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“Just a Little While to Stay Here”: Louis Armstrong and the Brass Bands of New Orleans

When Louis Armstrong joined Joe Oliver in Chicago in 1922, he arrived with a performing style and musical worldview developed from more than a decade's experience as a participant in the exceptional, multi-faceted music scene of his hometown, New Orleans. During his youth, Armstrong had contact with a number of separate performance traditions, each of which contributed to the overall growth of early jazz. The types of groups he observed or in which he participated included vocal ensembles, dance hall bands, riverboat orchestras, and brass bands.

Armstrong's prose writings from later in his life¹ are an indispensable resource for the study of his career, and they show that (in addition to those of other types of ensembles) the music and performance practices of the distinctive New Orleans brass bands formed an influence on his development into what Gunther Schuller has termed the first great soloist of jazz. Moreover, Armstrong's anecdotal descriptions of such units as the Onward and Excelsior brass bands, and accounts by Armstrong and others of his own experiences as a bandsman also offer insights regarding a number of trends taking place among all New Orleans brass bands in the 1910s and early '20s.

Armstrong's years in New Orleans can be divided into four periods: first, his childhood, a time when he was an unselfconscious observer of many musical currents; second, his early adolescence, when he gained performing experience and received a measure of formalized training; third, his later adolescence, a period when he served as an apprentice musician, leading pickup groups and sitting in with more prominent, older musicians; and fourth, his early adulthood, when he achieved acceptance as a young professional among the ranks of the city's top musicians.²

Louis Armstrong grew up in an atmosphere suffused with music. His writings make clear that as a child in the so-called Battlefield neighborhood around Perdido and Liberty Streets, he absorbed influences from various sources, including dance hall bands, singing groups, cornet-playing

street vendors, and brass bands. He remembers seeing his father, Willie Armstrong, march as grand marshal of an Odd Fellow's parade and such festivities surrounding Mardi Gras; in both instances he mentions the music and spectacle of brass bands.³ Even during this period, as he listened to and second-lined (tagged along behind) brass bands, Armstrong proved himself a perceptive observer who accepted implicitly the notion that music performance was a natural part of his surroundings, intrinsic to daily life.

Armstrong became directly involved with music during his early adolescence. His writings indicate that he may have experimented with tin whistles and homemade instruments as early as 1907, but his first truly formative experiences came about in 1911, when he participated in a more disciplined boy's vocal quartet, extemporizing parts which fit harmonically with as many as three others, and doing it well enough to attract the attention of such rising professional musicians as Sidney Bechet. Armstrong biographer James Lincoln Collier has extolled the musical value of this experience, comparing it to an intensive course in ear-training.⁴

Although Armstrong's reminiscences offer conflicting information about when he first acquired a cornet,⁵ his first real training on the instrument, as well as his first significant contact with the brass band tradition, came in 1913, when he joined Peter Davis's brass band at the Colored Waif's Home. A photo of the home appears in Figure 1. In light of the New Orleans brass bands and their influence on Armstrong, three principal observations arise regarding this crucial phase.

First, at the Waif's Home, even though he did not learn to read music notation, he did practice daily and received guidance from Davis, most probably in the mechanics of pitch/tone production, fingerings, and the basic principles of ensemble playing. He also learned to play the melodies and fashion harmony parts for several tunes in the standard brass band repertory, such as "Maryland, My Maryland" and "Home, Sweet Home."⁶

Second, the brass bands he had seen all his life offered him a clear musical ideal. In emulating the men he had already come to idolize, such as Joe Oliver and Manuel Perez, he moved directly toward a goal that carried him beyond the mediocre level of skill typical of the other Waif's Home musicians. Third, as the brass band experience gave him a sense of accomplishment and lent new purpose to his daily routine, it must have been during his time in the Waif's Home band that Armstrong realized where his future lay in music.

From the middle of 1914, when he was released from the Waif's Home, to late in 1918, when he quit his coal-delivery job to pursue a fulltime career in music, Armstrong led a "wild and traumatic"⁷ life. Within months of his release, Armstrong began to play with barroom combos at the honky-tonks in the Battlefield, including Ponce's, Segretta's, and, later, Matranga's. In these contexts he gained valuable experience improvising, especially on the blues.

Although such developments in his playing occurred away from the

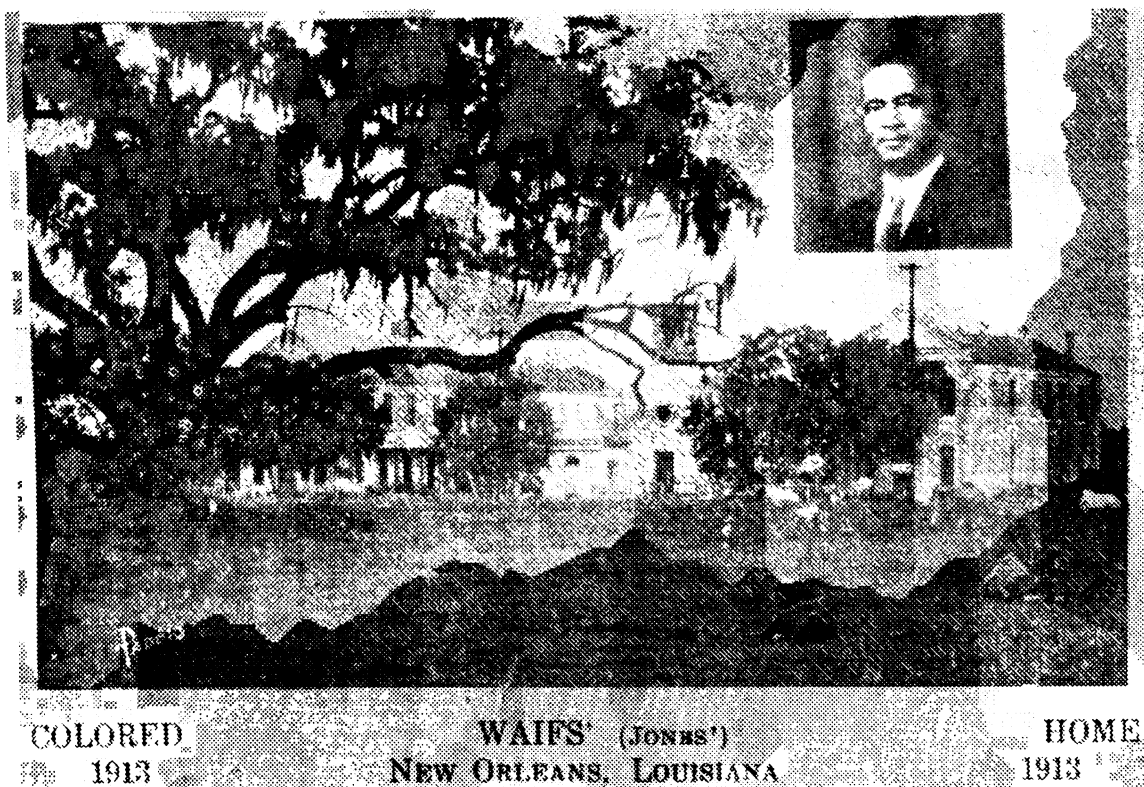


Figure 1. The Colored Waif's Home of New Orleans, located at the corner of Conti Street and Rosedale Drive, on the "back o' town" edge of the city. The inset shows the headmaster, Captain Joseph Jones. Courtesy of the Louis Armstrong House & Archives at Queens College/CUNY.

normal brass band setting, Armstrong made money by playing in pickup brass bands for funerals. In addition, he made important connections with two older musicians, Black Benny Williams and Joe Oliver, whose playing he had first admired in brass bands. In Oliver, Armstrong found a musical sponsor, a mentor who set a playing example and helped promote his career by recommending him to other leading musicians. During the mid-1910s Oliver performed with the Onward Brass Band, one of the best bands in the city, and one that Armstrong later singled out as particularly inspiring.⁸ Even though he had begun to explore other avenues for performing, Armstrong remained fascinated with brass bands and, moreover, was able to apply concepts learned from brass band work in areas such as tonal projection and melodic phrasing (in addition to note-for-note quotations), to the music he played in any context. The extent of such influences, both from Oliver and the Onward Brass Band, is clearly evidenced by the following recollection, penned by Armstrong for *The Record Changer* in 1950:

I was very young when I first heard Joe Oliver. He was in the Onward Band. Joe was playing cornet at the time. Two of them would play lead; there was Joe and Manny Perez. I used to second line behind them. When Joe would get through playing I would carry his horn. I guess I was about 14. Joe gave me cornet lessons, and when I was a kid I ran errands for his wife.

I could stay at the parade and listen to them blow all day. They just knocked me out. They'd play "Panama," or something like that, and the second line would applaud, and Joe was really blowing—he'd go way up there, you know, like on the last chorus of "High Society." If you've ever heard us play it, that's Joe Oliver up and down, note for note. I wouldn't change that solo; I see to it that I hit those same notes in my mind, because that's the way he'd end up those brass band solos.⁹

Armstrong began to establish himself as a professional in 1918, when at the age of seventeen he assumed Joe Oliver's vacated position with the prominent jazz band led by trombonist Edward "Kid" Ory. The light-skinned Ory enjoyed access to several high-profile venues, including Tulane University dances and other New Orleans society affairs, where in front of affluent white audiences a young comer was likely to be noticed. His band afforded Armstrong a significant opportunity to broaden his horizons beyond the confines of the Battlefield.¹⁰

After a busy winter working with Ory and others and continuing to play funeral engagements with brass bands, Armstrong went in for a second round of musical schooling when he joined Fate Marable's riverboat orchestra. Part of his motivation to join the riverboat orchestra came from a desire to learn to read music, or as he put it, to "do more than just fake the music all the time," the basic practice of the Ory band. Under the guidance of bandmates Joe Howard and David Jones, Armstrong learned quickly and was able to read what he later termed "very well" by the end of the second of his three seasons with Marable. Some of Armstrong's prior brass band experience served him well even in this context, as the riverboat orchestra routinely performed several staples of the band repertory, such as "Panama" and "Tiger Rag."¹¹

Once Armstrong left the riverboat (following the 1921 season), he found that his improved musicianship and solid reading skills put him in much greater demand as a musician in New Orleans. Besides landing a prominent cabaret job at Tom Anderson's cafe with leading Creole musician Paul Dominguez, he soon reached what he considered to be a pinnacle of musical success: full-fledged membership in the top brass band in the city, Oscar Celestin's Tuxedo Band. He had sat in with this band from time to time over a period of several years but had never been hired permanently, due to his inability to read the parts to the band's written arrangements. By 1921, however, Armstrong had matured, with musical skills now commensurate with those of his former idols. Although his tenure with the Tuxedo Band only lasted a series of months, Armstrong, with his ability to both read parts and improvise, or "play hot," helped the group immensely in the precise area for which it has been acclaimed among other brass bands of its day, the melding of the older style of band music with the newly ascendant style of dance music, i.e., jazz.

The two decades that Armstrong spent growing up in New Orleans

correspond with a pivotal period in the city's unique brass band tradition. During this time the brass bands of New Orleans underwent a considerable evolution with respect to repertory and performing styles. Author Richard Knowles has identified two essentially parallel performance practices among the black and Creole bands of this era: that of the rigidly structured, largely Creole bands, which read stock arrangements from stiff music cards, and that of the loosely organized, improvising bands, comprised of the so-called "routiners," which played a more limited repertory of dance-oriented music entirely by ear.¹¹ These "ratty" or "barrel house" brass bands seem to have first appeared in New Orleans around the turn of the century, even as many of the same musicians began to explore new sounds in the city's dance halls and barrooms.

The fabled Creole bands, on the other hand, represented a continuation of a tradition of music-making which extended far back into the history of New Orleans and was itself an outgrowth of the sophisticated musical culture of the *gens de couleur libre* of the antebellum period. Although groups of this mold, such as the Onward Brass Band, attracted high caliber musicians and generally dominated the brass band scene throughout the first decade of the century, the 1910s saw them begin to incorporate more dance music and some degree of improvisation into their styles. Knowles contends that the two practices, strict reading and playing by ear, first came together in a balanced way in the late 1910s in one group, the Tuxedo Brass Band, whose collective ability to both read and improvise established a convention that would be followed by "classic" New Orleans brass bands for decades to come.¹³

Armstrong's reminiscences and observations about brass bands help illuminate the progression of these developments and give insight concerning the musical values of the musicians involved. In addition, his own experiences as a bandsman in his early career can best be understood in light of the musical economy within the brass band scene.

The Creole brass bands are best represented by two groups which predominated in the early part of the century, the Onward and Excelsior bands. The older and somewhat more straight-laced of the two was the Excelsior, under the leadership of cornetist George Moret. Active from the late 1870s to about 1930, this ensemble performed for parades, funerals, picnics, parties, dances, sporting and religious events, and pleasure excursions and also gave formal concerts. It helped establish several norms of the New Orleans tradition, such as the instrumentation of about a dozen pieces with brass augmented by clarinet and drums, and the range of repertory, which included marches and patriotic music, waltzes and other dance genres, arrangements of popular operatic pieces, and sacred music.

Born in 1871, George Moret took over leadership of the Excelsior band in about 1904 and continued in that role for almost twenty years. The personnel of the band of circa 1910 included a number of prominent Creoles known for their ability to read and play in any "dignified" musical style, such as Moret and Arnold Metoyer on cornet; Vic Gaspard and Honoré

Dutrey, trombones; Edward Boisseau, baritone horn; and Alphonse Picou, clarinet. The Odd Fellows and Mardi Gras parades that Armstrong recalled from his childhood were exactly the types of functions at which the Excelsior band would appear, and Armstrong, at some point, became familiar with the group. He later called the Excelsior band “top-notch,” remarking that it was especially well-disciplined and saying that Moret “would pilot those musicians of his just like they were a flock of angels.”¹⁴

The parallel tradition of non-reading bands, which began to develop during Armstrong’s early childhood, is best represented by the band of the legendary cornetist “Buddy” Bolden and its descendant, the Eagle Band. Brass band historian William Schafer has asserted that the music Bolden is said to have played in dance halls, with its synthesis of ragtime and the blues, had become popular enough that a demand was created for its adaptation to the parade setting.¹⁵ Although Bolden appears to have fashioned a small brass band for occasional outdoor work by adding a few musicians to his basic dance hall line-up, his group only gained real stature as a brass band after his 1906 departure, under the new leadership of trombonist Frankie Dusen and with the new name, Eagle Band. Like many leaders, Dusen employed a pool of musicians who played when available, but for brass band work he generally used about nine pieces: two or three cornets, one or two trombones, a tuba, a clarinet, and snare and bass drums (essentially the same as that of the Excelsior band, minus the alto and baritone horns). Some of the musicians who played regularly with this band around 1910 included Bunk Johnson on cornet; Willie Humphrey and Lorenzo Tio, Jr., clarinets; and Henry Zeno, snare drum. Armstrong, who spent time second lining as a youth, undoubtedly heard numerous bands playing by ear for parades and funerals in the Battlefield neighborhood. He especially came to admire the parade work of Johnson and wrote in his 1954 autobiography that “you really heard music when Bunk Johnson played cornet in the Eagle Band.”¹⁶

A unique example of a non-reading New Orleans brass band was the band of the Colored Waif’s Home, a unit that enjoyed significant popularity in the mid-1910s. Started by Peter Davis in about 1911, it developed gradually. Over the time that Louis Armstrong lived at the Waif’s Home, the size of the band increased from as few as six to as many as eighteen pieces, including saxophones. The personnel around 1913-14 included Henry “Kid” Rena on clarinet (Rena later became well known as a cornetist and worked in some of the same musical circles as Armstrong), and a young trombonist named George Washington, who went on to play tuba in other brass bands. A photo of the band appears in Figure 2.

The Waif’s Home Brass Band began to play for functions around town in the summer of 1913, eventually performing for parades all over New Orleans and providing entertainment at the lakeside resort areas of Spanish Fort, West End, Milneburg, and Little Woods. Kid Ory recalled hearing this group of enthusiastic young boys, with Armstrong as a standout on cornet, marching behind his own band in a Labor Day parade. In recount-



Figure 2. The brass band of the Colored Waif's Home, circa 1913. The arrow indicates a young Louis Armstrong in the third row. Courtesy of the Louis Armstrong House & Archives at Queens College/CUNY.

ing his experience in the Waif's Home, Armstrong remembered that “the little brass band was very good, and Mr. Davis made the boys play a little of every kind of music.” Although from all accounts the band did not read sheet music, its sound ideal seems to have run not towards the barrel house style of the dance hall “routiners” but more toward the traditional fare of marches and sacred music, with the inclusion of a few popular ragtime numbers. In its performance practices, which thus to some degree mixed old and new currents in brass band work, the Waif's Home band, an ensemble of novices, reflected developments also beginning to flower among the best of the city's professional parade bands.¹⁷

The predominant New Orleans brass band of the early 1910s, and the “greatest ever,” according to Louis Armstrong, was the celebrated Onward Brass Band. Organized in about 1887, the Onward band was well established as a reading band in the venerated Creole tradition by 1900, just before cornetist Manuel Perez assumed leadership. In addition to parades, the Onward band performed for concerts, picnics, and dances—sometimes in venues shared with dance bands of the non-reading stripe—and its repertory soon came to reflect the varied demands of such activities.¹⁸

Shortly after 1910, the personnel of the Onward band underwent some significant revamping, with the addition of Joe Oliver, cornet; Lorenzo Tio,

Jr., clarinet; and, on a part-time basis, Henry Zeno, snare drum (among others). These three had experience with the non-reading Eagle Band, and it was no coincidence that during the next few years, the Onward band gained a reputation as a top-flight reading band that incorporated a measure of hot playing into its sound. Louis Armstrong was not the only young musician impressed by the Onward Brass Band and Joe Oliver's role in it during the mid-1910s. Drummer Paul Barbarin, son of the Onward's long-time alto horn player, Isidore Barbarin, later recalled that the band's style was "more ratty" than that of the Excelsior band, and he named Oliver in particular as the "barrel house man" of the ensemble.¹⁹ Manny Gabriel, a saxophonist, remembered that the playing styles of Perez (who was never known as an improviser) and Oliver complemented each other effectively: "Those two would come with a brass band and you would think it was about five or six trumpets. Oh, Joe Oliver was making the monkey-shines while Manuel Perez was carrying the melody, you know."²⁰

Armstrong lauded the Onward Brass Band often in his writings, and several of his observations give clues regarding its development of a new and freer sound. Describing a funeral, he notes that mourners would "leave all their worries behind" when Joe Oliver played in the high register on such standards as "Oh, Didn't He Ramble." He praises the snare drummers, such as Béb  Mathews and Henry Zeno, who were experienced dance hall musicians, and tells us that Black Benny Williams, who played often with the Onward band, was not only a "good bass drum beater" but also a "very good trap drum beater" for tailgate work, a situation when the repertory depended heavily on "ratty" music.²¹ More dramatically, in a 1969 essay, Armstrong wrote that the Onward band

was really something to listen to when they played for Parades and Funerals. They had twelve musicians in their brass band. Eddie Jackson used to really Swing the Tuba [sic] when the band played marches. They sounded like a forty piece brass swing band."²²

Although the term "swing" could mean simply a showy way of carrying the tuba on the part of Jackson, Armstrong clearly means to say something about the rhythmic style of the Onward band when he compares it to a forty-piece swing band.

James Lincoln Collier and William Schafer have both postulated that New Orleans musicians were swinging rags by the mid-1910s, employing a rhythmic feel of four beats to the bar instead of the original two-beat emphasis. This manner of playing was usually characterized by drums emphasizing backbeats while the tuba and trombones filled in with figures emphasizing all four beats at phrase endings. Such an approach seems to be what the brass-band trombonist William "B   " Ridgley described as a "double-beat" in comparison to the older style of playing rags, and what Armstrong means when he mentions the "good ol' New Orleans four-beat."²³

A second important element of swing is the uneven, long-short subdi-

vision of the basic pulse. This quality helps create the arresting difference between the early jazz style and its evenly-subdivided predecessor, ragtime, a difference clearly manifest in period recordings. For example, direct comparison of the late recordings of James Reese Europe's ragtime orchestra (1919) with those of either of two groups of New Orleans jazz musicians, the Original Dixieland Jazz Band (1917) or Joe Oliver's Creole Jazz Band (1923), shows that in both of the latter instances (and in sharp contrast to the basic practice of Europe's musicians) the players generally divide the quarter-note pulse into pairs of uneven eighth-notes articulated in a long-short manner.²⁴ With regard to New Orleans brass band music, this same shift in rhythmic style is also apparent in its earliest recordings, even though there are only two known examples dating from before the 1940s. The swing subdivision is not present in the performance of a brass-band rag on what is thought to be the earliest recording of a New Orleans brass band, a cylinder bearing a date of 1903, yet it pervades the playing style on the next extant recording, a casual brass-band performance of a dance tune called "Shake That Thing" at the Zulu parade of 1929.²⁵

With only these two recordings available to historians, it is impossible to determine just how much of this swing style of brass-band playing may have been in place in New Orleans by the mid-1910s, but it does seem clear that elements moving in that direction, drawn from the music of the non-reading ratty bands, were incorporated into the style of the Onward Brass Band, most probably in the rhythmic playing of the drummers, combined with some melodic improvisation, on the part of soloists such as Joe Oliver.²⁶

The small brass band fronted by Kid Ory led the way among non-reading bands in the mid-1910s. From 1913 to 1919 Ory led a popular dance orchestra, and, like Frankie Dusen before him, he added men, such as bass drummer Black Benny Williams, to it to produce an instrumentation suitable for playing outdoors. Never known for playing marches, Ory's band specialized in brass adaptations of the blues and danceable numbers like "Panama" and "High Society." Armstrong played frequently with Ory's brass band even before he became a regular with the dance unit, and one of his anecdotes concerning a funeral that necessitated the combining of Ory's band with musicians from John Robichaux's conservative, all-reading society orchestra points up the magnitude of the generational shift that was occurring in the New Orleans music scene:

After we reached the cemetery, and they lowered the body down six feet in the ground, and the drummer man rolled on the drums, they struck a ragtime march which required swinging from the band. And those old fossils just couldn't cut it. That's when we Ory boys took over and came in with flying colors.²⁷

Not all of Armstrong's experiences with reading musicians were as positive. Trombonist Bill Mathews of the Excelsior band recalled that during

this period he hired Armstrong as a substitute in a parade alongside George Moret and Arnold Metoyer, the band's regular cornetists. Armstrong took the job, although he expressed reservations over his inability to read from the music cards. On the day of the parade, the young cornetist was so nervous that he drank an entire bottle of wine before playing and consequently couldn't finish the engagement, complaining of overheating and cramps.²⁸

Armstrong finally came into his own as a brass bandsman when he joined the celebrated Tuxedo Brass Band. Formed in 1917, the Tuxedo band resulted from the partnership of cornetist Oscar Celestin and trombonist William "Bébé" Ridgley. At the time, the Onward band was temporarily disorganized, with its leader Perez fronting a dance band in Chicago, and Celestin and Ridgley were able to hire several of Onward's musicians, including tubist Eddie Jackson, drummer Ernest Trepagnier, and cornetist Sidney Desvigne.

Although himself a veteran of reading bands, Celestin steered the Tuxedo band's repertory away from the so-called heavy marches, towards syncopated dance music. Ridgley and others have claimed that the Tuxedo band was the first to adapt hymn melodies, like "When the Saints Go Marching In," for use as uptempo parade music.²⁹ Many of the numbers in the band's distinctive repertory were orchestrated by its baritone horn player, Adolphe Alexander. By 1920 the band included skilled improvisers like Eddie Jackson and clarinetist Lorenzo Tio, Jr.; yet Sunny Henry, an original member on trombone, recalled that reading was still crucial for success among these musicians: "The Tuxedo Band. If you couldn't read, you'd be in a heck of a fix."³⁰

In 1921 Armstrong replaced Desvigne in the regular lineup for the dozen-piece Tuxedo band. By this time Armstrong possessed enough skill in reading to warrant his inclusion on a continuing basis, and his boundless talent for hot playing offered the band a new dimension altogether. In 1961 Ridgley recalled that Armstrong gained command of the music rapidly. Sunny Henry remembered Armstrong's skill:

I didn't never understand Louis Armstrong, because that son of a gun he . . . didn't care what you played. . . . He would play a obbligate all the time; be off, you understand; he wouldn't never come play straight with you. But everything he put in there, by Ned, it worked.³¹

For his part, Armstrong called the Tuxedo band the "hottest in town," and was clearly thrilled to be in the company of such fine musicians, as subsequently attested to by his letter from Chicago to the Tuxedo's alto horn player Isidore Barbarin, in which he states that even the longest parades "don't go hard with you when you are playing with a good band."³²

Armstrong only performed with the Tuxedo band until August of 1922. Celestin and Ridgley themselves both left it by the middle of the decade. But the lasting significance of the band had been achieved in its first five

years, when it brought together in a balanced way the performance practices of reading and playing by ear and refined the mixture of the traditional brass-band sound with the jazzier musical elements that had begun to emerge with earlier groups. This crystallization of a new brass-band sound made Tuxedo a model for future New Orleans brass bands, such as the Eureka and Young Tuxedo bands of the postwar period and the later Onward and Olympia bands, even until the advent of the rhythm-and-blues based brass bands of the 1980s.³³

Louis Armstrong enjoyed a more or less continuous contact with the brass band tradition of New Orleans throughout the entire twenty-one years he lived there. As a child he was entertained and inspired by the brass bands; at the same time, he unconsciously observed a crucial period in their history, when a second performance practice, that of the non-reading routiners, came to rival the more established ways of the "old heads." In the early 1910s Armstrong second-lined as much as possible, then emulated his heroes as he played in a boy's brass band. Before long he began to circulate among older musicians and quickly came under the mentorship of figures involved directly in the shift to a more jazz-oriented style of brass-band playing. By 1921, as the hot cornetist with the Tuxedo band, he helped embody the mature synthesis, a new sound for brass bands.

Brass bands and their music made a significant impact upon Louis Armstrong. They were crucial to his development as a musician. In return, Armstrong participated in the brass band tradition as part of a generation that helped transform the music. In light of the long and distinguished history of New Orleans brass bands, Armstrong himself can perhaps best be characterized as an itinerant traveler, someone just passing through, who nevertheless benefited personally from the experience and, symbolically, made a strong and worthy contribution while he was there.

Notes

1. Armstrong authored two books during his lifetime, *Swing that Music* (New York: Longmans, 1936), and *Satchmo: My Life in New Orleans* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1954), both subject to considerable editing. Much of his other writing—letters, autobiographical essays, short pieces for magazines—has been collected in *Louis Armstrong: In His Own Words*, edited by Thomas Brothers (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998). The latter volume includes a complete bibliography of Armstrong's published and unpublished work.

2. These periods are similar in essence to those outlined by James Lincoln Collier in *Louis Armstrong: An American Genius* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).

3. Armstrong, *In His Own Words*, 8, 173-174; *Satchmo*, 22-24, 29, 126.

4. Collier, 28.

5. Differing accounts create the possibility that Armstrong spent some time around 1912 experimenting with one and trying to emulate such older musicians as Bunk Johnson. See Armstrong, *In His Own Words*, 40, 192-193.

6. Armstrong, *Satchmo*, 46; John Casimir, Oral history interview, 17 January 1959, William Ransom Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University.

7. Laurence Bergreen, *Louis Armstrong: An Extravagant Life* (New York: Broadway Books, 1997), 82.

8. Armstrong repeatedly stated his admiration for Joe Oliver's playing, especially that with the Onward Brass Band. See, for example, Armstrong, *Satchmo*, 24-25; *In His Own Words*, 37-39.

9. Louis Armstrong, "Joe Oliver is Still King," *The Record Changer* (July-August, 1950), reprinted in Armstrong, *In His Own Words*, 37-38.

10. Richard Knowles, *Fallen Heroes: A History of New Orleans Brass Bands* (New Orleans: Jazzology Press, 1996), 89-90; Gene Anderson, "Johnny Dodds in New Orleans," *American Music* 8 (1990): 414-440.

11. Armstrong, *Satchmo*, 182; Bergreen, 168.

12. Knowles, 7.

13. Knowles, 8.

14. Charles Kinzer, "The Excelsior Brass Band of New Orleans, 1879-1889: A Decade in the Development of a Vernacular Archetype," *Journal of Band Research* 29/1 (Fall 1993), 14-24; Knowles, 35-40; Armstrong, *Satchmo*, 180.

15. William Schafer, *Brass Bands and New Orleans Jazz* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), 37; see also Knowles, 8, 88.

16. Armstrong, *Satchmo*, 23-24.

17. Bergreen, 78; Armstrong, *Satchmo*, 39.

18. Charles Kinzer, "The Tio Family: Four Generations of New Orleans Musicians, 1814-1933" (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1993), 219-224; Knowles, 44-55.

19. Paul Barbarin, Oral history interview, 7 January 1959, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University.

20. Manny Gabriel, Oral history interview, 27 July 1965, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University.

21. Louis Armstrong, "Life Story of Louis Armstrong" (Typescript of *Satchmo: My Life in New Orleans*, [c1954], held at Institute of Jazz Studies, Rutgers University), 29, 38.

22. Armstrong, *In His Own Words*, 27.

23. Collier, 50; Schafer, 93; William Ridgley, Oral history interview, 7 April 1961, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University; Armstrong, *In His Own Words*, 50, 203.

24. Comparison of "Memphis Blues" (Lt. Jim Europe's 369th Infantry "Hellfighters" Band, March 1919) with "Livery Stable Blues" (Original Dixieland Jazz Band, February 1917) and "Chimes Blues" (King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band, April 1923), all as released on the anthology, *Ken Burns Jazz: The Story of America's Music* (Columbia/Legacy CSK 61432, 2000). Discussion of the swing-eighth-note conception may be found in Mark C. Gridley, *Jazz Styles: History and Analysis*, 5th edition (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1994), 364. Gunther Schuller also notes this fundamental difference between early jazz and ragtime in his study, *Early Jazz: Its Roots and Development* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 144, 257. He states that Jelly Roll Morton "loosened up and smoothed out" the "rhythmic tightness" of the earlier style, and draws a contrast between the jerky subdivision of Fletcher Henderson's band and the looser, more relaxed subdivision of New Orleans bands.

25. Both the 1903 and 1929 brass band recordings have been issued in a disc that accompanies Knowles, *Fallen Heroes*. The identity of the band on the 1903 cylinder is unknown; the 1929 recording is taken from a film made at the Zulu parade of that year. The unnamed band includes John Casimir on clarinet and (probably) Kid "Shots" Madison on trumpet.

26. This "hot" playing might take several forms, including improvised obbligatos, breaks, response figures at phrase endings, melodic embellishments, or formulaic substitutions for melodic phrases.

27. Armstrong, *Satchmo*, 142.

28. Bill Mathews, Oral history interview, 10 March 1959, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University.

29. William Ridgley, Oral history interview, 2 June 1959, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University; Hyppolite Charles, Oral history interview, 13 April 1963, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University; Knowles, 107-115.

30. Charles “Sunny” Henry, Oral history interview, 8 January 1959, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University.

31. Ridgley, interview, 7 April 1961; Henry, interview.

32. Armstrong, *In His Own Words*, 43.

32. Knowles, 7-8.