

Ma Rainey – Part 6

Karl Gert zur Heide

Love Songs

After a hesitant start in the first decade of the 20th century, blues as a musical genre won a secure place on vaudeville and tent-show stages in the 1910s (1). In April 1915, an otherwise obscure blues specialist left a favourable impression at a classy “black” venue in Indianapolis (Indiana) (2): *ANNA OVERTON AT THE CROWN GARDEN THEATRE. – Every now and then a theatrical gem is casted up from the usual run of folk... Miss Overton is a gem in her line. She makes a specialty of singing what is called the Blues, those somewhat doleful melodies, with a feeling to them... Blues are longing love songs, meaning as much in tone as they express in words. Miss Overton has what it takes to make them go – a splendid voice, full of warmth, a mouth which looks like poetry when she opens it, full and free and action in accord. Then she can ogle, use her eyes effectively. She makes a pretty stage figure. She sings “It’s Hard to Get a Black Man Off of Your Mind,” composed by herself, and “I Want a Brown of My Own,” also by herself. Her third song, “I Want You[,]” is by Mr. Minor, of Minor & Minor. She sings all of them with success.*

“Doleful, feeling, longing, tone, warmth, poetry” – such words signal a new way of delivering a song, a far cry from the robust coon shouting that can be heard on the early recordings of “red hot mamas” like Sophie Tucker or May Irwin (3). Unlike standard coon songs (4), Anna Overton’s titles present individual emotional statements, using the first and second persons: “I, you, my, your”. In 1927, sociologist and anthropologist Guy B (enton) Johnson (1901-91) observed that “the original blues ... may be thought of as the wail of the despondent Negro lover” (5). Blues singer, pianist and composer Charles E(dward) (Charlie) “Cow Cow” Davenport (1894/95-1955) (6) stated that the blues “usually alluded to love affairs” (7). Eddie J(ames) “Son” House (1902-88) was one of the greatest and most important blues singers of all times. The 2006 Hollywood movie

Black Snake Moan begins with some vintage footage from a House performance. According to him, there was only “one kind of blues, and that consisted between male and female that’s in love”.

Blues Pioneers?

In the late 1960s I corresponded with Mississippi blues singer and guitarist Nehemiah C(urtis) “Skip” James (1902-69). I met him in person when he came to Bremen (Germany) with the 1967 edition of the American Folk Blues Festival (8). Backstage, James introduced me to his colleagues Son House and Booker T. Washington (Bukka) White (1906-77) (9). Recording for Paramount and Victor in the early 1930s, each of them wrote music history without being aware of it. Historically, House had the greatest impact because he influenced two other blues giants from Mississippi, viz. singer-guitarists Robert L (eroy) Johnson (c.1911-38) and McKinley A. “Muddy Waters” Morganfield (1913-83) (10), who in turn inspired British blues-rock guitarists Eric Clapton and Keith Richards (11), one of the most important composers of the 20th century.



Son House and his autograph in 1967

I never saw James and House again, but in 1968 I looked up White at his house in

Memphis (12). He returned to Bremen in 1975 (13), which gave me another chance to talk with him. He spoke about his early years as a dance musician and his multi-instrumentalist father, but didn't mention the blues in this context (14). Discussing the musical scene of his hometown Bentonia (in Yazoo County, Mississippi) around 1910, Skip James recalled (15):

I hadn't heard of blues then... But after a little period of time ... I heard my mother and them speak about "singin' the blues"... I wondered what the blues was then...

Similar statements came from other alleged blues pioneers from Mississippi like Robert Wilkins (1896-1987), Joe Cal(l)icott (1900-69), Richard Harney (1902-73) (16), and Big Bill Broonzy (1903-58) (17). All of these singer-guitarists had a rural background and started recording in the 1920s.

When interviewed by ethnomusicologist Jeff Titon in 1971, Son House denied the question of whether his guitarist father played blues (18): "They didn't hardly even know what them kind of blues was..." Filmed by Pat Gavin in England in 1970 (19), House related his first reaction to the blues: "I first heard the thing I think in 1920... What the devil is that: blues?!" Then he mentioned "Ida Cox and them".

So it can be safely assumed that House's initiation came from records (the big bang named "Crazy Blues" occurred in 1920) or live performances of female vocalists in vaudeville theatres or tent-shows. Like Gertrude "Ma" Rainey (née Pridgett) (1882?-1939), Ida Cox (née Prather) (1890?-1967) started recording in 1923, after having been discovered on stage by Paramount's scout J. Mayo "Ink" Williams (1894-1980), who called them "Mother of the Blues" (Rainey) and "Uncrowned Queen of the Blues" (Cox) (20).

Little relevant evidence was available to me in 1969 when I wrote somewhat naively that "the blues came from the rural South" (21).

Ensuing research (22) made the widespread tale about the "Delta" origin of the blues rather unlikely, but meanwhile academic and journalistic speculations on the unrecorded *Ida* guitarist Henry Sloan (23) and other shadowy figures turned the Delta myth into received



Cox, singing "When You Lose Your Money"

wisdom.

The so-called Delta is located in the state of Mississippi, i.e. east of the Mississippi river. Few scholars care to make sense of Ma Rainey's claim that her first encounter with the blues took place in Missouri, i.e. west of the Mississippi and many miles north of the Delta, in 1902 (24). The ballad "Frankie and Johnny" was almost certainly an immediate precursor of the blues; it was based on a murder that took place in St. Louis (Missouri) in 1899 (25). The first genuine blues strain surfaced as sheet music in St. Louis in 1904, as part of the piano piece "One o' Them Things!". This has been repeatedly pointed out in print since 1975 (26), but blues historians and folklorists like David Evans keep ignoring it (27). The bits and pieces listed above fit together well, but I don't postulate that the blues actually originated in the St. Louis area. We'll probably never know for sure, but we should keep our eyes and ears and minds open. There is still a lot to be uncovered and explained.

Serenaders and Assassimators

Ma Rainey's priority as vaudeville and tent-show blues singer is not confirmed by contemporary sources like the *Indianapolis Freeman* (28), but the recollections of peers like Ida Cox, Cora "Lovie" Austin (née Calhoun) (c.1887-1972) and Bessie Smith (1892-1937), support this notion. By 1924, Smith was called the "Empress of the Blues" (29). She told a journalist in 1926 that Rainey was the "oldest blues singer on stage" (30). When interviewed

by the great jazz researcher Bill Russell (real name: Russell William Wagner) (1905-92) in 1959, sterling blues accompanist Austin, a Chattanooga (Tennessee) native like Smith and a pianist like her father Arthur Calhoun, recalled (31):

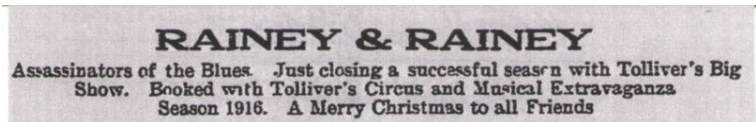
... Ma Rainey was a singer when I was a little girl – I mean a little girl... Bessie Smith lived right next door to me [in Chattanooga]. She was raised in my mother's house. We were raised together... And the way Bessie learned how to sing: Ma and Pa Rainey, that's her husband, they used to come there [to Chattanooga] with the carnival. And they'd have it in a vacant lot. And Bessie and I used to sit out there and beg for coins, because we couldn't go in. We'd sit out there. Ma would sing: "Oh, these dogs of mine."... And we would sit back out there, and she [Bessie] would imitate Ma Rainey singing. That's the way she learned how to sing.

In 1961, Austin was recorded by Chris Albertson. She "reminisced about how she and Bessie Smith used to sneak through an alley to her Ma Rainey sing at a theatre" in Chattanooga (32): *We were too young to get in, but Gertrude's voice was mighty powerful, and Bessie used to sing along with it.*



Bandleader and blues accompanist Lovie Austin

Ladnier, a product of the New Orleans area, which spawned a wealth of blues-inflected instrumentalists during the jazz era (roughly 1915-28) (34).



Excerpt from a Tolliver advertisement in the Indianapolis Freeman of 18 December 1915

From Georgia like Rainey, blues singer and Shimmy dancer Ida Cox had this to say to TV announcer Lynn Westergaard in 1961 (33): *I ran away with a minstrel show... Ragtime songs was what we called them [her repertoire] in those days [at the beginning of her tent-show career]. Latter years, they started calling them blues... I met Ma Rainey when I was playing an old Airdome Theater... She was much more popular than I. She had been in show business for quite some time. Ma Rainey was just like a mother, not to one but to all who knew her. She was a lovely person... When Ida Cox and Ma Rainey made their first records, the accompaniment was supplied by Lovie Austin, either alone at the piano or assisted by her Blues Serenaders, which included the exceptional jazz cornettist Tommy*

In 1915, five years after titular blues (35) began to turn up in the "black" press (36), Ma and Pa Rainey started using the term *blues* to advertise their act. In this context, the word *blues* still refers to a depressed state of mind (37), and the songs of the Raineys were meant to brighten up the mood, to "chase the blues away", to assassinate them (38). Such a slogan wasn't new. The following report appeared in late 1910 (39):

Coleman and Davis are on a southern tour in vaudeville. These two annihilators of the blues are versatile young men who are making rapid strides and are destined to be our foremost entertainers. Their work is clean, catchy as well as classy...

This doesn't sound particularly bluesy, and they don't seem to have been a lasting success, but a year later Kelly and Davis,

another male duo, even reached Canada and got their photo published in the *Indianapolis Freeman* (40):

The two versatile actors – clever singers, clever dancers, clever talkers, assassigators of the blues, as they style themselves, opened at the Griffin time at Toronto...

In 1912, with the publication of "The Memphis Blues" etc. (41), *blues* became a musical trademark. Three years later, another word was introduced to describe a special sort of musical expression: *jazz*. Its etymology is still not cleared up satisfactorily, but the meaning of *jazz* overlapped with *blues*. In fact, the oldest known document which mentions *jazz* in a musical sense is a 1915 article by Gordon Seagrove entitled "Blues Is Jazz and Jazz Is Blues" (42).

This equation looks far-fetched today, but was quite acceptable back then. An anecdote related by the great "white" orchestra leader Paul S(amuel) Whiteman (1890-1967) in 1926 features an unsung hero of hot music, pioneer jazz clarinetist Gustave (Gus) Mueller (1890-1965) (43):

Men taken from symphonies are easiest to train... Their knowledge of music is valuable and they know their instruments. The real blues player is more hidebound in his way than the symphony man. Blues become almost a religion... I had a New Orleans boy, Gus Miller

[sic], who was wonderful on the clarinet and saxophone, but he couldn't read a line of music... Gus came to say that he was quitting. I was sorry and asked what was the matter. He stalled around a while and then burst out: "Nuh, Suh, I jes' can't play that 'pretty music' that you all play. And you fellers can't never play blues worth a damn!"



Starring "Ma Raniey": top of a Tolliver handbill (undated)

Tolliver's Smart Set

Since 1914, the "black" tent-show producer and entrepreneur Alexander Tolliver gave work to a number of singers and dancers that were to make blues records in the 1920s, e.g. Leola Grant, Clara Smith, Bessie Smith, Daisy Martin, Trixie Smith, Jod(d)ie Edwards and Susie Hawthorne (better known as Butterbeans and Susie) (44). On top of the bill, though,



Sinds 1998

**NE DERLANDSE
JAZZKALENDER.**

Het staat er allemaal in

Adres Willem van Rijswijkstraat 30-32
2282 HB Rijswijk ZH

Telefoon 070 39 99 317

Email kalender@jazzkalender.nl

Dat vindt u werkelijk nergens !

- Het meest complete overzicht
- Live jazz & blues in jazzcafés, -clubs, zalen, enz.
- Dagelijks een actueel overzicht op www.Jazzkalender.nl (gratis)
- De *Jazzkalender* nu al op 15 radio-stations.
- **Elke maand het overzicht met ruim 1400 optredens tijdig in uw mailbox voor slechts € 2,50**

www.JazzKalender.nl

Dan ben je geïnformeerd !

was blues singer/assassinator Ma Rainey. She joined Tolliver's Smart Set in 1915 and left in mid-1917 (45). About the same time, Pa Rainey was also touring with them, plagued by bad health and soon to disappear from the scene altogether (46). The orchestra touring with the show consisted of leader Frank Kewley (clarinet), Willie H. Hightower (cornet), C(ornelius) Alvin "Zoo/Zue" Robertson (trombone), David (Davey) Jones (mellophone?), H. B. "Keg/Caggie" Howard (piano), Edward (Eddie) "Rabbit"

Robertson (or Robinson) (drums), and J. W. Craddock (bass), who was replaced by John L (eon) Porter. Hightower, Zoo Robertson, Jones, Porter and Eddie Robertson came from the New Orleans area and can be regarded as proto-jazz players since they made jazz recordings later on, with the possible exception of Eddie Robertson, who is not known to have recorded.

However, he was in hot company right from the start, drumming with a rural string group that also included Lewis Matthews (cornet), Kid Ory (trombone) and Lawrence Dewey (originally Laurence Duhé) (clarinet). The latter is missing on the well-known photo of the "Woodland Band" – he would have been placed between the brass and the string instruments, because the standard seating arrangement was (from left) drums, trombone, cornet, clarinet, violin, guitar and bass (47).



A typical dance ensemble in northern Germany (photographed before 1912): two trumpets, clarinet, first violin (lead instrument), second violin (replaced by the guitar in the New Orleans area), bass (from left)

Such groups, and the music they played, were imported from central Europe, mainly Germany, during the second half of the 19th century (48). Cultural transmission was made easier by the fact that most German immigrants were anti-slavery (49) and pro-Union (50). A closer study of ragtime on one hand and social dance music from Europe (polkas etc.) on the other shows that the only basic difference is the rhythmical asymmetry of rag melodies, a trait probably introduced by "oriental" dancing in the United States (51). In 1972, I had the privilege of meeting violinist and orchestra leader A(ntonio) Charles (Charlie) Elgar (1879-1973) (52). He was born and raised in New Orleans and knew Buddy Bolden, Bunk Johnson et al. well. I brought along the *Family Album* (53), and we discussed vintage photos of dance ensembles, e.g. "Bolden's Band" (54) and the "Woodland Band" (55). He

confirmed my analysis of the "sitting arrangement" (Elgar's term) of New Orleans dance ensembles, which strongly resembles the line-up of their German and German-American equivalents. Elgar's memory reached back to the days before jazz, and he didn't regard Bolden as "something special".



An almost perfect dance ensemble of the New Orleans area during the ragtime era (photographed around 1908): the Woodland Band with Eddie Robertson, Kid Ory, Lewis Matthews, and a string trio (from left)



Charlie Elgar at his home in Chicago on 30 August 1972 (photographed by KGzH)



Clyde Bernhardt (trombone) and Franc Williams (trumpet) of the Harlem Blues & Jazz Band at the Fabrik in Hamburg, Germany, on 18 September 1976 (photographed by KGzH)

Clyde Remembers

My friend Clyde E(dric) B(arron) Bernhardt (1905-86), jazz trombonist and blues singer, had the most remarkable memory I ever came across, and that encompassed old and new events and countless people he met, or just heard of, during his long and varied career that also brought him to Bremen as the leader of the wonderful Harlem Blues & Jazz Band (56). His autobiography *I Remember* (57) is a goldmine of information, and so are his letters. This is part of what he answered when I asked him about Ma Rainey and the line-up of her band (58): ... [Y]ou was asking me about the string band that played for Madame Gertrude

(Ma) Rainey. The first time that I saw her I was a little boy in BADIN, NORTH CAROLINA, in June & July 1917. I can remember those days, just as if it was last week!... I can remember that Ma Rainey had in her string band piano, drums, viola, bass fiddle, big bass fiddle [(59)]. The band was sitting in the front of the stage. There was no kind of horns in the band, or saxophone. The band could really play very, very good. Ma Rainey was singing the popular blues "Yellow Dog Blues," "Hesitation Blues," "Memphis Blues," "A Good Man Is Hard to Find," "I Ain't Got Nobody, and Nobody Cares for Me," "Darktown Strutters' Ball," "Cake Walking Babies from Home," "See See Rider," "Saint Louis Blues," "Beale Street Blues," and lots of other numbers that was popular in those days [(60)]. Ma Rainey was famous in those days. She played in her big tent in Badin, N.C. at least four weeks and would change shows three times each week. She had a very, very good show. Here is the name of her show in those days: "Madame Gertrude Rainey and her Georgia Smart Set Minstrel Show." She had 8 girls and 6 chorus boys and principals on her show, and comedians and some individual acts that was very good. Badin, North Carolina, was a jumping town in the teens and the twenties. The Tallahassee Power Company had a very big aluminium plant in Badin. It had five thousand men, women and children from 12 years old working in the plant in 1918 and until 1920. Money was flowing in Badin, N.C. There was people there from everywhere in America, there was lots of whores, pimps and fast gambling people from all parts of the north and the southern states in America. They built a very big theatre for the white people and two smaller theatres for the colored people. There would some big carnival show coming to Badin, twice each month... I can remember Mr. Bob Crump, a friend of my father & mother, gave a big picnic, July 4th 1917. He hired the string band. Bob Crump had the picnic on his lot beside his home, near Badin, N.C. - 1 mile from Badin, on the suburbs of Badin, N.C. He hired the Ma Rainey string band to play that afternoon for the people to dance by the music. It was an outdoor affair, you had to pay fifty cents to

dance in the pavilion that Bob Crump had built for the people to dance by the music. I was a little boy, we would stand where nobody would see us dance and do the "Walkin' the Dog" dance. That was a popular dance. Ma Rainey would sing and dance the "Walkin' the Dog" dance [(61)]. She liked to drink lots of Coca Colas. I would go to a place where I could get three Coca Colas for ten cents for her. She would give me one of the drinks for getting the drinks for her. She loved children, she was very friendly to me and other nice children. I was a very lucky child when I was growing up. It seemed like I was liked by the white and the colored people. We never did have any racial trouble at my home in North Carolina [(62)]. Karl, I will close now with my best regards to you. I hope to see you when I arrive in Germany.

Clyde Bernhardt and his bandmates (Franc Williams, Tommy Benford, George James, Johnny Williams and Dill Jones) were some of the most pleasant overnight guests my late wife Traudel and I ever had.

To be continued

Notes

The date of an *Indianapolis Freeman (IF)* issue is given by figures in this order: day/month/year. *NOM* (see note 48) stands for *New Orleans Music*, a British quarterly.

1. See KGzH, "Ma Rainey – Part 4", *DJM* 211 (December 2010), pp. 9-11.
2. *IF*, 10/04/1915, p. 5.
3. Recommended listening: the CDs *Sophie Tucker: Origins of the Red Hot Mama, 1910-1922* (Archeophone ARCH 5010) and *May Irwin & Clarice Vance: The High Priestess of Jollity & The Southern Singer* (Archeophone ARCH 5015).
4. See e.g. KGzH, "Ma Rainey – Part 3", *DJM* 210 (September 2010), pp. 11-12.
5. Guy B. Johnson, "Double Meaning in the Popular Negro Blues", *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. 22 No. 1 (April-June 1927), p. 12. Johnson and Howard W(ashington) Odum (1884-1954) co-authored the landmark collections *The Negro and His Songs: A Study of Typical Songs in the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1925) and *Negro Workaday Songs* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1926).
6. See KGzH, "Mortonia and More 7: Cow Cow Davenport and K. G. Barkoot", *DJM* 205 (June 2009), pp. 8-15.
7. Cow-Cow Davenport, "Cow-Cow and the Boogie-Woogie", *The Jazz Record*, No. 5 (15 April 1943),

- p.3.
8. I saw the American Folk Blues Festival (AFBF) concert at the Glocke in Bremen on 13 October 1967. Part of the itinerary published on page 7 of the booklet of the DVD *Legends of the American Folk Blues Festivals, Vol. 3* (Tropical Music 68.364) is faulty. By the way, I took part in the AFBF TV show in Cologne (Germany) on 14 October 1968, to be seen and heard on the same DVD.
9. The other members of this troupe were Sonny Terry, Brownie McGhee, Koko Taylor, Little Walter, Hound Dog Taylor, Dillard Crume and Odie Payne. Son House's "Death Letter Blues" left the deepest impression as far as I'm concerned – see and hear him perform that song in 1967 at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8jN5vqEyV7g>. This video and Skip James's 1931 recording of "Devil Got My Woman" (Paramount 13088) are my desert island blues tracks.
10. See e.g. "Muddy Waters" (interviewed by Jim & Amy O'Neal in 1974/80/81), *Living Blues*, No. 64 (March-April 1985), pp. 16-17; and Dick Waterman, "Son House" (obituary), *Living Blues*, No. 84 (January-February 1989), pp. 48-50.
11. Keith Richards and Mick Jagger formed the Rolling Stones after being turned on by the LP *The Best of Muddy Waters* (Chess LP-1427) – see Richards, "Foreword", in Robert Gordon, *Can't Be Satisfied: The Life and Times of Muddy Waters* (Boston et al.: Brown, Little, 2002), pp. xi-xii. Richards and Eric Clapton contributed enthusiastic essays to the booklet of the 2-CD set *Robert Johnson: The Complete Recordings* (Columbia 467246 2).
12. See KGzH, "Two Days in Memphis", *Blues Unlimited*, No. 61 (April 1969), pp. 4-6.
13. One of his Bremen concerts took place at the Postaula on 11 March 1975. It was recorded by Radio Bremen and can be heard on the LP *Bukka White: Country Blues* (Sparkasse in Concert 1/75).
14. I didn't tape White's recollections, but took some notes. What he told me resembles part of his 1967 interview with Bob West et al. – see "Bukka White", *Blues & Rhythm*, No. 189 (May 2004), p. 7.
15. See Stephen Calt & Gayle Wardlow, *King of the Delta Blues: The Life and Music of Charlie Patton* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), p. 63.
16. See Calt & Wardlow, *Patton*, p. 63-64. These statements were ignored by mainstream blues scholars.
17. See KGzH, "Ma Rainey – Part 2", *DJM* 209 (June 2010), p. 8; and "Rainey 4", p. 15n32.
18. See "Son House", *Living Blues*, No. 31 (March-April 1977), p. 14.
19. See and hear the beginning of the DVD *Legends of the Delta Blues* (Vestapol 13038). House's statement was ignored by mainstream blues scholars.
20. See KGzH, "Ma Rainey – Part 1", *DJM* 208 (March 2010), p. 6.

21. KGzH, *Deep South Piano: The Story of Little Brother Montgomery* (London: Studio Vista, 1970), p. 10.
22. See e.g. KGzH, "Rainey 2", pp. 8-15; "Rainey 3", pp. 11-19; "Rainey 4", pp. 9-16; and "Ma Rainey - Part 5" (March 2011), pp. 7-17.
23. See e.g. Jeff Todd Titon, *Early Downhome Blues: A Musical and Cultural Analysis* (Urbana et al.: University of Illinois Press, 1977), pp. 6-7n10; David Evans, *Big Road Blues: Tradition and Creativity in the Folk Blues* (Berkeley et al.: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 175, 180, 182, 199, 255; Giles Oakley, *The Devil's Music: A History of the Blues* (New York: Taplinger, 1977 [1976]), p. 155; Robert Palmer, *Deep Blues* (New York: Viking, 1981), pp. 51, 57; William Barlow, *"Looking Up at Down": The Emergence of Blues Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), pp. 35, 54; Francis Davis, *The History of the Blues* (New York: Hyperion, 1995), p. 101; and Ted Gioia, *Delta Blues: The Life and Times of the Mississippi Masters Who Revolutionized American Music* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), pp. 112, 124. Current blues historiography seems to be guided by wishful thinking rather than hard evidence.
24. See KGzH, "Rainey 2", pp. 8-10.
25. See e.g. Peter C. Muir, *Long Lost Blues: Popular Blues in America, 1850-1920* (Urbana et al.: University of Illinois Press, 2009), pp. 191-195.
26. See e.g. KGzH, "Saint Louis, 1904 (Part 1)", *DJM* 185 (June 2004), p. 23; "Rainey 3", p. 11; and "Rainey 4", p. 9.
27. "One o' Them Things!" rightfully plays a central role in David Lee Joyner's doctoral thesis *Southern Ragtime and Its Transition to Published Blues* (Memphis State University, August 1986). According to Joyner (p. 160), "[t]he earliest indisputable evidence of incorporating blues into a printed rag is 'One O' Them Things' [*sic* Joyner] by James Chapman and Leroy Smith, published by the small St. Louis firm of Joseph Placht and Sons in 1904". Joyner's dissertation was supervised by Major Professor David H. Evans, who later wrote *The NPR Curious Listener's Guide to Blues* (New York: Perigee, 2005). This book contains a special chapter titled "Blues as Sheet Music" (p. 21), but "One o' Them Things!" was left out once more - see e.g. KGzH, "Rainey 3", pp. 11, 18n16.
28. See e.g. KGzH, "Rainey 4", pp. 10, 15n11. There is a typo in note 11 - "p. 19" should read "p. 10".
29. See e.g. Chris Albertson, *Bessie*, 2nd ed. (New Haven et al.: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 72, 82.
30. See KGzH, "Rainey 2", pp. 10, 14n29.
31. Lovie Austin, interviewed by William (Bill) Russell in Chicago on 25 April 1959, transcribed by Richard B. (Dick) Allen (Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University Library, New Orleans), pp. 14-15 (courtesy of Alex van der Tuuk, March 2011). This interview was also quoted in van der Tuuk, *Paramount's Rise and Fall: A History of the Wisconsin Chair Company and Its Recording Activities* (Denver: Mainspring Press, 2003), p. 75; and Bo Lindström & Dan Vernhettes, *Traveling Blues: The Life and Music of Tommy Ladnier* (Paris: Jazz'Edit, 2009), p. 65. Another part of the Austin interview was published in Russell's monumental book "Oh, Mister Jelly": *A Jelly Roll Morton Scrapbook* (Copenhagen: JazzMedia, 1999), pp. 351-352.
32. Chris Albertson, liner notes to the LP *Alberta Hunter with Lovie Austin's Blues Serenaders* (Riverside RLP 418).
33. Jack Neely, "The Secret Diva of Louise Avenue", *The Southerner*, Vol. 2 No. 2 (Summer 2000) - see http://www.southerner.net/v2n2_2000/sounds1.html. Paraphrasing what Cox told Westergaard about her early days in show business, Neely wrote: "Sometimes she'd illustrate her lyrics with a 'shimmy dance.' Men would come see her shows and enjoy them in the same way they might have enjoyed a strip-tease show." For more information on the interaction between rag and blues singing and erotic/exotic dancing see KGzH, "Rainey 1", pp. 9-11"; "Rainey 2", pp. 10-13; "Rainey 3", pp. 12-13; "Rainey 4", p. 13; and "Rainey 5", pp. 8-10.
34. These debuts were originally issued on the Paramount label and reissued on the CDs *Ida Cox - Vol. 1 (1923)* (Document DOCD-5322) and *Ma Rainey - Vol. 1 (December 1923 to c. August 1924)* (Document DOCD-5581). Ladnier's contributions to these sides are detailed and analyzed in Lindström & Vernhettes, *Traveling Blues*, pp. 68-82 - recommended reading.
35. Peter Muir defines titular blues "as works that were originally titled using either the formula '(The) (x) Blues' (examples: 'The Memphis Blues,' 'New York Tango Blues') or the formula 'I've got the (x) blues' (examples: 'I've Got the Blues,' 'I've Got the Weary Blues and Don't Know What to Do')" - see <http://longlostblues.com/blues-list/>.
36. See KGzH, "Rainey 4", pp. 9-11.
37. See KGzH, "Rainey 4", p. 9.
38. See Peter C. Muir, *Long Lost Blues: Popular Blues in America, 1850-1920* (Urbana et al.: University of Illinois Press, 2009), *passim*.
39. *IF*, 03/12/1910, p. 6.
40. *IF*, 14/01/1911, p. 8. According to Lynn Abbott & Doug Seroff, *Ragged but Right: Black Traveling Shows, "Coon Songs," and the Dark Pathway to Blues and Jazz* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007), pp. 395-396n175, this duo consisted of "Dude" Kelley [*sic* Abbott & Seroff] and Amon Davis.
41. See e.g. KGzH, "Rainey 4", p. 9.
42. *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, 11 July 1915 - see www.omf.paris.sorbonne.fr/IMG/pdf/1915_article_Seagrove.pdf. This transcription contains some typos.
43. Paul Whiteman & Mary Margaret McBride, *Jazz*

- (New York: J. H. Sears, 1926), pp. 241-242. That Mueller was a remarkable blues player (on clarinet) and composer can be heard on Whiteman's 1920 recording of "Wang-Wang Blues", reissued on the CD *Paul Whiteman: "King of Jazz" - 1920-1927* (Timeless CBC 1-093). Co-composer and bandmate Henry Busse (1894-1955), a cornetist and trumpeter, was musically literate. Like Leon Bix Beiderbecke (1903-31), Whiteman's future star cornetist, Mueller and Busse were German-Americans.
44. The story of Tolliver's shows is thoroughly documented in Abbott & Seroff, *Ragged but Right*, pp. 124-156, 357-360.
 45. *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 150.
 46. See e.g. *IF*, 26/06/1915, p. 5.
 47. See e.g. Bill Russell, *New Orleans Style* (New Orleans: Jazzology Press, 1994), pp. 218-221.
 48. See e.g. KGzH, "Who Was the Leader of Charles Bolden's Orchestra?", *NOM*, Vol. 5 No. 2 (December 1994), pp. 6-10; "The Case of the Missing Violinist and Bassist", *NOM*, Vol. 5 No. 3 (March 1995); "The Case of the Missing Guitarist and Violinist", *NOM*, Vol. 5 No. 5 (September 1995), pp. 14-16; "The Case of the Missing String Trio", *NOM*, Vol. 6 No. 2 (June 1996), pp. 15-19; and "The Case of the Missing Drummer", *NOM*, Vol. 7 No. 5 (September 1998), pp. 20-24.
 49. See e.g. KGzH, "Leipzig, 1895 (Part 1)", *DJM* 193 (June 2006), pp. 9-20; and "Leipzig, 1895 (Part 2)", *DJM* 194 (September 2006), pp. 5-18.
 50. See e.g. Adam Arenson, *The Great Heart of the Republic: St. Louis and the Cultural Civil War* (Cambridge et al.: Harvard University Press, 2011), pp. 107-130.
 51. See e.g. KGzH, "Chicago, 1893 (Part 1)", *DJM* 187 (December 2004), pp. 9-19; and "Chicago, 1893 (Part 2)", pp. 6-16. My relevant essay "The Orientalization of American Show Business: A Selective Timeline" (2011, not yet published in printed form) is presented online at http://www.muslimworldmusicday.com/essays_karl.html.
 52. Elgar's Creole Orchestra recorded four sides for Vocalion in Chicago in 1926. They were reissued on the CD *"Hot Stuff": Black Chicago Big Bands 1922-1929* (Frog DGF28).
 53. Al Rose & Edmond Souchon, *New Orleans Jazz: A Family Album* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967).
 54. *Ibid.*, p. 160 – see KGzH, "Bolden's Orchestra", p. 8. Fairly recently, ethnomusicologist and clarinetist Gerhard Kubik tried to come to terms with my discovery that the seated clarinetist in the famous Bolden photo was probably playing the part of the violinist – see Kubik's article "The Mystery of the Buddy Bolden Photograph", *The Jazz Archivist*, Vol. 22 (2009), pp. 4-18.
 55. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
 56. One of my articles was based on an old picture and related data obtained from Bernhardt, viz. "Clyde, Mike and the Whitman Sisters", *Footnote*, Vol. 8 No. 3 (February 1977), pp. 16-22.
 57. Clyde Bernhardt with Sheldon Harris, *I Remember: Eighty Years of Black Entertainment, Big Bands, and the Blues* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986) – recommended reading.
 58. Clyde Bernhardt, letter to KGzH (Newark NJ, USA, 12 April 1977). See also Bernhardt, *I Remember*, pp. 24-26; and Sally Placksin, *Jazzwomen: 1900 to the Present* (London et al.: Pluto Press, 1985 [1982]), pp. 13-14.
 59. The instrumental line-up of Rainey's string band was probably violin, viola, bass violin, piano and drums – see Bernhardt, *I Remember*, pp. 24-25.
 60. Not all of these songs were published before 1918.
 61. The dance song "Walkin' the Dog" was written by Shelton Brooks and published by Will Rossiter (Chicago, 1916).
 62. In his letters of 14 November 1976 and 14 January 1977, Clyde confessed that he "didn't like Harrisburg, Pa. and came back to Badin, N.C.... My people was living in Badin, North Carolina, from 1916 until they moved from there in July 1919 to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania... I like the German people very, very much. We have lots of German descent people at my home in North Carolina..." Danke, mein Freund!

Acknowledgments

I wish to thank Lynn Abbott, Dick Allen, Ali Antzar-Shbystary, Danny Barker, Bruce Bastin, Beke Beckmann, Clyde Bernhardt, Ernest Borneman, Stephen Calt, Peter Carr, Charles Chamberlain, Terry Dash, Charlie Elgar, Wilfried and Marion Engelage, David Evans, Dorette Frost, Bob George, David Griffiths, Friedrich Hachenberg, Heinz Hagemeyer, Mike Hazeldine, Georg Hildebrand, Son House, Skip James, B. B. King, Günther Kruse, Gerhard Kubik, Klaus Kuhnke, Werner Kunkel, Bo Lindström, Rainer Lotz, Rita Lücke, Barry Martyn, Manfred Miller, Peter Muir, Johnny Parth, Hans Pehl, Bruce Raeburn, Guido van Rijn, Bill Russell, Siegfried Schmidt-Joos, Peter Schulze, John Steiner, Volker Steppat, Michael Succow, Jeff Titon, Alex van der Tuuk, Bernhard Uhle, Dan Vernhettes, Al Vollmer, Gayle Dean Wardlow, Dick Waterman, Ian Watson, Gerd Wieben, Booker White, and my wife Monika.

© 2011 by Karl Gert zur Heide