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GENE ANDERSON

The Genesis of King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band

On Thursday, April 5, 1923, the Creole Jazz Band stopped off in Richmond, Indiana, to make jazz history. The group included Joe Oliver and Louis Armstrong (cornets), Johnny Dodds (clarinet), Honoré Dutrey (trombone), Bill Johnson (banjo), Lil Hardin (piano), and Warren "Baby" Dodds (drums) (fig. 1). For the rest of that day and part of the next, the band cut nine portentous sides, in sessions periodically interrupted by the passage of trains running on tracks near the Gennett studios where the recording took place. By year's end, sessions at Okeh and Columbia Records expanded the number of sides the band made to thirty-nine, creating the first recordings of substance by an African American band—the most significant corpus of early recorded jazz¹—surpassing those of such white predecessors as the Original Dixieland Jazz Band and the New Orleans Rhythm Kings.

Although far from overlooked by jazz writers,² the origins of Oliver's Creole Band remain confused and obscure. This article attempts to clarify the Creole Band's lineage by collating and interpreting relevant material from oral histories, newspapers, census records, photographs, and other primary sources. To the extent that there may exist undiscovered and unexamined documents, these findings must remain incomplete and should be considered a report in progress.

I

The genealogy of Oliver's Creole Band can be traced to two groups that left New Orleans at different times. The history of the first and

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Figure 1. King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band in Chicago, ca. 1923. From left to right: Honoré Dutrey, Baby Dodds, Joe Oliver, Louis Armstrong (kneeling), Lil Hardin, Bill Johnson, and Johnny Dodds. Photograph courtesy of the William Ransom Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University Library.

more distantly related of these two groups, the Original Creole Band, has been reconstructed by Lawrence Gushee, whose thorough and lucid account is recommended to interested readers.³ Of concern to the inquiry at hand are principally the Original Creole Band's founder and bassist, Bill Johnson, and to a lesser extent its cornetist, Freddie Keppard, the violinist James Palao, and the trombonist Eddie Vincent.

Crisscrossing the country on various vaudeville circuits from August 1914, the Original Creole Band began its final tour with a stopover in South Bend, Indiana, around December 1, 1917, by which time Palao had left the group and Jimmie Noone had replaced two predecessors on the clarinet.⁴ That tour ended around April 1 in St. Louis, Missouri. A few weeks later, remnants of the band were settled in Chicago; the *Indianapolis Freeman* of May 18 advised: "Fred Keppard, former cornetist with the New Orleans Creole Band . . . is at present at the Royal Gardens." Presumably with him were Bill Johnson and Eddie Vincent; Jimmie Noone by then had returned to New Orleans.⁵

The other more direct ancestor of Oliver's Creole Band was Lawrence Duhé's New Orleans Jazz Band, consisting of Duhé (clarinet), "Sugar" Johnny Smith (cornet), Roy Palmer (trombone), Louis Keppard (guitar), Herb Lindsay (violin), and Ed "Montudie" Garland (bass), which had

been in Chicago for more than a year. This group had originally been heard during late winter 1917 at Pete Lala's place in New Orleans by Mitchell Licalzi and Lee Krauss, two Chicago booking agents who were seeking a band for Mabel Elaine's vaudeville act; Licalzi and Krauss hired the musicians on the spot.⁶ Freddie Keppard, Louis's brother, probably initiated the contact, inasmuch as Elaine had toured the previous year with his group, the Original Creole Band, in the *Town Topics* review.⁷

Performing in blackface and entering the stage from a bale of cotton, Elaine opened at the Grand Theater on Chicago's South Side on Thursday, April 19, 1917, to mixed reviews in the African American press.⁸ Though her clog dancing "scored" with the audience, one critic for the *Indianapolis Freeman* censured her on April 21 for having "pleased white people the most"; on that same day a writer for the *Chicago Defender* was more blunt, stating: "Miss Elaine is a hardworking girl with plenty of pep, and if she could only lend a little of the latter quality to the members of her band, the act would be a riot."

Advance billing notices in *Variety*, the show business weekly, placed the troupe at Licalzi's Wilson Avenue Theater on the North Side at the beginning of the next week and at the Windsor Theater on Clark Street (near Division) during the latter part of that week (i.e., Thursday-Saturday, April 26-28). Closing the show at the Windsor, Elaine again drew good applause, but her band was still unable to "start anything."⁹

Attempted improvements in the band's performance proved futile in the opinion of the reviewer for *Variety*, who commented on the group's performances the following week (May 3-5) at the Kedzie Theater on Chicago's West Side:

The feature of the show was Mabel Elaine with her colored jazz band in the closing spot. Since her appearance at the Windsor the week previous, two additional dark hued persons have been added, so that there are nine in the act, the band consisting of six players. The added members, however, have not helped Miss Elaine's offering, and her own work of several songs and hard shoe stepping remains the only good things in it. Something seems amiss with the band. Either it lacks pep or hasn't got the "stuff"—the men fail to deliver it anyhow.¹⁰

Continuing adjustments probably led to the cancellation of Elaine's booking on May 10-12 at the Palace Theater in Danville, Illinois, which had been announced in *Variety* on May 4, 1917.¹¹ Finally, before leaving Chicago for a tour of the Orpheum Theaters in the Midwest, Elaine hired the drummer Fred "Tubby" Hall to supply the pep that had been missing from her Kedzie performances; the addition of Hall also allowed her to make a "10-piece jazz band" in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, where she

headlined the season's farewell at the Majestic Theater from May 13–16.¹²

A few months later Mabel Elaine's act folded. By July, Louis Keppard, sick of the road, went home to New Orleans; the teenager Lil Hardin was brought in on piano to replace the guitarist during this group's final venue, which was a Chinese restaurant on Chicago's West Side.¹³ Fired after one month for eating too many steaks at the owner's expense, Elaine divorced her musicians, who moved, minus Lindsay, into the DeLuxe Gardens on the South Side. The *Indianapolis Freeman* of August 25, 1917, reported: "The DeLuxe Gardens up over Frank Preer's buffet has the original New Orleans Band, which includes Edward Garland, Lawrence Dewey [Duhé], Roy Palmer, John Smith, Lillian Hardin, Fred Hall. The entertainers are giving good satisfaction."¹⁴

Before long Duhé's personnel began changing. First, Garland went on tour in mid-October with the Tennessee Ten, leaving Chicago on "Orpheum time," according to the *Chicago Defender*.¹⁵ After Wellman Braud took Garland's place, Minor "Ram" Hall replaced his brother, Tubby Hall, who had been drafted into the U.S. Army (fig. 2).¹⁶ In early February 1918, Sidney Bechet left the Bruce and Bruce Stock Company when it passed through Chicago en route to Cleveland; he became Duhé's "hot clarinet."¹⁷

Later, during the summer of 1918, the band moved from the DeLuxe Gardens (located at 3503 South State) across the street to the Dreamland (3520 South State). The *Indianapolis Freeman* for July 27, 1918, reported the Dreamland Café's grand opening on July 22 with "a new jazz band"; the paper followed on August 3 with a notice that "King (Fred) Keppard and his famous jazz band" were at the DeLuxe Gardens. That left a vacancy for a cornetist with Johnson and Vincent, who remained at the Royal Gardens—the *Chicago Defender* (November 2, 1918) reported Keppard at the DeLuxe and Ed Vincent at the Royal Gardens. Advertisements in the *Indianapolis Freeman* indicate that Keppard's "Creole Orchestra" furnished the music at the DeLuxe Gardens at least through the end of December 1918, after which Keppard's name virtually disappears from the newspapers until his death in 1933.

II

Paul Barbarin, who came from New Orleans originally to work in the Chicago stockyards, told the jazz historian Jean-Christophe Averty in 1959 that he joined Johnson and Vincent on drums at the Royal Gardens in October or November 1918. With them was Lottie Taylor on the piano and a singer named Geraldine. Vincent asked Barbarin to write some "good musicians" in New Orleans to join the band, and

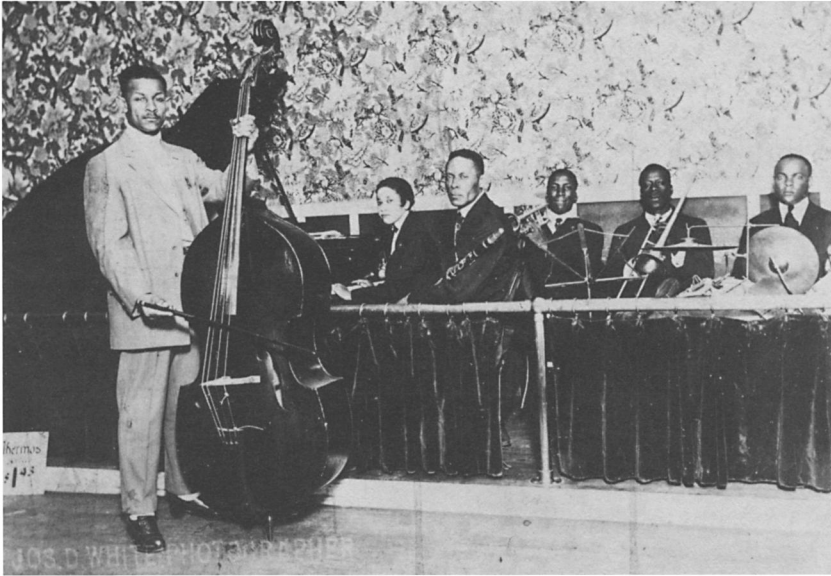


Figure 2. The Duhé Band at the DeLuxe Gardens in Chicago, ca. October 1917. From left to right: Wellman Braud, Lil Hardin, Lawrence Duhé, Sugar Johnny Smith, Roy Palmer, and Minor Hall. Photograph courtesy of the Frank Driggs Collection.

Barbarin got in touch with Oliver and Noone, who arrived within a few weeks of each other.¹⁸

About that same time, Duhé also found that he needed a cornetist at the Dreamland to replace Sugar Johnny Smith, who was “dying on his feet of T.B.”¹⁹ According to several witnesses, Thomas “Mutt” Carey left Mack’s Merry-makers’ vaudeville tour to fill Smith’s position, probably alternating with Freddie Keppard in that capacity; but Carey retreated after a short time to the warmer winters of New Orleans, sending Oliver, then in New Orleans, back to Chicago to take his place.²⁰

The *Jazzmen’s* colorful depiction of Oliver’s arrival at the Chicago train station and his simultaneous courtship by representatives from the Dreamland Café and Royal Gardens bands has achieved near mythological status:

They [Duhé and Bechet from the Dreamland] received a rude shock when they came up on the platform. For there, standing half-asleep behind one of the pillars, was Eddie Venson [Vincent] of the Royal Gardens faction. Quickly, they ducked out of sight behind another pillar, pretending they had never seen Eddie Venson, or anyone like him. Just as they did this, the train pulled in. Each faction moved swiftly forward, no longer able to dodge behind

pillars. The two groups met at King Oliver, who was neutral ground, at least for the time being.

"Why, hullo, Venson, where did you come from?"

"Morning, Dewey [Duhé], didn't count on meetin' you here!" Joe didn't know what that meant, but he found out. Both the Dreamland and the Royal Gardens needed a "King" on cornet, and there was only one to go around. This called for serious deliberation; so they all went to the nearest bar for a drink. Their solution, which had a lasting effect upon the course of Chicago jazz, was profoundly simple. Joe joined both bands.²¹

Joe Oliver's move to Chicago took place sometime between June 19, 1918, his last authenticated presence in New Orleans (when he was arrested with the Ory Band at the Winter Garden for disturbing the peace), and July 19, 1919, his first publicized appearance in Chicago, when the *Chicago Whip* announced that Joe Oliver, "formerly cornetist for the Royal Gardens Band," was at the Dreamland. Before his arrest, Oliver had been reluctant to leave New Orleans, having refused, for example, Louis Keppard's offer to join the Chicago-bound Duhé band;²² but he became so disgusted by the "trumped-up" charges that stemmed from the police raid of the Winter Garden that he vowed to head north at the earliest opportunity.²³

If Oliver replaced Carey in Duhé's band, this could not have occurred before late December 1918. Ed Garland stated that Mutt Carey left the Merry-makers in St. Louis, Missouri,²⁴ where the group finished its engagement at the Booker Washington Theater on December 8.²⁵ Carey may have gotten off the train in Chicago as the troupe passed through on the way to its opening in Cincinnati, Ohio, on December 9. If not, he was definitely gone a few weeks later on December 28 when the *Indianapolis Freeman* praised Johnny Dodds as the new leader of the Merry-makers' band (Mutt's former position) and omitted Carey's name from the band's roster.²⁶

Stella Oliver, Joe Oliver's wife, provides perhaps the most reliable documentation of the exact date that Joe Oliver departed New Orleans in her interview with Jean-Christophe Averty in 1959. She maintains that her husband left New Orleans in February or March 1919, sometime before Mardi Gras (which would have been celebrated on March 4 that year). Barbarin recalled, too, that Oliver and Noone arrived in the spring of 1919.²⁷ Thus it may be surmised that the previously quoted incident in the *Jazzmen* must have occurred in mid- or late February 1919, coinciding roughly with the first announcement of the "famous New Orleans Jazz Band" at the Royal Gardens in the *Chicago Defender* on February 22 of that year.

III

On Oliver's first night at the Royal Gardens, the manager crowned the new "King" with a golden paper crown. The Royal Gardens band, led by Bill Johnson, included Bechet, who had left Duhé over a salary dispute.²⁸ Both the *Jazzmen* and Barbarin assert that Oliver doubled as cornetist with bands at the Dreamland and Royal Gardens—performing with one during regular hours (i.e., from 9:00 P.M. to 1:00 A.M.) and with the other after regular club hours (from 1:00 A.M. to 4:00 A.M.); the two sources disagree, however, about the order of Oliver's schedule. Since the *Chicago Whip* of July 19, 1919, strongly implies that Oliver had been working exclusively at the Royal Gardens before coming to the Dreamland, it seems most likely that he did not begin to double as a cornetist in other Chicago bands until after mid-July 1919. Still, the question of where he doubled as cornetist requires further clarification.

Illegal, after-hours engagements were common at the time in Chicago. The city's cabaret law, which had been passed to curb rampant vice, was rarely enforced—it was, in fact, widely flaunted. Although the Dreamland, like most cabarets in the black entertainment district (or the "Stroll"), often stayed open past the official closing hour,²⁹ the club was probably obeying the cabaret law when Oliver arrived. According to the *Indianapolis Freeman* of July 22, 1918, the Dreamland was "running the regular way, from 8:00 P.M. to 1:00 A.M." It would be another eighteen months before the club's management would introduce a "midnight frolic" with dancing until 3:00 A.M.³⁰ The Royal Gardens, on the other hand, advertised dancing until 4:00 A.M.,³¹ only a few months before Oliver arrived in town. It would thus appear that Oliver doubled as a cornetist with the Royal Gardens band after his regular job at the Dreamland, rather than the other way around.

Both the Dreamland and the Royal Gardens (located at 459 E. 31st Street) combined dancing with vaudeville acts. The two clubs were black-owned and centered in the heart of the "Stroll"; their entertainers catered to African American audiences, although whites were also admitted. In 1919, the Royal Gardens was flourishing, as indicated by the elaborate "Decoration Day" tribute that was held there on May 31 for James Reese Europe, the revered World War I bandleader who had been stabbed to death earlier that month. On May 31, 1919, the *Chicago Defender* announced: "Our Hero's Night, featuring Eleanor Wilson and the Royal Gardens big beauty chorus of 25, and a platoon of real soldiers. See the big girlie revue, with Allegretti and Margaret, and the Midnight Follies under the direction of Clarence E. Muse. Magnificent costumes and lighting effects. Come early. Dance late. Hear

the world's greatest jazz band." Perhaps it was at this celebration that the little-known photograph shown in Figure 3 was taken.³²

It is enlightening, incidentally, to read what the impresario, Clarence E. Muse, actually thought about "the world's greatest jazz band" before its product became "America's classical music":

Put a whole band in a giant popper, hold it over the glowing coals of an ample crater, and shaking well, command it to make some jolly music—the production would be meticulously true to Jazz form: The wheezes of the scorching horns; the popping of the overheated drumheads; the groans and pleading of the musicians, with now and then a pure silvery note from a thoroughbred piper who cared not a rap that he was to be roasted for his art; the ravings of the crowd looking on; dervishes and holy rollers expressing themselves; the chuckles of a few cannibals; and over all the raucous unperturbability of old horse fiddles—that would be the Chicago Jazz band.³³

Undoubtedly, the ensemble that Oliver joined at the Dreamland was Duhé's Band, which was depicted in the photograph taken at the "Black Sox" World Series in Comiskey Park in October 1919 (fig. 4).³⁴ At the second "Black Sox" game, also at Comiskey Park, the Reds brought in a brass band that played old fashioned music; according to the *New York Times* of October 5, 1919, "the Chicago tooters were right up to date with the latest assortment of jazz tunes." By now, however, the Dreamland band was no longer Duhé's organization. On October 4, the *Chicago Whip* announced that Duhé's band had become "the New Orleans jazz band led by Mr. Joseph Oliver."

IV

Business at the Dreamland began to fail by the end of 1919, despite remodeling, an enlarged dance floor, the engagement of first-rate vaudeville acts, and the hiring of a Chinese American chef who prepared authentic Chinese cuisine.³⁵ The owner, Bill Bottoms, evidently blamed Oliver for the decline in revenue and engaged a new band, Clarence Jones's Jolly Jazzing Jeopards, led by Señor E. S. Washington.³⁶ After Oliver's band broke up, Lil Hardin stayed on with Washington.³⁷ What happened to Oliver and other members of his band during this period is unknown. Perhaps Oliver returned to the Royal Gardens, where Freddie Keppard had taken his place (making, as Barbarin recalled, "two kings on one throne" for a while).³⁸

The Jeopards' "soft, dreamy music"³⁹ failed to stimulate business at the Dreamland, and Bottoms rehired Oliver sometime after April 3, 1920.⁴⁰ Besides working at the Dreamland, Oliver took on (or continued



Figure 3. King Oliver at the Royal Gardens in Chicago, ca. June 1919. This rare photo is the first time Oliver was photographed on stage in Chicago. Despite the poor quality of the photo, we can identify the musicians. From left to right: Paul Barbarin, Eddie Vincent, Oliver, Lottie Taylor, Jimmie Noone, and Bill Johnson. Photograph courtesy of the Timme Rosenkrantz Collection, the Danish Jazz Center.

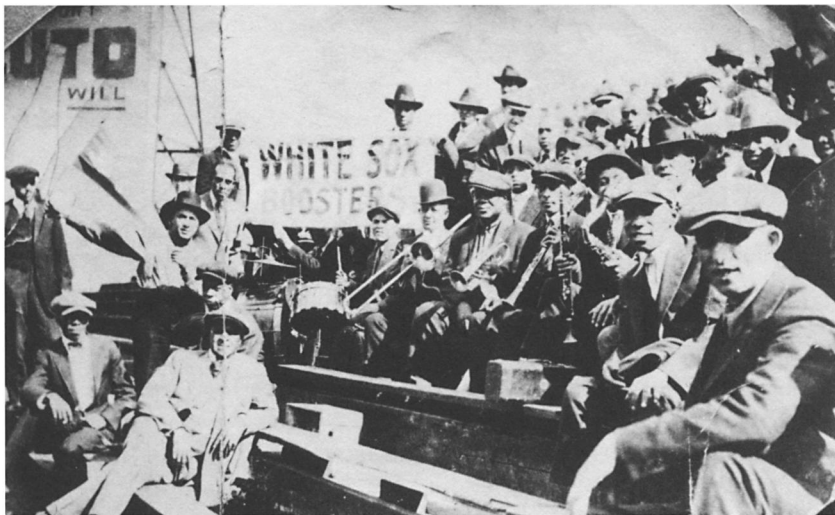


Figure 4. The Oliver-Duhé Band at the "Black Sox" World Series in Chicago, October 1919. From left to right: Minor Hall, Honoré Dutrey, Joe Oliver, Lawrence Duhé, Willie Humphrey Jr., and James Palao (saxophone). Photograph courtesy of the Frank Driggs Collection.

to work) after-hours jobs at a notorious black-and-tan establishment called the Pekin Café (better known to readers of the *Chicago Defender* as "the house of a thousand crimes"), which was located seven blocks north of the Dreamland on State Street. The band at the Pekin was probably not working when members of the "whiskey ring" killed two detectives at the café in the early hours of the morning of August 23, 1920. The police permanently closed the Pekin after these murders, and Oliver went back to doubling as a cornetist with the Royal Gardens band.⁴¹

Sometime around March 1920, Duhé quit the Dreamland band, and Oliver summoned Ory Band alumnus Johnny Dodds to take his place. Johnny Dodds could not leave New Orleans immediately, so King Phillips (from the W. C. Handy band) filled in for him on the clarinet during the interim.⁴² The bassist Ed Garland, another Ory alumnus, replaced Braud, although it cannot be determined exactly when Braud left Oliver's band or when Garland returned from his tour with the Tennessee Ten to join Oliver. Since Braud recalled that he played at the Pekin Café, and Garland (who is not listed in the 1920 Illinois census) did not refer in his interviews to the Pekin Café or to the murders that took place there, it may be conjectured that Garland did not rejoin Oliver until late in 1920 or early in 1921.⁴³

V

Of all the "grand openings" at the Dreamland under the ownership of Bill Bottoms,⁴⁴ the event of November 18, 1920, was the most spectacular affair, due in large measure to the café's splendidly remodeled interior. The *Chicago Whip* of November 19 described at length the hall's decor:

In the large dome in the center of the ceiling hangs a beautiful bunch of green foliage, in which blaze red, white, and blue incandescent electric lights. On the outer edge of the dome are several dozen incandescent lights, with the initial "D." Hanging from the ceiling there are four lights covered with shades, hand painted. Gold decorations [*sic*] is the color scheme and on the floor is a new Brussels carpet. In the center is a glass flooring, five feet square, under which brilliant lights burn with stunning effect. On each table is an electric shade. The new addition is the balcony which can be reached at the four corners of the room. At the west end is placed the special balcony for the New Orleans Jazz Band under the direction of Professor Joe Oliver.

Johnny Dodds walked into the Dreamland to take his place in Joe Oliver's band on January 10, 1921.⁴⁵ According to the *Chicago Whip*

(of which Bottoms was part owner), business had been thriving at the Dreamland since its grand reopening on November 18, 1920: glowing reviews of enormous patronage and renowned entertainment appeared weekly in the newspaper, for example, and Oliver's band was repeatedly billed as a "distinct feature," "justly celebrated," even "the talk of the town."⁴⁶ Such highly publicized success was undoubtedly exaggerated, for rumors had begun circulating that Bottoms was negotiating to sell the Dreamland.⁴⁷ Probably feeling his job in jeopardy because of this purported sale (which ultimately fell through), Oliver accepted an invitation to go west.

His entrée to the West Coast was Kid Ory, who had been in California since late 1919. During 1920, Ory moved his band from Los Angeles to Oakland to play at the notorious Creole Café.⁴⁸ While Ory was in Oakland, managers of the Pergola Dancing Pavilion in San Francisco offered him a contract, which he could not accept because of a prior commitment. Ory gave the managers the name of Joe Oliver, who had been his former cornetist. The Pergola, in turn, extended Oliver an invitation to come to San Francisco, and Oliver's band left Chicago for California on May 21, 1921;⁴⁹ transfers issued from Local 208 of the Chicago Musicians' Union, which are printed in the *International Musician* for July 1921, show that Garland, Dodds, Minor Hall, Palao, Dutrey, and Hardin accompanied Oliver from the Midwest to California. Oliver hired David Jones, an accomplished saxophonist-mellophonist from New Orleans, as an additional member of his band, either along the way or on the West Coast (fig. 5).⁵⁰

On June 12, 1921, Oliver and his band opened at the Pergola, a jitney dance hall located at 949 Market Street next to the Pantages Theater.⁵¹ He also played side dates, such as one at the Purcell dance hall on San Francisco's infamous "Barbary Coast," which is described below by Sid LeProtti:

They came to Purcell's place to play and the bass player [Garland] chewed tobacco. They got to playin' and everything was gettin' hot and rompin'. I remember they was playin' a waltz—somebody asked them to play a waltz and waltzes was very unusual for them fellas. It [was] "Sidewalks of New York;" it was just gettin' popular in those days. I was watchin' the bass player and I seen him go "sisst, sisst" and I wondered what he was doin'. He'd turn his head and kept goin' "sisst, sisst." Pretty soon, I looked over and saw some brown spots on the wall. After they got done playin', and went, I went over and looked at the wall. That character had spit all over the wall. . . . After that, we usually called them "tobacco-chewin' wall spittin' band."⁵²

About two months after his arrival in California, decreasing work



Figure 5. King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band in San Francisco, ca. June 1921. From left to right: Minor Hall, Honoré Dutrey, Joe Oliver, Lil Hardin, David Jones, Johnny Dodds, James Palao, and Ed Garland. Photograph courtesy of the Frank Driggs Collection.

prompted Oliver to attempt to release the violinist Palao. Minor Hall, the drummer, had grown up with Palao's family in New Orleans and threatened to leave the band if Palao was fired. Angered by Hall's threat, Oliver dismissed Hall and sent for Warren "Baby" Dodds, Johnny Dodd's brother, as a replacement. Hall complained to the musicians union, with whom Oliver did not consult before hiring Baby Dodds; Oliver was assessed a fine, which he neglected to pay. He was also forced by the union to finance Minor Hall's trip back to Chicago.⁵³

Baby Dodds received the offer to join Oliver in California during early September 1921, shortly after his return to New Orleans from a summer of playing on riverboats in St. Louis. He recalled that the Pergola closed down "about two weeks" after he arrived in San Francisco.⁵⁴ Before leaving the Pergola, the group, now known as the King Oliver's Creole Band, was booked to play a matinee at the California Theater. They encountered some racial tensions there: "When the band went on for a matinee some little smart guy in the audience said, 'I thought you said those guys were Creoles. Those guys are no Creoles. Those are niggers!' Of the whole band only Joe Oliver and Dutrey could talk Creole fluently, so they began to speak it fast. The people just stared and that ended that episode."⁵⁵

It is unclear whether Oliver terminated Palao at the same time as Hall; Baby Dodds remembered Palao playing with the band when he

arrived in 1921. David Jones dropped out of the band at some point, and Baby Dodds recalled that both Jones and Palao remained in California after the band went back to Chicago;⁵⁶ Hardin left for home about the time that the Pergola closed and was eventually replaced by Bertha Gonsoulin; Kid Ory filled in for Dutrey, who was the next to leave. The remaining members of Oliver's band found work as best they could. Baby Dodds and Ed Garland joined forces with Ory for a while and played for dances in the San Francisco area as well as at Ory's old hangout, the Creole Café.⁵⁷ Johnny Dodds stayed in California with Oliver but stayed in San Francisco as much as possible after the birth of his first child, John Jr., on November 5, 1921.⁵⁸

For a few months, Oliver, Garland, Johnny and Warren Baby Dodds, Ory, and Gonsoulin sponsored their own weekend dances in an Oakland hall.⁵⁹ It was probably this band, billed as "King Oliver's and Ory's Celebrated Creole Orchestra," which later played for a Mardi Gras ball at the Municipal Auditorium in Oakland on February 28, 1922.⁶⁰ An advertisement in the *Western Outlook* on March 25, 1922, urged people to attend another event, the Grand Ball at the West Indian Cricket Club, in San Francisco on April 17, where "King Oliver's Celebrated Orchestra would provide the music."

VI

Oliver remained in California at least through April 1922. During this period, he must have broken his contract to play for an "old-time country and barn dance" sponsored by the Raquette Tennis Club at Forester's Hall in Oakland on Saturday, April 22,⁶¹ in order to perform on that same date as an "extra added attraction" for the opening of "Ragtime" Billy Tucker's Hiawatha Dancing Academy in Los Angeles. Tucker, who was the California correspondent for the *Chicago Defender*, published his account of this event in the *Defender* on April 29, 1922:

As an extra added attraction we are featuring "King" Joe Oliver, the world's greatest cornetist, who is in town en route to Chicago. He has been up in San Francisco a few months. When he came to Los Angeles a few days ago, Jelly Roll Morton entertained him at Wayside Park, and I'll chirp to the whole continent [that] he set Los Angeles on fire. . . . Matt Lewis (my partner) and myself have offered him all kinds of inducements to stay in Los Angeles and take charge of our bands at the Hiawatha, but he has already made his contract.

The contract in question was Oliver's engagement with the Lincoln Gardens, the remodeled and redecorated former Royal Gardens, which had opened under a new name and management during May 1921,

the month that Oliver had left Chicago for California.⁶² The *Defender* trumpeted Oliver's return to Chicago on June 17, 1922, announcing: "Dance to the music of Joe Oliver's Creole Jazz Band just back from a great year on the coast."

By June 17, 1922, Oliver's band had probably been in Chicago for several weeks, but its opening at the Lincoln Gardens had been delayed by problems with the musicians union. The fine that Oliver had neglected to pay in San Francisco came back to haunt him. According to Ed Garland, Oliver's band was on the stand at the Lincoln Gardens when a representative of the union entered the hall and halted the scheduled performance. Mrs. Major, the cabaret's white owner, had to pay a fine of \$100 per player, plus an extra \$200, before the band could go on.⁶³ (Garland must have heard the story secondhand, however, since he had stayed on in California with Kid Ory.)

Bill Johnson took Garland's place in Oliver's band at the Lincoln Gardens in Chicago, and Dutrey reclaimed his old position as the trombonist. Bertha Gonsoulin, who had returned to the Midwest with Oliver, went back to San Francisco at the end of November 1922, and Lil Hardin, who had been playing with May Brady at the Dreamland, rejoined the Oliver band.⁶⁴

The drummer George Wettling visited the Lincoln Gardens as a boy and described this fabled hall some years later:

There was a painted canvas sign about two by four feet square hanging outside the beat-looking building that housed the Lincoln Gardens, [and] a sign that read "King Oliver and his Creole Jazz Band." From the looks of the place on the outside, one would never guess that on the inside [there] was the hottest band to ever sit on a bandstand. . . . The most striking thing that hit your eye once you got into the hall was a big crystal ball that was made of small pieces of reflecting glass and hung over the center of the dance floor. A couple of spotlights shone on the big ball as it turned and threw reflected spots of light all over the room and the dancers. . . . The ceiling of the place was made lower than it actual was by chicken wire that was stretched out, and over the wire were spread great bunches of artificial maple leaves.⁶⁵

Warren Baby Dodds also commented on the decor of the Lincoln Gardens, stating:

[It] was merely a hall with benches placed around for people to sit on. There was a balcony with tables on one side and the whole interior was painted with lively, bright colors. I would judge that the Gardens held about six or seven hundred people and many a night I've seen it filled up.

. . . There was lots of fun in the Gardens but sometimes things got pretty rough, too. . . . One Sunday some of the youngsters started a pistol fight on the balcony of the Gardens. We were playing when the shooting started and when the guy shot twice, Joe [Oliver] got up and ran . . . [and] my brother ran behind the piano and Dutrey also made haste to get away. But I just sat in my chair and played my drums.⁶⁶

VII

Why "Papa" Joe, as his band members called him, thought that he needed to add a second cornetist to his already established and successful ensemble is somewhat of a mystery. While standard on riverboats and in brass bands, such instrumentation was unusual, if not exceptional, for "hot" New Orleans jazz bands of the period. Perhaps Oliver had begun to feel his own mortality at the age of thirty-seven, or perhaps dental problems, which would prematurely end his career, had begun to surface by August 1922. Whatever the reason, Oliver's decision to send for Louis Armstrong, his frequent substitute and eventual replacement in the Ory Band, was to have repercussions on the evolution of jazz that would far surpass Oliver's own influence.

Taking the evening train from New Orleans on August 8, 1922,⁶⁷ Armstrong arrived in Chicago too late the next evening for band members to meet him at the station, and he was forced to make his own way to the Lincoln Gardens, where he took his place on the bandstand and played. Armstrong vividly recalled that event thirty years later:

Every number on opening night was a gassuh. A special hit was a piece called "Eccentric" in which Joe took a lot of breaks. First he would take a four-bar break, then the band would play. Then he would take another four-bar break. Finally at the end of the chorus he and Bill Johnson would do a sort of musical act. Joe would make his horn sound like a baby crying, and Bill Johnson would make his horn [bass or banjo] sound as though it was a nurse calming the baby in a high voice. While Joe's horn was crying, Bill Johnson's horn would interrupt on that high note as though to say, "Don't cry, little baby." Finally this musical horseplay broke up in a wild squabble between nurse and child, and the number would bring down the house with laughter and applause.⁶⁸

The period 1922 to 1923 was the heyday of the Creole Band. It was also a period that established the band's fame and ensured its place in jazz history. Not only were there nightly crowds of dancers, but there were scores of white as well as black musicians who came regularly to the Chicago cafés to listen and learn from Oliver and his

band.⁶⁹ Aware and proud of its unique artistry, King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band was, up to that time (and well beyond), "the world's greatest jazz band."⁷⁰

APPENDIX

A Chronology of the Creole Band

1917

- Apr. 19 Duhé's Band opens with Mabel Elaine at the Grand Theater in Chicago
- May The drummer Tubby Hall joins Duhé's Band
- July The pianist Lil Hardin joins Duhé's Band
- Aug. Duhé's Band plays at the DeLuxe Gardens in Chicago
- Oct. The bassist Wellman Braud replaces Ed Montudie Garland in Duhé's Band
- Nov. (?) The drummer Minor Hall replaces his brother Tubby Hall in Duhé's Band

1918

- Feb. The clarinetist Sidney Bechet joins Duhé's Band at the DeLuxe Gardens
- Apr. Remnants of the Original Creole Band perform at the Royal Gardens in Chicago
- June 19 The cornetist Joe Oliver is arrested with the Kid Ory Band in New Orleans
- July Duhé's Band moves from the DeLuxe Gardens to the Dreamland in Chicago

1919

- Feb. Joe Oliver arrives in Chicago to play at the Royal Gardens
- July Joe Oliver joins Duhé's Band at the Dreamland and doubles after hours at the Royal Gardens
- Oct. The Oliver-Duhé band plays at the "Black Sox" World Series in Chicago

1920

- Jan. Clarence Jones's Jolly Jazzing Jeopards replaces the Oliver-Duhé band at the Dreamland
- Mar. (?) Duhé leaves Joe Oliver's band and is replaced by the clarinetist King Phillips
- Apr. Joe Oliver returns to play at the Dreamland and doubles after hours at the Pekin Café
- Aug. 23 Two police detectives are murdered at the Pekin Café by the "whiskey ring"
- Oct. (?) The bassist Ed Garland replaces Wellman Braud in Oliver's band

1921

- Jan. The clarinetist Johnny Dodds replaces King Phillips in Oliver's band
- May The Creole Band leaves for California
- June The Creole Band opens at the Pergola Dancing Pavilion in San Francisco, Calif.
- Sept. The drummer "Baby" Dodds replaces Minor Hall in the Creole Band
- Oct. The Creole Band leaves the Pergola and freelances in San Francisco; Lil Hardin returns to Chicago
- Nov. (?) The trombonist Honoré Dutrey returns to Chicago

1922

- Feb. 25 The Oliver-Ory band plays for a Mardi Gras Ball in Oakland, Calif.
- Apr. 17 The Oliver band plays at a Grand Ball in San Francisco
- Apr. 22 Oliver's band is featured at the opening of Ragtime Billy Tucker's Hiawatha Dancing Academy in Los Angeles, Calif.
- June Joe Oliver is featured at the Lincoln Gardens in Chicago; the guitarist Bill Johnson and the clarinetist Honoré Dutrey rejoin Oliver's band

Aug. The cornetist Louis Armstrong joins the Oliver band at the Lincoln Gardens
 Dec. Lil Hardin rejoins Joe Oliver's band at the Lincoln Gardens

1923

Apr. 5-6 The Creole Band records for Gennett Records in Richmond, Ind.

NOTES

1. A chronology of the Creole Band is given in the appendix. See also Louis Armstrong, *Swing That Music* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1936), 79. The question of recording dates for the Gennett session appears settled in Walter C. Allen and Brian A. L. Rust, *"King" Oliver*, rev. ed. by Laurie Wright (Chigwell, Essex: Storyville, 1987), 20-21. For a photograph of the Gennett studios (a remodeled piano warehouse), see Jim Godbolt, *The World of Jazz: In Printed Ephemera and Collectibles* (London: Studio Editions, 1990), 36-37. Brian Rust provides a discography and list of personnel of the Creole Band in *Jazz Records, 1897-1942*, 5th ed. (Chigwell, Essex: Storyville, 1982). A description of the Gennett session is found in Frederic Ramsey and Charles Smith, *Jazzmen* (New York: Limelight Editions, 1985), 73-74.

Kid Ory's Sunshine Band in California was the first African American jazz group to record (see Ragtime Billy Tucker's West Coast correspondence from May 27 to Aug. 5, 1922, in the *Chicago Defender*, as well as "Reb" Spikes, interview by Patricia Willard, 1980 [Rutgers University Institute of Jazz Studies, hereinafter Rutgers Jazz Archive]). For comparisons of the Creole Band with the Original Dixieland Jazz Band and the New Orleans Rhythm Kings, see Martin T. Williams, *Jazz Masters of New Orleans* (New York: Macmillan, 1967) and Gunther Schuller, *Early Jazz: Its Roots and Musical Development* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968). Also valuable is the 1958 essay on King Oliver by Lawrence Gushee (reprinted in *Jazz Panorama: From the Pages of the Jazz Review*, ed. Martin Williams [New York: Da Capo, 1979]) and Martin Williams's 1960 essay (reprinted in *Kings of Jazz*, ed. Stanley Green [Cranbury, N.J.: A. S. Barnes, 1978]). For an analysis of the Creole Band's music, see Lawrence O. Koch, "Structural Aspects of King Oliver's 1923 Okeh Recordings," *Journal of Jazz Studies* 3, no. 2 (1976): 36-46.

2. Ramsey and Smith, *Jazzmen*; Allen and Rust, *"King" Oliver*.

3. Lawrence Gushee, "How the Creole Band Came to Be," *Black Music Research Journal* 8, no. 1 (1988): 83-100.

4. Gushee, liner notes to *The Legendary Freddie Keppard, New Orleans Cornet*, Smithsonian Institution, Columbia Records R 020 (1979); Gushee to the editor, *Storyville* 134 (June 1, 1988): 46.

5. Wesley Neff, "Jimmie Noone," *Jazz Information* (Oct. 4, 1940): 7.

6. Duhé showed Bill Russell in 1957 the contract that Licalzi and Krauss had signed (Duhé, interview by Russell, June 9, 1957 [Tulane University, William Ransom Hogan Jazz Archive, hereinafter Tulane Jazz Archive]). Licalzi, a native of New Orleans and part-owner of the Wilson Avenue Theater in Chicago, left town on Feb. 14. The Feb. 16, 1917, issue of *Variety* recorded: "Mitch Licalzi [sic] and wife left Wednesday for New Orleans to be gone about a month" (38). See also Licalzi's obituaries in *Variety* and the *New Orleans Times-Picayune* on Aug. 9, 1918.

7. Gushee, "How the Creole Band Came to Be," 86; Gushee to the editor, *Storyville* 147 (Sept. 1, 1991): 92-94.

8. Ed Garland, interview by Burt Turetzky, Jan. 1977 (Rutgers Jazz Archive). Garland remembered Elaine for her "clock dance" (Orrin Keepnews, "Ory Rhythm," *Record Changer* [Jan. 1949], 13). For a photograph of Elaine and her band on stage (probably at the Grand Theater), see Al Rose and Edmond Souchon, *New Orleans Jazz: A Family*

Album, 3d ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984), 283. Louis Keppard, owner of the photograph, said that it was taken at the band's "first job" in Chicago, although he named the Dreamland at 35th and State as the impossible location (Louis Keppard, interview by Bill Russell, Aug. 4, 1957 [Tulane Jazz Archive]).

9. *Variety*, May 4, 1917, 40.

10. *Variety*, May 11, 1917, 123.

11. Elaine does not appear among the Palace listings in the *Danville Commercial News* from the beginning of May through June 13, the close of its season.

12. *Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette*, May 14, 1917. Tubby Hall said that he came from New Orleans to work in the Chicago stockyards in Mar. 1917 and joined Duhé's band in May 1917; the rest of his family accompanied him or came shortly thereafter (Nat Shapiro and Nat Hentoff, *Hear Me Talkin' to Ya* [New York: Rinehart, 1955], 85; see also Minor Hall, interview by Bill Russell, Sept. 2, 1958 [Tulane Jazz Archive]). According to Ed Garland and Louis Keppard, Duhé's drummer, "Red Happy" Bolton, was excluded from the trip at the last minute by Licalzi and Krauss for financial reasons (Garland, interview by Russell, Aug. 8, 1958; Keppard, interview by Russell, Aug. 4, 1957 [Tulane Jazz Archive]). Keppard, in turn, told Russell that Elaine played in St. Louis for "about three weeks" immediately after she was in Cedar Rapids.

13. Andy Ridley, "The Keppard Brothers," *Second Line* 40, no. 1 (1988): 24–29. See also Bill Russell's interviews with Louis Keppard, Roy Palmer, and Lil Armstrong (of July 1, 1959) in the Tulane Jazz Archive; Lil Armstrong, "Lil Armstrong Reminisces about Early Chicago Days," *Down Beat* (June 1, 1951): 12 (here Armstrong's identification of the violinist as Palao, rather than Lindsay, is probably a slip of memory); Shapiro and Hentoff, *Hear Me Talkin' to Ya*, 93. Ed Garland told Russell that the Chinese restaurant was on Madison near Paulina, and he told Turetzky in Jan. 1977 that he played at this location with Perez.

14. *Indianapolis Freeman*, Aug. 25, 1917. See also Lil Armstrong, interview by Herman Kogan, n.d. (Lil Armstrong Vertical File, Rutgers Jazz Archive).

15. The Oct. 6, 1917, issue of the *Chicago Defender* lists Garland as a member of the Tennessee Ten, which was scheduled to appear in St. Paul, Minn., on Oct. 15.

16. Minor Hall, interview. See also Alice Finley, "Minor Hall Speaks," *Record Changer* (Aug. 1947): 5. Minor Hall was also drafted near the end of the war (Finley, "Minor Hall Speaks," 13; Keepnews, "Ory Rhythm," 13). Hall's replacement, if there was one, is unknown.

17. Sidney Bechet, *Treat It Gentle: An Autobiography* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1960), 116–17. Bechet was last named as a member of the Bruce and Bruce Stock Company's jazz band at the Washington Theater in Indianapolis (*Freeman*, Feb. 2, 1918); the company then traveled to the Grand Central Theater in Cleveland (*Freeman*, Feb. 9, 1918). Bechet's recollection in his autobiography of Darnell Howard being Duhé's violinist is questionable since Howard could not have been more than sixteen years old at the time. Six years earlier Howard was listed as a ten-year-old performer in a recital given by the students of Charles A. Elgar (*Chicago Defender*, May 25, 1912). Howard, however, gave his birthdate as July 25, 1906, in an interview by Nesuhi Ertegun and Robert Campbell on Apr. 21, 1957 (Tulane Jazz Archive). In that same interview, Howard mentions hearing (but not playing with) Bechet at the DeLuxe Gardens. If Duhé had a violinist at this time, it was probably Palao, whom Lil Armstrong listed among the pre-Oliver bandmen in her interview with Russell as well as in her article for *Down Beat*.

18. Jean-Christophe Averty to the editor, *Storyville* 133 (Mar. 1, 1988): 15–16. Barbarin names Geraldine as the band's violinist (interview by Bill Russell, Mar. 27, 1957 [Tulane Jazz Archive]).

19. Lil Armstrong, "Lil Reminisces about Early Chicago Days," 12. Duhé stated, however, that Sugar Johnny died from influenza during the winter of 1918–19 (Averty to the editor, 17).

20. Lil Hardin, interview by Russell; Garland, interview by Turetzky. Both state that Keppard substituted for the ailing Smith, but Garland cited Carey as Smith's replacement (interview by Ertegun and Campbell, Apr. 21, 1957 [Tulane Jazz Archive]). Minor Hall (interview) and Lawrence Duhé also named Carey as Sugar Johnny's replacement. See Duhé, interview by George Brown, 1960 (Tulane Jazz Archive).

21. Ramsey and Smith, *Jazzmen*, 64–65.

22. Ridley, "The Keppard Brothers," 26.

23. For further information, see Gene Anderson, "Johnny Dodds in New Orleans," *American Music* 8, no. 4 (1990): 429.

24. Garland, interview by Russell.

25. *St. Louis Argus*, Dec. 7, 1918.

26. At this point, it would be helpful to know when Sugar Johnny died, but his death certificate, if there ever was one, appears lost. See Gushee to the editor, *Storyville* 134, 47; Gushee to the author, July 24, 1991. Eddie Marrero, a relative on Smith's mother's side of the family, told Bill Russell that Sugar Johnny was born in South Carolina, ca. 1892–93 and that he moved to New Orleans as a young man (Marrero, interview by Russell, Oct. 11, 1961 [Tulane Jazz Archive]). The nickname "sugar" had homosexual connotations (Samuel Charters, *Jazz: New Orleans, 1885–1963*, rev. ed. [New York: Oak Publications, 1963], 49).

27. Averty to the editor, 15.

28. Averty to the editor; Lil Armstrong, interview; Duhé, interview. Bechet later left the country with Will Marion Cook in May 1919 (Bechet, *Treat It Gentle*, 117).

29. Frank C. Taylor, *Alberta Hunter: A Celebration in Blues* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1987), 47–48.

30. *Chicago Whip*, Feb. 7, 1920.

31. *Chicago Defender*, Aug. 3, 1918. Barbarin told Bill Russell that the working hours for the Royal Gardens band were from 9:00 P.M. to 4:00 A.M.

32. Laurie Wright discusses this photograph in "Additional Information on 'King' Oliver," *Storyville* 136 (Dec. 1, 1988): 138. The bunting visible in the upper left corner and the flag in the center rear imply a patriotic occasion. Other possible occasions for this event, besides Decoration Day, could have been "Over the Top Night" on June 27 or "Patriotic Night" on July 4 (*Chicago Defender*, June 28 and July 5, 1919).

33. *Chicago Whip*, Aug. 9, 1919. Muse reflects black establishment opinion about jazz. For further discussion, see Thomas J. Hennessey, "The Black Chicago Establishment, 1919–1930," *Journal of Jazz Studies* 2, no. 1 (1974): 15–45.

34. See Allen and Rust, "King" Oliver, for another photograph of the "White Sox Booster Band" that includes Braud, whose bass partly intrudes at the far right of Figure 4. A personnel list, said to be Duhé's own, names George Field as the trombonist, instead of Dutrey (Wright, "Additional Information," 138). Palmer had been fired for allegedly sleeping on the bandstand (Charters, *Jazz*, 44). Humphrey (sometimes incorrectly identified in this photo as Lorenzo Tio) was at the time with Perez, not Duhé (Willie Humphrey Jr., interview by Bill Russell, Mar. 15, 1959 [Tulane Jazz Archive]; William Humphrey Jr., interview by Phil Schaaf, Aug. 6, 1986 [Rutgers Jazz Archive]; Willie Humphrey Jr., conversation with author, Preservation Hall, New Orleans, June 26, 1993). Hardin, still Duhé's pianist, was understandably absent from the stadium stands.

35. *Chicago Whip*, July 17, 1920.

36. A photograph of Clarence Jones's Jolly Jazzing Jeopards, appears in the *Chicago Whip* for Dec. 27, 1919.

37. Lil Hardin appears in the Jeopards' photograph in the *Chicago Whip* on Dec. 27, 1919; see also Lil Armstrong, interview.

38. Shapiro and Hentoff, *Hear Me Talkin' To Ya*, 85; Averty, "Minor Hall Speaks," 16.

Duhé remembered Keppard and Oliver together in "his" band, but he did not say where (interview). The 1920 census records support the dissolution of Duhé's band—but little else. In the entry in the *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, Illinois* for Jan. 2–3, Palao was identified as a vaudeville musician, Keppard as a "café" musician, and Lil Hardin as a cabaret pianist; on Jan. 15, Joe Oliver was listed as still playing at the Dreamland (Washington's takeover may not have been immediate); and on Mar. 10, Duhé was cited as a musician at the "Gardens." (Duhé told George Brown, however, that he worked at both the DeLuxe and Royal Gardens).

39. *Chicago Whip*, Feb. 7, 1920.

40. This change occurred despite the qualified praise that the Jeopards received in the *Chicago Whip* on Apr. 3, 1920 ("the Dreamland band is improving"). That same edition of the *Whip* announced that Clarence Jones had returned to the Owl Theater, where he had spent a lengthy residency before moving to the Dreamland.

41. Hall, interview. Although the *Chicago Daily Tribune* for Aug. 24, 1920, mentions a "jazz band," pianist Tony Jackson was the only musician arrested for questioning in connection with these murders (*Chicago Herald Examiner*, Aug. 25, 1920). Accounts in the *Chicago Herald Examiner* on Aug. 24 and the *Chicago Defender* on Aug. 28 indicate that the Pekin Café had reopened surreptitiously the night of that disturbance, after having been closed for several weeks.

42. Allen and Rust, "King" Oliver, 8. The Pekin Café shootings do not emerge in Duhé's interviews with Russell or Brown, which probably indicates that he was not a member of Oliver's new Dreamland band in Apr. 1920. Duhé told Russell that after he left Oliver he played in cabarets and worked on the Orpheum circuit for a year or two before returning to Louisiana "about 1923."

43. Garland, whose memory for dates is erratic, told Ertegun and Campbell that he returned to Chicago in 1920.

44. Bill Bottoms had acquired the Dreamland in 1917.

45. In his 1938 interview for *Jazzmen*, Dodds told Bill Russell that he joined Oliver's band on Jan. 10, 1920. However, he is listed in New Orleans in the census report of July 16, 1920, which disproves the year, if correctly transcribed (1938 interviews for the *Jazzmen*). (Russell generously shared his unpublished interviews for the *Jazzmen* with the author during a series of visits in Mar. and Apr. 1988.)

46. *Chicago Whip*, Feb. 12, Mar. 5, and Apr. 9, 1920.

47. *Chicago Defender*, Apr. 2, 1921.

48. *Chicago Defender*, Aug. 28, 1920.

49. Hall, interview. See also Allen and Rust, "King" Oliver, 8. The date of Oliver's departure comes from Dodds's interviews (see n. 45).

50. For information on David Jones, see Warren Dodds, *Baby Dodds Story*, 24, 33–35; Louis Armstrong, *Swing That Music*, 47–48; Louis Armstrong, *Satchmo: My Life in New Orleans* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1954), 189–91, 208.

51. Allen and Rust, "King" Oliver, 8.

52. Tom Stoddard, *Jazz on the Barbary Coast* (Chigwell, Essex: Storyville, 1982), 39.

53. Hall, interview; Garland, interview by Turetzky.

54. W. Dodds, *Baby Dodds Story*, 33. Reference to the closing of the Pergola in two weeks' time is taken from the Dodds manuscript, not the published edition of Gara's book. (Bill Russell shared this manuscript with the author during a visit in Apr. 1988.)

55. *Ibid.*, 34.

56. *Ibid.*, 34–35.

57. See Rose and Souchon, *New Orleans Jazz*, 285, for a photograph of Ed Garland and Baby Dodds with Kid Ory in California.

58. Bessie Dodds, Johnny Dodds's wife, probably did not go to Chicago with her husband but went directly to San Francisco from New Orleans (John Dodds Jr., telephone conversation with author, Mar. 4, 1989).

59. W. Dodds, *Baby Dodds Story*, 34–35.

60. *Oakland Sunshine*, Feb. 25, 1922.

61. *Western Outlook*, Apr. 22, 1922.

62. From the date of Oliver's departure from Chicago for California in 1921, the newly renamed Lincoln Gardens had engaged at least four different bands by the summer of 1922.

63. Garland, interview by Turetzky.

64. *Chicago Defender*, Dec. 2, 1922; Lil Armstrong, interview. May Brady moved to the Dreamland from the DeLuxe in Aug. 1921 (*Chicago Whip*, Aug. 6, 1921).

65. Allen and Rust, "King" Oliver, 13–14; W. Dodds, *Baby Dodds Story*, 37.

66. W. Dodds, *Baby Dodds Story*, 35, 42.

67. Louis Armstrong wrote that he received Oliver's telegram and left New Orleans on Aug. 8, 1922, the day that he played for the funeral of Eddie Vincent's father across the river in Algiers (*Satchmo*, 227). Armstrong's recollection in his 1936 biography that he received Oliver's telegram in July on the day of the funeral and that he departed for Chicago "a few days later" [i.e., Aug. 8], however, is probably what actually happened (*Swing That Music*, 68–69). According to the death certificate on file at the Louisiana State Archives in Baton Rouge, La., Henry Vincent died on July 2, 1922. His listing in the *Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900 Population* (Louisiana, Orleans Parish, E. D. 141) reports a twenty-one-year-old son, Edward.

68. Armstrong, *Satchmo*, 239–40.

69. White musicians named by Baby Dodds include Benny Goodman, Frank Teschemacher, Dave Tough, Bud Freeman, Ben Pollack, along with Paul Whiteman's entire orchestra (W. Dodds, *Baby Dodds Story*, 37–38).

70. The Chicago clarinetist Garvin Bushell perhaps summarized their pride best: "We talked with the Dodds brothers. They felt very high about what they were playing, as though they knew they were doing something new that nobody else could do. I'd say they did regard themselves as artists in the sense we use the term today" (quoted in Williams, *Jazz Masters*, 90).