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When one thinks of a traditional New Orleans jazz band the “Hawaiian” steel guitar will probably not come to mind. From the inception of jazz to present times examples of such a combo in the city are rare. Yet, decades before Buddy Bolden and other musicians in the generation prior to Louis Armstrong were creating an ensemble and genre that would ultimately become celebrated as jazz (ca. 1900-1917), there was Hawaiian music presented in New Orleans.

Hawaiian music was hugely popular throughout America in the years preceding the first jazz recordings, but one is hard-pressed to find what role, if any, Hawaiian songs and instruments played in the development of jazz. As leader and steel guitar player of the New Orleans-based Storyville Stringband, a traditional jazz band that features “Hawaiian” steel guitar, I took up this study to understand and help others understand the relationship between Hawaiian music and the beginnings of jazz. The first questions are whether, and if so how, a music performed by people living on islands in the middle of the Pacific Ocean could influence that of a multicultural city on the American Gulf Coast. Conversely, could New Orleans music have in any way influenced Hawaiian music? By searching for similar traditional cultural traits between the two locales, as well as industrial bonds from pre-history to around the mid-twentieth century, we can perhaps determine some kind of kinship that points to interdependent developments.
THE BEGINNINGS

The beautiful beaches and marshlands of Hawaii were inhabited around 300 A.D. by regional Polynesians who had been making their way Eastward for centuries. The first settlers had few instruments, including percussion instruments and a type of nose-flute, but their *mele* (chants) of lineage, mythology, and practical knowledge were a central part of their music-making. The role of music in pre-European Hawaii cannot be overstated: music was apparently an integral part of being Hawaiian.

By the mid-1700s the population of Hawaii was probably 800,000 to 1,000,000. After Hawaii was “discovered” in 1778 by British Captain James Cook its demographics would be transformed to accommodate diverse peoples and cultures, including other Polynesians and Japanese, as well as Mexican and North American settlers. In April of 1820 European missionaries brought Western scale concepts in the form of European hymns (*himeni*), and around this time guitars were probably introduced. In the 1830s when King Kamehameha II invited guitar-toting Vaqueros (cowboys) from Mexico and Southern California to work and teach roping, riding, and saddle making, the guitar got a strong foothold on the islands. Along with the Vaqueros came Christian missionaries who did not approve of the natives dancing for hours in the hot sun in scant clothing of green garments to the accompaniment of drums, gourds, and chants. They convinced Queen Kaahumanu to outlaw Hula dancing but the dancing was still practiced in rural areas of the islands.

In 1872, Captain Henry Berger, a Prussian-born bandmaster brought to Hawaii by King Kamehameha V, began teaching music in Hawaiian public schools, while organizing numerous orchestras, bands, and string quintets and leading the Royal Hawaiian Band. Berger’s impact on Hawaiian music “was greater and more lasting than that of any other single individual. It was he who was responsible for directing the development of Hawaiian music toward the end of the transition period from *himeni* [hymns] to the secular form of modern Hawaiian music.” There were several composers of Hawaiian music from this era, including Hawaii’s last reigning monarch Queen Liliuokalani, who made important contributions to the incipient genre. She was crowned queen in 1891, only to be illegally ousted in 1893. Soon after, there was a ban on the Hawaiian language as an academic study in public schools, which was not officially lifted until 1986.

When the U.S. annexed the territory at the end of the nineteenth century, the popularity of Hawaiian music began to spread to the mainland, where, for a period, it became one of the most popular genres in American music. During the height of its popularity, between 1915-1930, spurred by the success of Henry Kalima’s “On the Beach at Waikiki” and the commercial release of the first jazz recordings in 1917, Hawaiian music went into a “jazzed-up” period that included many Tin Pan Alley versions of *hapa haole* songs. After its popularity on the mainland ran its course, in 1959, Hawaii became the 49th State, resulting in a further decline of Hawaiian culture. Today, Hawaiian culture perseveres through a diminishing native population. As of 2011, most people of indigenous Hawaiian ancestry live on the mainland; about 80,000 (some 6.6% of the population) live in the State of Hawaii. The scattering asun-
der of the Hawaiian people has stunted but not stopped their unique culture from evolving.

New Orleans, like post-1880 Hawaii, is a polyglot mix of different peoples and cultures. Before European colonization the region of lower Louisiana was inhabited by several native American nations, including the Houma, a farming culture that developed an elaborate music and had corn feasts at what is now Congo Square, and the Chitimacha who, in 1718 when they greeted the French, did so with a peace ceremony that included chanting, dancing, and music played on drums, alligator skins, gourd rattles, and flutes. New Orleans was founded by the French in 1718, and, by the time it was ceded to the Spanish in 1763, there was a Baroque Choir established at the Ursuline Convent. In 1812, Louisiana became the eighteenth state, and by the mid-nineteenth century it boasted its own resident opera company and three opera houses that offered the best in international opera. Nineteenth-century New Orleans also produced a fair share of classically trained violinists, pianists, clarinetists, and composers, among them the Creoles Edmond Dede and Louis Moreau Gottschalk, who is recognized as America’s first internationally celebrated composer. Also prominent are the waves of German, Irish, Italian, and other nationalities of immigrants who would all bring something to the musical table.

But, as in Hawaii, the Louisiana government, during the early years of reconstruction, was toppled by a small group of American partisans who beginning in 1864 officially implemented Black Codes limiting many of the freedoms of African Americans. Among these limitations were the time of day they could visit downtown and the restricting of public assemblage to three persons at one time in one place. In the following decades a battle for freedom ensued, peaking with the race riot of 1866, an attack on African Americans seeking to repeal the Black Codes with a new Constitution (the Constitution of 1868 was a progressive document, providing universal suffrage and civil liberties, but it did little to end racial discrimination); a battle in 1874 between the African American Metropolitan police and White League vigilantes; the legal challenge by the Citizens’ Committee to test the constitutionality of the Separate Car Act of 1890 (resulting in the Supreme court case Plessy v. Ferguson in 1892); and the Robert Charles riot in 1900, a murderous white rampage against African Americans following Charles’s murder of a white policeman. The Creoles, who had played probably the biggest role in laying the foundation for the city as a sophisticated cultural entity, often led the fight for basic freedoms against Jim Crow laws.

Alongside the rich European cultural heritage in New Orleans, and from the first days of colonization, the African influence held a more dominant place in the community than in any other American city. To Gwendolyn Midlo Hall it “is the most significant source of Africanization of the entire culture of the United States.” From the first slave ship in 1719 to the doubling of the population with the influx of Haitian refugees in 1804 and 1809, the demographics of New Orleans became heavily Africanized. African musical practices in the city were most prominent in voodoo ceremonies, regular public performances at Congo Square, and later the jazz funerals and second-line parades, new expressions in church music and ragtime, and the Mardi Gras Indians with their own living repertoire. By the early 1900s, right in the middle of the Jim Crow era, New Orleans had produced what is arguably America’s greatest artistic contribution to the world: jazz.
COMMON ROOTS

Although pre-1880s Hawaii and New Orleans share little in common, there are a number of parallels between the two locales worth noting. Perhaps the most obvious connection between twentieth-century New Orleans music and the twentieth-century Hawaiian music that became popular on the mainland is their respective “Western” foundations. Even the earliest Hawaiian recordings show an equal balance of Hawaiian and “Western” music elements, as, for example the accompanying of Hawaiian and hapa haole songs with both Hawaiian and European instruments. By the 1920s Hawaiian music was, like New Orleans music, a mixture of spiritual hymns, Western European classical, ragtime, blues, and popular songs of the day.

One dynamic that existed in both places before the 1800s was a vibrant oral music tradition - singing, chanting, dancing, and playing drums and other musical instruments. Oral traditions are a way of telling a story without the written word, making it possible for one's personal and/or community story to be a living history. I think of this as the “soul tinge” or spiritual music wherein an individual and community (i.e., a church congregation or a music ensemble) join in an improvisation that by function is preserving, creating and/or recreating the individual and the community right in front of our eyes and ears. This is living art, pure spirit.

THE HAWAIIAN TINGE?

A posited “Hawaiian tinge” in New Orleans jazz is not to be thought of here as a musical “seasoning” like Jelly Roll Morton’s “Spanish tinge.” Rather, it points to a sometimes competitive kinship between the two locales, like cousins coming of age together and becoming individual selves. In the first decades of the twentieth century Hawaiian music and jazz inhabited the same cities, performance venues, and airwaves, and were recorded by the same record companies, the first commercially released Hawaiian recordings preceding the 1917 jazz discs by eight to eighteen years. Thus, though some overlap in genres can be recognized (in instrumentation, repertoire, church flavor, etc.), the kinship is more commercial or industrial than musical.

By 1900 Hawaiians had already begun adopting American musical influences – influences that were themselves multicultural, varied, and subject to influence. The vehicle for the crossover was the medium of song, which in its Hawaiian form would be transformed by the 300-plus-pound Portuguese/Hawaiian “Sonny” Cunha (born Albert R. Cunha 1879-1933). After graduating from Yale with a law degree Cunha created a new kind of song that would make Hawaiian music more internationally accessible: the hapa haole song (a song of mixed Hawaiian and Western features). Cunha is known to this day as the “Father of hapa haole song,” and, as Tony Todaro asserts, is “truly one of the great entertainers in Hawaiian history.” Cunha toured the mainland in the first years of the twentieth century and was the first to use a piano in a Hawaiian orchestra. It was Cunha whose upbeat pop songs greased the wheels leading to the next period of Hawaiian music wherein “jazzed-up” Tin Pan Alley versions of hapa haole...
music spread across the States via records and touring groups.\textsuperscript{25}

Jazz’s influence was evident from the beginnings. When the first recordings were introduced to the public by the Original Dixieland Jass Band in 1917, there was a succession of imitators who multiplied as more recordings emerged from innovating artists such as Kid Ory, King Oliver, and Louis Armstrong. By the late 1910s Hawaiian records and jazz records would be competing for national popularity, and the possibilities for cross-cultural fertilization were evident. Indeed, the genres were beginning to crossbreed in a development that would culminate in Louis Armstrong’s 1937 recordings with Andy Iona’s Islanders.

Yet back home in their respective regions the purer, if older, traditional strains were still being nurtured. For example, in the 1910s when some future stars of New Orleans banjo and guitar were starting out in music on ukuleles, there is no evidence of their having played any Hawaiian music on them.\textsuperscript{26} More likely it was the popularity of the instrument (due to Hawaiians), its ready availability, and its technically and musically accessible design that made it the instrument of choice, not the pursuit of Hawaiian music. Though there were books available, such as Ernest Kaai’s \textit{The Ukulele: A Hawaiian Guitar and How to Play It}, published in 1910 and surely sold at the same stores as the instruments, none of the New Orleans musicians mentions a Hawaiian method book when recalling the era. These young New Orleans musicians were playing New Orleans music on their ukuleles.\textsuperscript{27}

THE NEW ORLEANS TINGE

Hawaiian music placed its indelible stamp on early twentieth-century American popular music (a lot of which is currently referred to as “roots music”). Yet with all its novelty, charm, and instrumental virtuosity, this Hawaiian influence is often infused with a dose of New Orleans jazz. The New Orleans influence is most evident in specific technical and rhythmic approaches on the double bass and the use of hot improvisation in a context of popular music performance - both are stylistic contributions originated and pioneered by New Orleans musicians.

Though the double bass was introduced to the Hawaiian ensemble in the late 1800s by Henry Berger, it was not very common and was played with a bow until the pizzicato and slapping techniques were introduced by way of the increasingly popular jazz ensembles. Kanahele notes that with the introduction of these techniques the double bass became a part of every Hawaiian ensemble and “the new percussion effect gave the Hawaiian sound something new...Today the slapping bass is an integral part of contemporary Hawaiian musical groups.”\textsuperscript{28} The slapping technique has been credited to New Orleans’ own William Manuel “Bill” Johnson (1872 -1972). Johnson influenced other bassists, who in turn influenced others with the technique as New Orleans Jazz spread across the country. Johnson had established a New Orleans ensemble on the west coast as early as 1907 and by 1914 had returned there to manage a band he played bass in.\textsuperscript{29} He would later establish himself in Chicago and New York, and as Don Mopsick points out:

There was a New Orleans bass style, by which I mean that there seems to have been a collection of
bass players born before 1910 in New Orleans who went forth into the rest of the country acting as little spark plugs in the developing jazz bands in which they found themselves. All of them played in a manner very similar to one another.

The first to appear nationally was Bill Johnson (1872-1972), considered the father of jazz bass. He led one of the first jazz bands (The Original Creole Orchestra) out of New Orleans to tour the country on the Orpheum circuit around 1914. Bill used a syncopated single-stroke hook…I call it a single-stroke style punctuated by notes syncopated in the ragtime manner. Other later New Orleans bass players who used the single-stroke were Pops Foster (played with Louis Armstrong and others), John Lindsey (with Jelly Roll Morton, 1926), and Wellman Braud (of the Ellington band in the ‘20s–’30s)...

The finest exponent of the New Orleans style in the modern era was Milt Hinton. Born in Mississippi in 1910, he knew and befriended Bill Johnson in Chicago in the late ’20s. Milt says that Bill taught him the hook style as the only way of getting a big sound out of the bass to be heard above the band.

Danny Barker, in his later years, recalled that when he arrived in New York in 1930, other than a few Puerto Ricans and Cubans, there were only two string bassists working there, both fellow New Orleanians: “Pops” Foster and Wellman Braud. George Murphy “Pops” Foster (1892-1969) played for Louis Armstrong, Sidney Bechet, King Oliver, Kid Ory, Luis Russell, and many others. Barker remembered Foster as having hundreds of students and imitators in New York when he arrived in 1930. Wellman Braud (1891-1966), whose bass playing was featured on regular radio broadcasts and recordings with Duke Ellington’s band, also helped popularize the slap style of string bass playing.

Though jazz has developed in the last century into a myriad of personal and collective expressions, one of the essential qualities of the music which distinguishes it from other forms of music is hot improvisation. Hot improvisation must have blues inflections and phrasing and syncopation (creating an exciting element of surprise and invention), and it must swing. Jazz’s first improviser was probably Buddy Bolden, and its first virtuoso improviser was Louis Armstrong –both New Orleanians. When a ukulele or steel guitar player elevates his abilities to the level of master improviser, he is following in the footsteps of such New Orleans jazz musicians as Buddy Bolden, Joseph “King” Oliver, Louis Armstrong, Sidney Bechet, Johnny Dodds, and Edward “Kid” Ory.

Sol Hoopii (Solomon Hoopii Kaai, 1902-1953) is, according to Bob Brozman, “without a doubt the most important and musically influential Hawaiian guitarist of this century.”33 Hoopii started releasing commercial recordings in 1925. By this time he had been living in Los Angeles for years and couldn’t have avoided hearing jazz on the radio. A New Orleans band led by Edward “Kid” Ory was preforming live on radio station KFI (backing Roberta Dudley) in Los Angeles as early as 1921, at which time Ory’s band was playing in L.A. at a club owned by Jelly Roll Morton. New Orleans bands had been performing
in the Los Angeles region since 1907 or 1908. T. Malcolm Rockwell notes: “Being involved in the radio business and friends with numerous movie people there’s no way Sol could have avoided being exposed to the new jazz music. By 1921 it was everywhere and becoming more popular by the day. Sol is acknowledged as being the first Hawaiian to combine the grace and fluidity of the Hawaiian style of playing with the raucous and improvisatory styles of jazz. Some musicians liken his style of playing to clarinet runs, others to sax lines.” Hoopii is considered an innovator in his field for being the first Hawaiian musician to pick up on and help popularize the hot improvisation of early jazz.

The first recordings of slide guitar were made by July Paca in 1909, on which July reinforces the harmony or plays simple melodies sometimes doubled by Toots Paca’s flute melody. Listening to Hoopii’s first recordings (1925), one hears a different approach. Allan Dodge points out: “He [Hoopii] had abandoned some of the techniques of the ‘first generation’ style of steel playing. In place of the rapid succession of notes and the hiccupping style to maintain the flow of notes with very short decay, he used a more powerful legato note treatment.” What comes to mind here are the early jazz records, including those by the ODJB, wherein musicians tried to emulate sounds of farm animals or the “hiccuping” trick with the clarinet. These tricks (sometimes referred to as “freak music”) did not last long. The New Orleans glissando clarinet style that can be heard in the marching bands was just one of the many “raucous and improvisatory” musical characteristics that were used by the members of the Ory band (trombonist Kid Ory, cornetist Mutt Carey, clarinetist Dink Johnson, pianist Fred Washington, drummer Ben Borders, bassist Ed Garland) and their more popular imitators in Los Angeles, effects that made their way into the early Hoopii recordings.

Though Hoopii later recorded mostly Hawaiian songs and religious music, in his second recording session (1926) he played jazz standards with his trio, The Hawaiian Syncopators. Of note on these sessions are the tunes “Yes Sir, That’s My Baby” and “Charleston” which feature such jazz traits as improvisation, blues inflections, melodic embellishment, banjo, syncopated rhythms, and a jazz saxophone solo. When a slide player chooses Sol Hoopii to imitate, he is pursuing a master whose recording career began with elements of jazz.

Hoopii’s American music is profound and permanent. By 1929, three years after his first recordings with a steel resonator guitar, 90 percent of Hawaiian recording artists were using this type of guitar. And it wasn’t long until country, western swing, and blues artists across the nation started picking up on his approach. As Bob Brozman points out: “His most popular numbers were American jazz and blues songs adapted for Hawaiian guitar. Very few other musicians come to mind that were both influenced by American music AND went on to greatly influence American music.” At the foundation of his influence was a New Orleans tinge.

Hoopi and other Hawaiian players as well as New Orleans jazz influenced the earliest and most renowned steel players in country music and western swing. Leon McAuliffe and Bob Dunn were of this first generation of steel players who in turn influenced Don Helms. Helms can be heard on more than one hundred Hank Williams songs, including ten of his eleven number-one country hits, as well as Patsy...
Cline’s original recording of “Walking After Midnight.” These are but a few of the recordings dating back to the 1940s that highlight Helms’ unique fusion of Hawaiian music and jazz.41

FIRST CONTACT: “ALOHA, OE” AND THE 1884 COTTON CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION

The earliest significant musical and cultural interaction between New Orleans and Hawaii occurred in 1884, the same year that the Southern Pacific Railroad inaugurated the Sunset Limited train line linking New Orleans to Los Angeles.42 The occasion for the meeting was the 1884 Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, which took place in what is now Audubon Park in uptown New Orleans (The park was founded to accommodate this Exposition). Though the Exposition featured the Mexican Eighth Cavalry Band led by Encarnacion Payen as its centerpiece, Hawaiian music was also on exhibit.43 In the Official Catalog of the Exposition, Hawaii is listed with 54 items on display, including a sugar cane planter, hats, belts, and a guitar made of eight kinds of native Hawaiian woods along with a guitar case made of koa wood. Also on exhibit were “Hawaiian melodies,” including nine pieces by Henry Berger and two songs: “Aloha Oe” and “Hooheno,” both “original Hawaiian melodies by H.R.H. Liliuokalani.”44

Her Royal Highness Queen Lili‘uokalani was a prolific songwriter whose earliest compositions date back to the early 1860s and by her account numbered into the hundreds.45 Her song “Aloha ‘Oe,” which remains Hawaii’s most celebrated international hit, was written while she was still a princess in 1878. It was arranged by Captain Henry Berger and introduced to mainland audiences by the Royal Hawaiian Band at a performance at the Triennial Conclave of the Knights Templar during their visit to San Francisco in August 1883. Many sources point to the similarity of the song’s verse with the 1852 song “The Rock Beside the Sea” by C. C. Converse. The verse strain also sounds very similar to a hymn standard to the New Orleans repertoire: “Pass Me Not, O Gentle Savior” (words by Fanny Crosby, 1868; music by W. Howard Doan, 1870). The chorus section of “Aloha Oe” is similar to “There’s Music in the Air,” a hymn published in 1854 and credited to George Fredric Root. All of these tunes, probably introduced to Hawaiians by travelling salesmen pushing hymnals, could have been heard in New Orleans around the same time. Queen Lili‘uokalani’s lyrics for “Aloha Oe” were inspired by an emotional farewell that she witnessed in 1878 (hence the title which translates as “Farewell to Thee”).46 The song’s renown grew as Americans became more familiar with its author when she was crowned queen in 1891, only to be illegally ousted in 1893 by a small group of American planters and businessmen. This marked the first time Americans planned and executed the overthrow of a foreign government.47

The other title presented at the exposition, listed as “Hooheno” (or “Ho‘oheno”), was translated, arranged, and copyrighted by Her Royal Highness Queen Lili‘uokalani (copyright law was in effect as early as 1864 in Hawaii). The beautiful song (translated as “a tender tribute”) was composed by two of her longtime retainers, Joseph ‘Ae‘a and Joseph Heleluhe.48 Either of these songs would have provided a perfect accompaniment for the Hula dance and are still performed today in “traditional” Hawaiian ensembles, often with a Hula dance.

In the following decades the beauty and novelty of Hawaiian culture was received with open
Awai’s Royal Hawaiian Quartette

Which delighted thousands during the Panama Pacific International Exhibition at San Francisco in 1915.

The Sup. Col. S.G.S. 70

Awai’s Royal Hawaiians, as pictured in Keoki E. Awai, The Superior Collection of Steel Guitar Solos Vol. 1 (San Francisco: Sherman, Clay & Co., 1917) (Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University)
arms in many such exhibitions all over the nation (and indeed all over the world), so it is easy to imagine that there would be local interest in New Orleans, especially considering the appreciation for music that this community has always enjoyed. Which raises the questions: who were the representatives that accompanied the Hawaiian exhibit? Did they play the guitar or ukulele? Did they Hula? Henry Berger once told a reporter: “I never found a real Hawaiian who was not a natural singer.” The answers to these questions may never be available, but if they were indeed Hawaiian, there is a good chance that they had some musical background.

HENRY BERGER

Captain Henry (born Heinrich) Wilhelm Berger (1844-1929) was appointed by King Kamehameha V to lead the Royal Hawaiian Military Band in 1872, which he did for forty-four years. Berger, who played with the orchestras of Johann Strauss, Jr., in Berlin, Paris, and Vienna arranged more than one thousand Western music compositions and more than two hundred Hawaiian songs. His Mele Hawaiian is a book of Hawaiian songs published first in 1884 with nine songs and again in 1888 with eighteen songs. It is unknown which “nine pieces” were offered at the Cotton Exposition in Audubon Park in 1884. Included in the book is the popular “Sweet Lei Lehua,” which is arranged as a march “quickstep” and has classic characteristics of the European March: sixteen-bar repeated phrases, four sections including a trio and a fourth section that, though not exactly a “dogfight,” is differentiated by an abrupt rhythmical and key change (to the subdominant), as well as an immediate melodic dissonance with the melody on the flat 7 tone of the dominant (V) chord.

The European march with its characteristic harmonic and melodic form and rhythm was introduced to the Hawaiian repertoire by Berger in his early days as leader of the Royal Hawaiian Band. But the European march form provided a strong foundation on both sides of the Pacific, and while Hawaiians were marching away, so were New Orleanians. New Orleans clarinetist Alphonse Picou, in describing the music he heard around the turn of the century, stated: “it was nothing but marches they was playing - brass marches - parade music.” The difference was that in New Orleans the parade marches were played with an increasing amount of improvising and syncopation - a natural response to the demands and exciting participation of the community who expressed themselves in the form of a second-line.

Other selections in Mele Hawaiian are early mele, including “Lunamakainana,” “Eleile,” and “Ka Mo‘i Kalakaua.” Some of these melodies may be heard to this day in the traditional Hawaiian repertoire, although often under different titles. Also included in the 1884-88 original is “Ahi Wela” (“The Fire of Love”), a very popular song in Hawaii at the end of the nineteenth century. According to George Kanahele: “on the program of almost every important musical occasion, the song was a standard part of the repertoire...” The selections in Berger’s Mele Hawaiian have had their musical value proven by time and were presented in a way that would have been easily accessible to people in the New Orleans music community.
Though Berger was an “outsider,” one cannot get around his influence on twentieth-century “Hawaiian” music. Berger brought with him the craft of harmonic form from Germany and Prussia, and there began a new if package-able genre. In a way Berger seems to have been Hawaii’s Jelly Roll Morton (who mastered popular French opera pieces at a young age) or W. C. Handy (who was trained in nineteenth-century brass bands, military marches, and classics) as they were masters of form who gave form to a music that was practiced and preserved by oral tradition and contributed to popularizing the new music.56

Regarding Berger’s “Hawaiian Melodies” offered at the 1884 Exposition, I did not find evidence of buyers or performers of these songs in 1884 or the following decades, but I think it's a safe bet that with three major music publishers in New Orleans at the time and thousands of musicians permeating New Orleans at that moment (besides all of the local musicians there was Payen's Mexican band), there is a good chance someone took an interest in the music presented by Hawaii.

The songs presented at the Exhibit in 1884 were in essence Hawaiian music mixed with European harmony, melody, and rhythm. The eight-bar chord progression for the main theme of “Aloha, Oe” (IV, IV, I, I, V, V, I, I) is very close or identical to progressions used in ragtime phrases, progressions that can be found in the popular band leader John Robichaux's repertoire or in professor Manuel Manetta's library dating back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.57 It is also the harmonic structure of the main theme of “My Bucket's Got a Hole in It,” a song performed (and possibly composed) by Buddy Bolden in the early 1900s. The similar harmonic scheme makes it very easy to substitute or overlap melodic and rhythmic content. Bolden is considered by many first-hand witnesses to be the first jazz trumpet player – by various accounts, his performances blended hymnal music with blues, as well as the syncopations of ragtime and the Latin lilt and bravado integral to New Orleans jazz. It is possible that Bolden himself quoted or even performed “Aloha, Oe.” The song had been popular for decades by the time he was holding court at the Funky Butt and the Odd Fellows Hall.

In an oral history interview, Manuel Manetta relates that, when people (audience members or clients) would approach him with requests of popular songs, he would buy the sheet music to honor the request.58 There is a chance that later in the 1910s when the Hawaiian craze was at the beginning of its highest popularity and Manetta was in a band with Kid Ory and King Oliver, the tune was an honored request.59

There is other evidence that this melody and other Hawaiian tunes have been freely floating around New Orleans for many decades. On a CD that reproduces the music performed on “Opening Night at Preservation Hall” in 1961, featured trumpeter George Colar, aka “Kid Shiek” Cola (1908-1996), can be heard quoting the main theme of “Aloha, Oe” in his solo on “My Bucket's Got a Hole in It.”60 Around this same time, New Orleans R&B artist Raymond Lewis wrote and recorded “Goodbye, My Love,” which lifts the entire melody (verse and chorus) of “Aloha, Oe.” To this day it is not unusual to hear New Orleans traditional jazz musicians quote and embellish the chorus melody of “Aloha, Oe” in their improvisations.
UKULELE CRAZE

The cavaquinho is the grandfather of the ukulele. Originally made in the Portuguese province of Braga, it went to the island of Madeira near Morocco to become the machete de braga or (braguinha) and then on to Hawaii (in 1879) where it was christened as the “ukulele.” It was in the early 1700s that the machete de braga first became popular. Described as a “viola pequena,” or “little guitar,” by Raphael Bluteau in 1716, the machete went largely unnoticed until the mid-nineteenth century. It is remarkable that the machete had to cross three oceans before it made it to New Orleans. Given the immediate acceptance and subsequent popularity of the instrument in Hawaii as well as variations in Latin American regions such as Cuba, Mexico, and Brazil, the instrument probably entered New Orleans in various forms, such as the cuatro, another descendent of the cavaquinho with a similar tuning to a ukulele but a very different character.

The ukulele had made its Hawaiian debut in Honolulu in 1879 and quickly became the most popular instrument among the native population. Nine years after the Cotton Centennial in New Orleans, at the 1893 Columbia Exposition in Chicago, where Hawaiian music was more elaborately displayed, the ukulele got its proper U.S. mainland debut. At that Exposition there was a recreation of the interior of Kilauea Crater, complete with a quartet of vocalists. Known as the Volcano Singers, this troupe stayed in the U.S. to travel regionally with Spanish guitars, a five-string taro patch fiddle, and what would eventually become an international sensation: the ukulele. By the late 1890s there were many Hawaiian troupes touring from coast to coast, in countless performances on the Chautauqua, Lyceum, and Orpheum Theater circuits, as well as in medicine shows and tent shows, and by 1905 commercial recordings of Hawaiian music were beginning to make their way into the homes and hearts of millions of Americans in urban and rural areas from sea to shining sea.

“UKE” CRAZE AND THE BIRD OF PARADISE IN THE CRESCENT CITY

By the 1910s the Hawaiian craze and the ukulele were sweeping the country, and New Orleans was not immune. The 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco is often cited for boosting the popularity of Hawaiian music into the realms of a national craze, and it is evident that by this time Hawaiian music and the ukulele had found a place in New Orleans. Hawaiian music along with the ukulele made print in the New Orleans Times-Picayune on December 8, 1915, in several ads for Hawaiian melodies on Columbia recordings: “No one can remain unresponsive to the all-but-human notes of the South Sea guitar, or the rhythmic throb of the ukulele the appeal of Hawaiian music is well-nigh universal.” Similarly, a 1916 Edison ad states “Hawaiian Music Universally Popular,” and a 1917 advertisement for Pathéphone makes the same claim. The cultural connection is evident in a September 1917 Times-Picayune announcement: “Friends of Hawaii to Dance at the Pavilion of the Spanish Fort. Music by Original Maple Leaf Orchestra.”

In 1911, preceding the Hawaiian music craze by a few years, Oliver Morosco’s Bird of Paradise
premiered at the Belasco Theater in Los Angeles and made Broadway several months later. It was a “bold innovation” and a major box office hit that ran for twelve years and had a major influence in popularizing Hawaiian performance and culture throughout the U.S. and abroad. It featured five Hawaiian musicians including a ukulele player and the talented slide guitar player Walter Kolomoku. A Time-Picayune article from March 17, 1918, reports: “Tulane Theater Closes Season with ‘The Bird of Paradise’ this week playing to capacity audiences for the past 6 years in all the large cities from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It is making its first southern tour this season.”

New Orleans was getting its taste of Hawaiian music.

LEMON NASH AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

The ukulele was only a starting point for New Orleans jazz musicians and with few exceptions it never became a featured instrument. An exception can be found in a first-hand witness to the ukulele craze, Lemon Nash. Nash was born in 1898 in Lakeland, Louisiana (North of Baton Rouge), and moved to New Orleans at a very young age. In a 1959 oral history interview by Dick Allen, Nash recalled that around 1917 he: “…saw everybody playing the ukulele so...seemed like they all like the ukulele…so I go with the ukulele.” Nash got a job in the Morris Music Shop on South Rampart Street selling - you guessed it - ukuleles. Nash told of his travels with medicine shows playing ukulele and selling bottles of medicine. He also demonstrated his performance abilities by playing a variety of tunes, including Clarence Williams’ “Brown Skin, Who You For” and Harry McClintock’s classic hobo ballad “Big Rock Candy Mountain.”

In the late 1950s to mid-1960s Nash was a regular around Larry Borenstein’s Art Gallery at 726 St. Peter Street (since 1961 it has been known as Preservation Hall), where he would sing songs accompanying himself on ukulele on the sidewalk in front. He recorded a number of sides that are now available on the Larry Borenstein Collection (vol. 6 and vol. 9.) On Volume 9 he sings “The Duck’s Yass,” “Sweet Georgia Brown,” and “Ugly Chile” (a song he claims to have written in 1921 which was later stolen from him). Volume 6 of the Borenstein collection includes “Stagger Lee” and a solo ukulele version of what is listed as “You Tell Me Your Dreams” but is actually the Hawaiian hapa haole song, the “greatest hit of all” at the 1916 Panama Pacific Exposition: “On the Beach at Wikiki” (written in 1915 by Henry Kailimai, Dr. G. H. Stover, and Sonny Cunha).

Nash’s performances are professional and his ukulele playing is excellent. In his performances he demonstrated a great ability in accompaniment, chord melody, and blues improvisation, and an adequate knowledge of harmony. In his interviews he talks about what separates him from other musicians he’s worked with, including his ability to play in a number of keys (his favorite is Bb, a favorite among jazz horn players), as well as demonstrating diminished chords, augmented chords, and major scales.

Willie Santiago, who worked in the Storyville district, gigged with Louis Armstrong in 1920 at Anderson’s Annex, and was considered by Johnny St. Cyr to be the “best downtown guitar player,” could play melodic solos on his “ukulele guitar.” Edward Thomas “Noon” Johnson (born in 1903) played tuba in Manuel Perez’s band and later in 1928 and 1929 became known for playing an improvised instrument he named a “bazooka” on radio shows with Bing Crosby. Johnson started at age fourteen on ukulele.
Lemon Nash with ukulele
(courtesy of the New Orleans Jazz Club Collection of the Louisiana State Museum)
Six & 7/8s String Band, 1964, l to r: Charlie Hardy, Edmond "Doc" Souchon, Bill Kleppinger, Frank "Red" Mackie, Bernie Shields. Photo by John E. Kuhlman. (Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University)
Another ukulele player who was just a few years younger than Lemon Nash was the talented and popular Joseph Pleasant aka “Cousin Joe.” Born in Wallace, Louisiana in 1907, Cousin Joe also moved to New Orleans at a young age. He was in the sixth grade at Valena C. Jones elementary school when he bought his first ukulele for $1.75. His approach was rhythmic: “at first ukulele was...to my idea, as a drum.” (The name ukulele in Hawaiian means “jumping flea,” which may reflect the highly rhythmic approach when first played and subsequently named by Hawaiians). Joe states that he wasn’t the only one who was playing ukulele at the time: “A bunch of us used to play ukulele in the Seventh Ward. They had a bunch of ukulele players...There was me, Danny Barker...Joseph Francis and a little bitty brownskin fellow.” At age eighteen Joe bought a banjo-uke and tuned it like a guitar. He and Lionel Torregano had a ukulele duo that would hustle on Bourbon Street playing for tips. When Louis Armstrong returned to New Orleans after being gone nine years they went to see him to “try to get a break...” Louis was encouraging.

Joe got his start playing ukulele in between shoe shines. Among the crowds he would attract was the tap duo Hats and Coats. They would go to clubs on Bourbon Street and tap a song with whatever band was playing, then pass the hat and split the money with the band. They hired Joe to accompany them on ukulele so they wouldn't have to split the money with a band. The trio became four with the addition of the “greatest tap dancer in the city,” ten-year-old Earl Palmer, whom Joe looked after. Joe describes how the group changed its name to be more inclusive: “Hats, Coats and Pants - I was pants - and Earl Palmer was Buttons.” Cousin Joe got his first professional gig through his companion Eva who was working at the Sazerac Bar in the Roosevelt Hotel. He then went on to become a recording artist under his own name, while Palmer moved to L.A. and joined a group of session musicians that would be later called “the Wrecking Crew,” becoming one of the most recorded drummers in history.

Charles Hardy Jr. was another New Orleans ukulele specialist and an original member of the 6 & 7/8s String Band of New Orleans. There is a photo of him playing a baritone uke with Edmond “Doc” Souchon in 1955 when they made some fine duo recordings. In the 2006 CD re-issue on which these duos are included there is a photo (circa 1912-1918) of the Invincibles String Band of New Orleans (“in strong competition with the 'Six and 7/8 String Band'” from the early days), which includes, front and center, “Monk” Lester Smith playing a ukulele.

LOCAL LEGENDS AND BOOZAN KINGS

Some legendary New Orleans musicians who started on ukulele include Creole George Guesnon (1907-1968), who bought a “uke,” taught himself to play, and then moved to banjo and played “uke-style;” and Father Al Lewis (1905-1992), who was born in Houma and moved to New Orleans at nine months and later traded his grass-cutting skills for ukulele lessons from a friend. Lewis loved the tones of the “uke” when it was “out” (meaning popular) and won a ukulele contest sponsored by Morris's music store on Rampart Street. When a doctor heard him playing on Mardi Gras day he helped get him a banjo. Danny Barker (1909-1994) also started on a ukulele. In his autobiography he refers to a spasm
band (a group - usually of children - playing jazz on instruments that may be homemade) he led in grade school on a ukulele banjo. Barker and Guesnon both went to Medard H. Nelson private elementary school in the Seventh Ward at the same time, but it wasn’t until Barker attended Marigny (a public school) that he became “a celebrity. I started jazz sessions which would get out of hand: swinging, hand-clapping, happy scenes at twelve o’clock, until the stern, serious Miss Fannie Williams, the principal, called me to her office and put a stop to that. She told me not to bring the ukulele to school again.” Although Barker described the music as “jazz sessions,” jazz has always included popular music of the day, and at that time (around 1917-23) Hawaiian music was at its peak popularity. It is possible there were some Hawaiian themes being thrown around by Barker and his associates.

Even if these musicians did not play any Hawaiian music it was the popularity of Hawaiian music that put the ukulele in their hands, and the ukulele was central in Danny Barker’s spasm band. In the chapter “Boozan Kings” in his autobiography A Life in Jazz, Barker talks about his band which was formed around his banjo ukulele: “The ukulele craze was rampant then, and my aunt had a banjo ukulele. She…gave it to me. I started practicing day and night for about a month, to the annoyance of my mother and all the neighbors… Then, like the War Department in a hurry, I drafted five of my friends. I sat them down and related what I had seen happening in the barroom: all the money these boys in the district were earning playing on makeshift instruments. My friends were interested in the money and so I organized a spasm band. I named it the Boozan Kings. The word ‘boozan’ is Creole. The folks spoke of parties as boozans. Someone might say, ‘So-and-so is having a boozan at her house.’” (Cousin Joe translates the word directly to “booze.”) The instrumentation for Barker’s Boozan Kings consisted of kazoo, drums, harp (harmonica), ukulele, suitcase, and ukulele banjo. They played barrooms in and around the “Storyville” district, as well as parties in the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth wards and a one-time concert in “the prestigious” Francs Amis Hall. Barker went on to become a major figure in jazz in New Orleans and New York. His career included live performances and/or recordings with Cab Calloway, Jelly Roll Morton, Sidney Bechet, Charlie Parker, Billie Holliday, The Dirty Dozen Brass Band, Dr. John, and Wynton Marsalis.

SLIDE GUITAR

The “slide guitar” approach was apparently “discovered” by a Hawaiian named Joseph Kekuku in 1885, but the technique was not heard on the mainland until much later. By the 1910s and 1920s there were some true masters of the style, including “King” Bennie Nawahi, Tau Moe, Jules Ah See, Sol K. Bright, Sam Ku West, Dick McIntire, Lani McIntire, and, of course, Sol Hoopii.

It was not a whim that led Hawaiians to find and exploit the slide guitar approach in their music. Globally, the practice of bending notes on a string instrument is closely tied to singing and oral tradition, and the foundation of traditional Hawaiian musical expression is the chant or mele. As George Kanahele points out: “The chant or mele of Hawai‘i is the single most important cultural expression belonging to Hawaiians…the chant in all its forms was a vital part of daily life.” On the earliest recordings of the
Hawaiian slide guitar technique the instrument plays or supports the melody.

Though 78rpm records probably preceded them in New Orleans, a Hawaiian troupe featuring slide guitar was heard live in the city as early as 1913. A section in the September 1908 issue of Variety titled “New Acts of the Week” announces the first showing in New York at the Fifth Avenue Theater of a Hawaiian trio led by Toots Paka. They are dressed in “picturesque costumes suggestive of the tropical island [from] which they take the name.” The trio is composed of a woman (Toots) and two men who both play guitar. All three sing “most agreeably.” The trio toured the U.S. Orpheum circuit, which included performances from January 1913 and 1918 at the Orpheum Theater in New Orleans.

The 1908 Variety article goes on to say that, of the two men who play guitar, “one of the players holds his guitar across his knees like a zither, and by some manner of manipulation gets a weird, plaintive sort of music out of it, utterly fascinating and unlike ordinary guitar playing.” This music is represented on the 1909 recordings by Toots and July Paka and Joseph Kekuku of several Hawaiian songs including “Ninipo,” which is recognized as the first commercial steel guitar recording. On these early recordings the steel guitar approach taken by July Paka is to double the melody sung by a vocalist or played on flute. It is also used to support the harmony (played by guitar accompaniment) or play the lead melody. The ensemble format of this music, with guitar as the primary rhythmic and harmonic foundation backup a small vocal ensemble with instrumental melodic passages, sounds closer to the early “down-home” folk recordings of the Carter Family (who recorded with slide on some their first recordings in 1927-28) than New Orleans traditional jazz.

The author of the above report in Variety compared the slide guitar approach to a zither, alluding to the guitarist’s horizontal nature of playing the instrument - sometimes referred to as “lap steel guitar.” Oscar “Buddy” Woods, the Shreveport, Louisiana, street musician and recording artist, is considered, in the blues genre, a pioneer of the lap steel guitar technique, which he learned by watching Hawaiian music troupes touring through Shreveport and Houston. Woods recorded his signature song “Lone Wolf Blues” in New Orleans in 1936.

Between 1913 and 1936 there is evidence of a few Hawaiian troupes performing on slide guitar in New Orleans but no local imitators. In March of 1936 both Oscar Woods (playing solo, as “the Lone Wolf”) and Bob Dunn (with Milton Brown and his Brownies) recorded in the city, yet still no evidence of local practitioners. Then we have an exception. In the “Steppin’ Out” column of the Louisiana Weekly on May 1, 1937, there is an announcement for a performance at the “grand opening” of a club on St. Philip and North Robertson in the Treme neighborhood: “Kid Lewis and his Hawaiian Guitar appear at ‘Buddy’ Tureaud’s Four Roses night spot.” But that’s the beginning and the end of the story about Kid Lewis, and more than a decade would pass before a local slide guitarist emerges on record in New Orleans.

BERNARD SHIELDS

Practitioners of the lap slide guitar approach in early twentieth-century New Orleans are hard to come by. It isn’t until 1949 that we get recordings of Bernard Shields playing slide guitar with the 6 & 7/8s
String Band of New Orleans, performing traditional jazz in a string quartet with bass, rhythm guitar, and mandolin.97 But in the 1910s when Shields and the members of the incipient 6 & 7/8s band were peeping around the Storyville district finding their sound there were Hawaiians playing slide guitars just a few blocks away at the Orpheum Theater. Did Danny Barker, Bernard Shields, or any of the Invincibles, Owls, or Doc Souchon's 6 and 7/8s see or hear them? We may never know, but judging from the oral histories, which are devoid of Hawaiian inquiry or references, or from a dearth of practitioners of this style in New Orleans, the Hawaiian style did not make much of a splash. Yet the sounds of Hawaii were floating around the community through performances and records perhaps since the first decade of the twentieth century, and in the form of sheet music since the mid-1880s.

Because he was the only known pre-1950 practitioner of the slide guitar style in New Orleans, Bernard S. Shields deserves special mention in this article.98 He could play any stringed instrument. As a vaudevillian actor and magician he appeared in every state in the union and in several movies. He was initiated into the Society of American Magicians by Harry Houdini. Shields held amateur and commercial radio licenses and as a radio Ham operator used shortwave. In 1922, he was one of the first amateurs to span the Pacific (from Texas to Hawaii) on short waves. He was commander of a Submarine Patrol Boat in the First World War and served as a repair expert for the government in World War II. In 1952 he was named Lieutenant Commander in the U.S. Coast Guard Auxiliary, and he rescued eleven people from drowning. He had a Certificate of Navigation from the United States Power Squadron and in 1953 was elected New Orleans Power Squadron Commander. Thirty-two countries including sixteen South and Central American nations have been listed on his itineraries. Shields headed the Spanish Bureau in the New Orleans Freight Terminal Department, served fifteen years as the Uruguay Vice Consul in New Orleans and was a Spanish instructor at Tulane University from 1943. He operated his own 45-foot yacht and was an executive board member of the Southern Yacht Club. He won fourteen cups in Gulf Coast tennis tournaments. An outstanding citizen and an outstanding musician, Shields died in 1978 at age 84 while living with his son in Lake Charles, Louisiana. The funeral was held in Metairie, Louisiana.99

On all of the recorded output of the 6 & 7/8s, Shields is featured sharing the lead with mandolinist Bill Kleppinger in performances consisting mostly of early traditional jazz standards and novelty tunes. Among these is a selection titled “Hawaiian Medley in D,” a jazzed-up arrangement featuring slide guitar of three classic standard Hawaiian songs.100 They are not listed anywhere in the recording data, but one is “Hilo March” (originally titled “Ka Nani o Hilo” or “The Fragrance of the Tuberose”) one of the most popular of early Hawaiian melodies. It was composed in 1881 by Joseph Ae’a (a member of the Royal Hawaiian Band) and arranged as a march by Henry Berger.101 The other strains from the medley are early, more obscure Hawaiian tunes, which indicates a certain depth of Shields’ repertoire and knowledge of the music that he probably got from his travels and from listening to records. One strain is the melody of the early hapa haole song “Honolulu Tom Boy,” written in 1905 by Sonny Cunha and recorded by Toots and July Paka with Joseph Kekuku in October of 1909.102 A third strain in the medley, also a march, is
the “Kohala March,” named after the Kohala district on the big island of Hawaii. Both this song and “Hilo March” are songs that were traditionally sung as anthems when people of different districts or islands would meet.103 “Kohala March” is usually credited to Berger, though it may have been based on a Hawaiian traditional melody that Berger arranged. Around 1922 Berger wrote in his journal that he “composed very little of Hawaiian melodies, arranged all.”104 He helped preserve hundreds of Hawaiian traditional melodies by transcribing them into written arrangements for the Royal Hawaiian Band.105 The melodies are in good hands with Shields, who performs them on a flat-top round hole wooden body acoustic guitar played on his lap. He changed the harmonies and melodies a little to provide more of a swinging jazz arrangement, and though Hawaiian guitar styles are known for being influential in their use of alternate tunings, Shields used a standard guitar tuning.106

THE ROOSEVELT HOTEL, RADIO, AND THE HAWAIIAN/BLUE ROOM

Abbeville born and with a third grade education, Seymour Weiss got a job in a shoe store in New Orleans in the 1920s. By 1926 Weiss was a barber at the Roosevelt Hotel, and by 1934 he was head of the New Orleans Roosevelt Corporation with the title of “principle owner.” Weiss’ ascent in the Roosevelt Corporation coincided with the ascent of the radio. In 1924 New Orleans had a 500 Watt class B radio station, and by mid-1929 Louisiana had fourteen licensed stations including nine in New Orleans and two in Shreveport. In 1932 the Roosevelt Hotel supplied space for radio station WWL in exchange for recognition in every station break, plus a 30-minute broadcast of the Hotel's Orchestra in the day and the evening. The station included a regular feature of the nation’s nighttime radio listening.107 By the 1920s jazz and Hawaiian music were both hugely popular, and radio helped to sustain the popularity into the 1930s. Thanks in part to the Roosevelt Hotel, Hawaiian music and jazz were in the homes of many Louisianans.

It was during the years when jazz was moving into the “swing era” and Hawaiian music was still a national trend that Hawaiian-themed supper clubs opened in hotels across the nation and abroad. This marked a shift in attitude toward Hawaiian musicians from vaudeville performers to headliners at upscale
and popular supper clubs in cities such as New York, Chicago, and New Orleans. In August-November 1938 issues of the New Orleans publication *The Roosevelt Review*, we get the full story (and some great photos) of the grand opening of the “Hawaiian Room” at the Roosevelt Hotel. The room featured an island setting, Hawaiian music, and dancing. This was an interim incarnation of the famed Blue Room, which opened on December 31, 1933, and which would later host many of America’s greatest jazz legends, including Cab Calloway, Ella Fitzgerald, and Tony Bennett.

The Hawaiian band that opened the Hawaiian Room in New Orleans was led by Hawaiian singer and slide guitarist Lani McIntire, who is now famous for his steel guitar work on recordings backing Jimmie Davis, Bing Crosby, and Jimmie Rodgers, himself a significant link between New Orleans style jazz and Hawaiian music. McIntire also appeared in several movies (accompanying, among others, Bing Crosby) and he wrote the popular Jimmie Rodgers hit “The One Rose (That’s Left in My Heart).” His band at the Roosevelt Hotel featured bassist Pua Kelona (who for twelve years was the Olympic Swimming Champion of the world) singing the “Hawaiian War Chant” (a chant echoed in many traditional jazz improvisations). Also, there were ancient hulas performed by four Hawaiian dancers led by Lillian Kipikona and known collectively as “Aloha Kaimi.”

Though Weiss was keen to introduce an up-to-date Hawaiian-themed supper club complete with Hula dancers, slide guitar, and free leis for all visitors, the Hawaiian band quickly gave way to more trendy swing orchestras of the era and the popular jitterbugging that was sweeping the country. Looking at the weekly issues of the *Roosevelt Review*, one finds that the Hawaiian theme was mostly phased out in a matter of weeks, though they may have held on to some decor, leis, and a Hula dancer or two. Today the room is known only as the Blue Room.

JAZZ AND HAWAIIAN CROSSOVER RECORDS

The radio may not have been a ready source for people in rural Louisiana in the 1920s, but
records were cheap and easy to come by in New Orleans and smaller cities such as Shreveport. There were a lot of Hawaiian records circulating widely since the 1910s, including those of the Portuguese-Hawaiian first-generation steel player Frank Ferera. Though early Hawaiian records were among the first popular records in the 1910s and 1920s, paving the way for jazz and blues records to come, it was jazz and jitterbugging that boosted the new technology trend into the Swing Era of the 1930s. By 1930 Louis Armstrong and his famous Orchestra had recorded “Song of the Islands,” and by 1937 Armstrong was recording with the Hawaiian ensemble Andy Iona and his Islanders. As usual, a slew of imitators followed Armstrong’s lead. But Armstrong was just feeding the fires; the crossover did not begin with him.

The crossover of genres can be recognized in recordings by jazz artists performing Hawaiian-themed songs and/or with Hawaiian instrumentation and by Hawaiian musicians and bands infusing jazz elements into their repertoires, instrumentation, and performances. On March 7, 1917, early in the boom of Hawaiian music, the first jazz records by the Original Dixieland Jass Band were commercially released, enjoying immediate brisk sales. A few bands rushed feverishly to record, trying to catch the converging waves of the Hawaiian and the jazz crazes. The Victor Military Band recorded a medley titled “Hawaiian Butterfly - Medley Fox Trot” (a sequence of “There’s Nothing Sweeter Than A Girl From Dixieland,” “Everybody Loves A Jass Band,” and “Hawaiian Butterfly”), which was released on April 20, 1917, just five weeks after the first releases by the ODJB. The performance is professional, but, besides some glissando trombone and woodblock accompaniment, this record does not resemble jazz or Hawaiian music. The Emerson Symphony Orchestra was quick to respond to the trend with a recording in May of 1917 of “Hawaiian Butterfly” as a “Jazz Fox-Trot.”

Hawaiian musicians who caught the jazz wave include the ukulele and mandolin virtuoso Ernest Kaai, who recorded with his band the Ernest Kaai Jazz Band, and the very popular Sol Hoopii, whose first commercial releases (recorded in Los Angeles in 1925) included mostly non-Hawaiian pop tunes, some of which are today considered jazz standards. These early Hoopii records were with the Waikiki Hawaiian Trio, probably with Lani McIntire on guitar, and included “Yearning,” “When My Sugar Walks Down the Street,” and “Oh! Lady Be Good,” with blues inflections and a double-time “out” chorus. In 1926 Hoopii recorded with his group, the Hawaiian Syncopators (including Lani McIntire), the songs “Charleston” (with a wild improvised slide break and syncopated ensemble accompaniment) and “Yes Sir, that’s My Baby” (with a syncopated ensemble vocal, a syncopated percussion break, banjo accompaniment, and a jazz saxophone solo). Also in 1926 Hoopii recorded, with his Novelty Trio, “Breeze (Blow My Baby Back to Me),” “Farewell Blues,” and “Stack O’Lee Blues,” and in 1927, “St. Louis Blues,” “Tin Roof Blues,” and “12th Street Rag.”

By February 1924 there were several New Orleans-style jazz bands recording Hawaiian-themed music. Among these was a recording of the Sophie Tucker hit “Hula Lou” by the New Orleans Jazz Band (Harry Gluck, Mike Martini, Sidney Arodin, Wilder Chase, and Tommy de Rose), released as by the Dixie Jazz Hounds. Also in 1924 a group called the New Orleans Trio (Vic Sells, Tracey Mumma, and George Byron Webb) recorded “Honolulu Blues.” In a February 1929 collaboration called the Q.R.S. Boys, New
Orleans vocalist/pianist Walter “Fats” Pichon and Hawaiian slide guitar master “King” Bennie Nawahi recorded seven sides (of which only four were released) on the Q.R.S. label. All four releases – “Dad Blame Blues,” “Black Boy Blues,” “Wiggle Yo’ Toes,” and “I’ve Seen My Baby (And It Won’t Be Long Now)” – feature Pichon’s “barrelhouse” piano and Nawahi’s blues phrasing on slide guitar.118 “Dad Blame Blues” opens with a dissonant flat 7 bugle call played by Pichon and accentuated by a saxophone and slide guitar.

The Jimmie Rodgers composition “Everybody Does it in Hawaii” was recorded by Joe “King” Oliver in late December of 1929 and again in mid-January of 1930. Both sessions featured Roy Smeck on slide guitar. In late January of 1930, hot on Oliver’s heels, Oliver’s protégé Louis Armstrong and his orchestra recorded the very popular “Song of the Islands” (in June of the same year, again in Oliver’s footsteps, Armstrong recorded “Blue Yodel #9” with Jimmie Rodgers).119 These recordings were prelude to the releases over the next several decades of Hawaiian-themed material by New Orleans jazz artists.

Probably the most fruitful collaboration of the two genres came in 1937 when Louis Armstrong recorded four sides with Andy Iona and his Islanders: “Hawaiian Hospitality,” “To You, Sweetheart, Aloha,” “On A Little Bamboo Bridge,” and “On A Cocoanut Island.” Following these popular recordings, in 1942, in the early years of the New Orleans traditional jazz revival, Bunk Johnson along with George Lewis, Albert Warner, Walter Decou, Lawrence Marerro, Chester Zardis, and Edgar Mosley recorded
“Yaaka Hula Hickey Dula.” In 1943 George Lewis recorded his “New Orleans Hula,” which was Lewis’s interpretation of the Jack Yellen *hapa haole* song “Hula Lou.” In 1949 Lewis recorded “‘Neath Hawaiian Skies,” while Kid Ory and his Creole Dixieland Band followed suit in 1950 with their own version of “Yaaka Hula Hickey Dula.” But perhaps the most famous Hawaiian tune to turn up in the New Orleans Jazz repertoire was Charles E. King’s 1915 composition (and Louis Armstrong hit), “Song of the Islands” (aka “Na Lei O Hawaii”). In the 1960s and 70s the tune was a theme song for New Orleans trumpeter and Preservation Hall star “Kid Shiek” Cola, who traditionally closed his performances with the classic.

Some other early Jazz/Hawaiian crossover recordings include Josephine Baker’s 1931 Paris pressing of “Aux Iles Hawaii (In the Hawaiian Islands)” accompanied by Melodic Jazz du Casino de Paris, and the Roy Smeck Trio (aka Hawaiian Trio) cuts in 1932 of “In a Shanty In Old Shanty Town,” “While We Danced at the Mardi Gras,” and, with Cab Calloway on vocal, “Git Along.” In 1937 Thomas “Fats” Waller recorded “Why do Hawaiians sing Aloha?” and in 1938 Duke Ellington and His Famous Orchestra with Ivy Anderson on vocals recorded “Swingtime in Honolulu.”

**IN CLOSING**

There has been a lot of interest in the influence of Hawaiian music on twentieth-century American music in general, and particularly, its infusion into country music and western swing. But the influence worked both ways. In the early 1900s, when the novelty of Tin Pan Alley songs mixed with the novelty of the Hawaiian culture, the result (the *hapa haole* song) made Hawaiian music more accessible and easier for people to identify with than ever before in mainland America. The result was a boom of popularity that preceded the popularity of jazz by several years. Further, when jazz became popular Hawaiian music took on some of the fundamental characteristics of that genre, including jazz’s instrumentation, syncopated rhythms, blues inflections, a rhythmic foundation built upon the bass, and hot improvisation. Yet, with very few exceptions, the fundamental characteristics of Hawaiian music, including falsetto singing, alternate “slack key” guitar tunings, ukuleles, and slide guitars never found a place in jazz. It is in the diffusion of the two styles in other genres (notably country and western swing) that we can see the obvious overlap.

While popular Hawaiian music and early jazz were parallel fads in the early pop record industry, jazz is the music that came to represent America’s trend-setting pace and diverse ideals. But, while the influence of New Orleans music continues to shape the identity of the nation and is celebrated internationally, the city’s jazz tradition does not get much attention from the broad American audience. Compared to, say, bluegrass, blues, or country music, New Orleans jazz is a kind of traditional or “regional roots” music that is an antithesis of today’s popular music. But New Orleans music is by nature adaptive and contagious and will thrive whenever and wherever there are New Orleans musicians to play it and people to listen.

A Google search offers 22,700 “hits” for “Hawaiian radio” and 4,420,000 hits for “New Orleans jazz radio,” while iTunes offers 155 internet jazz stations and less than a handful of Hawaiian stations.
Another Google search yields 8,670 hits for “Hawaiian music festival” and 242,000 hits for “jazz festival.” Yet, Hawaiian music never left and is kept alive on the Islands and abroad through some living masters, including Leward Kaapana, Danny Carvalho, Jake Shimabukro, and Jeff Peterson. The impressive figure in the above Google searches is the fact that “Hawaiian music festival” reflects the presence of many slide guitar festivals around the world. Also noteworthy is the huge interest in Japan for slide guitar playing with Hawaiian, blues, African, and Middle Eastern influences, and people like Bob Brozman who carry the torch of this art. Further, there is a “ukulele revival” that began just a few years ago. A casual browse on the internet reveals over a dozen ukulele festivals on the mainland U.S., including a second annual festival near Charleston, South Carolina, and first annual festivals in Lake Anne, Virginia, and San Diego, California. This year Hawaii will celebrate the instrument with a forty-first annual festival, an eleventh annual festival, a sixth annual festival and a first annual festival in Maui. There are also ukulele festivals all over Europe, including England, Ireland, Belgium, Italy, France, Germany, and Spain, as well as in Australia, New Zealand, and Thailand.

Comparing the two genres has been insightful for me, in that it gets me to thinking of the bigger questions of what makes music adapt and endure through the ardors of time and the struggles of social change. That said, I hope I have not presented the facts as a competition, as these two genres are distinct and deserve their respective consideration and celebration.

ENDNOTES


4 Kanahele, Waikiki - 100 B.C. to 1900 A.D., 12.


6 Kanahele, Hawaiian Music and Musicians, xxv, 292.

7 “A Brief History of the Hula,” Oracle ThinkQuest, http://library.thinkquest.org/J0110077/hulahistory.htm. King Kalakaua reintroduced the Hula in the 1870s and it has been popular ever since.

8 Kanahele, Hawaiian Music and Musicians, 36.

9 “About the Hawaiian language on this site,” HawaiiHistory.org, http://www.hawaiihistory.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=ig.page&PageID=496.

10 Charles Hiroshi Garrett, Struggling to Define a Nation: American Music and the Twentieth Century (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 165-213; Kanahele, Hawaiian Music and Musicians, 292: “In fact, in 1916 there were more Hawaiian records sold on the mainland than any other type of popular music.” On November 23, 1993, U.S. President Bill Clinton signed United States Public Law 103-150, also known as the Apology Reso-
olution, which had previously passed Congress. This resolution “apologizes to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the people of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii.”

11 Hapa Haole (literally “half white”) refers to songs that mix Hawaiian music and/or lyric with U.S. mainland pop music and/or lyric. Kanahele, Hawaiian Music and Musicians, xxv, 106-107.


16 Considering this, one should appreciate the large congregations of music and dance that have increasingly blessed every neighborhood of New Orleans since the late nineteenth century, an aspect of popular local tradition called the second line parade.


21 Kanahele, Hawaiian Music and Musicians, 53; Hall, Africans in Colonial Louisiana, 45.


23 Eighteen years if you count records that were destroyed or not released publicly. Rockwell, Hawaiian & Hawaiian Guitar Records, ix-xii, 917; Garrett, Struggling to Define a Nation, 173.


25 Kanahele, Hawaiian Music and Musicians, xxv.


27 Barker, A Life in Jazz, 30, 35; Lemon Nash interviewed by Richard B. Allen, June 20, 1961(Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University).

28 Kanahele, Hawaiian Music and Musicians, 27.


31 Barker, A Life in Jazz, 115.

32 This is the short list.


34 Gushee, Pioneers of Jazz, 71; author facebook exchange with Babette Annapurna Ory.


36 Rockwell, Hawaiian & Hawaiian Guitar Records, 917.


39 Brozman, The History and Artistry of National Resonator Instruments, 115.

40 Bob Dunn actually recorded at the Roosevelt Hotel in New Orleans with Milton Brown and His Brownies in 1936.

41 Andy Volk, Lap Steel Guitar (Anaheim: Centerstream Publications, 2003), 57-58.


46 Ibid.

47 Garrett, Struggling to Define a Nation, 170-1.

48 Kanahele, Hawaiian Music and Musicians, 231.

49 Ibid., 37.

50 Ibid., 34-44.


52 In traditional New Orleans Jazz there are a number of multi-sectioned pieces in the standard repertoire that include a section that typically comes late in the form, has an abrupt key and rhythmic change and in which the
ensemble rises to a *forte*. This section is referred to by the performers as: “the dogfight.” Examples can be found in “High Society,” “South Rampart Street Parade,” “That’s a Plenty,” and “Clarinet Marmalade.”


55 Ibid., 2.


57 See Manetta’s papers at the New Orleans Historic Collection. “My Creole Belle” is one example, as is the final strain of Joplin’s “Maple Leaf Rag.”

58 Manuel Manetta interviewed by Bill Russell, March 21, 1957 (Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University).

59 Ibid; Kid Ory and Manuel Manetta interviewed by Bill Russell, August 26, 1958 (Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University).


64 King and Tranquada, “A Strum through Ukulele History.”


67 *Times-Picayune*, December 8, 1915.

68 *Times-Picayune*, several ads around this time.

69 *Times-Picayune*, September 8, 1917.


71 *Times-Picayune*, March 17, 1918.

72 Nash interviewed by Allen, October 3, 1959 (Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University).

73 Author conversation with Lars Edegran.


75 Nash interviewed by Allen, October 3, 1959 (Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University).

76 Johny St. Cyr interviewed by Bill Russell, August 28, 1958 (Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University; Charters, *Trumpet Around the Corner*).
Noon Johnson interviewed by Bill Russell, May 28, 1960 (Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University).


Ibid., 48, 50.


George Guesnon interviewed by Bill Russell, June 10, 1960 (Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University).

“Father” Al Lewis interviewed by Richard B. Allen, February 21, 1972 (Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University).

Barker, *A Life In Jazz*, 6, 30.

Ibid., 35, 36.


Barker, *A Life In Jazz*, 35, 36, 41.

Ibid., 116.


Ibid., 53-67.


*Times-Picayune*, January 27, 1913, 11; March 13, 1918, 44.

Toots Paka, “Ninipo,” Edison 11500, 1909 (Rockwell, *Hawaiian & Hawaiian Guitar Records*, xi, 917). Rockwell gives different accounts of the first recorded slide guitar sessions, but it seems these may be the first or at least one of the first and the earliest surviving recordings.


Shields is not listed in Rockwell, *Hawaiian & Hawaiian Guitar Records*, probably because the records he made were not widely distributed. Leon Kelner does have a 1956 entry in Rockwell’s discography.

The arrangement is as follows: “Koalala March,” sections A and B; “Hilo March,” section B; “Honolulu Tom Boy,” “Hilo March,” section C.


Ibid., 38.

Ibid., 35, 37.

Besides the evidence of the recordings themselves there is a short motion picture clip of a performance by Shields with the 6 & 7/8s on the television program “This is Your Life” from the 1960s, when Edmond “Doc” Souchon, M.D. was the surprised guest being honored with a recall of his experiences.


*Roosevelt Review*, vol. 1, no. 9 (August 1938); vol. 1, no. 10 (September 1938); vol. 1, no. 11 (October 1938); vol. 1, no. 12 (November 1938).

Roosevelt Review, vol. 1, no. 9 (August 1938), 30; vol. 1, no. 10 (September 1938), 44.


Josephine Baker, “Aux Iles Hawaii (In the Hawaiian Islands)” Columbia DF 406, 1931; Roy Smeck’s Trio, “In a Shanty In Old Shanty Town” and “While We Danced at the Mardi Gras,” Banner 32561; Roy Smeck, featuring Cab Calloway, Roy Smeck and Chick Bullock, “Git Along,” Banner 32563, 1932 (Rockwell, Hawaiian & Hawaiian Guitar Records, 1093).

Among the noteworthy musicians active in New Orleans in the early 1900s, Antonio Maggio remains a dim historical figure, remembered only for a single pioneering composition, “I Got the Blues,” published in 1908. David Lee Joyner identifies Maggio’s work as an “early example of twelve-bar blues in ragtime” that foreshadows W. C. Handy’s famous “St. Louis Blues.” Peter Muir calls it a “milestone in blues history,” as it is the “first known instance in print of the [twelve-bar blues] sequence being associated with the notion of having the blues.” Muir also points to “suggestive parallels” between Maggio’s “I Got the Blues” and Handy’s “St. Louis Blues.” However, any evidence of a direct borrowing is tenuous at best; as Lynn Abbott and Doug Seroff observe, more probably “Handy and Maggio were coincidentally attracted to similarly irrepressible ‘snatches’—Handy’s favorite term—of floating folk melody.” In any event, Maggio’s composition had a significant impact on local performing musicians and their audiences, receiving attention as a locally composed “Italian rag.” Other than this achievement, however, Maggio seems not to have played a prominent role in the burgeoning jazz scene of New Orleans, though he has been noted in an article that emphasizes the complex ethnic mixture of the city’s population—especially among its musicians—at the turn of the century.
Very little has been discovered about his early musical career, apart from the few facts that surround the genesis of “I Got the Blues.” As Maggio recounted during an interview in 1955, he was inspired by a musician he heard on the levee back in 1907, “an elderly negro with a guitar playing three notes.” Maggio told the story of this tune’s unlikely transformation into sheet music:

He kept repeating the notes for a long time. I didn't think anything with only three notes could have a title so to satisfy my curiosity I asked what was the name of the piece. He replied, ‘I got the blues.’

I went home. Having this on my mind, I wrote ‘I Got the Blues,’ making the three notes dominating most of the time. The same night our five-piece orchestra played at the Fabaker [sic] restaurant (in New Orleans) ‘I Got the Blues’ which was composed with the purpose of a musical caricature, and to my astonishment became our most popular request number […] I had no intention of publishing it because my interest in music was entirely classical. However, the people's demand by now was so overwhelming that our first violinist, Barzin (later to play first viola with Toscanini at the Met) persisted until I finally consented to publish 1000 copies for piano, 500 for band and 500 for orchestra which were printed in Cincinnati [sic] by Zimmerman Publishing House. This took place in 1908. The copies were sold in a very short time. I wasn't interested in another edition for the reason already explained.8

By tracing a series of events in Maggio’s early adulthood described in archived newspaper articles, we can learn much about the Italian community of New Orleans in the early 1900s, the political climate in New Orleans and the United States at that time, and what kinds of sensibilities drove this musician who created one of the first examples of “commercial blues” sheet music. Regarding political motivations, it is true that some folklorists and jazz historians have been only too ready to ascribe revolutionary fervor to musical practices. In an article written for the Daily Worker on October 21, 1933, for example, Charles Edward Smith identified the “hot element of jazz” as having its “basis in the class struggle.”9 However, by looking at Maggio’s early career, we can see how class consciousness might indeed inspire a musician participating in the overlapping social worlds of New Orleans over a century ago, during the development of musical practices later associated with jazz.

Born in 1876, in Cefalu, Sicily, Antonio Maggio came to New Orleans in 1892, stayed for a few months, then worked as a barber in Plaquemine, Louisiana.10 Even in his teens, he was extremely talented in music, a “born musician” according to Dantonio, a barbershop owner in Plaquemine who employed him as a “tonsorialist.”11 Maggio had a “pleasing tenor voice” and could sing “arias from a number of operas.” In addition, he was “master of the mandolin and guitar,” and “could play any instrument, and some of his cornet solos were charming.” After just a few months in Plaquemine, Maggio was able to organize and lead a professional brass band. He came back to New Orleans in 1896, and again worked as a barber, having the second chair in a “little shop on Common Street, near Rampart.”12 He was also remembered as the “leader of a trio of amateur musicians, all Italians,” playing guitar and violin, a “familiar figure around the Poydras market,” only occasionally helping his older brother Rosario at his barbershop
Sheet music cover, "I Got the Blues," 1908 (Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University)
on St. Philip Street. In 1898, he left New Orleans again, heading north to St. Louis, then Chicago, and played music for a minstrel group and later joined a band that accompanied Hagenbeck's wild animal show. He worked briefly as a barber in Kansas City. By early 1901, he had joined the Andrews Opera Company, playing the cornet. Soon afterwards, he parted ways with the opera company in Silver City, New Mexico, and spent the next several months playing the violin in dance halls and saloons in southern New Mexico.

We would have very little of this information about Antonio Maggio’s musical career if it weren’t for an extremely unfortunate episode in his life which then took place. While playing with the opera company, sometime in February or March of 1901, on the road between Abilene and El Paso, Texas, Maggio confided to a fellow musician that he was active in an “anarchistic circle” and believed that President William McKinley would soon be assassinated. According to Fritz Huttman, a tenor singer with the same opera company, Maggio told him that “men had already been selected” to kill both McKinley and Emperor Wilhelm of Germany. When McKinley was shot on September 6, 1901, in the Temple of Music at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, Maggio was suspected to be an accomplice to the assassin Leon Czolgosz, and like Emma Goldman and other political dissidents, he was tracked down as an enemy of the State.

Back in New Orleans, panic quickly rippled through the population, especially within the Italian community, which feared another spasm of violence like the mass lynching of Italians that happened in the wake of Police Chief Hennessey’s assassination a decade earlier. The Italians living in the city were anxious to dispel the notion that they sympathized with any anarchists and made it clear that they were “entirely disposed to aid the authorities in suppressing any anarchist circle if one be found in their midst.” Many locals came forward to help the federal government find the suspected anarchist, including police detective Dantonio, who offered a detailed account of Maggio’s earlier activities in New Orleans. A young Italian girl even provided Maggio’s photo (taken in 1898) to be published in the newspaper. After a nationwide dragnet, Maggio was finally cornered in the mining camp of Santa Rita, New Mexico, and taken into custody by US Marshals on September 9, 1901. For the next several months, he was held under a $10,000 bond and interrogated about his past. When it was finally determined that he had nothing to do with the assassination, he was released in April of the following year.

During this period, a virulent witchhunt consumed the nation, yielding a “nest of anarchists” in Kansas City. Stereotypes of Italian criminality were propagated by newspapers; rumors erupted about Antonio Maggio being lynched. Even his brother Frank, who was then living in Leavenworth, Kansas, when questioned about Antonio’s activities, described Louisiana as a place “where the members of the Mafia were thick.” The dread of anarchism, coupled with perennial xenophobic prejudices, had upended the country, hurling innocent people into detention cells. On September 11, 1901, the New Orleans Daily Picayune published a digest of reports from England and Germany bearing the title “How to Deal with Anarchists,” which stated that the question was “now attracting world-wide attention” and that the “teaching of anarchy should be treated as a crime.” The Daily Post, based in London, suggested that
even though “certain measures may be taken by the United States on its own account in order to combat this new evil, it would be better if all such measures were adopted in concert by the great powers after an international conference” since there is “certainly solidarity between all nations now that America is no longer outside the circle of its influence.” While some voices called for the mass imprisonment of “philosophic anarchists” and warned against the dangers of “harboring national pests,” others specifically focused on how the United States could lead the way for other nations: “Europe has already done so much to check anarchism that it can now leave the problem to the Americans, who are so eminently practical people, and doubtless will devise means of rooting out the evil in their own country. Europe will look with the greatest interest to the inauguration of such a crusade, and will doubtless learn something to its own advantage.”

Out of these horrific circumstances, in which many people of foreign birth were investigated relentlessly, including Antonio Maggio himself, we have obtained a very detailed portrait of his life and his political beliefs. After being released by federal authorities in 1902, Maggio returned to New Orleans, where he resumed his musical career, playing for a concert band on the excursion steamer Chalmette. An extended interview appeared in the Daily Picayune on June 23, 1902, in which Maggio disavows any support of assassinations, yet maintains his anarchist political stance:

I believe that the people are the masters. Anarchy is the doctrine of equality and love. It is misunderstood. When the word ‘anarchy’ is used people immediately think of blood and daggers, riot and disorder. Anarchy, to my mind, conveys no such meaning. To me, anarchy stands for the right to live under the same conditions that my fellow-men lives. It means that he is to receive no more than I do for contributing his share to the world’s progress, and that he is entitled to no more than I am.

I am against all government, because governments stand for the rich against the poor. I have read Tolstoi and other well-known writers. I have studied socialism. My beliefs are based on my researches. If I could talk to any man long enough, I could convince him that my beliefs were right.

The newspaper reporter conducted this interview while trying to keep pace with Maggio, who was walking up Canal Street from the river. When they come upon a man lying in the street, “asleep in one of the doorways of the custom-house building,” Maggio takes pity on the inert figure and declares him to be a “victim of the way the world is managed. He is either a poor workman out of a job or a victim of some injustice.” Having seen the inside of a prison cell, Maggio offers a critique of the justice system: “The jail life of to-day is harmful in the extreme. Every man who is sent to jail leaves the place worse than he was at the time of his arrest. Anarchists think that people should be taught to do right rather than be punished for doing wrong.” He also expresses a strong belief in equality between women and men: “I believe that women should be as privileged as are the men. I believe in free love. When a woman gets tired of a man she ought to be entitled to leave him, and the man should be taught to know that she had the right to do this.” Maggio ends the interview as they reach the corner of Chartres and Canal: “I turn off here. I would
like to talk to all the people of New Orleans and tell them of what I know. If I could I would convince them all that anarchy was right. I do not speak English well enough to become a public speaker, or I might try to make an address.”

Months after being released, Maggio still found it difficult to keep a low profile: within a year, he was placed “under $100 bonds to keep the peace for six months” for purportedly threatening the life of another musician named Rocco Cardona. But this last tangle with the law seems to have inspired him to be more circumspect about his behavior. Maggio’s name doesn’t resurface in the newspapers until after “I Got the Blues” was published, which was evidently popular in New Orleans for several months in 1908 and 1909. During the Home Manufacturer’s Exhibition, it was included in the double bill of the combined Bankers’ Day and Retail Dealers’ Day, an event which broke “all records for attendance.” On September 26, 1908, “I Got the Blues” stood out among the other selections on the program as the only one played “by request.” On May 30, 1909, it was listed in the musical program of Emile Tosso’s Military Band at West End.

In the following years, Maggio taught his three children to play music, prompting the New Orleans States newspaper to celebrate them on October 1, 1916, as the “city’s youngest musical family,” with his sons Pascal (six years of age) and Peter (three) playing violins, and his daughter Antoinette (five) playing the harp. While Maggio is described as playing “any kind of music,” he emphasizes that he “disapproves of ragtime for the children,” as though it constituted non-nutritious sound. Their musical instruction represents a continuing family tradition: “He is giving them the benefit of the knowledge of operatic melody which he received in Italy from his father and grandfather, who were distinguished artists in the old country.”

At the same time, Antonio’s brothers Frank and Joseph were prominent musicians in New Orleans. Antonio and Frank both performed in the New Orleans Symphony Orchestra for several years. All three
were members of the Musicians’ Union and supported the establishment of a permanent symphony orchestra in the city. Their sister Josephine was married to Joseph Fulco, who was hailed “by news critics and lobby comment [as] the jazz genius of New Orleans” in 1919. In the early 1920s, Joseph Maggio played in Fulco’s Palace Orchestra, after leading his own orchestra some years earlier. Alongside his brothers, Antonio pursued a versatile musical career, singing operatic selections at weddings, playing banjo at a local restaurant, and serving as director of the forty-piece Stella D’Italia Military Band, which often played patriotic songs.

After 1903, the newspapers in New Orleans no longer referred to his criminal record or his political views. By the time that “I Got the Blues” was published, Maggio was, to all outside appearances, working within the parameters of ‘respectable’ opinion and well on the way to achieving a higher social status. One musical event in 1913 perhaps most vividly reflects his changing social position. Leading the Pipitone Band at the anniversary banquet of the Bersaglieri Benevolent Association, Maggio provided the music for a “cordial invitation to all law-abiding citizens of Italy to come to Louisiana and help develop the rich lands abounding in the state,” as expressed by New Orleans Mayor Martin Behrman. The mayor spoke with pride and confidence: “I know the Italian colony of New Orleans […] and know that while they cling to the traditions of the old country, they also revere the Stars and Stripes and [will] eventually be among the best citizens in America.” The public image of Italians was being transformed, and Maggio was performing in harmony with the expectations of his adoptive society.

Looking back at the time when “I Got the Blues” was published, Antonio Maggio described his musical inclinations as “entirely classical,” but the varied musical practices of his earlier days suggest otherwise; as late as 1916, he was still ready to play “any kind of music.” Having played for circuses and minstrel shows, in saloons and in the streets, he was no stranger to different styles. His ears were open to novel sounds. Although he later dismissed it as a “musical caricature,” his composition reflects a pang of curiosity about music created by someone with a vastly different social experience, who told him, “I got the blues.” As a young Italian musician living in New Orleans, for a time still feeling uncertain about his command of English and his place in society, Maggio had also been haunted by the injustice he saw in the world, with all of its murderous results: the assassination of a local authority figure had amplified the fear and hatred expressed towards Italian immigrants, and the assassination of the President of the United States had set in motion an international “crusade” against the “evil” of anarchism. After surviving a turbulent period which could have ended in his destruction—either at the hands of a furious mob or within the punitive mechanisms of a vengeful State—Maggio climbed back out of the shadows of ignominy and worked toward a better life, pausing just long enough on the levee to catch a fascinating combination of notes.

ENDNOTES

1 David Lee Joyner, “Southern Ragtime and Its Transition to Published Blues” (Ph.D. diss, Memphis State University, 1986), 162.

3 Ibid.


8 Ibid.


11 "Local Anarchists Are Keeping Quiet."

12 Ibid.


15 "Anarchists Have a Foothold Here," *The Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), September 8, 1901.

16 "Local Anarchists Are Keeping Quiet."

17 Ibid.

18 "Antonio Maggio, The Young Anarchist Now Recalled by Many People." This photograph was used to confirm that this is the same Antonio Maggio of later musical fame.

19 "Antonio Maggio Arrested," *Evening Press* (Grand Rapids, MI), September 10, 1901.

20 "Bond Fixed at $10,000," *Montgomery Advertiser* (Montgomery, AL), September 26, 1901.


22 “Nest of Anarchists,” *Idaho Statesman* (Boise, ID), September 25, 1901.

23 “Said to Have Been Lynched,” *The Morning Herald* (Lexington, KY), September 15, 1901.


26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 “Di Maggio In Trouble Again,” The New Orleans Item, April 27, 1903.

31 “Double Bill At Display,” The New Orleans Item, September 24, 1908.

32 “Labor Day At Display,” The New Orleans Item, September 26, 1908.

33 “New Bill This Week at West End,” The New Orleans Item, May 30, 1909.

34 “Children 3, 5, 6 Years, City's Youngest Musical Family,” The New Orleans States, October 1, 1916.


38 “F. B. Williams Gives $1,000, Vaccaros $500 to CHIF,” The New Orleans Item, October 8, 1915.

39 “Patriotic Italians Celebrate Anniversary of Their Society,” The Daily Picayune, October 13, 1913.

40 Ibid.
Edward Kid Ory (1886-1973) was a pioneering New Orleans bandleader, trombonist, composer, and recording artist in the first three decades of the twentieth century. He led what was called the hottest band in New Orleans in the teens, nurturing talent like Louis Armstrong, King Oliver, and Johnny Dodds. He then recorded with these same men, as well as with Jelly Roll Morton, in the twenties. In 1922 Ory’s Sunshine Orchestra made the first recordings by a black New Orleans jazz band. His compositions “Muskrat Ramble” and “Savoy Blues” are jazz standards, and his recordings from the twenties are sought after by collectors.

From the mid-forties till 1961, Ory, again a bandleader, rode the hot jazz revival wave. He toured Europe twice, enjoyed extended residencies at the Beverly Cavern and Jade Palace in Los Angeles, as well as the Hangover Club and his own night spot, On the Levee, in San Francisco. He also made many
commercially successful recordings, and royalties from his compositions assured a steady revenue stream.

The thirties, however, were an entirely different story. With the end of the jazz age and the crush of the Great Depression, Ory hung up his trombone and in 1933 took a straight job as a janitor for the Santa Fe railroad. His wife Elizabeth, who went by the nickname “Dort,” worked as a seamstress and maid.

The Orys owned a home in the Central Avenue neighborhood of Los Angeles, not far from the train station where Ory worked. In 1937, Ory’s older brother John, his wife Cecile Tregre, and their kids including Harold and Hardy John, moved to Los Angeles and settled nearby. John had been having heart trouble so he decided to sell his store in Edgard, Louisiana, and join his brother. The men decided to raise chickens together for family consumption and to make some extra money. They would sometimes sit in the backyard with a pellet gun waiting for a chance to pick off unsuspecting rats raiding the chicken coop. The families were close according to Ory’s nephew Harold Ory, who said they spent time drinking, playing cards, cooking, and socializing. They played bridge into the late hours and the brothers, separated since Ory left New Orleans in 1919, were once again together.

In 1938 a writer for the UK record collectors magazine *Tempo* found Ory in Los Angeles. He reported that Ory was becoming musically active again, writing down his old songs and penning new ones. In 1940 Dave Stuart, founder of the *Jazz Man* Record Shop, interviewed Ory for the short-lived *Jazz Information* magazine. Stuart’s article tells Ory’s biography from his beginnings in LaPlace, Louisiana, and his plantation band through to his final days in music in the early thirties. It ends there and offers no perspective into Ory’s contemporary activity. As it was, Ory was about to start playing music again. Jelly Roll Morton, with whom Ory had recorded in 1926 as a member of the Red Hot Peppers, moved to Los Angeles in 1940 and rehearsed a band at the Elks Hall. Morton never secured work for the band and Ory soon dropped out, but the group did give a glimpse of the shape of things to come. It featured Mutt Carey, Buster Wilson, Bud Scott, Wade Whaley, Ed Garland, and Ram Hall. Most of these men had first played with Ory in New Orleans during the teens, and they would comprise the balance of the comeback band he would lead in the forties.

Between Morton’s death (1941) and 1943, Ory began playing publicly again, both in his own band and in clarinetist Barney Bigard’s group at Club Capri. Ory’s band played for Mexican audiences in East Los Angeles. It was a four-piece band featuring piano, trumpet, and drums, with Ory doubling on bass and trombone. (Somewhow, the stories of these two bands got intertwined into one that said Ory was playing bass in Bigard’s band. Bigard took particular umbrage at this. Why, he asked, would he feature a legendary trombonist on bass, especially considering the fact that he had Charles Mingus?)

Ory’s big break came in 1944 when his reconstituted Creole Jazz Band appeared on Orson Welles’s recently inaugurated radio show. With that, he became the comeback Kid. At some point prior to this revival, Bigard had asked Ory how much he earned in royalties from “Muskrat Ramble.” The answer floored Ory’s old friend.

One day we were sitting in his house preparing these crawdads when out of the clear blue
sky I asked him, “How much royalties do you get out of *Muskrat Ramble*?” I don’t even know why I asked. I guess more out of conversation than curiosity. “I don’t get nothing,” came his reply and I almost fell off the chair… His publisher years ago had been Melrose Publishing Company and they had sold the song to another publishing company and Ory had never gotten “nickel one” from the song. I had some friends in the music publishing business on Vine Street in Hollywood so I called and asked them who published *Muskrat Ramble*. These friends looked it up and said that the Levy Company had it. I took Ory down to this Levy Publishing next day… “Hello Mr Levy,” I said, “I’d like to introduce you to a man who composed a tune that you publish… This is Edward “Kid” Ory, and he has never gotten a dime in royalties.”… Anyhow, this Mr. Levy turned over a check to Ory for around $8000 right there and then, and furthermore he got royalty checks of $600 or so every quarter from then on.⁴

This windfall apparently inspired Ory to write more songs, including three written and copyrighted between May 1941 and March 1942. More compositions followed, including one copyrighted in March 1947 and an undated, un-copyrighted tune co-composed with guitarist Arthur “Bud” Scott called “Calling the Children Home.” These unpublished musical compositions offer an interesting glimpse into Ory’s activities towards the end of his mid-life retirement from music. They also offer an opportunity to peer into what he thought to be commercially viable as music.

Inasmuch as the Kid copyrighted few musical works—and those he did carry some legend of question as to who truly composed them—it is through his typical trombone phrases that we recognize his compositional style. And that musical signature is not really present in these works. These songs, with music and lyrics by Ory, all have riff-like, rather unmemorable melodies that do not convey the typical kind of Ory trombone part.

“Calling The Children Home” is interesting because of its various allusions to cornet legend Buddy Bolden. For instance, its title is taken from a phrase Bolden reportedly declaimed while preparing to steal the audience of a competing orchestra; he would play his cornet out of the window of the Johnson Park pavilion, blowing loudly towards the crowd dancing at nearby Lincoln Park. “I’m going to call my children home,” Bolden would declare! Also, it offers at least one motif that Bolden was known to use in his playing.

Musically, “Calling the Children Home” is a bit scattered. The first eight measures seem to be an introduction containing a motif that is then repeated as a paraphrase, sounding very much like an Ory trombone lick. The twenty-fifth measure of the manuscript echoes Bolden’s theme “Don’t Go Away Nobody.” If we look a few measures earlier, the measures that usually serve as bars three and four of this piece are in bars twenty-three and twenty-four. The second half introduces a broken-scale figure that resembles the familiar chorus of “Jackass Blues.” Not quite chromatic, these two measures may remind one of Bunk Johnson’s “Makin’ Runs” and similar scalar phrases meant to evoke Bolden.

Much of Ory’s manuscript material has a rambling quality; the form is often unclear. “Why the Blues Was Born” features an attractive motif that is repeated throughout. It is unexpectedly and delightfully interrupted by the phrase “I’m going to travel,” accompanied by an ascending minor ⁶th on
“tra – vel,” but, disappointingly, this phrase does not return later in the piece to provide some balance and stability.

The most fascinating title is “Mussolini Carries the Drum for Hitler.” The melody is a familiar Swing Era riff and is repeated throughout. Like the others in this group, the mating of words to music is awkward and hard to negotiate. Often the accentuated part of a multi-syllabic word will be coupled with the weaker part of the beat, making for a rather labored performance. And this is unfortunate because the lyric is really quite funny; carefully reciting them to the rhythm and melody is rewarding, if awkward.

Perhaps if Ory had played and sung these tunes, and left us some recordings of them, we would have a satisfying realization of their potential. One piece does seem to work pretty well on paper only: “Jay Walk” provides a nice rhythmic snap during its refrain, especially on the final eighth note, the “bite” of “It’s pro-hi-bite.”

Kid Ory left us a great musical legacy; he is instantly recognizable as a trombonist. While these manuscripts are not up to the level of his recorded work, they do add important fiber to the obscure “middle years” of his life, when he had laid down the trombone, and music was, fortunately just for a little while, a sideline.
"Mussolini Carries the Drum for Hitler" (courtesy of Élan/Kegan Music)
ENDNOTES


3  For more on Dave Stuart, see Cary Ginell, *Hot Jazz for Sale: Hollywood's Jazz Man Record Shop* (Cary Ginell, 2010).


5  There are six known extant titles in all: “Don’t Forget the Santa Fe Train and Bus,” “Are You Selling Songs, Mister,” “Jaywalk,” “Why the Blues Was Born,” “Mussolini Carries the Drum for Hitler,” and “Calling the Children Home.” All six are reproduced in an appendix to McCusker, *Creole Trombone*.
IN THE ARCHIVE

Top: Groups of international scholars and musicians visit us quite regularly, under the aegis of the New Orleans Citizen Diplomacy Council. We enjoyed interacting with these recent visitors from Egypt, Syria, Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and the Palestinian Territories. Middle left: Tulane Music Department graduate student Will Buckingham (left) looks on as Russell Lord, curator of photography at the New Orleans Museum of Art, inspects images from our Ralston Crawford Collection of Jazz Photography. Middle right: Chris Strachwitz (middle) and Adam Machado (right) from Arhoolie Records pause for a photo with curator, Bruce Raeburn. Bottom left: Erika Titkemeyer, a graduate student in the New York University Moving Image Archive Program, completed an internship with us this summer, assessing our moving image collection. Bottom right: Representatives of the Ken Colyer Trust still make an annual pilgrimage to New Orleans, and we are always happy to receive them at the Jazz Archive.
Back in January, as I was processing photographs for the Hogan Jazz Archive’s photo collection, I came across a small, faded snapshot of Professor Longhair. In it, “Fess” was standing near a street, a cane in his right hand and a camera slung around his neck. Without any identification information available, the most I could glean from the photo was that it was probably taken sometime in the 1970s (based on Fess’ clothes and the few cars visible in the background).

The street sign on the right side of the photo seemed like the most promising clue in identifying the location. I scanned the photo at a high resolution and enlarged it until I could make out the words “Gustave V.” After a quick Google search, I found that “Avenue Gustave V” was a street in Nice, France. This is where the Street View feature for Google Maps came in handy. The street sign has since disappeared, but the white building and adjacent park in the background matched the Boscolo Exedra Nice Hotel and the Jardin de l’Arménie pictured in Google’s Street View.

While the location was relatively easy to pin down thanks to Google Maps, the date and contextual information proved more challenging. Looking through the Archive’s vertical files, I discovered that Nice hosted a jazz festival called the Grande Parade du Jazz (now, the Nice Jazz Festival); however, I could not find any information linking Fess to the festival. I set the photo aside for a couple weeks to work on other
projects when my colleague, Lynn Abbott, approached me with a folder from the Allison Miner collection (Miner was Fess’ manager from the mid-1970s until his death in 1980). Coincidentally, Lynn had begun processing Allison Miner’s papers at around the same time I had unearthed the photograph. The folder was labeled “Professor Longhair jobs and tours – 1978 summer tour – Nice, France,” and in it were travel documents and fliers from a 1978 trip he took to Nice to perform at the Grande Parade du Jazz. Jackpot!

There is always a great deal of detective work involved when processing graphic and archival collections, and the pieces, once assembled, rarely fit together perfectly. As an archivist, I find that it is always gratifying when the clues come together - sometimes serendipitously, as they did here - to provide a more complete picture of the past.
We have some changes to report this year, all positive. After this printing, *The Jazz Archivist* will henceforth be available only as an open source online journal, available for free on the Hogan Jazz Archive homepage at [http://jazz.tulane.edu/](http://jazz.tulane.edu/) along with all back issues. For this issue we will print a limited number of copies for distribution at the archive but will no longer mail hard copy to subscribers unless they have paid annual dues. Given the dearth of paid memberships and the cost of mailing to Europe, it is prohibitively expensive. This is a path that has already been traveled by such illustrious journals as *The Annual Review of Jazz Studies* (now the *Journal of Jazz Studies*), so we feel that we are in good company.

For those who have not seen it already, the festschrift issue of *Current Research in Jazz* honoring Dan Morgenstern (who retired from the Institute of Jazz Studies at Rutgers-Newark in December 2011), prepared by Michael Fitzgerald, is worthy of your attention, with excellent articles by Terry Teachout, Ricky Riccardi, Randy Sandke, Marcello Piras, Walter van de Leur, Stefano Zenni, Wolfram Knauer, and Michael Fitzgerald, among others. It's available for free online at [http://www.crj-online/v4/](http://www.crj-online/v4/).

Franz Hoffman called from Germany to discuss Marcello's essay on Scott Joplin's “Treemonisha” and my piece on “Bix Beiderbecke and New Orleans,” and we talked for an hour! The ripple effect from this publication is exactly what we hope for with such projects, and Michael Fitzgerald is to be commended for keeping the festschrift secret for so long while it was in preparation. I saw Dan at this year's Satchmo Summer Fest, and I learned that he was truly surprised and gratified by the festschrift. Judging from his demeanor at SSF, I think he is enjoying his retirement immensely.

In the last issue we bid farewell to Alaina Hebert, whose tenure at the Hogan Jazz Archive was short, but very productive. I am happy to report that Nicole Shibata was hired in October 2011 to serve as associate curator of graphics and administrative assistant. She holds a library degree from UCLA and has had in-depth training in graphics conservation and digitization, all of which has enabled her to contribute effectively to the archive's mission from her first day on the job. Recently Nicole worked with Erica Titkemeyer, a summer intern from NYU’s Tisch School of Film Preservation, to prepare an assessment of the archive's film and video holdings and a conservation action plan. This opportunity derived from meetings with the Tisch School’s Kara van Malssen and Howard Besser following Hurricane Katrina, undertaken for an American Library Association conference session in New Orleans in June 2006. This connection led to a video assessment workshop with Mona Jimenez in 2011, which became the catalyst for the summer internship. Annie Peterson, HTML's new preservation librarian, worked closely with Erica and Nicole on the project as well. Her presence at Tulane, and particularly her engagement during our recent Hurricane Isaac episode, has established a serious strategic emphasis on preservation issues at the library, and we look forward to working with her.

One of the digitization projects in production during FY2012 was *The Ralston Crawford Collection of New Orleans Jazz Photography*, completed in June - just in time for the opening of a Ralston
Crawford exhibit at the New Orleans Museum of Art, a traveling show that was put together at the Sheldon Art Gallery in St. Louis using prints from Neelon Crawford, the artist’s son. Russell Lord of NOMA requested the inclusion of 35 Crawford prints from the Hogan Jazz Archive to add a collateral dimension to the exhibit, which we were pleased to supply. The show runs through mid-October and provides an excellent opportunity to promote the nearly 800 images included in our online collection, available as part of the Tulane University Digital Library (http://digitallibrary.tulane.edu). In preparation is another digitization project, the Louisiana Sheet Music Collection, which will be comprised of more than 700 titles published primarily in New Orleans from the 1840s through the 1930s—a century of sheet music illustrating the amazing development of a spectrum of indigenous musical genres, including the works of Louis Moreau Gottschalk, Basile Barès, W.T. Francis, Nick Clesi, Clarence Williams and Armand Piron, George W. Thomas, Joe Oliver, Jelly Roll Morton, and Castro Carazo, to name a few.

In early June I attended an international conference in Saint-Louis, Senegal, sponsored by Tulane University’s New Orleans Center for Gulf South Research and the Department of History, the
Centre d’études nord-américaines, École des hautes études en sciences sociales in Paris, Université Cheik Anta Diop, Dakar, Senegal, and Radio France Internationale on the subject of historical parallels and convergences between the cities of New Orleans and Saint-Louis, Senegal. The twenty-five participants in attendance had already submitted papers on various aspects of this shared history, ranging chronologically from the 17th through the 20th centuries and topically from the fortunes of women in creolized societies to slavery and freedom issues related to prisons, rebellions, evangelical religion, and emancipation, as well as cultural aspects, such as modes of ascertaining African retentions or connections in New Orleans music, which were then discussed in minute detail over the course of three days at Université Gaston Berger in Saint-Louis. Following the conference meetings, RFI conducted an interview among Larry Garner, a bluesman from Baton Rouge, Vieux Mack Fay, a guitarist and bandleader from Dakar, and Demma Dia, a xalam player and griot who performs traditional Senegambian music. After dinner that night, a concert was held at Université Gaston Berger, with Dia’s group opening the show, Vieux Mack Fay’s band performing original music and covers, followed by Larry Garner with Fay’s band backing him. A night of musical magic, underwritten by one guiding principle—the musics of Africa and America are inextricably intertwined and serve to inspire and connect our cultures in profound ways. The conference
will reconvene in New Orleans for round two in April 2013, and we’ll be looking to match the hospitality that was extended to us by our African hosts, but it won’t be easy because they set a very high standard.

Another very promising development has been the inauguration of the Musical Cultures of the Gulf South curriculum at Tulane during this fall semester, funded by the Music Rising Foundation and administered by the New Orleans Center for Gulf South Research, now directed by Joel Dinerstein, who is a familiar presence in jazz studies—see his book, *Swinging the Machine* (2003). Supporting the online curriculum will be various content rich databases related to music of the Gulf Coast region, one of which will be devoted to the Hogan Jazz Archive’s oral history collection: 1,222 MP3 files attached to keyword-searchable transcripts available as open source content via the Musical Cultures of the Gulf South website. This database is currently under construction by Canary Collective, the vendor for the project, and will hopefully be operational by the time our next newsletter is published in 2013.

Space limitations in Jones Hall have meant more selectivity regarding acquisitions and enhancements at the Hogan Jazz Archive, but when jazz drummer Hal Smith asked if we would be interested in receiving his personal collection of jazz memorabilia, we jumped at the chance. Anyone familiar with traditional jazz repertory knows that Hal is capable of delivering exactly the right stylistic touch for any project he takes on, and he has been active in passing on his knowledge through drum workshops around the country. His recent relocation from San Diego to Austin, Texas, became the pretext for the donation of his collection, which consists of numerous audio and audio-visual materials, ephemera such as fliers, concert programs, band itineraries, and posters, personal and business correspondence, photographs, books and journals, clippings, and realia, including an assortment of badges, lapel pins, and jazz buttons made by Katie Cavera.

Finally, although we will be transitioning to an open-source e-journal format, annual dues of $25 for membership in The Friends of the Jazz Archive are still being gratefully accepted. Thanks to all those who have provided such support in the past year.

*Bruce Raeburn, Curator*