr), E565370, May 21, 1923, Joseph Oliver, Chicago, ms., lead sheet.

Oliver, Joseph. "Dippermouth Blues," Lillian Johnson (arr), E565369, May 21, 1923, Joseph Oliver, Chicago, ms., lead sheet.

Oliver, Joseph. "Snake Rag," Lillian Johnson (arr), E561598, April 11, 1923, Joseph Oliver, Chicago, not located.

Oliver, Joseph with Walter Melrose (w), "Sugar Foot Stomp," E640420, April 26, 1926, Melrose Brothers Music Co., Inc., Chicago.

Oliver, Joseph. "Zulu's Ball," Alvin Robertson (arr), E574456, October 25, 1923, Joseph Oliver, Chicago.

Oliver, Joseph. "Sweet Mumtaz," Luis Russell (arr), E616496, June 6, 1925, Joseph Oliver, Chicago.

Oliver, Joseph. "Dixieland Blues," Elmer Schoebel (arr), E664181, December 15, 1925, Melrose Brothers Music Co., Inc., Chicago.

Oliver, Joseph. "Snag It," Mel Stitzel (arr), E645909, August 20, 1926, Melrose Brothers Music Co. Inc., Chicago, published stock arrangement, 2c September 7, 1926.

Palmer, Jack. "My Different Kind of Man," E649386, October 28, 1926, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., Williams number #910, 2 pages are lead sheet and verse sheet.

Palmer, Jack with Andy Razaf (w). "Sweet Emalina," E688989, April 25, 1928, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc.,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

New York, ms., lead sheet marked 1st violin, and verse sheet, the music part has cues written in, dynamic markings.

Pinkard, Maceo. "Pile of Logs and Stone (Called Home)," E589654, July 1, 1924, ms., lead sheet, lyric sheet, Williams #552.

Ragas, Henry with Sidney D. Mitchell (w). "Bluin' the Blues," E4422168, December 7, 1919, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, song and foxtrot, 2c Jan. 28, 1919.

Robinson, Joseph Russel. "Barcarolle Waltzes," E388257, May 2, 1916, Seidel Music Publishing Co., Inc., Indianapolis, arrangement for piano, 2c July 5, 1916.

Robinson, Joseph Russel. "Dynamite Rag (a Negro Drag)," E241146, Ocotober 1, 1910, Southern California Music Co., Los Angeles.

Robinson, Joseph Russel with M. A. Robinson (w). "Hold Me Parson Hold Me, I Feel Religion Coming On," E241145, October 1, 1910, Southern California Music Co., Los Angeles.

Robinson, Joseph Russel. "Sapho Rag," E215952, October 5, 1909, Stark Music Printing and Publishing Co., St. Louis, Mo.

Robinson, Joseph Russel. "When I Die, Send Me to My Maw," E386568, June 13, 1916, Warner C. Williams, Indianapolis, 2c June 10, 1916.

Robinson, Joseph Russel. "When I Die, Send Me to My Maw," E383975, June 14, 1916, Warner C. Williams, Indianapolis, orchestra, 4to. (stock arrangement), 2c June 12, 1916, copyright is claimed on arrangement.

Robinson, Joseph Russel with Marguerite Kendall (w). "Good-bye Georgia, Good-bye," E390062, August 15, 1916, Stark Music Co., St. Louis 2c Sept. 2, 1916.

Robinson, Joseph Russel with Marguerite Kendall (w). "Hawaii Calls," E379174, March 29, 1916, Warner C. Williams, Indianapolis, 2c march 27, 1916.

Robinson, Joseph Russel with Marguerite Kendall (w). "Hawaii Calls, I'm Going Back to Her," E378661, March 3, 1916, Warner C. Williams, Indianapolis, orchestra, (stock arrangement), 2c Mar 6, 1916, copyright is claimed on arrangement.

Robinson, Joseph Russel with Marguerite Kendall (w). "Shadows of Flame," E386228, May 10, 1916, Stark Music Co.,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

St. Louis, 2c May 26, 1916.

Robinson, Joseph Russel with Marguerite Kendall (w). "Syncopation Isle," E378309, September 25, 1915, Seidel Music Publishing Co., Indianapolis 2c Feb. 19, 1916.

Rodermich, Gene with Tom Satterfield. "Hot Notes," Mel Stitzel (arr), E642518, June 21, 1926, orchestra, (stock arrangement).

Rodgers, Gladys. "It's Nobody's Business (How I Love my Man)," E691191, May 2, 1928, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., lead sheet, verse sheet.

Sanford, Edward with Philip Moore and Al Moquin. "Roamin' Papa (Your Red Headed Mama Needs You)," E650540, October 2, 1926, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., lead sheet, verse sheet.

Sanford, Edward with Al Moquin (w). "I'm Sorry I Ever Met You," E650539, October 2, 1928, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., lead sheet, verse sheet.

Sbarbaro Anthony. "Mournin' Blues," E430047, August 9, 1918, Leo Feist, Inc., foxtrot, piano, 2c Aug 10, 1918.

Sbarbaro Anthony. "The Mournin' Blues," E428471 July 3, 1918, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, foxtrot.

Sbarbaro Anthony with J. Russel Robinson. "Mournin' Blues," E448488, April 19, 1919, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, 2c April 21, 1919.

Sbarbaro Anthony. "Mournin' Blues," Leroy Walker (arr), E440109, December 13, 1918, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, foxtrot, orch. with piano 4to. (stock arrangement), 2c Dec. 14, 1918.

Schoebel, Elmer. "Kick-er-ie Koo," E508468, April 8, 1921, Elmer Schoebel Chicago.

Schoebel, Elmer with Sid Erdman and Billy Meyers, "Railroad Man," E552978, December 27, 1922, Jack Mills, Inc., New York, violin pt.

Schoebel, Elmer with Paul Mares and Leon Roppolo. "Farewell Blues," E547472, October 23, 1922, Elmer Schoebel, Chicago.

Schoebel, Elmer with Billy Meyers. "Oriental," E547473, October 23, 1922, Elmer Schoebel, Chicago.

Schoebel, Elmer with Billy Meyers (w). "Cry Baby," E508467,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

April 8, 1921, Elmer Schoebel, Chicago.

Schoebel, Elmer with Billy Meyers (w). "Why Should I," E508466, April 8, 1921, Elmer Schoebel, Chicago.

Schoebel, Elmer with Frank Niethammer. "By the Stream That's Flowing Yonder," E371822, November 13, 1915, Frank Niethammer, Evansville, Ind. 2c Nov. 15, 1915.

Schoebel, Elmer with Wm. H. Sandefur (w). "Oriental Moon," E510063, April 29, 1921, Elmer Schoebel, Chicago.

Shields, Larry. "Look at 'em Doing It," E423771, May 11,1918, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, jazz; piano; 2c May 13, 1918.

Shields, Larry. "When You Were Mine," E504477, March 25, 1921, Larry Shields, New York.

Shields, Larry with Emile Christian. "Satanic Blues," E462170, October 11, 1919, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, foxtrot, piano, 2c Oct. 11, 1919.

Shields, Larry. with Emile Christian. "Satanic Blues," Leroy Walker (arr), E501930, March 9, 1921, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, foxtrot, orchestra 4to (stock arrangement), 2c March 10, 1921, copyright is claimed on arrangement.

Shields, Larry with Emile Christian. "Satanic Blues," E513554, July 20, 1921, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, a devilish foxtrot blues, 2c July 21, 1921.

Shields, Larry with Al Newman and Harry Owens (w). "Lullaby Croon," E541843, August 26, 1922, Al Newman, Los Angeles.

Shields, Larry with Henry Ragas "Clarinet Marmalade," E427912, July 31, 1918, Leo Feist, Inc., New York.

Shields, Larry with Henry Ragas. "Clarinet Marmalade," E432262, September 4, 1918, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, one step, 2c Sept. 5, 1918.

Shields, Larry with Henry Ragas. "Clarinet Marmalade," Leroy Walker (arr), E443334, March 13, 1919, Leo Feist, Inc., New York, one step, two step, or trot, (stock arrangement), 2c March 14, 1919, copyright is claimed on arrangement.

Shields, Larry. "Jazzland," Robinson J. Russel (arr), E438716, December 13, 1918, Larry Shields, New York, one-step, instrumental.

Sigler, Mose. "Who You Loving Now?" E649384, October 28,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1926, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., verse sheet. lead sheet.

Simms, Joe with R. Warfield. "What You Know 'Bout Dat?" E649856, November 11, 1926, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., Williams number 854, top identifies as 1st violin part.

Smith, Bessie. Baby Doll E661579, April 9, 1927, ms., lead sheet, no lyrics.

Smith, Bessie. "Dixie Flyer Blues," E618667, June 10, 1925, ms., lead sheet no lyric sheet.

Smith, Bessie. "Dixie Flyer Blues," E617074, July 2, 1925, ms., lead sheet, no lyric sheet.

Smith, Bessie. "Foolish Man Blues," E679281, December 9, 1927, ms. lead sheet, verse sheet, Title is scrawled on in pencil on both sheets, original verse sheet merely states Blues (extra verses).

Smith, Bessie. "Golden Rule Blues," E619357, July 1, 1925, ms., lead sheet, no words.

Smith, Bessie. "Hard Time Blues," E661578, April 9, 1927, ms., lead sheet, no lyrics.

Smith, Bessie. "He's Gone Blues," E616529, May 16, 1925, ms., lead sheet.

Smith, Bessie. "He's Gone Blues," E617073, July 2, 1925, ms., lead sheet, no lyrics attached, bottom of page has Copyright 1925 Edward Lloyd penciled in.

Smith, Bessie. "High Water Blues," E671008, August 25, 1927, ms., lead sheet, lyric sheet.

Smith, Bessie. "Jot 'Em Down Blues," E571796, October 9, 1923, ms., lead sheet, lyric sheet.

Smith, Bessie. "Lonesome Desert Blues," E635595, March 24, 1926, ms., lead sheet with verses.

Smith, Bessie. "Lost Your Head Blues," E619356, July 1, 1925, ms., lead sheet, no lyrics.

Smith, Bessie. "My Man Blues," E635258, March 11, 1926, ms., lead sheet with lyrics.

Smith, Bessie. "Pick Pocket Blues," E686393, February 21, 1928, ms., lead sheet w/ lyrics.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Smith, Bessie. "Reckless Blues," E605491, February 3, 1925, ms., lead sheet, no lyrics.

Smith, Bessie. "Soft Pedal Blues," E616530, May 15, 1925, ms., lead sheet w/ lyrics.

Smith, Bessie. "Soft Pedal Blues," E616342, June 2, 1925, ms., lead sheet, no lyrics.

Smith, Bessie. "Thinking Blues," E686394, February 21, 1928, ms., lead sheet, the name Jack Gee is erased and Bessie Smith put in its place.

Smith, Bessie. "Tired of Voting Blues," E619355, July 1, 1925, ms., lead sheet, no lyrics.

Smith, Bessie. "Young Woman's Blues," E661577, April 9, 1927, ms., lead sheet, no lyrics.

Smith, Chris with Henry Troy. "Low Down Cravin' Blues," E589656, July 1, 1924, ms., lead sheet, lyric sheet, Williams #536.

Smith, Chris with Henry Troy. "When I Get Back Home," E589367, June 21, 1924, ms., lead sheet, lyric sheet, Williams #511.

Smith, Ike. "Mabel's Dream," E577084, November 16, 1923, Jack Mills, Inc., New York.

Spikes, John C. "Someday Sweetheart," E465956, December 26, 1919, Spikes Brothers and Carter Music House, Los Angeles 2 c., Dec. 31, 1919.

Spikes John C. "Someday Sweetheart," E521281, September 15, 1921, Spikes Brothers and Carter Music House, Los Angeles, 2 c. from Pantages Broadway follies.

Spikes John C. with Benjamin F. Spikes. "That Sweet Something Dear," E565986, July 16, 1923, Spikes Brothers Publishing Co., Los Angeles 1 c. foxtrot.

St. Cyr, John A. "The Oriental Strut," E636435, February 1, 1926, John A. St. Cyr, Chicago.

St. Cyr, John A. with Charles L. Cook. "Messin' Around," E644628, July 21, 1926, Will Rossiter, Chicago 2 c. July 21, 1926; pf. and ukulele acc.

Steele, Lester. "Don't Do That to Me," E650538, October 2, 1926, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., lead sheet, verse sheet.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Stitzel, Mel with George Bates. "Steady Roll Blues," Elmer Schoebel (arr), E612506, March 30, 1925, orchestra 4to. (stock arrangement).

Tarto, Joe. "Black Horse Stomp," E636041, February 23, 1926, orchestra 4to. (stock arrangement).

Tyus, Charles with Effie Tyus. "You've Got to Prove it to Me," E588879, May 31, 1924, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., 2 pages are verse sheet and lead sheet.

Venable, Percy. "Irish Black Bottom," E654631, December 20, 1926, Consolidated Music Publishing House, Chicago.

Venable, Percy. "Sunset Stomp," E654632, December 20, 1926, Consolidated Music Publishing House, Chicago.

Venable, Percy. "You Made Me Love You," E654633, December 20, 1926, Consolidated Music Publishing House, Chicago, pf. right hand alone.

Venable, Percy. "I want a Butter and Egg Man," E649013, October 13, 1926, Percy F. Venable, Chicago.

Westfield, Earl B. "My Mother-in-Law," E589366, June 21, 1924, ms., lead sheet, lyric sheet, Williams #508.

Williams, Clarence. "I Love You Baby, But I'm Afraid of Your Dad," E589364, June 21, 1924, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., lead sheet, lyric sheet, Williams #543 (513 crossed out).

Williams, Clarence. "Things Done Got too Thick, Mama's Got to Thin 'em Out," E589365, June 21, 1924, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., lead sheet, lyric sheet, Williams #530.

Williams, Clarence with Len Gray. "You're the Only One," E666543, May 16, 1927, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., lead sheet, verse sheet, Williams #965.

Williams, Clarence with Mike Jackson. "Pretty White Teeth," E666544, May 16, 1927, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., lead sheet, verse sheet.

Williams, Fess with Hank Duncan. "Graceful One," E649385, October 28, 1926, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., verse sheet, lead sheet.

Williams, Spencer. "Georgia Grind," E643753, August 19,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1926, Bud Allen Music Co., New York.

Williams, Spencer with Agnes Castleton. "Have Your Ever Felt that Way?" E691189, May 2, 1928, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., lead sheet, verse sheet.

Williams, Spencer with Agnes Castleton (w). "Mellow Moonlight," E691195, May 2, 1928, Clarence Williams Music Publishing Co. Inc., New York, ms., lead sheet, verse sheet.

Williams, Spencer with Sidney Holden. "You'll Do (Doodle-De-Do for Me)," E649383, October 28, 1926, Clarence Williams, New York, ms., verse sheet, lead sheet.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Armstrong, Louis. Satchmo: My Life in New Orleans. 1954. Reprint. New York: Da Capo, 1986.

_____. Swing that Music. 1936. Reprint. New York: Da Capo, 1993.

Badger, Reid. A Life in Ragtime: A Biography of James Reese Europe. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Barker, Danny. A Life in Jazz. ed. by Alyn Shipton. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Berliner, Paul. Thinking in Jazz: The Infinite Art of Improvisation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Bernhardt, Clyde E. B. I Remember: Eighty Years of Black Entertainment, Big Bands, and the Blues. as told to Sheldon Harris. Philadelphia, University of Philadelphia Press, 1986.

Bess, Druie. Interview by Peter Etzkorn and Irene Cortinovis, 5 November 1971. Transcript. Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis.

Bigard, Alex. Interview. 30 April 1960. Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University, New Orleans.

Bigard, Barney. With Louis and the Duke: The autobiography of a Jazz Clarinetist. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Bocage, Peter. Interview by William Russell and Walter C. Allen. 29 January 1959. Transcript. Ransom Hogan Jazz Archives, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Bradford, Perry. Born With the Blues: Perry Bradford's Own Story: The True Story of the Pioneering Blues Singers and Musicians in the Early Days of Jazz. New York: Oak Publications, 1965.

Brunn, H. O. The Story of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960.

Bushell, Garvin. Jazz From the Beginning. As told to Mark Tucker. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1990.

Carter, Robert. Interview by Irene Cortinovis, 27 April

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1973. Transcript T-251. Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis.

_____. Robert Carter memoir: Jazz in the St. Louis area: An oral history project. 1982. Edwardsville, Ill.: Southern Illinois University.

Charters, Samuel and Kunstadt, Leonard. Jazz: A History of the New York Scene. 1962. Reprint. New York: Da Capo, 1981.

Charters, Samuel. Jazz: New Orleans, 1885-1963. 1958, 1963. Reprint. Rev. Ed. New York: Da Capo, 1983.

Chevan, David. "Riverboat Music from St. Louis and the Streckfus Steamboat Line." Black Music Research Journal 9, no. 2 (1989) 153-180.

Chilton, John. A Jazz Nursery: The Story of the Jenkins Orphanage Bands of Charleston, South Carolina, London: Bloomsbury Book Shop, 1980.

_____. The Song of the Hawk: The Life and Recordings of Coleman Hawkins (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990

_____. Who's Who of Jazz. Philadelphia: Chilton Book Co., 1972.

Collier, James Lincoln. The Making of Jazz: A Comprehensive History. 1978. Reprint. New York: Dell Publishing, 1979.

_____. Louis Armstrong: An American Genius. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Collins, Lee. Oh Didn't He Ramble: The Life Story of Lee Collins. As told to Mary Collins. Edited by Frank J. Gillis and John W. Miner. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1989.

Condon, Eddie. We Called It Music. 1947. Reprint. New York: Da Capo, 1992.

Cortinovis, Irene. Interview with four jazz musicians: Eddie Johnson, Elijah Shaw, Chick Finney, Eddie Randle, 20 August 1971. Transcript T-010. Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis.

Crawford, Richard, and Jeffery Magee. Jazz Standards on

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Record, 1900-1942: A Core Repertory. Chicago: Center for Black Music Research, Columbia College, 1992.

Dahlhaus, Carl. Nineteenth-Century Music. Translated by J. Bradford Robinson. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989.

De Dender, Jempi. "Professor Robichaux." Footnote, (June-July 1989): 4-14.

DeFaa, Chip. Voices of the Jazz Age: Profiles of Eight Vintage Jazzmen. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1990.

DeVeaux, Scott. "My Jelly Roll Soul," Jazz Player 4/2 (February/March 1997), 35-37.

Dodds, Warren "Baby." The Baby Dodds story as told to Larry Gara. 1959. Reprint. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1992.

Elder, Captain Clarence W. "Music on the river." S and D Reflector, September 1965, 6.

Evans, David. "African Elements in Twentieth-Century United States Black Folk Music." In Report of the Twelfth Congress, Berkeley 1977, eds., Daniel Heartz and Bonnie Wade, 54-66. International Musicological Society, Kassel; Basel; London: Bärenreiter, 1981.

Feather, Leonard. The Book of Jazz: From Then till Now. 1957. Reprint. New York: Bonanza Books, 1965.

Finney, Chick. Interview by Irene Cortinovis, 6 April 1971. Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis.

Foster, George "Pops." Pops Foster: The Autobiography of a New Orleans Jazzman. as told to Tom Stoddard. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

Freeman, Bud. Crazeology: The Autobiography of a Chicago Jazzman. as told to Robert Wolf. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1989.

Hadlock, Richard. Jazz Masters of the 20s. 1972. Reprint. New York: Da Capo, 1988.

Harris, Michael W. The Rise of Gospel Blues: The Music of Thomas Andrew Dorsey in the Urban Church. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hawley, Captain Clarke. Telephone interview with the author, 10 February 1989.

Hennessey, Thomas J. "From Jazz to Swing: Black Jazz Musicians and their Music, 1917-1935." Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1973.

_____. From Jazz to Swing: African-American Jazz Musicians and their Music. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994.

Hentoff, Nat. "Morgan--Riverboat Bass." The Jazz Record (February 1946): 11.

Hinton, Milt. Bass Line: The Stories and Photographs of Milt Hinton. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988.

Humphrey, Willie James. Telephone interview with author, 17 December 1988.

Kaminsky, Max. My Life in Jazz. with V. E. Hughes. New York: Harper and Row, 1963.

Kenney, William Howland. Chicago Jazz: A Cultural History, 1904-1930, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

_____. "Historical Context and the Definition of Jazz: Putting More of the History in "Jazz History." In Jazz Among the Discourses, edited by Krin Gabbard. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995.

King, Leon. Leon King memoir: jazz in the St. Louis area: An oral history project. 1982. Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, Ill.

Koch, Lawrence O. "Structural aspects of King Oliver's 1923 OKeh recordings," Journal of Jazz Studies 3 (1976): 36-46.

Koenig, Karl. Trinity of Early Jazz Leaders: John Robichaux, "Toots" Johnson, Claiborne Williams. Privately printed, n.d.

Lange, Arthur. Arranging for the Modern Dance Orchestra. 1926. Reprint. New York: Robbins Music Corporation, 1927.

Lomax, John. Mister Jelly Roll: The Fortunes of Jelly Roll Morton, New Orleans Creole and "Inventor of Jazz". 1949. Reprint. New York: Pantheon Books, 1993.

Long, Sammy. Telephone Interview by Irene Cortinovis, 18

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

April 1973. Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis.

McKinney, E. A. Interview by Pat Immekus and Irene Cortinovis, 15 March 1974. Transcript T-316. Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis.

Magee, Jeffrey Stanford. "The Music of Fletcher Henderson and his orchestra in the 1920s." Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1992.

_____. "Revisiting Fletcher Henderson's "Copenhagen." Journal of the American Musicological Society 42-66

Marquis, Donald. In Search of Buddy Bolden: First Man of Jazz. 1978. Reprint. New York: Da Capo, 1978.

Meyer, Dolores Jane. "Excursion Steamboating on the Mississippi with Streckfus Steamers, Inc." Ph.D. diss., St. Louis University, 1967.

Meyer, Raymond "Peg." Backwoods Jazz in the Twenties. Cape Girardeau, Missouri: Center for Regional History and Cultural Heritage, Southeast Missouri State University, 1989.

Mezzrow, Mezz and Bernard Wolfe. Really the Blues. 1946. Reprint. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1972.

Mingus, Charles. Charles Mingus More than a Fakebook. Edited by Sue Mingus, Andrew Homzy and Don Sickler. New York: Jazz Workshop Inc., 1991.

Morris, Lawrence "Butch." Liner notes to Dust to Dust. New World/Countercurrents 80408-2, CD, 1991.

Morton, Ferdinand. Ferdinand "Jelly Roll Morton The Collected Piano Music. Edited by James Dapogney. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982.

Ogren, Kathy J. The Jazz Revolution: Twenties America and the Meaning of Jazz. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Oliver, Paul. Conversation with the Blues. New York: Horizon Press, 1965.

Ottenheimer, Harriet. "The Blues Tradition in St. Louis." Black Music Research Journal 9, no. 2 (1989): 135-151.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Palmer, Singleton. Interview by Irene Cortinovis, 9 November 1971. Transcript T-034. Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis.

_____. Singleton Palmer memoir: Jazz in the St. Louis area: An oral history project. 1982. Transcript. Edwardsville, Ill.: Southern Illinois University.

Parker, Charlie. Charlie Parker Omnibook. Edited by Jamey Aebersold and Ken Slone. New York: Atlantic Music Corp., 1978.

Patterson, "Pete" Joseph. Interview with Pat Immekus, 3 April 1974. Transcript T-325. Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis.

Pearson, Nathan. Goin' to Kansas City. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987.

Peretti, Burton William. "Music, Race, and Culture in Urban America: The Creators of Jazz." Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1989.

Perryman, Gus. Interview by Irene Cortinovis, 27 April 1972. Transcript T-106. Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Archive and Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis.

Placksin, Sally American Women in Jazz, 1900 to the Present: Their Words, Lives and Music. New York: Seaview Books, 1982.

Ramsey, Frederic Jr. and Charles Edward Smith, eds. Jazzmen: The Story of Hot Jazz Told in the Lives of the Men Who Created It. 1959. Reprint. New York: Limelight Editions, 1975.

Rose, Al and Edmond Souchon. New Orleans Jazz. 1967. Reprint. Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1984.

Brian Rust, comp. Jazz Records: 1897-1942. 5th ed., rev. and enl., 2 vols. Chigwell, Essex, England: Storyville Publications and Co. Ltd., 1982.

Saunders, Vertna. Vertna Saunders memoir: Jazz in the St. Louis area: An oral history project. 1982. Edwardsville, Ill.: Southern Illinois University.

Schacht, Beulah. "Riverboat Jazz and the Story of a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Legendary St. Louisan Who Made it Click." St. Louis Globe-Democrat, 22 July 1945: 5E.

Schuller, Gunther. Early Jazz: Its Roots and Musical Development. 1968. Reprint. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

_____. The swing era. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Seeger, Charles. "Prescriptive and Descriptive Music Writing." In Studies in Musicology: 1935-1975, 168-181. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1977.

Shapiro, Nat and Nat Hentoff, eds. Hear Me Talkin' to Ya: The Story of Jazz as Told by the Men Who Made It. 1955. Reprint. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1966.

Sher, Chuck ed. The New Real Book. 3 vols. Petaluma, California: Sher Music Co., vol. 1, 1988; vol. 2, 1991; vol. 3, 1995.

Simon, George. The Big Bands. 4th ed. New York: Schirmer Books, 1981.

Smith, Lloyd. Lloyd Smith memoir: Jazz in the St. Louis area: An oral history project. 1982. Edwardsville, Ill.: Southern Illinois University.

Smith, Willie "the Lion." Music on My Mind: The Memoirs of an American Pianist. with George Hoefer. 1964. Reprint. New York: Da Capo, 1975.

Southern, Eileen. The Music of Black Americans: A History. 2d ed. New York: W. W. Norton, 1983.

Stearns, Marshall. The Story of Jazz. 1956. Rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

St. Cyr, Johnny. "Jazz as I Remember It - Early Days" Jazz Journal 19 (September 1966): 9.

Swanson, Leslie. Steamboat calliopes. 1981. Reprint. Moline, Ill: Leslie Swanson, 1983.

_____. Letter to the author, 18 December 1988.

Tirro, Frank. Jazz: A History. 2d ed. New York: W. W. Norton, 1993.

Tucker, Mark. Ellington: The Early Years. Urbana, Ill.:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

University of Illinois Press, 1991.

Wayman, Norbury L. Life on the River: A Pictorial History of the Mississippi, Missouri, and the Western River System. New York: Bonanza Books, 1971.

Wells, Dicky. The Night People: The Jazz Life of Dicky Wells. as told to Stanley Dance. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Williams, Martin. Jazz Masters of New Orleans. 1967. Reprint. New York: Da Capo, 1979.

White, Wm. Robert. The Child of An Eagle: Mississippi Steamboating. Cape Girardeau, Missouri: Center for Regional History and Cultural Heritage, Southeast Missouri State University, 1980.

Vandervoort, Paul. "The King of Riverboat Jazz." Jazz Journal 23, 1970.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.