



BREAKING RACIAL BARRIERS
'EVERYONE'S
WELCOME'
AT THE
OZARK
CLUB

GREAT FALLS, MONTANA'S
AFRICAN AMERICAN NIGHTCLUB

by Ken Robison



Originally a "colored" bar, the Ozark Club in the 1940s became a place where "everyone's welcome" and an institution in Great Falls and beyond. Leo LaMar is pictured surveying his domain while bartender Bruce Brown stands on the left and an unidentified customer is seated on the right.

Courtesy LaMar Family

Young Leo Phillip LaMar brought his hopes and dreams to Montana late in 1920. Born in Chicago in 1902, the son of an African American mother and a Chinese father, Leo had been abandoned by both his parents and run away from home at age thirteen. He began a boxing career in Chicago when he was about fifteen years old, fighting as “Kid Leo.” At 5 feet 7 inches and 130 pounds, with a light-brown complexion, Leo LaMar was a handsome young man, a fact often remarked on in newspaper stories about his boxing career. In his late teens, Lamar hired on with the Great Northern Railway and traveled around the country as a Pullman porter, but it was in Great Falls that Lamar’s drive and energy enabled him to transform a small “colored” social club into a renowned nightclub, where young and old, blacks and whites gathered to play and listen to jazz. LaMar’s Ozark Club broke racial barriers and anchored nightlife on the Southside of Great Falls for almost three decades.¹

The Great Falls that Leo LaMar encountered when he stepped off the train at the Great Northern depot was bursting with energy. Fueled by growth during World War I and the homestead boom, the town had nearly doubled in population over the previous decade to twenty-four thousand, making it the second largest in Montana. Great Falls was principally an industrial city, with three Montana Power Company hydroelectric power stations on the Missouri River, a never-failing water supply; large coal deposits nearby; and gas and oil fields to the north, all contributing to economic development. The refining of copper and zinc and manufacturing of copper wire drew large numbers of workers to Great Falls, many of them immigrants, and the city’s largest employers were the Anaconda Copper Mining Company refineries and the extensive repair shops of the Great Northern Railway.²

Great Falls’s black residents lived on the lower Southside, a dense and ethnically mixed working-class neighborhood extending from First to Tenth Avenue South and from Second through Twelfth Street South. Black residents worked for the Great Northern and Milwaukee railroads and downtown service industries. They lived in black hotels, railroad porters’ quarters, and modest family homes, and they worshipped at the black churches. Unofficial though pervasive segregation and discrimination

placed many constraints on African Americans. For example, blacks were barred from restaurants and nightclubs except those few operated by blacks on the Southside. Nor could they join labor unions, and thus they were excluded from the best-paying jobs in the refineries and repair yards.³

The original social hub of the African American community was the Union Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church at 916 Fifth Avenue South, organized by the first black residents of Great Falls in 1890. From 1891, when the AME Church opened, through good times and bad, the church served as the cultural, social, political, and religious heart of the black community. The women of Union Bethel were the church’s “soul” through their loyalty, hard work, and dedication. Great Falls’s second black congregation, Immanuel Baptist, organized in 1920, and by early 1922 members had dedicated a new church at the eastern edge of the Southside neighborhood, at the corner of Twelfth Street and Fifth Avenue South. That year, the AME Church visited every black family to complete a survey of the community. It showed



Courtesy the author

The Union Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church was the center of the Great Falls black community. The second of two buildings, this 1917 brick veneer edifice replaced the original one-story frame church built in 1891.

that 39 percent (71 of the 183 respondents) preferred the AME Church, and 11 percent were affiliated with the new Baptist Church. There were six Roman Catholic respondents, two Episcopalians, and one Christian Scientist. Fifty-three percent had no church affiliation.⁴

The Southside's other social hubs were the "colored" social clubs—the Lime Kiln, Maple Leaf, Porters' Quarters, Rainbow Colored, Manhattan, and the most successful, the Ozark Club. These clubs provided entertainment and, in some cases, rooms, and were centers for black nightlife. From the early 1890s on, they opened and closed, changed locations, and frequently drew police raids to suppress fights or craps and other gambling games. The

original Ozark Club was a nightclub operating at 119 Second Avenue South. When it incorporated as the Ozark Colored Club in June 1909, it counted 147 members, with only blacks eligible for membership. William Williams, a railroad porter, served as president. By 1916, the Ozark had moved to the second floor of the original fire station, a building owned by the city of Great Falls and within a half block of the police station. This club featured a bar and game room, and membership grew to more than 200, with white men occasionally visiting as guests of club members.⁵

The enactment of the National Prohibition Act on January 16, 1920, made the manufacture, transportation, and sale of alcoholic beverages illegal in the United States, though, ironically, it was not illegal to drink alcohol. The Ozark Club continued operations, serving soft drinks on the surface and alcohol under the table. It offered gambling on the side, and it became the informal boxing training center until the club closed in about 1922.⁶

In 1920, the federal census recorded 209 black residents of Great Falls. Of the 85 people who responded to the AME Church's 1922 survey about employment questions, most worked in low-paying



Great Falls Tribune, Feb. 14, 1921, p. 6

As "Kid Leo," LaMar made a name for himself in Great Falls, a major fight center in the 1920s, winning most of his bouts, sometimes against much heavier boxers. LaMar's fighting name and reputation stayed with him for many years.

service industry jobs. The survey showed just 5 college graduates and 2 graduates of musical conservatories. Without access to higher-paying union jobs and with just a handful of professionals in the black community, upward mobility was limited and generational prospects relatively bleak.⁷

In this milieu, Leo LaMar's opportunities were better than most. He arrived in Great Falls with a railroad job and boxing

talent, and his timing was right. In 1919, the Montana legislature made boxing legal for the first time since defeat of the Kiley boxing law in 1914, with the provision that a portion of proceeds from matches go "for the benefit of soldiers, sailors and marines." Butte, Helena, Great Falls, and other Montana cities organized the boxing commissions required by law by January 1921, with Great Falls and Butte emerging as the state's leading boxing centers. Great Falls was home to standout boxers Pete Bross, Al Rossberg, Joe Simonich, and "Kid Leo" LaMar—and it would bring heavyweight champion Jack Dempsey to town for six weeks of training in 1923 before his championship fight in Shelby, Montana, on July 4.⁸

By January 1921, Kid Leo was training regularly at the Ozark Club with other black boxers. On January 26, the *Great Falls Tribune* made note of Leo LaMar for the first time, reporting on a scheduled match between "Two dusky scrappers from Chicago": "Rough" Reed, a World War I veteran, and "Kid Leo," who "has proved himself able to deliver the goods in Chicago and Minneapolis." In the first boxing card arranged by the new American Legion Athletic Association, LaMar fought as a lightweight in a six-round preliminary before a packed house of fifteen

hundred at the Grand Opera House on February 14, 1921. His opponent was more experienced, yet Kid Leo defeated the heavier Reed in two rounds. Sports-writers reported that Kid Leo “took the ‘Rough’ out of ‘Rough’ Reed,” calling LaMar “one of the cleverest youngsters who ever appeared here.” Kid Leo was making a name for himself.⁹

“Kid Leo, the Yellow Hammer” fought his second bout on the American Legion card June 20 against Billy Smith, billed as the “Darktown Terror.” Smith was known as a fancy boxer, and as the *Great Falls Leader* boxing reporter wrote, “a great many of the colored boxers in the city do not care to step into the ring with Billy.” Outweighing his opponent by more than a dozen pounds, Smith fouled Leo with a low blow in the first round. A doctor examined Leo, but he was cleared to go on. As the four-round fight continued, Smith kept swinging for a knockout while Kid Leo hammered away until Smith was “groggy and distressed.” The fight was declared a draw. The *Leader* declared Leo “far the more clever boxer, and made a showing against the larger man like a truck load of pork chops.”¹⁰

Great Falls flourished as a major fight center during the next five years, regularly drawing crowds of well over a thousand to the Grand Opera House. Kid Leo served as sparring partner and fought occasional matches, often against heavier boxers and always with favorable press coverage. During 1921–1922, he was undefeated, winning three bouts and drawing two. His next known fight did not come until 1925, with two bouts against Young Trotchie, a Métis from Havre who had a ten-pound weight advantage. When Leo drew the first fight and lost the second against the talented Trotchie, he ended his boxing career. However, LaMar’s reputation stayed with him over the years. Two decades later, in 1945, when heavyweight champion Joe Louis visited military bases in Great Falls, the *Tribune* paid tribute to Kid Leo with a photo and a caption saying, “Remember Him? Boxing talk revives memories of Kid Leo whose speedy fists won him many fights here in the past.”¹¹

Leo LaMar balanced boxing with his job as dining-car waiter, but his attention was diverted from both when he met sixteen-year-old Garneil Winburn. The two married on October 23, 1923. Garneil’s father, Roy Winburn, was a World War I veteran wounded in a German gas attack. Her mother, Mollie,

was the daughter of Edward and Elizabeth Simms, Great Falls’s first black residents and longtime leaders of the black community. The new Mrs. Leo LaMar carried on the tradition of Simms family involvement in the Union Bethel AME Church, helping with social activities including frequent fund-raising dinners. She and her mother were active in the Dunbar Art and Study Club, formed by women of the Union Bethel in 1917. Over the next several decades, the Dunbar Club led the Great Falls black community in charitable and literary deeds and in promoting civil rights. It represented the city in the statewide Federation of Negro Women’s Clubs.¹²

The LaMars lived in the Simms-Winburn family home at 519 Sixth Avenue South, and Leo LaMar joined his wife in church activities, including the 1924 Christmas pageant, “The Nativity of Christ,” in which Garneil was cast as Mary and Leo as Joseph. In the years that followed, they had four children: Aline Cleo, known as Sugar, born October 26, 1924; Leo Phillip Jr., or Brother, born July 21, 1927; Mollie, born March 21, 1932; and Bernice, or Bunny, born September 19, 1934. Garneil LaMar raised her children in the AME Church, and in 1933 when the church organized a special choir under a director brought from Los Angeles, Garneil and the two oldest children were among the fifty-five choir members.¹³

Nineteen thirty-three was the year that Leo LaMar, trading on his dining-car experience, opened his own business. By 1933, the nation was ready to scrap Prohibition and have a legal drink. On December 5, Montana became “wet,” and on that day LaMar opened a “colored” members-only club. The new Ozark Club operated from a small house at 413½ Fourth Alley South, between Third and Fourth Streets. Two days later, LaMar and Roger Berry, his bartender, were arrested for serving “intoxicating liquor” to a fifteen-year-old boy. District court judge H. H. Ewing ruled that “Leo Lamars [*sic*] had no connection with the offense charged,” and his case was dismissed, although Berry was later fined. The acquittal marked a trend that continued for the rest of LaMars’s life—Kid Leo had a special status in Great Falls.¹⁴

In his early years as a club owner, Leo LaMar continued to work for the Great Northern, and during his absence, John F. “Frenchy” Christian managed the new club; Ben Winburn, Garneil LaMar’s brother,



Union Bethel AME Church hosted the fifteenth annual convention of the Montana Federation of Negro Women's Clubs July 29–30, 1936. Garneil Lamar participated despite being pregnant with her fifth child. Tragically, a week later, she and her baby died in childbirth, leaving her husband, son Leo Jr., and daughters Cleo, Mollie, and Bernice.

Titter Studio, photographer, MHS Photograph Archives, Helena, PAC 2002-36.5

bartended; and Earl L. Thornton provided musical entertainment. Just six months after opening, the Ozark became the scene of the first murder in Great Falls in over two years when entertainer Earl Thornton shot Richard Chivers, a New Deal Civil Works Administration worker, over the latter's charge that the Ozark was being mismanaged. Thornton was convicted and sentenced to thirty years in prison.¹⁵

Despite the end of Prohibition, homemade moonshine kept flowing in Great Falls as bar owners sought to avoid paying federal excise taxes. In December 1934, Frenchy Christian and Ben Winburn were charged with serving moonshine liquor at the Ozark Club, then located in a larger, two-story building at 312½ Fifth Alley South, though these charges eventually were dismissed. The next year, the Ozark Club moved again, to 914 Second Street South. That April, the club was raided, and Leo LaMar was charged with

obstructing a federal agent; the case was one of the first under a statute that laid down rules regarding federal officers entering a place where tax-paid goods were dispensed. LaMar demanded a preliminary hearing, and U.S. Commissioner of Revenue O. B. Kotz dismissed the charge. Later in 1935, the Ozark Club moved to its final location at 116–118 Third Street South on the upper floor of a wood-frame building, above the popular Alabama Chicken Shack Restaurant.¹⁶

While Leo was balancing his time between the Great Northern and managing the nightclub, his wife and her mother, Mollie Winburn, continued to be leaders in the AME Church. In July 1936, the Montana Federation of Negro Women's Clubs held its fifteenth annual convention in Great Falls. Garneil LaMar and other members of the Dunbar Art and Study Club served as hostesses; Garneil was an

active participant despite being pregnant with her fifth child. The Montana Federation elected her to state office as historian. Tragically, one week later, on August 4, Garneil LaMar, just twenty-eight years old, died with her baby in childbirth, leaving her husband, son, and three daughters. Sugar LaMar, then thirteen years old, remembers her mother as “sweet. . . . Everybody loved her.”¹⁷

The lives of the LaMars and the Ozark Club changed dramatically with Garneil’s death. Mollie Winburn took over the challenge of raising the small

children while Leo LaMar continued his circuit on the Great Northern, working from Great Falls to Havre, back to Great Falls, then to Butte over a ten-day period. During his time in Butte, he frequented the Silver City Club, which had been operated by Frank A. Yamer since 1917. While other “colored” nightclubs came and went, the Silver City Club was a permanent fixture of the city. It was one of the “swingest” and most violent places in Butte. Leo LaMar became friends with Yamer, and in a police gambling raid on the club in May 1937 both were



Courtesy LaMar Family

arrested and released on sixty-dollar bail. At the Silver City Club, Leo also met Frank's wife, Grace, and her younger sister Charlene Beatrice Jeffers. Bea, as she was known, had been born in September 14, 1902, in Knoxville, Iowa, where she later graduated from high school and completed two years of college before coming to Butte. There, Bea attended Butte Business College while living with the Yamars. Leo LaMar married Bea Jeffers at the Silver Bow County Courthouse in Butte on August 24, 1937, and she soon became an active partner in the Ozark operation.¹⁸



Another change in the LaMars' lives occurred in the late 1930s when Leo began to suffer medical problems. After the doctors in Great Falls found no answers, he spent a month at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota, where doctors discovered he had diabetes. Leo decided to end his service with the Great Northern to devote full attention to the thriving Ozark Club. Thereafter, police raids and violence at the club lessened as LaMar imposed greater discipline on his employees and patrons and built closer ties with the city's leaders.¹⁹

The outbreak of World War II in 1941 brought thousands of workers to Great Falls. Soldiers arrived to operate two new U.S. Army air bases: Gore Field Air Base, where the Seventh Ferrying Group was stationed at the militarized civilian airport at Gore Hill, and the newly constructed Great Falls Army Air Base, informally known as East Base, home of the Second Bomber Group. These major commands also required large numbers of civilian workers. The population of Great Falls exploded from 30,000 in 1940 to an estimated 45,500 in 1944. Wartime Great Falls was bursting with workers seeking housing and entertainment.²⁰

The war was also a catalyst for change in the Great Falls black community. By early 1943, several hundred black soldiers had arrived at the bases. They wanted fun in their off-duty hours, but they were not welcome at Great Falls restaurants, nightclubs, or even the new downtown United Service Organizations (USO) Club. Black servicemen joined the Union Bethel and Immanuel Baptist churches, and the local black community hastily organized a small black USO Club. However, it was at the Ozark Club that the soldiers found fun, music, and dancing.²¹

Early in the war, LaMar had quietly and successfully broadened the club's patron base to an interracial crowd under the motto "Everyone's welcome."

With the outbreak of World War II and the influx of soldier and civilian workers to Great Falls, the Ozark Club became an entertainment sensation open to a multiracial crowd. Tenor sax man Bob Mabane, who had played with the nationally acclaimed Jay McShann Band in Kansas City, anchored the Ozark Boys, the club's house band. Mabane's presence meant that the Ozark Club attracted some of the country's best jazz musicians. With Mabane, left, are Chuck Reed on piano and Dick Brown on drums.



Traveling musicians, singers, exotic dancers, and other performers took the stage at the Ozark nightly. Many would later achieve national fame, including musicians Oscar Dennard, Stan Turrentine, Ellsworth Brown, and comedian Redd Foxx. Torch singers such as Vivian Dandridge (above) and striptease artist Miss Wiggles (opposite) also performed at the Ozark.

The club incorporated as a nonprofit, the Ozark Club, Inc., on September 6, 1944, officially ending its status as a “colored” club. It was formed “to establish, maintain and manage a club for mutual improvement and the promotion of social intercourse and companionship among its members . . . and to assist in any matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the members for the attainment of the highest order of American citizenship.” Leo and Beatrice LaMar, club employees Marguerite Elliott and John F. Christian, and local black businessmen Phil Chadwell and Walter Cummings served as directors.²²

The Ozark Club’s strategy for success rested on an exceptional package anchored by a talented house band. The key element of the band was a tenor sax man, Robert Mabane Jr., who had come up through

Kansas City early in the bebop jazz era. Bebop, or bop, developed as a revolt against the restrictions on creative freedom typical of big bands during the swing era. Bebop began in the late 1930s in Kansas City and St. Louis and featured longer and more complex solos—a bop musician might never play a piece the same way twice. Young Bob Mabane, from Memphis, Tennessee, joined the Jay McShann Band in 1940 just as “Hootie” McShann was achieving national fame with his bebop Kansas City sound. Mabane played tenor sax side by side with the young musical genius Charlie “Bird” Parker on the alto sax until 1942 when Parker left the band. Mabane himself enjoyed success as a soloist, playing “an eclectic tenor saxophone style, sounding a bit like Hershel Evans on slow numbers and blues and Lester Young

on riff numbers.” He continued until the band was disbanded two years later.²³

Bob Mabane arrived in Great Falls in 1948, after spending time in Denver, to assume leadership of the Ozark Club house band, the Ozark Boys, consisting of former leader Chuck Reed on piano, Dick Brown on drums, and himself leading on tenor sax. Thereafter, the Ozark Club achieved fame for featuring jazz musicians, black and white, from all over the nation. It was known for being the only place in Montana where one could hear a live jazz band six nights a week. Mabane formed a close friendship with Leo and Bea LaMar, and in 1950 he married Modena Jeffers, a niece of Bea’s from Iowa. The LaMars opened the Ozark Café, featuring ribs and fried chicken, on the street level below the club, and Modena Mabane was named manager.²⁴

For the next decade, the Ozark Boys took the stage every night except Sunday with piano, drums, and tenor sax—playing their theme song “Jumpin’ with Symphony Sid” and moving on to jazz classics like “Body and Soul” as well as new tunes. The band played without sheet music and with plenty of verve and a search for style. An observer in 1960 wrote:

The musicians may be wildly happy; but more often they are tense and serious while they play. On an old-timer like *Sweet Georgia Brown*, the sax player’s eyes are tightly shut while his instrument wails and sobs; the drummer’s eyes are large and serious; the drum beats come like explosions, like staccato bursts of gunfire; the piano player hunches over his keyboard, mouthing words while his foot taps and his fingers ramble over the bass keys. With smooth co-ordination, the solo jumps from one player to another. Smooth yet spontaneous: this is real art, and it has been years in the building.²⁵

In addition to the Ozark Band, Ozark Club entertainment included vocalists, exotic dancers, and comedians. The club became a major stop on the northern “Chitlin Circuit,” a string of performance venues safe and acceptable for African American entertainers that extended from the Fox Theatre in Detroit through Chicago, Minneapolis, and Great Falls to the West Coast. Some of these entertainers would later achieve fame. Top musicians Oscar Dennard, Stan Turrentine, Ellsworth Brown, Pops

Teasely, and many others played with the band. Creed Jackson, master of tap, who at age ninety explained his life of tap dancing by saying, “Just pick your feet up and start,” performed at the club. Young Redd Foxx practiced his early raunchy comedy routines. Torch singers such as Vivian Dandridge and Myra Taylor lit up the cold Montana nights. Female impersonator Mario Costello was billed as “The World’s Most Glamorous Boy.” Infamous striptease artist Miss Wiggles, “the Wiggleinest woman in the West,” brought down the house with her contortions while dancing upside down on a chair and stripping to pasties and a G-string.²⁶

A night at the Ozark was an exciting experience. Nestled on the edge of the railroad district, it was

NEWS BULLETIN!
Wiggles Sends Temperatures Soaring at the Ozark Club

Great Falls—With most of Great Falls shivering from sub-zero weather, Ozark Club goes basked in torrid temperatures throughout this week with the forecast for even warmer days and a rapidly rising mercury.

Source of this unusual condition which hit the area of Third Street and Second Avenue South earlier this week was the phenomenal Miss Wiggles who has created chinook conditions wherever she appears.

Accompanying Miss Wiggles is the fabulous Evelyn White with vocals ranging from hot to hotter. No relief from these conditions is seen in the near future, according to local observers, and the mercury is expected to rise to an all-time high Sunday afternoon from 3 to 8 p.m. when several warm air masses congregate at the Ozark Club for their weekly Jam Session.

Are you suffering from the cold? Drop in at the banana belt of Great Falls . . . hear the hot licks of the O-Club Combo . . . watch the sizzling dance routines . . . hear Evelyn’s warming vocals . . . it’s a sure cure for cold-weather blues!

MISS WIGGLES

Great Falls Tribune, Dec. 8, 1956, 10

surrounded by seedy bars, cafés, hotels, and houses of ill repute.²⁷ Visitors, after walking several blocks past parked Hudsons and Studebakers, opened the door to the club and climbed the long, narrow, and poorly lit stairwell to the second floor, where Marguerite Elliott or one of Leo’s men looked them over. A waiter named Major Murdock, wearing a white coat and black bowtie, checked the identities of the young (even though he could not read or write). Once inside, patrons were seated at a small round table on

either side of the dance floor, facing the bandstand. Sipping drinks under the watchful eye of bartender Harvey Clayborn Jr., better known as Woogie, patrons got the feeling that everything was very orderly. If they were there to look and listen, they weren't bothered because the staff didn't push drinks and left people pretty much alone, remembered James Todd Jr.²⁸ In the dim and smoky room, Leo held court, a fixture at the bar. At 9:00 P.M., the O-Club Combo, with Bob Mabane playing a full tenor sax tone, warmed up the crowd with smooth jazz, playing songs like "Perdido" and "Harlem Nocturne." Partners—married couples, servicemen with local girls, and blacks with whites—hit the dance floor. Show time came at 10:30. Perhaps the music would shift to bump and grind or maybe a beautiful torch singer would take over, with Mabane's band serving up accompaniment of Kansas City swing. Two more shows followed over the next three hours. At two o'clock came sign-off time for the band, and the late-night crowd tromped down the long stairs and out into the dark evening.²⁹

Over the years, readers of the *Great Falls Tribune* followed the club's activities through Saturday morning advertisements that offered clever commentaries on the times, focusing on such topics as the Space Age, the Cold War, and UFOs. The O-Club ad used just before the 1954 election read:

FLASH! REPUBLICANS and DEMOCRATS AGREE! In a bulletin released from both Democrat and Republican National Headquarters both parties agreed—Anita is their candidate for the best

Great Falls Tribune, June 2, 1956

OZARK

HERE'S

Candy



A tantalizing bundle of sweet vocal charm! M-m-m . . . Candy . . . for those who like it sweet!

PLUS—Ted . . . the man with the golden voice! A top notch M.C.

DANCE

. . . every nite to the real live . . . lilting melodies of the O-CLUB COMBO!

Where everyone's welcome . . . all the time!

OZARK

118 3rd St. S.

entertainment! See and Hear Anita Dare at the Ozark Club Tonight.

When a new singer, Candy, arrived, the ad cajoled readers with seductive copy:

Here's Candy A tantalizing bundle of sweet vocal charm! M-m-m . . . Candy . . . for those who like it sweet! PLUS—Ted . . . the man with the golden voice! A top notch M. C. DANCE every nite to the real live . . . lilting melodies of the O-Club COMBO! Where everyone's welcome . . . all the time!³⁰

Two blocks north, on Central Avenue, everyone was not welcome at the clubs and restaurants. Great Falls had several prominent night-clubs—the 3-D, the Terrace Room at the Park Hotel, the Horizon Club, and the Jockey Club—on Central Avenue and across the Missouri River in Black Eagle. These clubs offered top-quality music, featuring occasional traveling black musical acts, but they were not open to black patrons. Nor did local black musicians perform. The strong musicians' union in Great Falls did not allow any non-union musician to perform, and blacks were not allowed to join the union. Any given Sunday, however, several clubs featured evening jam sessions where musicians, black and white, went to have fun on their day off. Bob Mabane played at these jam sessions on occasion, and local musicians often reciprocated by attending Ozark Club jam sessions.³¹

Black celebrities, sports figures, and traveling bands also knew that in Great Falls they were welcome only at the Ozark. When Sergeant



When boxing champion Joe Louis toured Great Falls army air bases in 1945, the town “wined and dined” him during the daytime, but the sergeant spent his evenings at the Ozark Club. Here, he posed (center) with Leo and Bea LaMar in the Ozark Club.

Joe Louis toured the air bases in 1945, he was “wined and dined” by military leaders during the daytime, but he spent his evenings at the Ozark Club. Pop Gates, Goose Tatum, and the Harlem Globetrotters spent their off-court hours at the Ozark during their annual visits to Great Falls. Teenage June Elliott, whose mother, Marguerite Elliott, prepared snacks at the club, remembers vividly the night Leo LaMar called the chief of police at home to gain permission for Lionel Hampton and his big band, who were arriving in Great Falls very late, to spend all night playing at the Ozark with the doors locked and the music continuing until morning light.³²

Jazz musicians came to the Ozark for jam sessions on Sunday afternoons. One young musician was Big Sandy farmhand Jack Mahood. Just back from World War II service, Mahood packed his bag, grabbed his alto sax, and weekly hopped on the “Galloping Goose” train to Great Falls. Sunday afternoon he’d be on the bandstand with his sax jamming alongside Bob Mabane and the Ozark Boys. Sixteen-year-old John Huber, after playing with his own Great Falls High School jazz quartet on Saturday night, headed for the Ozark with his trumpet on Sunday. According to Huber, Mabane taught him to play Duke Ellington blues songs like “Things Ain’t What They Used to Be,” expanded his understanding of how to integrate chords to jazz improvisation, and “kind of mentored me to listen for the blues changes from the piano player, and to get the feel of that type of jazz.”³³

Within the black community, Leo LaMar vied for leadership through civic activities and with the support of his growing workforce at the club. LaMar became president of the Great Falls National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in the mid-1940s, and Sugar LaMar joined her father in NAACP activities by serving as secretary. The Ozark Club was a co-sponsor with the NAACP of the “colored” Boy Scout Troop 21. Leo LaMar served as troop chairman, while Frenchy Christian was scoutmaster. Despite the good work by Leo LaMar, there was tension between Union Bethel Church and the Ozark Club during the 1940s and 1950s. June Elliott and Ruth Parker, who grew up on the Southside, remembered the split. Ruth Parker said her parents, stalwarts in Union Bethel, gave her a firm admonition: “Do not go to the Ozark Club.”³⁴

The Ozark Club did indeed have a shady side. A key element in Leo and Bea LaMar’s business was gambling. The small backroom at the Ozark Club had a pool table that was frequently used for games of chance. These games included craps and a Greek dice game called barboote. During World War II, Montana and the city of Great Falls legalized limited slot-machine gambling. In 1945, the Ozark Club legally operated two five-cent and one ten-cent slot machines, paying a small percentage to the city. By the late 1940s, Montana law prohibited slot machines, but illegal gambling and card games went on at the Ozark, quietly conducted and carefully controlled by Leo and generally tolerated by city police. On rare



Great Falls Tribune, Feb. 10, 1946, Parade sec., 12

Leo Lamar was a Great Falls civic leader, president of the NAACP, and chairman of a Boy Scout troop. The troop, sponsored by the NAACP and the Ozark Club, is pictured above with scoutmaster John Christian in 1946.

occasions, Ozark gambling became visible to the public. In July 1956, Roy A. “Boss” Harrison lost about five thousand dollars in a gambling game to Leo LaMar, and the *Tribune* covered the court case. The court ordered Harrison to pay one hundred dollars a month until the debt was paid, a verdict that underscores LaMar’s position in the community.³⁵

Bea LaMar operated another element of the Ozark Club’s offerings. In 1948, the LaMars bought the Thompson Hotel at 304½ First Avenue South, just half a block and around the corner from the club. On the ground level was Brown’s Furniture Company. By a separate entrance, stairs led up to the renamed LaMar Hotel, which became the residence for the LaMar family with quarters for members of the Ozark staff and band and for traveling entertainers. The LaMar suite included a living room decorated with O. C. Seltzer paintings, bedrooms, a kitchen, and a playroom for Brother’s daughter Charlene. The rest of the LaMar Hotel was given over to Bea’s house of prostitution.³⁶

The LaMars’ business operated smoothly through the mid-1950s, but by 1957 dark clouds were forming. That year, news stories broke, revealing sordid details of prostitution operations at the Doyle Apartments (the renamed LaMar Hotel). In testimony at the trial of her husband, Glenn E. Totterdell, for shooting Richard Brown, Helen Totterdell, a white LaMar employee, testified that she worked as a prostitute for Bea LaMar at the Doyle Apartments. She revealed that the cost of her services ranged from \$7.50 to \$25.00, that three other girls worked at the apartments, and that the entire second floor of the building was used for prostitution. As a result of the testimony and subsequent police investigation, abatement proceedings to shut down the Doyle Apartments began. In separate action, Bea LaMar was charged with keeping a house of prostitution and “with being a dissolute person who lives on the earnings of women of bad report.” Leo LaMar was charged with residing in a house of ill fame. Over the next eighteen months, furious legal battles were fought over the state abatement



Courtesy LaMar Family

Along with its licit fare, the Ozark Club also offered illegal entertainment. Dice and card games went on in the club’s back room, and the upper floor of the nearby LaMar Hotel housed Bea LaMar’s brothel.

action, twice involving the Montana Supreme Court and with lawyers of the stature of Wellington D. Rankin defending the LaMars. In the end, the Doyle Apartments remained open, and the LaMars emerged unscathed except in reputation.³⁷

The death of Brother LaMar’s second wife, Patricia, from a rifle gunshot wound to her abdomen brought more notoriety to the fam-

ily in 1959. The couple had had a stormy relationship, twice divorcing and reconciling, and the county coroner quickly ruled Patricia LaMar’s death a suicide without conducting an inquest. Two years later, in June 1961, Brother, together with four young friends, died in an early morning car-truck crash. It was a devastating blow to Leo Sr. and his son’s many friends. One year later, Leo LaMar Sr. died from a heart attack on June 20, 1962.³⁸

Leo LaMar’s death marked the end of an era and, coincidentally, the end of the Ozark Club. The club’s demise came three weeks later when a spectacular late-night fire forced the evacuation of about fifty staff and patrons as the Ozark Club burned to the ground.³⁹

In 1962, Great Falls was not the same place it had been when Leo LaMar arrived in 1920. Decade after decade, black civic organizations such as the NAACP and particularly the Dunbar Club, led by Union Bethel Church women such as Emma Riley Smith and her daughter Alma Smith Jacobs, had fought for civil rights in Montana. In 1945, for example, Dunbar Club members wrote letters supporting civil rights legislation to President Harry Truman and Montana congressmen and joined the mayor, unions, and the NAACP in opposing discrimination against young black figure skaters by a Southern-born instructor at the Great Falls Skating Club. In 1948, they successfully protested a local theater’s refusal to sell tickets to blacks. In 1950, after the integration of U.S. armed forces, Dunbar Club members served on an interracial

Insight into the Ozark Club's

story survived for posterity through a fortuitous meeting with retired Big Sandy farmer, musician, and art collector Jack Mahood, then eighty-six years of age. In 2005 interviews by musician Phil Aaberg and the author, Mahood reminisced about the early days of jazz in Great Falls, including the Ozark Club, where as a young alto sax player he had jammed with Bob Mabane and the band on Sunday afternoons. During the first interview session, Jack talked about the racial climate in Great Falls in 1950. When he and his wife, Dora, took Bob and Modena Mabane out to dinner, for example, they had a single choice: they could enter the dining room at the Park Hotel by a rear entrance and sit in a back booth. During the conversation, Mahood casually mentioned that he had Recordio disks recorded at the Ozark in about 1950. Jack brought his disks to next session, and the Ozark Club came alive as the sound of "Sweet Georgia Brown," "Lady Be Good," and other jazz classics filled the room. Phil Aaberg captured the moment: "Jack put the first disk on and dropped the needle. It was 'Royal Roost,' a tune named after a nightclub made famous by a Charlie Parker record. Honestly, the hair on the back of my neck stood straight up."⁴²

With Jack Mahood's recordings in hand, Phil Aaberg and the author worked with The History Museum to bring the Ozark Club back to life. The *Great Falls Tribune* published an extensive article about the Ozark Club and Leo LaMar and invited comment from readers. Stories poured in from across the country, from Alaska to Washington, D.C. Leo LaMar's daughters, Sugar and Bunny LaMar, who had not been back to Great Falls since their father's funeral, flew in from Los Angeles, bringing dozens of photographs. The wife and family of Ozark piano man Chuck Reed visited from Portland.⁴³

On the memorable night of June 7, 2007, forty-five years after its spectacular demise, the Ozark Club came back to life with "A Night at the Ozark" celebration at The History Museum, featuring live jazz and a packed house of over three hundred. An exhibit filled two rooms with photographs, handbills, and memorabilia—including the club's jukebox and Jack

Mahood's alto sax. From a stage re-created to look like the Ozark's, museum director Chris Morris welcomed the crowd by shouting out "How many of you came to the original Ozark Club?" At least one in four hands in the crowd shot up. Before the all-star cast of Montana jazz musicians played, the crowd heard two of the original Ozark disks and a short history of the club; then John Huber, a teenage Ozark jammer of the 1950s, played several songs with Phil Aaberg and his band. Throughout the evening, stories and reminiscences flowed. Leo LaMar's vision of a club where "Everyone's welcome," nurtured at a time in Great Falls when not everyone was welcome at most places, came alive as the Ozark flame reignited.⁴⁴

Since the first gala, there have been seven "Nights at the Ozark" that have brought nationally prominent jazz musicians to The History Museum; the most recent was held September 10–11, 2011, with Tommy Sancton and his New Orleans Legacy Jazz Band. The Ozark Club stage and a small display of Ozark material are still on display at The History Museum. The Ozark Club has its own multimedia website, maintained by the *Great Falls Tribune*, at www.greatfalls Tribune.com/multimedia/ozark.



Courtesy: the author

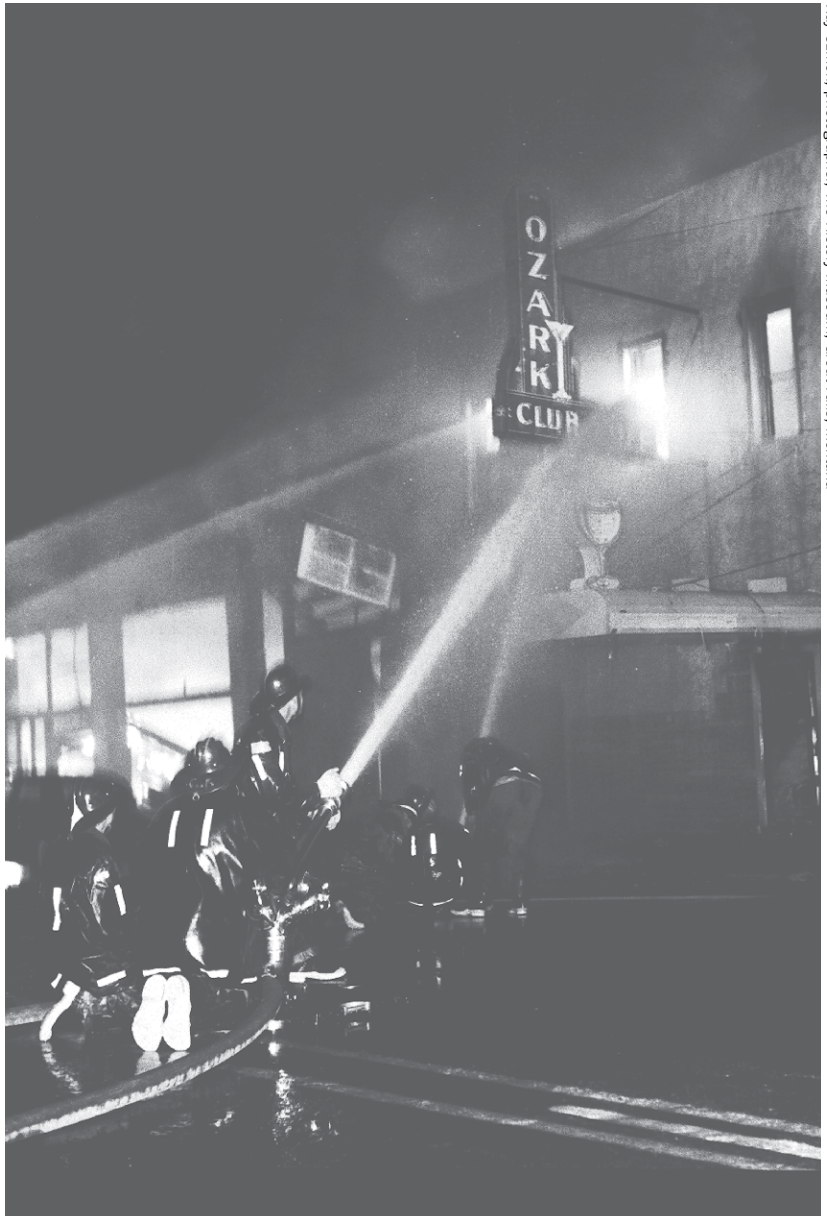
During an interview with the author and musician Phil Aaberg, Big Sandy resident Jack Mahood, then eighty-six-years old, revealed that he had disks recorded circa 1950 when he jammed with the Ozark Boys as a young alto sax player. With these recordings, the author's research on the Ozark Club, and the leadership of Aaberg and museum director Chris Morris, the Ozark Club came back to life at The History Museum. Above, the LaMar sisters, Bunny (left) and Sugar, enjoy the museum's first "Night at the Ozark" in June 2007.

Leo LaMar died of a heart attack in 1962. Three weeks later, a fire that started in the adjoining car repair shop burned the Ozark Club to the ground in a spectacular late-night fire. It was the end of an era in Great Falls.

committee to open access to local establishments for black airmen stationed at Malmstrom Air Force Base. Alma Smith Jacobs personally broke racial barriers when she was selected to serve as catalog librarian at the Great Falls Public Library in 1946 and then was appointed director of the library in 1954.⁴⁰

By 1960, the black community in Great Falls had grown significantly for the first time in four decades, with 311 residents in the city and another 206 blacks stationed at Malmstrom. Blacks could rent or buy houses throughout the city. Unions finally began to open membership. Churches increasingly welcomed black members. No longer were African Americans turned away from restaurants and nightclubs. Great Falls also began to acknowledge and celebrate black role models, including country music superstar Charlie Pride, a resident in the 1960s. The Great Falls minor league baseball team, with its Brooklyn and Los Angeles Dodgers affiliation, brought such future stars as John Roseboro and Eddie Reed to the city. Alma Smith Jacobs was Great Falls's Woman of the Year in 1957, and Emma Smith was named Great Falls Mother of the Year in 1967. Black students served as class officers at Great Falls High School. In 1974, Geraldine Travis was elected to House District 43, becoming Montana's first, and to date only, African American legislator.⁴¹

Although change was never easy and never quickly attained, Leo LaMar and his Ozark Club,



Ray Ozmon, photographer, The History Museum, Great Falls, Montana

where “Everyone’s welcome,” played an important part in transforming the Great Falls community.

Ken Robison is historian for the Overholser Historical Research Center in Fort Benton and the Great Falls/Cascade County Historic Preservation Commission. He has written two books, *Fort Benton* (Arcadia Publishing, 2009) and *Cascade County and Great Falls* (Arcadia Publishing, 2011). The Montana Historical Society named him a Montana Heritage Keeper in 2010, and The History Museum in Great Falls honored him with its Historic Legacy Award in 2011. Robison retired from the U.S Navy after a career in naval intelligence.

Notes

Breaking Racial Barriers

1. Sugar LaMar, phone interview by author, May 9, 2007. For their assistance, I thank Bob Harris, Frank and Mary Ghee, Lt. Col. Bob Payne, Rev. Mercedes Tudy-Hamilton, June Elliott, Robert Lindsey, Joel Marshall, Kathy Reed, Ruth Parker, Wade Parker, Dorothy Novotny Parker, Chris Morris, Karen Ogden, Judy Ellinghausen, Roy Harrison, James Gilbert Todd Jr., Linda Short, Katherine Reed, Pam Sibley, Barbara Behan, Patty Dean, Jack and Dora Mahood, John Huber, Janet Thomson, Neil Hebertson, Philip Aaberg, and especially the daughters of Leo LaMar, Sugar and Bunny LaMar. Leo's original name was Lamars—this was changed in the late 1930s to LaMar, which is used in this article.

2. R. L. Polk & Co.'s *Great Falls and Cascade County Directory*, 1919, 1921 (hereafter *Great Falls Directory* [year]), copies in Montana Room, Great Falls Public Library, Great Falls, Montana; *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920: Population of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1921); Works Progress Administration, *Great Falls Yesterday: Comprising a Collection of Bibliographies and Reminiscences of Early Settlers* (n.p., 1939), v–xv; William J. Furdell and Elizabeth Lane Furdell, *Great Falls: A Pictorial History* (Norfolk, Va., n.d.), 116; Richard B. Roeder, “A Settlement on the Plains: Paris Gibson and the Building of Great Falls,” *Montana The Magazine of Western History* (hereafter *Montana*), 42 (Autumn 1992), 4–19.

3. Ken Robison, *Cascade County and Great Falls* (Charleston, S.C., 2011), 42–43; Barbara Behan and Ken Robison, “National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Union Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church,” May 15, 2003 (hereafter “Union Bethel National Register nomination”), copy in the Montana State Historic Preservation Office, Helena. Discrimination in Great Falls was not limited to African Americans. From its beginning, Great Falls imposed a policy of total exclusion of Chinese, and not until George B. Wong arrived in 1938 did Great Falls have its first Chinese resident. Great Falls did have Native American residents, but they often lived in marginal conditions in camps on the outskirts, on the west bank of the Missouri and later Wire Mill Road, Mount Royal, and Hill 57. See *Great Falls Tribune* (hereafter *Tribune*), Sept. 12, 1943; *Great Falls Leader* (hereafter *Leader*), Oct. 3, 1958; Christopher William Merritt, “The Coming

Man from Canton’: Chinese Experience in Montana, 1862–1943” (PhD diss., University of Montana, 2010), 178. Unless otherwise noted, all newspapers cited were published in Montana.

4. “Union Bethel National Register nomination”; *Leader*, Sept. 24, Oct. 5, 1920, Aug. 25, 1921, Mar. 2, 1922. According to the U.S. census, by 1920 the largest black population centers of Montana—Butte (214 black residents), Great Falls (209), Helena (220), and Missoula (92)—were home to 48 percent of the state's black population. The U.S. censuses 1920–1950 show that while the black population dropped from 1,658 in 1920 to 1,256 ten years later, it then stabilized over the next two decades.

5. *Tribune*, June 30, 1909; *Leader*, June 16, 1910; *Tribune*, Sept. 15, 1916.

6. *Leader*, June 2, July 8, Nov. 10, 1921. Montana's own Prohibition Act took effect Dec. 31, 1918.

7. The professions listed in the results of the Union Bethel survey, published in the Sept. 24, 1920, *Leader*, included laborer, thirty-four; porter, ten; janitor, eight; rancher, five; chef, four; barber, two; mechanic, two; chauffeur, two; trucking and teaming, two; waiter, two; railroad clerk, two; maid, two; clerk, one; physician, one; lawyer, one; railroad fireman, one; and tailor, one.

8. Lester H. Loble, “The History of the Montana Veterans and Pioneers Memorial Building,” *Montana*, 1 (Jan. 1951), 15; *Leader*, Dec. 13, 1920, Jan. 7, 1921; Jason Kelly, *Shelby's Folly: Jack Dempsey, Doc Kearns, and the Shake-down of a Montana Boom Town* (Lincoln, Nebr., 2010), 100–102.

9. *Tribune*, Jan. 26, Feb. 13, 1921; *Leader*, Feb. 13, 14, 15, 1921. The *Tribune* reported LaMar's Chicago record as nine wins, one draw, and five losses in three years of fighting.

10. *Leader*, June 20, 21, 1921; *Tribune*, June 21, 1921.

11. *Leader*, Sept. 10, 1921, Feb. 25, May 3, 1922, Mar. 30, May 4, 1925; *Tribune*, Apr. 17, 1945. “Young Trotchie” was John Trotchie, grandson of Charles Trottier, an ally of Louis Riel. Jackie Trotchie, e-mail to author, May 26, 2012.

12. “Cascade County Marriage Book,” no. 11749, county record in the collection of Great Falls Genealogy Society (hereafter GFGS); *History and Roster Cascade County Soldiers and Sailors, 1919* (Great Falls, Mont., n.d.); *Tribune*, Dec. 1, 1917, Aug. 5, 1922.

13. *Tribune*, Jan. 7, 1924, July 3, 1933;

Sugar LaMar interview, May 2007.

14. *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map 1929, Great Falls, Mont.*, copy in The History Museum (hereafter THM); *Tribune*, Dec. 6, 7, 8, 1933.

15. *Tribune*, Dec. 5, 6, 1933; “Cascade County Register of Prisoners Confined in the County Jail,” vol. 7, p. 61, county record in the collection of GFGS; *Tribune*, May 18, 19, 1934.

16. *Tribune*, Dec. 8, 9, 1934; *Leader*, Apr. 18, 26, 1935; *Great Falls Directory*, 1935, 1936; *Leader*, Oct. 30, 1935.

17. *Tribune*, Jul. 26, 31, Aug. 6, 1936; “Report of Clarinda Lowery to Montana State Federation of Negro Women's Clubs held in Great Falls 30–31 Jul at Union Bethel A. M. E. Church,” folder 3, box 1, Montana Federation of Colored Women's Clubs Records, 1921–1978, Manuscript Collection 281 (hereafter MC 281), Montana Historical Society Research Center (hereafter MHS); Sugar LaMar interview, May 2007; *Leader*, Aug. 4, 6, 1936.

18. Walter Duncan, Perdita Duncan, Elmo Fortune, and William Fenter, interviews by Laurie Mercier, Butte, Montana, Mar. 24, 1983, Oral History Collection 483, MHS; *Butte City Directory* (Butte., Mont., 1917); Sugar LaMar interview, May 2007; *Helena Daily Independent*, May 2, 1937; “Silver Bow County Marriage Record,” Sept. 14, 1937, Butte–Silver Bow County Courthouse, Butte, Montana.

19. Sugar LaMar, phone interview by author, Mar. 31, 2012.

20. U.S. Census, 1940; *Great Falls Directory*, 1940, 1945; Jane Willits Stuwe, *Air Transport Command Army Air Forces East Base, 1940–1946* (n.p., 1974).

21. *Leader*, Apr. 14, July 22, Sept. 16, 1943; Sugar LaMar, phone interview by author, Apr. 10, 2012.

22. *Leader*, Sept. 1, 1944.

23. “All That Jazz: The 'Bop Era,” <http://library.thinkquest.org/18602/history/bop/bopstart.html> (accessed May 2012); “Jay McShann,” http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jay_McShann (accessed May 2012); Ross Russell, *Jazz Style in Kansas City and the Southwest* (Berkeley, Calif., 1973), 187–95.

24. LaMar interview, May 2007; LaMar interview, Mar. 2012; Kay Reed, interview by author, Great Falls, Montana, June 8, 2007, recordings in the author's possession.

25. “The Ozark Club,” *Modern Montana*, 2 (Winter 1962), 2–8.

26. Creed Jackson oral history, 1976, copy in THM; “The Ozark Club,” 2–8. Names of performers are from an “Ozark

Club Hall of Fame Performers” list compiled by the author from the weekly *Tribune* ads and interviews with people who worked at or attended the club.

27. James Gilbert Todd Jr., interview by Ken Robison and Judy Ellinghausen, Great Falls, Montana, July 9, 2010, copy in THM (hereafter Todd interview, July 2010).

28. Todd interview, July 2010; John Huber, interview by author, Great Falls, Montana, June 7, 2007, recording in the author’s possession (hereafter Huber interview, June 2007); John Huber, interview by James Todd, Jr., Missoula, Montana, Spring 2007, copy in THM (hereafter Huber interview, Spring 2007).

29. Huber interview, Spring 2007; *Tribune*, Dec. 15, 1956; “Ozark Club Entertainment Log.”

30. *Tribune*, Oct. 30, 1954, June 2, Sept. 8, 1956.

31. Todd interview, July 2010; Huber interview, June 2007; Huber interview, Spring 2007.

32. LaMar interview, May 2007; *Leader*, Apr. 21, 1945; *Tribune*, Apr. 12, 17, 1945; June Elliott, interview by author, Great Falls, Montana, Apr. 12, 2007, recording in the author’s possession.

33. Todd interview, July 2010; Huber interview, June 2007; Jack Mahood, four interviews by Ken Robison and Philip Aaberg, Great Falls, Montana, Apr.–May 2005, recordings in the author’s possession. “The Galloping Goose,” a one-car Great Northern passenger train, ran from Havre to Great Falls during the 1950s.

34. LaMar interview, May 2007; *Tribune*, Feb. 10, Apr. 22, 1946; *Leader*, June 20, 1962; June Elliott and Ruth Parker, interview by author, Great Falls, Montana, Sept. 2, 2011, recording in the author’s possession.

35. Mahood interview; Todd interview, July 2010; *Leader*, Feb. 4, 1944; *Tribune*, July 16, 26, 1956, July 1, 1950.

36. *Great Falls Directory*, 1949; LaMar interview, Apr. 2012.

37. *Leader*, July 27, 31, Oct. 15, 16, 1957; *Tribune*, Aug. 1, 1957; *Leader*, Jan. 26, Feb. 4, 5, 11, 14, 18, July 9, 1958.

38. Leo’s funeral service was held at T. F. O’Connor Company, followed by Mass at Our Lady of Lourdes Church. (Bea LaMar had never been active in the Union Bethel Church, and by the 1950s she had converted to Catholicism.) Bea shipped her husband’s body to her hometown, Knoxville, Iowa, for burial. LaMar interview, Apr. 2012.

39. *Tribune*, Oct. 18, 25, 1959; *Leader*, June 26, 1961, June 20, July 12, 1962. The Ozark Club fire started in the adjoining Geiger Repair Shop and spread quickly to the Ozark. The city’s fire department ruled the fire accidental, but rumors per-

sist to this day that the fire was intentionally set. There was no police investigation. According to articles in the Aug. 21 and 23, 1962, *Leader*, the IRS presented Bea LaMar with an excise tax bill for the Ozark Club, Inc., for more than one hundred thousand dollars in July 1962. Bea stayed on in Great Falls for several years, running the Doyle Apartments (by then renamed the Vista Apartments) with the help of longtime friend Major Murdock. About 1966, Bea LaMar moved to Livingston and in 1974 to Billings, where she worked as a home nurse and was active in the St. Bernard’s Catholic Church. On August 14, 1989, LaMar passed away in Billings. *Billings Gazette*, Aug. 21, 1989.

40. *Tribune*, Apr. 6, 1945; “Dunbar Art and Study Club Annual Report,” 1945, 1946, 1948, folder 12, box 1, MC 281, MHS; “An Inter-Racial Committee Report by the Cascade County Community Council,” *ibid.*; *Leader*, Jan. 13, 1954. While serving as Great Falls Public Library director from 1954 to 1973, Alma Smith Jacobs became a leader in the Montana Library Association, the Northwest Library Association, and the National Library Association. In 1973, she was named Montana state librarian.

41. *Great Falls High School Roundup* (Great Falls, Mont., 1955); *Leader*, Sept. 9, 1958; *Tribune*, June 10, 1966, Mar. 12, 1967; *Great Falls Pennant*, Nov. 9, 1974.

42. Mahood interview. Made of aluminum and coated with acetate, Recordio disks were made one disk at a time on a portable machine brought by Recordio Company representatives into nightclubs across the country. Later, they used a tape recorder and cut multiple disks at the venues.

43. *Tribune*, Feb. 25, 2007.

44. *Ibid.*, June 29, 2007.