THE POLITICS OF SOUNDING BLACK:
NATIONALISM, AGENCY, AND THE EXPERIENCE OF BLACK JAZZ MUSICIANS

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A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Musicology—Master of Arts

2018

ABSTRACT

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Sounding and being black have meant many different things throughout the history of jazz, from "authenticity" and "realness" to militancy and rebellion. In this thesis, I attempt to reframe such understandings by foregrounding the voices of the musician practitioners and the sound of their music by looking at their lives and work through the lens of black nationalism. Exploring the social, political, and economic consequences of being and sounding black, I posit that a sonic black nationalism is evinced which, rather than being a radical political orientation, instead situates black jazz musicians within larger black communities and life in the United States. In particular, I look at the ways in which the cross-racial politics of patronage in jazz has affected the sound of the music, the importance of 1950s black musicking for both the musicians and larger black communities, and finally at the ways in which great man narratives occlude the importance of group sound and groove for black musicians of the 1960s.

To accomplish this task, I draw on literature from the fields of musicology, ethnomusicology, and African American or Black studies to generate new understandings of black life and work. Moreover, I work purposefully to base my work upon that of other black scholars and writers such as Samuel Floyd Jr., Guthrie Ramsey Jr., W.E.B. Du Bois, and Robin D.G. Kelley, among others. I hope to present an alternative approach to the study of jazz that returns to the musicians their agency, political efficacy, and creative and intellectual thought while exploring the ways in which their blackness has configured their experiences.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis owes much to the support I have received since my introduction to the field of musicology in 2014. First and foremost, I want to thank my mother, father, and sister for their constant support over the years. They, and especially my mother, have listened to my thoughts, diatribes, and excited ramblings on all things jazz since for many years. Next, extra special thanks to my advisor, travel partner, and friend Ken Prouty, who gave me the freedom to explore ideas that were interesting to me, even if they were only half thought out at the time I presented them to him. Much of the intellectual awakening I've experienced over the last two years I owe to our frequent meetings and conversations. I am also grateful for the deep insights and suggestions I received from my committee members Michael Largey, David Stowe, and Rodney Whitaker. Their comments have helped me to find clarity and depth to the arguments presented within this document. I also want to thank Sarah Long for her support both within and outside the classroom, and for providing a model for what it means to be a good teacher and colleague. Also, to my good friend Kelli Smith, thank you for listening to my endless ideas, challenging me to do my best work, and asking thoughtful and deep questions.

I would be remiss not to also thank those from outside Michigan State University who have read my work and lent their critical eyes. First, I am especially grateful to my good friend Mark Gridley who has consistently supported me in my musicological journey, even when he disagreed with my assertions. His rival hypotheses and deep knowledge have played an enormous part in my development as a jazz scholar. David Ake, your encouragement and suggestions have been, and continue to be appreciated. Finally, I want to thank Karen Henson for

guiding my early forays into musicology when I knew almost nothing about the field. Your support and guidance since my beginnings has meant a great deal.

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Introduction

In 1998, musicologist Mark Tucker implored contemporary and future jazz scholars to remember that "they have a usable literary past that includes not just Bakhtin, Benjamin, and Cixous but also Hodeir, Schuller, and Williams," as well as to allow "the voices of more women and writers of color to ring out."[1] Though it is almost 20 years later, Tucker's call for this approach to scholarship is no less meaningful. Before the 1990s, jazz writers focused on the music in a way that resembled newspaper and trade magazine critics, albeit with a more in-depth look at the musicians they covered. For many of these writers, the end goal was to prove that jazz was deserving of the "art" designation and not merely a "popular" or "primitive" peoples' music.[2] In the 1990s, though, as a corrective to what some saw as a journalistic approach to jazz writing, scholars from disciplines beyond musicology took to studying and writing on jazz. Catalyzed by the work of Scott DeVeaux, Krin Gabbard, and Reginald T. Buckner and Steven Weiland, "New Jazz Studies" (NJS) as it is now called, asked scholars to look at the ways in which canon, socio-political context, and identity effected the lives of musicians, audience members, and fans.[3] However, despite the important new tools for analysis and perspectives entering the study of jazz, the sound of the music moved to the background while critical theory became foregrounded; a shift that prompted Mark Tucker's call out to his contemporaries.

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[1] Mark Tucker, "Musicology and the New Jazz Studies: Review of Representing Jazz by Krin Gabbard; Jazz Among the Discourses by Krin Gabbard," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 148.
[2] Representative of this push for upward cultural movement are Dr. Billy Taylor's article: Billy Taylor, "Jazz: America's Classical Music," Special Issue: Black American Music Symposium 1985, *The Black Perspective in Music* 14, no. 1 (Winter 1986): 21-25; and Grover Sale's oft-cited 1984 book: Grover Sales, *Jazz: America's Classical Music,* (New York: Prentice Hall Press 1984).
[3] Scott K. DeVeaux, "Constructing the Jazz Tradition: Jazz Historiography," *Black American Literature Forum* 25, no. 3 (Fall 1991): 525-60; Krin Gabbard, *Jazz Among the Discourses* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995); Buckner, Reginald T. and Steven Weiland, *Jazz in Mind: Essays on the History and Meaning of Jazz* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991).

In a recent book chapter, Travis A. Jackson lamented the ways in which "new jazz studies diverged from its new musicological counterpart, replacing the latter's music-analytic conservatism with what one might describe as a near-complete lack of concern with – if not a dismissive attitude regarding – music analysis or any direct engagement with the material, rather than figurative, sound of jazz."[4] To be sure, while many musicologists did engage with the theoretical concepts presented in the New Jazz Studies literature of the 1990s, those associated with that approach were primarily interdisciplinary humanities scholars who sought to shed light on what they saw as a dearth of scholarship on jazz. While such efforts certainly made important contributions to contemporary and current understandings of jazz as a system of intertwined histories, cultures, and identities, music- and musician-focused narratives, those based on the *musical practice* of jazz artists have often been pushed to the side.[5] A vital and vibrant "jazz musicology" should strive to reflect both of these approaches, emphasizing the important connections between jazz and larger cultural forces, while not overlooking the fact that jazz is musical sound, a product of the lived experiences of individual artists and local communities.

Following this, my aim in this thesis is to answer Tucker's and Jackson's calls for a "jazz musicology," by addressing historical constructions of blackness in the history of jazz, sonic enactments of black nationalist politics, and the agency of blacks involved in the creation and consumption of the music. In particular, I challenge commonly accepted narratives in which blackness in jazz has often been understood as an "anti-whiteness" rather than as its own culture with unique practices and ways of being. Such viewpoints have been reinforced by systems of

[4] Travis A. Jackson, "New Bottle, Old Wine: Whither Jazz Studies?," in *Issues in African American Music: Power, Gender, Race, Representation*, edited by Portia K. Maultsby and Mellonee V. Burnim (New York: Routledge, 2017), 35.

[5] By *musical practice*, I refer to both the sonic manifestation of these processes (i.e., what musicians played, what was recorded), as well as the interactions and conditions which have given rise to these sonic manifestations (decisions about repertoire, recording, and so forth). My intent is to keep those involved with musical practice at the center of the analysis.

cultural hierarchy in the United States that consistently compare musical works created here to those of European classical music of previous centuries.[6] Writing on this, cultural historian Lawrence Levine claims "in the nineteenth century, especially in the first half, Americans, in addition to whatever specific cultures they were a part of, shared a public culture less hierarchically organized, less fragmented into relatively rigid adjectival boxes than their descendants were to experience a century later."[7] The rigid adjectives that Levine describes can be seen as the result of a method for upward cultural mobility he refers to as the "the sacralization of culture," contending that the "[t]he process of sacralization reinforced the all too prevalent notion that for the source of divine inspiration and artistic creation one had to look not only upward but eastward and toward Europe."[8] By only understanding blackness in relation to whiteness (e.g. hard bop as a reaction to cool jazz), black musicians are stripped of their agency and the cultural hierarchies of black and white are reinforced.

To correct this, many writers have utilized "great-man" narratives, aesthetic preference for ever-more "challenging" styles of music, and excision of musicians or styles that incorporate elements of "popular" musics, ignoring the actual practices of performing jazz which are much more the result of group cohesion than an individual's "charismatic" vision or stylistic "purity." Portia K. Maultsby has pointed to the ways in which musicians' aesthetic choices and lived experiences have either been limited or erased by "[putting] forth a narrative that argues for musical commonalities, which [Ronald] Radano, [among others,] associates with cross-racial sounds from 'unlocatable origins.' Although cross-cultural exchanges and borrowings are common occurrences, cultural values and aesthetic priorities influence musical structures and the

[6] For more on these processes see: Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).
[7] Ibid., 9.
[8] Ibid., 140.

articulation of musical elements common in world musical traditions."[9] The use of musical commonality and cultural exchange has often functioned as a way to obscure the African American cultural origins of jazz and many of its notable practitioners.

As a student in 2017, I am advantageously placed to generate a thesis that combines the cultural/critical theory of inter-disciplinary NJS scholars, the musical analysis of "classic" jazz scholarship, and work from the field of African American Studies to explore the ways in which black nationalism, agency, and music converge in jazz music. The basis of this thesis will be the work of African Americans within and outside musicology who address issues of race and black nationalism in the history of jazz. Scholars such as Eileen Southern and Samuel Floyd Jr. laid the foundation this orientation towards music scholarship with their histories of black music in the United States and African diaspora more broadly, *The Music of Black Americans* and *The Power of Black Music* respectively, pointing to the existence and importance of a black music history. Following that path, Guthrie Ramsey Jr. and Robin D.G. Kelley make use of their personal experience as blacks in the United to address the lived experience of African Americans in their more recent work. In particular, their attention to the lives of musicians, and working class blacks in Ramsey's 2003 book *Race Music*, and Kelley's 1996 *Race Rebels*, 1997 *Yo' mama's disfunktional!*, and 2012 *africa speaks, america answers,* exemplify this approach.[10] Other

[9] Maultsby, Portia K., "The Politics of Race Erasure in Defining Black Popular Music Origins," in *Issues in African American Music: Power, Gender, Race, Representation*, edited by Portia K. Maultsby and Mellonee V. Burnim (New York: Routledge, 2017): 53. See also, the sub-heading "Contesting Blackness in Narratives on Black Music" in its entirety, 52-54.

[10] Samuel A. Floyd Jr., *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting Its History from Africa to the United States* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1995); Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History,* Third ed. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton Co., 1997); "Guthrie P. Ramsey Jr., *Race Music: Black Cultures from bebop to Hip-Hop* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Robin D.G. Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York: Free Press, 1996); Robin D.G. Kelley, *Yo' mama's disfunktional! fighting the culture wars in urban america* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997); Robin D.G. Kelley, *africa speaks, american answers: modern jazz in revolutionary times* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012). See also, the more recent: Melanie L. Zeck Samuel A. Floyd Jr., Guthrie P. Ramsey Jr., ed. *The Transformation of Black Music: The Rhythms, the Songs, and the Ships of the African Diaspora* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017).

scholars such as Travis A. Jackson and George E. Lewis have looked specifically at communities/groups of jazz musicians and the ways in which race configured their experience in the 20th and 21st century United States. Lewis's study of the Association for the Advancement of creative Musicians (AACM), and Jackson's ethnography of the New York Jazz Scene explore the ways in which blackness is manifested sonically, socially, and politically for jazz musicians and listeners, while remaining aware of the importance that the commercial marketplace holds for both groups.[11]

Both black musicians' and scholars' voices have historically been silenced or pushed into the background in much jazz scholarship in order for those of philosophers and cultural theorists to acquire a more visible position. Southern, Floyd, Ramsey, Kelley, Jackson, and Lewis all serve as important parts of this thesis both as black writers and scholars creating an opening for myself in the field of music scholarship, but also as important models for decolonizing music scholarship. By "decolonizing," I refer to the process of actively including and relying upon the work of black, female, queer, and other minority voices, rather than engaging primarily with literature by white male scholars. Certainly, I do not mean to suggest that their work is invaluable or unimportant, but rather that they receive a disproportionate share of attention and citations for music that has historically been practiced and highly influenced by black musicians. The above authors have worked to do this in their own work as well as combine multiple analytical techniques to generate meaningful wide-ranging music scholarship that values the lived and musical experience of black musicians.

[11] George E. Lewis, *A Power Stronger Than Itself* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Travis A. Jackson, *Blowin' the Blues Away: Performance and Meaning on the New York Jazz Scene* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012). See also George E. Lewis, "Foreword: Who is Jazz?" in *Jazz Worlds/World Jazz*, edited by Philip V. Bohlman and Goffredo Plastino, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2016): ix-xxiv; as well as Jackson, "Culture, Commodity, and Palimpsest: Locating Jazz in the World," from the same collection; and finally Jackson, *New Bottle, Old Wine*, 30-46.

Historically, the work of Amiri Baraka (formerly Leroi Jones), and Albert Murray stand as strong exemplars of taking critical viewpoints on jazz and black music in the United States writ large. Baraka's many essays, articles, and books have been looked to as fundamental for black studies scholars of the last 60 years; in particular his books *Blues People*, and *Black Music* have been influential sources in the field of jazz studies.[12] His ability to synthesize radical black political thought and musical analysis serves in many ways as a model for the analysis of this thesis, albeit with more restrained language. In his essay on the "changing same" in black music, Baraka postulates that by attempting to assimilate to white tastes and musical visions, the "negro artist" relinquishes their "Black Life Force" in service of "[making] it in America, from the country, the ghetto, into the gnashing maw of the Western art world." [13] For him, this black life force is vital to the creation of true black art that does not merely attempt to imitate the creations of white artists.

Similarly, Murray, in his seminal work *Stomping the Blues*, muses that the blues represents "an attitude toward the nature of human experience (and the alternatives of human adjustment) that is both elemental and comprehensive. It is a statement about confronting the complexities inherent in the human situation and about improvising or experimenting or riffing or otherwise playing with (or even gambling with such possibilities as are also inherent in the obstacles, the disjunctures, and the jeopardy."[14] Both men point to a shared experience of blackness that can be expressed sonically, something that has been missed by recent jazz scholarship that uses sound only peripherally for analysis. By analyzing and contextualizing

[12] Leroi Jones (Amiri Baraka), *Blues People: Negro Music in White America* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1999); and Amiri Baraka, *Black Music* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1998).
[13] Baraka, *Black Music*, 197. Langston Hughes made a similar point in his 1926 essay "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain," albeit with some primitivist undertones.
[14] Albert Murray, *Stomping the Blues* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1982), 250-51.

sound, black nationalism can be seen, not only as a verbally-expressed political orientation, but as a sonic one as well.

Outside work of black music-centric writers, W.E.B. Du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folk,* Paul Gilroy's *Black Atlantic,* and Henry Louis Gates Jr.'s *The Signifying Monkey* stand as foundational texts in the field of African American Studies.[15] While Du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folk* is separated from the work of Gilroy and Gates by almost one hundred years, having first been released in 1903, his concept of concept of "double consciousness" has become a point of departure for many studies of black life in the United States, or abroad as in Gilroy's case. All three engage directly with the unique ways in which blacks communicate, separate from the white societies in which they live and work. Du Bois believed that blacks must live with "[the] sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder."[16] It is this sense that has allowed blacks to live within a predominantly white world, while maintaining their blackness within themselves and their communities. Moreover, such a viewpoint is necessary within the jazz world, to deal with commercial structures that keep power in the hands of a few powerful white patrons rather than in the hands of the musician creators, as well as maintain sonic identities that are reflective of their experience as blacks in the United States, consciously invoked or not.

[15] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015); Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1999); Henry Louis Gates Jr., *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African American Literary Criticism,* 25th Anniversary Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).
[16] Du Bois, *Souls,* 5.

Gilroy takes Du Bois's work a step further, exploring the legacy of slavery and the ways in which double consciousness has configured a global African diaspora through his concept of the "Black Atlantic." As the base of his study Gilroy analyzes black culture of the twentieth century as a way of understanding constructions of blackness and how they function as a means of connecting blacks around the world. Differing primarily from Du Bois's *Souls of Black Folk* in its less American-centric approach to notions of black community, Gilroy's understanding of essentialism and pluralism as the dichotomy within complex black nationalist discourses proves particularly useful to understanding the way blackness is conceived of as part of a "diaspora." [17] Black nationalism in jazz and the United States cannot be understood in isolation, as jazz musicians often reached beyond the shores of America to connect more deeply with an African past. Moreover, while Gilroy posits two specific ways in which black nationalism has been enacted historically, his concepts can be broadened and expanded to fit the highly individualistic ways that both musicians and lay people have fostered a sense of nationalism in the global black community.

Finally, Gates's *Signifying Monkey* suggests that blacks, as members of an African diaspora, utilize both consciously and unconsciously, a complex social interaction he calls "signifyin(g)." This interaction is based around the use of "riffing, repetition, and revision." Specifically, in regards to jazz, Gates suggests that "another kind of formal parody suggests a given structure precisely by failing to coincide with it- that is, suggests it by dissemblance."[18] An

[17] It should be noted that as Du Bois aged, he became increasingly interested in the idea of African and black diasporas, and the importance of African American involvement in issues of colonialism, imperialism, and nationalism around the world for oppressed peoples. For a deeper analysis of Du Bois, and other African American cultural figures' involvement in anticolonialism see: Penny Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997). See also: W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Negro* (New York, NY: Cosimo Classics, 2007).

[18] Gates, *Signifying Monkey*, 113. Gates often uses the African American word game "The Dozens" as the quintessential example of signifyin(g). "The dozens" consists of two participants taking turns "insulting" each other in an attempt to make the other "lose their cool," the person who does is the loser. Often these insults take the form

especially important and often overlooked aspect of this concept, is that signifyin(g) is not an act, but a process with no determined endpoint. This process is of particular importance because it helps to clarify the ways in which black musicians take and mold the work of their predecessors to reinvent and innovate within the realm of jazz performance; connecting even the earliest approaches to performance to more contemporary styles.

Meaningful work on issues of race, both in and beyond jazz, has not however, been done only by scholars of color. Of particular interest to this thesis is the work of Ingrid Monson and Iain Anderson. Both her 1996 book *Saying Something*, and 2007 book *Freedom Sounds* address the issue of race as important to the music creation process and lived experience of musicians. In particular for chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis, the balance of musical and cultural analysis owes much to form that much of Monson's work has taken over the years.[19] She has consistently worked to incorporate the use historical and musical contexts as the basis for understanding the ways that jazz has functioned within the United States and abroad. Finally, Monson is one of a handful of writers who has worked express to explore the issues of black nationalism and agency as they function in jazz history. For that reason, her work stands as a foundation for much of the work in this thesis; especially her discussions of Lee Morgan, the Newport Rebels Festival, and *DownBeat* magazine in *Freedom Sounds.*

Iain Anderson's book *This is Our Music: Free Jazz, the Sixties, and American Culture*, has also been important to the perspective of this thesis on race relations during the 1960s free

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of "yo' mama" jokes, or continually build on each other by taking a piece of what the last person said and turning it back on them.

[19] Ingrid Monson, *Saying Something: Jazz improvisation and Interaction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); and Monson, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call Out to Jazz and Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). See also: Monson, "The Problem with White Hipness: Race, Gender, and Cultural Conceptions in Jazz Historical Discourse," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48, no. 3, Special Issue: Music Anthropologies and Music Histories, (Autumn 1995): 396-422; and Monson, "Doubleness and Jazz Improvisation: Irony, Parody, and Ethnomusicology," in *Critical Inquiry* 20, no. 2 (Winter 1994): 283-313.

jazz movement.[20] Anderson's book is a seemingly perfect complement to Monson's *Freedom Sounds* in that he focuses his attention more on the relation of American culture to free jazz as musico-political movement. In particular, he spends significant time examining the structure and works of the Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians (AACM), Horace Tapscott's Underground Musicians Association (UGMA), its later iteration the Union of God's Musicians and Artists Ascension (UGMAA), as well as Amiri Baraka and the Black Arts Movement. From that analysis, Anderson offers a model for understanding the positive ways that black nationalism can be enacted through arts collectives aiming to engage with their surrounding communities. This viewpoint is crucial to understanding black nationalism from a more positive perspective, rather than seeing it merely as a violent answer to race prejudice and discrimination. That problem is exactly what has made such divisions in jazz simultaneously arbitrary and difficult to dislodge.

With the growing prevalence of university jazz education programs, a final, and increasingly necessary, component to any scholarly work on jazz is a critical engagement with jazz education and pedagogy. The work of Ken Prouty, David Ake, and Eitan Y. Wilf have provided notable literature that does just that, looking at both content, practice, and identity within contemporary jazz programs. Prouty's point that "pedagogy is a practice of power" and that "instruction and assessment by necessity involve[s] teachers making power-laden decisions that will have potentially profound implications for students," is particularly salient in the way

[20] Iain Anderson, *This is Our Music: Free Jazz, The Sixties, and American Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). For more on problematic characterizations of black political thought in jazz see Eric Porter, ""Dizzy Atmosphere": The Challenge of Bebop," *American Music* 17, no. 4 (Winter, 1999); Mark C. Gridley, "Misconceptions in Linking Free Jazz with the Civil Rights Movement," *College Music Symposium* 47 (2007); Scott K. DeVeaux, *The Birth of Bebop: A Social and Musical History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997); David W. Stowe, *Swing Changes: Big Band Jazz in New Deal America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994); Scott Saul, *Freedom Is, Freedom Ain't: Jazz and the Making of the Sixties* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

that race works within the academy.[21] The choice of music, diversity of faculty and students, and the effect of university wide attitude towards jazz is continually effected by race and gender within the modern jazz academy. The issue of power is augmented by David Ake's work on "the street" and how jazz is taught/framed for students within those programs. Ake theorizes notes that "college-based jazz programs have not only replaced the proverbial *street* as the primary training grounds for young jazz musicians, but they've also replaced urban nightclubs as the primary professional homes for hundreds of jazz performers and composers," (emphasis mine).[22] The "street" Ake refers to here describes the authenticity of learning jazz in the "real world" rather than in a university in which players are thought to be created in an almost machine like way that deemphasizes both individuality and creativity. Together, their work points to the ways in which the university has worked as the primary vehicle through which young musicians reach maturity in their playing. This thesis is concerned with how the university, in taking that role, has routinely enabled specific types of students, styles of performance, and faculty to succeed, while limiting the participation of others.

Eitan Y. Wilf's 2014 book, *School for Cool*, serves as an important contribution to the area of jazz pedagogy scholarship, by beginning to examine some of the ways in which the university jazz program has been simultaneously exclusive while maintaining a rhetoric and image of inclusivity.[23] *School for Cool*'s ethnographic approach at Berklee College of Music, and the New School for Jazz and Contemporary Music in New York, gives voice to jazz students and teachers who are often neglected in discussions of jazz in the academy. Most salient to this

[21] Ken Prouty, *Knowing Jazz: Community, Pedagogy, and Canon in the Information Age* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2012), 75
[22] David Ake, *Jazz Matters* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 103.
[23] Eitan Y. Wilf, *School For Cool: The Academic Jazz Program and the Paradox of Institutionalized Creativity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).

thesis is Wilf's concept of "charisma infusion," a process by which jazz programs "authenticate" themselves through the presence of a professional, well-traveled, and experienced instructor. Wilf writes: "The persona [the instructors] adopted in these interactions [with students] was iconoclastic, gritty, rough, and male-centric…This strategy is based in the hope that these musicians who played with great past masters will be able to infuse the program with the masters' charisma. At its core, it embodies a key contradiction."[24] It is that process of charisma infusion that is so important to the academic jazz program, and the university as whole, because without it, the enterprise of jazz education becomes another "museum music." Through the presence of a "real" musician though, programs and their students are authenticated by association. However, despite Wilf's good intentions and wide ethnographic approach, he overlooks the highly problematic ways in which charisma is based around stereotypical depictions of black masculinity, and therefore habitually discriminates against female, queer, and minority musicians. Such discriminatory practices have been prevalent throughout the history of jazz but have been explained away by many due to the expected "deviance" of jazz performers.[25]

Chapter Overview

The three main chapters in this thesis are connected through questions of how blackness has been defined, understood, and lived in the United States broadly, and in U.S. jazz scenes more specifically, in addition to the ways in which concepts of "highbrow" and "lowbrow" are active in those definitions. Chapter 1 examines the ways in which white critics, managers, producers, and promoters, a group that I refer to as the "managerial class" of jazz, have utilized

[24] Wilf, *School for Cool*, 84.

[25] In particular, I think of Miles Davis, Duke Ellington, and Charlie Parker's treatment of their romantic partners throughout their careers. For more on these see: John Szwed, *So What: The Life of Miles Davis* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2002); Terry Teachout, *Duke: A Life of Duke Ellington* (New York, NY: Gotham Books, 2013); Miles Davis and Quincy Troupe, *Miles: The Autobiography* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2005).

their whiteness in conjunction with financial and institutional support to influence the work of black artists in the United States throughout the history of jazz. This perspective allows me to examine the individual ways in which blackness functions in relationships to white patrons, and how those relationships effect musical practice for black jazz musicians in the United States. I begin by reframing traditional ideas about patronage to reflect the white-black cross-racial relationships of jazz's managerial class to the black musicians. Drawing James C. Scott's work concept of the "hidden transcript" and power imbalances between dominant and subordinate participants, Robin D.G. Kelley's further theorizing of this concept as it is reflected in black life of the twentieth century, Howard S. Becker's ideas about what "patronage" means in artistic communities, and finally on Pierre Bourdieu's ideas about cultural and economic capital, I argue that the relationships between black musicians and the managerial class can be understood as that of a patron and client, leading to the sacrifice of agency on the part of black musicians for financial remuneration and exposure to a wider audience.[26] Case studies of notable jazz figures such as Norman Granz, John Hammond, George Wein, and Pannonica de Koenigswarter, and their relationship to jazz musicians: Ella Fitzgerald, Oscar Peterson, Billie Holiday, and Thelonious Monk among others, serve to illuminate the many forms that patron-client relationships can take as well as to dispel the myths that these people were either wholly altruistic or parasitic. In this way, I reveal how patronage systems reinforce, dispel, and complicate the highbrow/lowbrow dialectic as patrons either attempt to raise up their client, lower themselves, or both simultaneously; a process which is further complicated by the rigid

[26] James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (New Haven, Connecticut *Yale University Press*, 1990); Robin D.G. Kelley, *Race Rebels*; Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds*, 25th Anniversary Edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980).

boundaries of race in the 20th century United States.[27] As patrons lower themselves in an attempt to "get a tan," as Carl Van Vechten once quipped, musicians are given access to performance opportunities or locations that would have ordinarily been outside their reach as blacks in periods of racial segregation and complex cross-racial politics.[28] Further, bassist Charles Mingus and drummer Max Roach's Newport Rebels Festival is framed as a public, if unsuccessful, challenge to the power of white patronage in jazz history. The chapter concludes with a look at how structures of patronage continue to exist in jazz today, albeit in different forms by looking first at Wynton Marsalis's public statements on the President Donald Trump's inauguration and the defunding of the National Endowment of the Arts, and finally the University as the primary patron to jazz today.

Chapter 2 presents a critical examination of the ways in which the 1950s hard bop style evinces a "sonic black nationalism" through the conspicuous influence of popular black musical genres. I focus primarily on what musical traits make hard bop sound much "blacker," while also elucidating the ways in which black popular music has consistently had an influence on black jazz musicians, negating the idea that hard bop musicians *consciously* incorporated them into their playing. In that way, I reject the discourse surrounding hard bop framing it as a "regression," and instead suggest that it should be seen as an important way in which black nationalism took sonic form, not simply as a sonic and political space between bebop in the 1940s and free jazz in the 1960s, but as its own period. Through a close examination of the trumpet playing of trumpeter Lee Morgan and drummer Art Blakey, musicians often used as the epitome of hard bop style, I illuminate the ways in which hard bop is best understood as a continuation of bebop and not a departure from it. Finally, I look at the paradox of viewing hard

[27] Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*.
[28] John Gennari, *Blowing Hot and Cool: Jazz and Its Critics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 32.

bop as a less "serious" style within jazz pedagogy while simultaneously using it as a model of "real" or "soulful" jazz because of the much more obvious blues aesthetic and supposed preference for bodily stimulation over that of the "head" or intellect.[29] Framing hard bop as a "charisma-infuser" for the tightly regulated jazz canon explains both its marginalized position in jazz scholarship, and its continual existence within the jazz academy as a way to make improvisation pedagogy more "real."[30]

Finally, the third chapter deals primarily with the 1960s bands of tenor saxophonist John Coltrane and trumpeter Miles Davis. In this chapter, I reveal a more interactive and community-based approach to jazz performance by reframing Coltrane and Davis as co-facilitators of groove and group sound, rather than as bandleaders guiding their sidemen. In this way, I frame their groups as representative of the grass-roots/collective approach that black nationalist politics took at the time these bands were operational, despite Coltrane and Davis's choice to abstain from making overtly political statements. By analyzing live and studio recordings of both groups, I point to moments in which the direction of the band is controlled not by the "leader" but instead by one of the rhythm section players, pointing to an implicit rejection of canonization practices that are predicated on "great-men." In that way, I demonstrate how their musical practices mirror the structures undergirding radical black politics of the time seen in the black nationalist and Black Power movements. In particular, I utilize Charles Keil's concept of "Participatory

[29] The false dichotomy of "head vs. body" has been explored by Robert Walser in his article on "noise" in the music of Public Enemy: Robert Walser, "Rhythm, Rhyme, and Rhetoric in the Music of Public Enemy," *Ethnomusicology* 39, no. 2 (Spring-Summer, 1995): 193-217; Vijay Iyer's work on embodied cognition and the place of "bodily understanding" is also useful in this type of discussion: Vijay Iyer, "Embodied Mind, Situated Cognition, and Expressive Microtiming in African-American Music," *Music Perception: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 19, no. 3 (Spring 2002): 387-414. See also: Ronald Radano, "Black Music's Body Politics," in *Jazz Worlds/World Jazz*, edited by Philip V. Bohlman and Goffredo Plastino (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016): 429-444; Mark Johnson, *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); and George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

[30] Wilf, *School for Cool*, 83-5.

Discrepancy" to explain the ways in which *all* members of the band are equal parts in the creation of groove, and therefore, group sound, similar to the ways in which black political movements relied on community-driven approaches.[31]

To be sure, the study of rhythm sections, and these two bands in particular is not new, framing them as taking groove to its farthest points before musicians became interested in the overtly groove-based fusion music of the 1970s is important to modern understandings of these two groups.[32] Davis's "time-no-changes" concept and Coltrane's incorporation of elements of free jazz, allowed musicians in both groups to explore groove and group sound further due to the freedom from bebop-based "soloist-rhythm section" dichotomies and improvisation protocols.[33] Understanding Coltrane's group openly making use of developments in jazz improvisation and group playing from free jazz, as a sharp contrast to Davis's concept of extending the modal jazz context, overlooks the many *musical* similarities between the two groups.

Though it is the goal of this thesis to expand upon areas of jazz research that downplay or overlook issues of race in jazz history, it is my hope that it will go much further. The combination of cultural and musical analysis, would ideally make this project attractive, not only to scholars of music, but practitioners as well. While these ideas may not appear directly related to contemporary performance, the implications of the critical viewpoint could offer new perspectives on the practice of performing jazz in the 21st century. Moreover, while sound and

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[31] Charles Keil, "Participatory Discrepancies and the Power of Music," *Cultural Anthropology* 2, no. 3 (August 1987), 275-83

[32] Other important works on this topic include: Monson, *Saying Something*, 1996; Travis A. Jackson, "Become Like One: Communication, Interaction, and the Development of Group Sound in 'Jazz' Performance" (master's thesis, Columbia University, 1995); Travis A. Jackson *Blowin' the Blues Away*; J.A. Prögler, "Searching for Swing: Participatory Discrepancies in the Jazz Rhythm Section," *Ethnomusicology* 39, no. 1, Special Issue: Participatory Discrepancies (Winter 1995); and Nathan C. Bakkum, "Point of Departure: Recording and the Jazz Event," *Jazz Perspectives* 8, no. 1 (October 2014): 73-91.

[33] Time-no-changes refers to a technique employed by the Davis second quintet, which featured a continual pulse through consistent time being played on the drums and often a walking bassline, but abandonment of underlying harmonic frameworks. Ornette Coleman's group also notably made use of this technique.

musical analysis play an important role in this work, African American studies scholars or others interested in the intersection of culture and race, will also hopefully see uses for the work done here. Certainly, I do not mean to suggest that the following chapters are comprehensive. On the contrary, due to time and page constraints, exploring the intersections of race and gender or race and sexuality are under-represented and would clearly benefit from expansion. Furthermore, each chapter, with the exception of chapter one, is focused on specific eras and styles of jazz though the questions/issues raised could be applied to many, if not all, other historical moments in jazz or black music history. Beginning with chapter one's discussion of patronage seems the most advantageous choice, being that the implications of those systems can be felt in both the 1950s hard bop and 1960s post-bop eras.

Chapter 1 Patronizing Jazz:

Race, Power, and Identity in Jazz's Managerial Class

Upon winning the 1937 *Metronome* magazine "trumpeter of the year" poll, Harry James asked "How can they possibly vote for me when Louis [Armstrong] is in the same contest?"[34] While it is likely that this was understood as a compliment from one musician to another, that viewpoint overlooks dynamics of race, power, access, and identity as they pertain to black jazz musicians. Music and, more specifically, American jazz has been looked to as a place where integration, diversity, and inclusion are foundational principles. That idea is manifest through endeavors such as the "Jazz & Democracy" curriculum project founded by Dr. Wesley J. Watkins IV, and the postulations of Jazz at Lincoln Center Artistic Director Wynton Marsalis.[35] Yet, in the supposedly classless, democratic society that is the United States, blacks and whites do not have equality of social or financial mobility.[36] Particularly in relationships between whites and blacks, class is implicated as an inherent characteristic of race, limiting the ability of blacks to participate as equal partners in the capitalist system. Evidence of this can be seen within the power differential between black musicians and the white "managerial class of jazz;" a group that consists of white producers, managers, promoters, impresarios and others who bridge the gap between black artists' work and an audience for consumption.[37]

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[34] Peter J. Levinson, *Trumpet Blues: The Life of Harry James* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 34. I owe the discovery of this quote to: Terry Teachout, *Pops: A Life of Louis Armstrong* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009) 236.

[35] For more on this project see Wesley J. Watkins IV, http://www.jazzanddemocracy.com/what-is-j-and-d.html (2016), Marsalis appears throughout this site as a carrier of this message that he has disseminated since the late 1980s and 1990s when he was made artist director.

[36] Stephen A. Crist, "Jazz as Democracy? Dave Brubeck and Cold War Politics," *The Journal of Musicology* 26, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 133-74; and Travis A. Jackson, "Debunking the Jazz as Democracy Myth," (Lecture, University of Chicago, April 17, 2013), among others, have questioned the idea of "jazz-as-democracy."

[37] Thanks to Ken Prouty for coining this term during discussions of what exactly to call this group of whites who had business relationships with black jazz musicians and worked to present their works in different forms.

Members of the managerial class in the jazz "art world" have often been portrayed solely as parasitic individuals who tended to exploit or misapprehend the work of black artists.[38] Amiri Baraka is perhaps the strongest voice of that argument, claiming in his 1963 essay, "Jazz and the White Critic," that white critics suffer from a "lack of understanding or failure to see the validity of redefined emotional statements which reflect the changing psyche of the Negro in opposition to what the critic might think the Negro ought to feel… Failure to understand, for instance, that Paul Desmond and John Coltrane represent not only two very divergent ways of thinking about music, but more importantly two very different ways of viewing the world."[39] Baraka asserts that white critics cannot possibly understand black jazz musicians and should therefore abstain from writing about them or their motivations, lest they make assumptions about the music based on misconceptions of black culture. Lewis Porter echoes this idea in his 1988 article "Some Problems in Jazz History Research," in which he asserts that "the racism in our society makes it all too easy for white authors to take a condescending attitude to the jazz they write about. I am certain that this racism is unintentional and unconscious but it nevertheless seems to be a fact, especially when one compares the respectful tone of most classical critics with that of many jazz writers."[40] Porter is more understanding than Baraka, positing that misunderstandings of black culture unintentionally lead to racist writing rather than from an alternative agenda.

John Gennari's 2006 book, *Blowin' Hot and Cool: Jazz and Its Critics*, takes a deeper look into the issue of exploitation in the work of critics.[41] Gennari asserts that historians should

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[38] My invocation of the "art world" concept is in reference to: Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds*, 25th Anniversary Edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008). Becker's concept of Art World refers to all those involved in the creation of one piece of art. For example, the many people responsible for the production of a CD from the artist themselves to the person who plastic wraps the jewel case before it is shipped out for sale.

[39] Amiri Baraka, *Black Music* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), 19.

[40] Lewis Porter, "Some Problems in Jazz Research," *Black Music Research Journal* 8, no. 2 (Autumn, 1988): 199.

[41] John Gennari, *Blowin' Hot and Cool: Jazz and Its Critics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

not minimize the discourse around white critics to "hoary image[s] of the white jazz critic as a parasite or vampire sucking blood and loot[ing] off black musicians," in response to the position espoused by Baraka and Porter among others.[42] This approach, he claims, "has the effect of casting black musicians as abject victims and [denies] their ability to shape and control their own careers."[43] Gennari's viewpoint returns agency to musicians that is often stripped and also reframes critics as complex figures that necessitate closer examination. However, his attempts to complicate widely-held understandings of cross-racial relationships in jazz through the explication of various "whitenesses" misses the imbalance of power that is so often based on race. The idea that Britishness or Jewishness, as in the cases of Leonard Feather and Ira Gitler, can "[invoke black musicians'] sense of cosmopolitanism" or "their sense of a shared minority experience," gives too much credence to the idea that national or religious identity supersedes racial dynamics in the highly segregated/prejudiced twentieth-century United States. Alternately, his contention that characterizing white critics such as John Hammond and Leonard Feather as representative of Norman Mailer's concept of the "white negro" mistakes their goals in the black jazz community. That point is made even clearer when viewing them against such men as writer/photographer Carl Van Vechten who sought to "get a 'tan'" by spending time in black communities.[44] Neither Feather nor Hammond chose to adopt black slang, or speak of becoming "voluntary negroes," as in the case of clarinetist Milton "Mezz" Mesirow.[45] However, it should not be overlooked that many white critics actively sought and "performed" cultural-insiderism, a topic that will be returned to shortly.

[42] Ibid., 10.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid., 32.
[45] Ibid., 33.

Both the Porter/Baraka and Gennari viewpoints are limited in their efficacy for explaining the complex racial dynamics of jazz art world relationships, but understanding them as reflective of systems of patronage more closely presents them as they function in both theory *and* practice. By definition, patronage systems are based upon imbalances in wealth, power, access, and often race. Such relationships do not necessarily facilitate those imbalances, but rather form and build upon situations in which those inequalities are already present. In this chapter, I examine the role of white patrons simultaneously as important to the creation and dissemination of jazz in the twentieth-century, and as problematic figures based on their position within the fundamentally unequal relationship of patron to client and vice versa.

Enacting Patronage

Patronage relationships most commonly reflect a system in which financial assistance, or capital, is exchanged for the creation or presentation of a product that is the result of expertise in a particular area. In relation to the arts, sociologist Howard S. Becker defines "patronage" as "some person or organization [that] supports the artist entirely for a period during which the artist contracts to produce specific works, or a specified number of works, or even just possibly to produce some works."[46] Becker continues on to note that in traditional understandings of artistic patronage "[the] people who can afford to support artists this way come from the wealthy classes of a society. They have had the leisure to acquire substantial knowledge of the complicated conventions which govern the production of works of high art and can, being knowledgeable, exert detailed control over the works whose production they support…"[47] This understanding is often used loosely in reference to exchanges of capital across a line of

[46] Becker, *Art Worlds*, 99.
[47] Ibid.

inequality, but such usage (as defined in Becker's work) does not reflect the myriad ways patronage can and has been enacted throughout the history of music.

It is necessary then, to move beyond Becker's definition as an effective way to discuss patronage in jazz history, an idea evidenced by proposed alternative frameworks in jazz scholarship. Aaron Johnson, in his 2014 dissertation "Jazz and Radio in the United States: Mediation, Genre, and Patronage," posits instead that "where patronage has been traditionally concerned with direct financial support of artists from outside the commercial realm, less tangible aspects of patronage survive and can be identified in late twentieth century jazz culture– the championing and elevation of chosen musicians in influential publications and broadcast profiles, the participation of writers, critics, and scholars in the awarding of grants, prizes, and residencies, recommending musicians for prestigious festivals all provide valuable career boosts to the artists while enhancing the reputations of the difference makers."[48] Johnson's application of the idea of patronage is more indicative of how such systems function within the jazz world, but what needs to be further examined is how such processes "enhance the reputations of the difference makers."

Jazz and Capital

Pierre Bourdieu theorized in his monumental 1979 study, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste,* that there are different types of capital that exist and function within society.[49] Economic, educational, and cultural capital, Bourdieu believes, exist as markers within a greater "Aristocracy of Culture," however, in the context of this chapter I am most concerned with economic and cultural capital. The levels of access to performance venues, jobs, and

[48] Aaron Johnson, "Jazz and Radio in the United States: Mediation, Genre, and Patronage" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2014), 137-8.
[49] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste,* trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980).

economic opportunity that exist for white musicians and managers, but not their black contemporaries, is indicative of the cultural capital of race and the ways it functions within economic/commercial systems of the United States. Without the financial assistance of white patrons, black musicians likely would not have had many of the opportunities or exposure they did. It is perhaps for this reason that the image of the black musician and white manager, producer, or promoter is so prevalent despite the existence of blacks who did the same work. By consuming or participating in jazz scenes, white patrons are endowed with a "hipness" that cannot be gained from attending the symphony or other markers of highbrow/elite culture.[50] Due to "white Americans [confusing] the most 'transgressive' aspects of African American culture with its true character," rebellion becomes a powerful method for acquiring cultural capital and using it as a way to push back against hegemonic societal structures.[51]

Specifically, Bourdieu has written of the inverse relationship of cultural to economic capital: "as one moves from the artists to the industrial and commercial employers, volume of economic capital rises and volume of cultural capital falls, it can be seen that the dominant class is organized in a chiastic structure."[52] According to Bourdieu's theory, black jazz musicians and their white colleagues in the jazz scene have much to offer each other. Authenticity, hipness, and rebellion from blacks, for access and exposure from whites. However, it is also important to consider the ways that a spectrum of mutually beneficial relationships exist within the highly structured and deep-seated hierarchies of class and race in the U.S. jazz scene. Participants often

[50] My understanding of cultural hierarchy and its functions in American society are derived from: Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).
[51] Ingrid Monson, "The Problem with White Hipness: Race, Gender, and Cultural Conceptions in Jazz Historical Discourse," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48, no. 3, Music Anthropologies and Music Histories (Autumn, 1995), 398.
[52] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 116.

act in contradictory ways that simultaneously breakdown *and* reinforce the "aristocracy of culture" in the United States through the "performance" of patronage. The conept of public performance is an important aspect of this system, as the actions of white participants often seem intended to evoke an image of altruism while their actions invite multiple interpretations.

In *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* political scientist James C. Scott posits that there are "hidden transcripts" of truth that exist underneath performative quotidian actions keeping societal power structures intact. For those structures to remain challenged, it is necessary that "the public transcript is – barring a crisis – systematically skewed in the direction of the libretto, the discourse, represented by the dominant."[53] The libretto and discourse Scott refers to here reflect the performative aspects of public interaction with white patrons working to keep the power systems skewed in their favor. Scott further posits "another important distinction is that the necessary posing of the dominant derives not from weaknesses but from the ideas behind [the dominant's] rule, the kinds of claims they make to legitimacy."[54] What is most interesting about this quote, and vital to this understanding of patronage, is that the performance exists for both subordinate *and* dominant groups, not merely in subordinate attempts to appease dominant hegemony. *Performing* patronage serves as a way to legitimize the status of the patron, claiming for them the cultural capital associated with being linked to black musicians and the status of cultural-insider based on their sustained interactions with them.

In the pages that follow, I will examine select case-studies intended to illuminate the flows of capital, establishment of insider/outsider positions, and dynamics of public and private discourses which configure relationships between black artists and white patrons in jazz

[53] James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1990), 4.
[54] Ibid., 11.

contexts. In accomplishing this task, particular attention is paid to the ways that patronage is a *two-way* system in which economic and cultural capital stand as opposite ends of the spectrum that Bourdieu theorized, respective to the relationship between dominant and subordinate groups in the United States, or the white managerial class and black jazz musicians.

Testing the Boundaries of Patronage

Producer/critic/impresario John Hammond provides a compelling first case study, as he simultaneously worked to uphold and breakthrough the hierarchical structures of patronage relationships. Born in New York in 1910 to a "Yale-educated lawyer from Kentucky and a pious Christian Science convert who was a Vanderbilt… Hammond grew up in a mansion on Manhattan's East 91st Street."[55] He discovered jazz shortly before he began attending Yale in 1928, dropping out after a year and half to "pursue jazz related ventures and social causes that caught his attention throughout the 1930s and 1940s."[56] He eventually became a correspondent for the British jazz magazines *The Gramophone* and *The Melody Maker*, shortly after writing for *DownBeat*, and finally becoming a producer and talent scout for Columbia Records. Hammond is often credited with discovering Count Basie, Billie Holiday, George Benson, and later Aretha Franklin, Bob Dylan, and Bruce Springsteen, making him very much an insider to the jazz community.[57] Pointing to that status, British jazz critic Leonard Feather claimed that Hammond was "[t]he most important of all jazz writers," and "more at ease in Harlem than almost any other white American could feel."[58] However, as Hammond notes in his 1977 autobiography, such closeness afforded him control over aspects of musicians' lives, and for that reason led him to

[55] David Stowe, *Swing Changes*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1994), 54-55.
[56] Ibid., 55.
[57] Robert Walser, *Keeping Time: Readings in Jazz History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 86.
[58] Quoted in Walser, *Keeping Time*, 86; and Gennari, *Blowin',* 23.

"[be] accused of playing Pygmalion, of interfering others' lives, even of profiting at others' expense."[59] Hammond often became deeply involved in the careers of artists he was close to, exerting a significant amount of influence not only on their music, but their professional trajectory as well.

Hammond's relationships with Billie Holiday and Count Basie are reflective of his intimate involvement in his clients' careers.[60] Writing about his meeting with Holiday in 1933, Hammond states "[m]y discovery of Billie Holiday was the kind of accident I dreamed of, the sort of reward I received now and then by traveling to every place where anyone performed… I had found a star, and I wrote about her in *Melody Maker*."[61] After this discovery, "[his] chance had come at last to put her on records" with Benny Goodman for Columbia later in the year, but his admiration for Holiday's singing was eventually overshadowed by his disapproval of her personal life.[62] That disapproval led to Hammond's interference in Holiday's best known engagement at the Café Society, a downtown club in New York that was a fixture for bohemians and intellectuals.[63] In 1939, after helping Holiday secure the gig, Hammond decided that because "[s]he was heavily involved with narcotics" she would become a source of "unsavory gossip, or

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[59] John Hammond, *John Hammond on Record: An Autobiography with Irving Townsend* (New York: Summit Books, 1977), 115.

[60] David Stowe has noted that Hammond would also insert himself into the careers of artists he was not managing. For more on this, see Stowe, *Swing Changes*. A strong example of this Stowe reveals was his "feud" with Duke Ellington, in which he "castigated Ellington for distancing himself and his music from the troubles of his people." Probably though, Hammond's displeasure came from Ellington's criticism of his intimate involvement in the lives of the musicians he wrote about as a critic.

[61] John Hammond, *John Hammond on Record,* 92-93.

[62] Ibid., 119.

[63] David Stowe writes of Café Society: "By any reckoning, Café Society, a New York City cabaret that opened in 1938, deserves a prominent place among twentieth century American shrines to the politics of culture. A patron descending into the small basement on Sheridan Square in Greenwich Village might be met by a doorman wearing worn-out gloves and might be served by flip waiters clad in tails… The club admitted customers and showcased talent regardless of race, tweaked high society, eliminated chorus lines and cigarette girls, treated its employees well, served good food, and offered pointed political satire." For more, see: David Stowe, "The Politics of Café Society," *The Journal of American History* 84, no. 4 (Mar., 1998), 1384.

even [blackmail]" for her manager's family, with whom he was friendly.[64] For that reason, Hammond claimed that he "felt compelled to interfere in a personal relationship which was none of [his business]," told the family what he knew and caused the dissolution of their relationship, and Holiday's tenure at Café Society.[65] While Hammond believed that this was in the family's best interest, he displays the power he possesses in the jazz scene over its musician participants. It may be true that he would exercise this same influence over a white musician, but his claims to having discovered Holiday and his disapproval of her famous recording of "Strange Fruit" in 1939 suggest this was far more complicated than an issue of narcotics. Hammond's disapproval of Holiday's racially charged repertoire before leaving to record for Decca, where he believes she was "lured by the promise of recording with large orchestras with string sections," suggests that musical aesthetics also played a role in his choice to expose her personal life to his friends.[66] Moreover, her being a woman was another motivator for Hammond's dissatisfaction with her drug use and choice to "Strange Fruit." Seeing an African American woman engage in racially-motivated activism, in addition to her drug and alcohol use, which were seen as male vices, "necessitated" such actions on his part. Holiday's actions worked directly against established notions of the ways women, and black women in particular, were expected to act.[67] Discussion surrounding the involvement of the patron in the artists' life and work leads well into the second case study, manager/impresario Norman Granz.

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[64] Stowe, *Swing Changes*, 208-9.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Holiday's actions worked directly against the established "politics of respectability" for black women in the United States that Evelyn Higginbotham has revealed originate in the Baptist movements of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. For more on this see: Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 188-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

Manager as Patron

Throughout his multi-decade career Norman Granz served as manager for many well-known artists, including vocalist Ella Fitzgerald, pianist Oscar Peterson, and guitarist Joe Pass, founded multiple record companies (Clef, Norgran, Down Home, Verve, and Pablo), and created the extremely popular Jazz at the Philharmonic (JATP) concert series. Through these endeavors he brought jazz to a much wider audience and succeeded in orchestrating lucrative performing careers for his clients. Particularly notable is his vehement opposition to discrimination and segregation, which played a significant role in establishing a rapport with jazz audiences and artists. Granz's integrationist viewpoint is well-known throughout the jazz community and in jazz historiography; the most notable example being the non-discrimination clauses he included in his JATP contracts.[68] The clause read: "It is the essence of this agreement that there is to be no discrimination whatsoever in the sale of tickets and that there be no segregation of whites from Negroes. In the event of any violation of either of these provisions by you, the management of the hall, or anyone else, Mr. Granz has the privilege of refusing to give you the concert, in which case you will forfeit one-half of the contract price to him."[69] Granz's biographer, Tad Hershorn, also brings to light that Granz booked hotel rooms, purposefully neglecting to reveal that half or more of his clients were not white, and upon arriving at the hotel, Granz would refuse to be forced out, threatening lawsuits if they persisted.[70] Yet, while he undoubtedly worked in a

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[68] Tad Hershorn, *Norman Granz: The Man Who Used Jazz for Justice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 96.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Granz's ardent "anti-discrimination" and "colorblindness" rhetoric, that took the form of standing up to both jim crow and "crow jim" prejudices. Crow jim being the process of reverse discrimination in jazz history that preferences the playing abilities of black jazz musicians over their white colleagues. Tad Hershorn notes particular instances in Europe first with Flip Phillips and JATP in Germany in 1952, then with Buddy DeFranco in Paris in 1955. Granz was dismayed at European audiences' desire to hear only black musicians whom they felt better represented "real" jazz: Hershorn, *Norman Granz*, 164-5, and 239. Ingrid Monson explores the concept of Crow Jim and feelings of white exclusion in jazz in Ingrid Monson, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call Out to Jazz and Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 241-247.

positive way towards racial justice and a more accepting society, his actual management tactics are more suggestive of antiquated notions of patronage.

Granz's "songbook" series, his best-known project second to JATP, is reflective of the artistic influence he exercised over his clients.[71] Both Peterson and Fitzgerald recorded many of these songbooks with the intent of attracting audiences more familiar with popular musics of the time. In reference to Fitzgerald's first Verve Records album featuring the music of Cole Porter, Granz stated: "I was interested in how I could enhance Ella's position, to make her a singer with more than just a cult following amongst jazz fans…The trick was to change the backing enough so that, here and there, there would be signs of jazz."[72] Similarly, Oscar Peterson mentions that in dealing with Granz "[s]ome time ago [1959] I did some albums that we called the composers' series – Gershwin, Irving Berlin, Cole Porter… Norman Granz had asked me to play during these sessions in a simpler way, more understandable to the people these albums were aimed at, who weren't necessarily jazz fans. Maybe to draw more people into jazz. To be sure, the jazz critics, who hadn't understood the point of these recordings, put them aside."[73] While both artists were seemingly willing to go along with Granz's ideas, his influence over them is more representative of the ways popular music manager-client or producer-artist relationships are viewed than in the jazz world, where artistic autonomy is prized.[74] This ideological influence

[71] Songbooks, here, refer to albums consisting solely of pieces by a single composer (e.g. the Cole Porter Songbook) rather than collections of Great American Songbook standards of many different composers as had often been the previous practice.

[72] Quoted in Hershorn, *Norman Granz,* 217.

[73] Gene Lees, *Oscar Peterson: The Will to Swing* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1988), 174.

[74] For a compelling discussion of the tension of the jazz-pop spectrum, and crossovers see: Brian Felix, "Wes Montgomery's a Day in the Life: The Anatomy of a Jazz-Pop Crossover Album," *Jazz Perspectives* 8, no. 3 (2014): 237-258; see also Charles D. Carson, "'Bridging the Gap': Creed Taylor, Grover Washington Jr., and the Crossover Roots of Smooth Jazz," *Black Music Research Journal* 28, no. 1, Becoming Black and the Musical Imagination, (Spring, 2008): 1-15.

over his artists problematizes Granz's position in the patron-client relationship; the relatively unequal balance of power is illustrated in his influence on the repertoire.

Granz prohibiting Fitzgerald from performing repertoire that he felt was beneath her status as an artist is a clear example of the influence he held over the artists whom he managed. Fitzgerald's long time pianist Paul Smith cites a specific moment in which Granz, who was strongly against any work by Stephen Sondheim, rejected a Benny Carter arrangement of Sondheim's "Send in The Clowns" from his 1973 musical, *A Little Night Music*.[75] "What are you playing this for?" asked Granz, making "such of an issue of it we took it out of the book," remembers Smith.[76] Granz's actions with Fitzgerald are somewhat ironic considering the need for Oscar Peterson to defend his songbook albums after they garnered negative critical response based on accusations of the pandering.[77] For Granz however, business and art, two inextricably bound arenas, meant very little without an audience, using that to justify his actions as being for "art's sake," when perhaps they are more the result of a combination of personal taste and sensitivity to the market.

Granz stands as a unique figure in the history of jazz due to his role as both impresario, and manager. Offering Peterson, Fitzgerald, and the other artists he worked with, financially remunerative performance and recording activities, they were expected to adhere to his personal taste and assessment of the market. Granz differs from Hammond in that, for the most part, he kept the personal boundaries between patron and client intact, while he continually inserted himself into the artistic side of their work. For Granz, these relationships gave him the ability to

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[75] Hershorn, *Norman Granz*, 226.

[76] Ibid.

[77] It must be noted that for a vocalist to sing a repertoire of only standards in basic arrangements is received far differently than if a virtuoso instrumentalist does so. Fitzgerald's vocal virtuosity becomes less important due to the constructed hierarchical disparity between vocalists and instrumentalists, as well as the attendant gender coding of those categories, vocal performance being frequently framed as "feminine" and "less serious."

put forth his own personal vision of jazz music and make money in the process. Black artists were offered exposure and access to performance venues that would ordinarily have been barred to them in exchange for adhering to his conception of jazz. This type of approach leads well into the final case study, impresario George Wein.

Impresario as Patron

Known primarily for his creation and leadership of the Newport Jazz festival, Wein is (with the possible exception of Granz) perhaps the most recognizable impresario/promoter in the history of jazz. Starting as a jazz pianist in the Boston area, Wein founded the Newport Jazz Festival in 1954 after having served as a proprietor to two nightclubs, Storyville and Mahogany Hall.[78] Solicited and funded to run the festival by socialites Elaine and Louis Lorillard, the festival has become a site for many famous recordings and concerts in its 63-year history. That solicitation puts Wein in a unique position as the center of a multi-tiered patronage system; him as the recipient of patronage from the Lorillards, while simultaneously serving as patron to the musicians who performed at the festival. Despite initial resistance from the affluent residents of Newport, Wein "prevailed, and jazz found acceptance as a symbol of postwar social enlightenment and good times."[79] Cultural historian Iain Anderson points out that Wein began the festival with a vision for showcasing the jazz tradition and its development, as reflected through the first year's program. Anderson reveals "[the] first Newport festival opened with Eddie Condon's traditional group, and progressed through the various styles of Count Basie, Ella Fitzgerald, George Shearing, Dizzy Gillespie, Gerry Mulligan, and the Modern Jazz Quartet."[80]

[78] Scott K. DeVeaux and Gary Giddins, *Jazz* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2009), 579.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Iain Anderson, *This is Our Music: Free Jazz, the Sixties, and American Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 32.

Wein's jazz tastes, however, would not continue to govern the lineup of the festival for much longer though, due to the financial implications of having primarily mainstream jazz performers.

Both the Newport and Monterey jazz festivals, Anderson notes, "lost money or barely broke even in the first couple of years. Each struggled to keep up the appearance of culture and refinement while attracting sufficient people to turn a profit."[81] For that reason, the festival was eventually changed from its initial non-profit format to a commercial venture in 1962 and "reverted to crossover or non-jazz acts as headliners."[82] Despite its struggles though, Anderson reveals that the board paid Wein $5000 for four months of work and occasional bonuses of up to $2000, even in its first year when the festival was not particularly successful.[83] To combat the financial struggle, Wein began giving artists such as Frank Sinatra top billing in order to attract a larger audience; a decision that quickly invoked the rage of avant-garde saxophonist Archie Shepp, among others, who believed that Wein was excluding musicians more indicative of the jazz "tradition."[84] Undeterred by such criticism, Wein soon relocated his office to New York and began founding numerous other music festivals throughout the United States such as the Playboy Jazz Festival, Newport Folk Festival, and the New Orleans Heritage & Jazz Festival based on the Newport model. From those endeavors, Wein became arguably the most powerful promoter/impresario in jazz due to his ability to grant high levels of exposure to the musicians with whom he worked.

Wein's business dealings were kept behind-the-scenes, while his performance of patronage to jazz musicians took place in public spaces, allowing him to control the discourse

[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid., 82.
[83] Ibid., 32.
[84] Ibid., 82.

surrounding himself, the music, and the artists. He was often criticized for the power he held, with others noting that he made decisions about the festival without input from the musicians whom it employed, and profited despite the festival's poor financial status the first few years. His desire to create a festival that was true to the tradition of jazz was subordinate to his desire to appease *his own* patrons and business goals. As a member of the managerial class, he is a complicated figure because of those choices and his lack of response to musicians' requests, all of which eventually led to what was one of the first open challenges to systems of white patronage in jazz, the Newport Rebels Festival.

Challenging Patronage

The Rebels Festival, organized by Charles Mingus and Max Roach, was a direct challenge to impresario George Wein's Newport Jazz Festival.[85] Mingus and Roach were primarily motivated by their feeling that Wein's festival no longer stood "as the guardian of a progressive art form, [because] its pay scale reflected a large disparity between popular attractions and lesser known jazz musicians. Leading jazz innovators and exponents who lacked widespread recognition [to] appear for much less money than their better-known peers and [receive] less favorable billing."[86] Cultural historian John Worsley notes that Mingus was likely "disenchanted with the festival… [feeling] that he was being 'ripped off' financially by it, and moreover… that the festival approved of Jim Crow attitudes in Newport and at the festival

[85] It should be noted that Miles Davis is often looked to as a musician who rejected white involvement in his music and therefore the white patronage system, but his well-known interactions with producer Teo Macero, and Columbia recording executive Clive Davis suggest otherwise. Were he operating outside of the patronage system the need to ask permission for raises or require their assistance in achieving great financial success would be unnecessary. Victor Svorinich's recent book on Davis and the creation of his album, *Bitches Brew,* sheds light on these interactions and M. Davis's requests for help from C. Davis and Teo Macero. For more on this see Victor Svorinich, *Listen to This: Miles Davis and Bitches Brew* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2015). For financial dealings pages 135-140; and for Macero's involvement, chapters 5, 6, and 7, pages 97-160.

[86] Anderson, *This is Our Music,* 50.

itself."[87] For that reason, Mingus and Roach sought "to conduct business independently of the music industry's entrepreneurial and promotional framework," because of the "growing number of musicians and critics [who concluded] that commercial imperatives interfered with artistic priorities at Wein's festival."[88] By staging the festival in such close proximity to Wein's, and on the same weekend, these musicians questioned the necessity for pandering to audiences (one could argue that they collectively embody a patron) and festival producers. If successful, the festival would signal a large step past the idea that black musicians require white patrons to succeed in creating/disseminating their work. Moreover, it would serve as a public success for the avant-garde and politically charged music that many musicians were seeking to associate with black nationalist and civil rights movements in the United States.

Unfortunately for the Newport Rebels, the name they gave themselves on the record made as a tribute to their efforts, the festival was largely unsuccessful. Anderson notes that "the hoped-for solidarity failed to materialize," and that "Charles Mingus and Max Roach anticipated that collective responsibility for the festival would lead to an equitable disbursement of the rewards, yet various performers begged, borrowed and stole from the proceeds until the profits had disappeared."[89] Furthermore, the group that resulted from these musicians, the Jazz Artists' Guild, "designed to independently produce and promote musical events while keeping artistic and financial matters in the hands of performers" failed "to establish a workable economic model" because of the inability to find one vision or path to work from. Ingrid Monson reveals that much of the support for the festival came as a result of help they received from Elaine Lorillard, a white woman and one of the patrons of the original Newport festival. Lorillard

[87] John Ashton Worsley, *The Newport Jazz Festival: A Clash of Cultures*, (PhD diss., Clark University, 1981), 142.
[88] Anderson, *This is Our Music*, 50.
[89] Ibid., 91.

connected them to Nick Cannarozzi, the owner of the Cliff Walk Manor, who allowed them to keep the entrance fees in exchange for the business he expected from their festival.[90] Even with such a powerful step, the musicians were not without the aid of a white patron in accomplishing their goal. Some groups however, sought to work outside the system of white patronage in order to avoid the sense of intrusion that many black musicians had felt throughout the history of jazz.

Working Outside Patronage

Amiri Baraka attempted to create one of the first black-run arts organizations that did not rely on white financial support with the Black Arts Repertory Theater/School (BARTS) in Harlem. Baraka conceived of this as a "combination cultural center, arts workshop, and performance space, the venue would offer an oasis of black drama, music, art a, and history."[91] The school featured "concerts by Cecil Taylor, John Coltrane, Sun Ra, Archie Shepp, Albert Ayler, Pharoah Sanders, Jackie Mclean, and Milford Graves, courses in black history and literature and drama and poetry workshops."[92] The choice of such artists was deliberate, as Baraka felt that in "avant-garde" music: "something is really happening. Now. Has been happening, though generally ignored and/or reviled by middle-brow critics (usually white) who have no understanding of the emotional context this music comes to life in… That is, the spirit, the World Explanation, available in Black Lives, Culture, Art, speaks of a world more beautiful than the white man knows."[93] Despite the good intentions, BARTS did not last very long; without economic or institutional support from the city of Harlem, it was constantly competing

[90] Monson, *Freedom Sounds*, 184. Lorillard's decision to defect from the Newport Jazz Festival and support Mingus and Roach's endeavor was largely due to her being ousted from the board by her husband Louis and the other members. Moreover, her decision was exacerbated other forces that were suggesting problems at the Newport festival surrounding class consciousness, cultural awareness, and overall attitude towards artists and audience. For more see: Worsley, *The Newport Jazz Festival*, 143.

[91] Anderson, *This is Our Music*, 93.

[92] Ibid., 108.

[93] Baraka, *Black Music*, 175.

with other black nationalist organizations, who felt that their turf had been invaded by artists from downtown.[94]

Dissimilarly, two creative black musical enterprises started concurrently with BARTS *were* able to sustain themselves for many years, even to this day in one case, Horace Tapscott's Underground Musicians Union, later renamed the Union of God's Musicians and Artists Ascension (UGMAA) founded in 1961, and the Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians (AACM) founded by Muhal Richard Abrams in 1965 in Chicago.[95] Tappscott's UGMAA set a precedent for this kind of group during its founding in Los Angeles. Dedicated to "instilling an awareness of and respect for African American culture among young people and providing them with a positive creative outlet," this group had much more longevity than BARTS, staying active until the mid-1990s.[96] While the group did not last indefinitely, their founding date is also reflective of the shift in black political engagement in the 1960s, which was coming to rely far more on group support and separatist enterprises.

The AACM has demonstrated an even stronger staying power. In his monumental history of this group George Lewis notes that their initial outlook was based on "the implicit understanding of the difference between a notion of "racism" as the individualized practice of "prejudice" and the institutionalized exclusion to which they and their forebears had long been subjected."[97] In this way, "forming a black organization as a primary strategy of empowerment constituted a challenge to white-controlled economic, social, and discursive networks. At the same time, clearly present was the hope that with the eventual empowerment of black people, the

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[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid., 141.
[96] Ibid., 142.
[97] George Lewis, *A Power Stronger Than Itself: The AACM and American Experimental Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 114.

need for race-specific political and economic strategies might be diminished."[98] Still active today, the AACM is perhaps the best model for an organization breaking away from the white power structures of the United States. Like UGMAA, the AACM was also committed to community building as in their focus on "institution building [extending beyond the search for gigs to embrace far-reaching social ambitions aimed at bringing cohesion, pride, and self-determination to South Side [of Chicago] neighborhoods through the regenerative potential of the arts."[99] The group was not without its problems, Anderson notes personality conflicts and well as tensions between career and community focused initiatives, but its message and longevity can nonetheless be looked to as a model for success.[100]

Breaking Down the Hierarchy

Throughout both positive and negative performances of patronage, allies to black musicians existed within the broader jazz scene, assisting musicians in accomplishing their goals without seeking the same levels of public notoriety as in the previous case studies. In some cases, the boundaries of the patronage relationship broke down and patrons become friends of the musicians in a way that prevents the traditional power structures of remaining intact. In the examples discussed above, the boundaries of patronage were maintained in various ways whether it be through contracts, influence in the artists career, or lack of communication, but in some cases white non-musician members of society can perform acts of patronage for black jazz musicians outside of the managerial and critical classes.

Relationships in which "friendship" comes into play generates unique opportunities for academic inquiry. The Baronness Pannonica de Koenigswarter is perhaps the most recognizable

[98] Ibid.
[99] Anderson, *This is Our Music*, 143.
[100] Ibid., 144-8.

patron of jazz musicians in the history of the music, and indeed, her relationships with a number of artists went well beyond the normative boundaries of patronage. Through her friendships with Thelonious Monk, Charlie Parker, Teddy Wilson, and many others she has become a jazz legend in her own right. According to Robin D.G. Kelley, de Koenigswarter, an heir to the Rothschild family, began her relationship with United States jazz musicians in the 1950s after repeated trips to New York attempting to distance herself from her husband and familial ties.[101] Upon her arrival in New York, de Koengiswarter quickly became embroiled in the New York city jazz scene, and in particular with black members of that scene.

Perhaps the most well-known of de Koengiswarter's relationships began in 1954 upon her meeting with the eccentric and enigmatic jazz pianist Thelonious Monk. As early as 1956 Nica bought Monk both a Buick Special automobile, and a Steinway Grand M Ebony piano, which she kept at her apartment for him to practice on or rehearse with whenever he wanted at clearly great financial expense.[102] Moreover, she helped to pay his medical bills during periods of illness, drove him to and from gigs, decorated the apartment she purchased in 1958 around his needs for rehearsal and practice, wrote liner notes for his 1963 album *Criss Cross*, and housed him during the last years of life when he performed infrequently and was largely sedentary and isolated.[103] The liner notes to *Criss Cross* are perhaps the most telling document of her feelings towards Monk: "To attempt an analysis, description or explanation of Thelonious' music-making would be superfluous. His greatness lies in the very fact that he transcends all formulae, all well-worn adjectives and clichés (sic); only a new vocabulary, perhaps, could suffice…Even if Thelonious' music is precise and mathematical, it is at the same time pure magic. Listen, and

[101] Robin D.G. Kelley, *Thelonious Monk: The Life and Times of an American Original* (New York, NY: Free Press, 2009).
[102] Ibid., 201, 210
[103] Ibid., 411, 217, 240, 335, and 439-40.

you'll see."[104] These notes point to the dedication with which de Koenigswarter approached her desire to help and support Monk.

The motivations behind de Koengiswarter's relationship with Monk are much less clear than those of the managerial class and their clients. It is true that she may have been seeking a way to rebel against her class origins in her family's aristocratic way of life, much the same way that John Hammond did as a fan of the music. However, in de Koenigswarter's case, this choice led to her "not [being] cut off entirely, but [having] her access to the family fortune[] significantly curtailed" due to the Rothschild's "not look[ing] kindly upon her fraternizing with musicians…"[105] Since she had lived such a sheltered life and felt constricted by her marriage, jazz musicians, and an eccentric one like Monk in particular, offered her an opportunity to rebel, benefitting from her close association with an eccentric black jazz musician. Unlike Hammond though, de Koenigswarter utilized her ability to work between the white and black worlds to offer assistance to her jazz musician friends while maintaining that relationship, rather than developing it into the more distant patron-client variety.[106]

Furthermore, de Koengiswarter is unique in the context of this paper as one of only two female patrons included. This is not however, based on the fact that there simply were no other female patrons throughout the history of jazz. Marian McPartland could also be considered a patron, particularly in light of the public access she granted musicians through her work on NPR's *Piano Jazz*, as well as Elaine Lorillard in her choice to fund Charles Mingus and Max Roach's Rebels Festival in order to spite her husband with whom she was in the midst of a

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[104] Pannonica de Koenigswarter, liner notes to *Criss Cross*, Thelonious Monk, Columbia CK 63537, uploaded to http://www.monkzone.com/linotes/Criss%20Cross%20(Nica%20de%20Koenig.).htm

[105] Kelley, *Thelonious Monk*, 176.

[106] It should be noted that the very fact that she can exist in both worlds, even without her family's wealth, points to the privilege she possesses a white person in the United States.

difficult divorce.[107] However, the women who served as patrons to jazz musicians did not perform their role as publicly as men due to the often strict gender roles of the United States and its jazz scene.

The Longevity of Patronage

Despite the challenge of the Rebels Festival, the actions of de Koenigswarter, and the formation of the UGMAA and AACM systems of white patronage have remained intact. A recent Facebook post by trumpeter and Jazz at Lincoln Center (JALC) director Wynton Marsalis points to the enduring power of these systems. Marsalis' place in jazz history and in the dissemination has been discussed frequently (perhaps too frequently), because of his conservative ideas about what jazz, has been, and should be Marsalis took to Facebook on the 18 January 2017 to answer a question from a student masterclass about whether or not he would perform at President Trump's inauguration if asked.[108] Marsalis responded in the affirmative, stating that "I'll at least wait for him (or them) to actually do something that I feel should be protested against…." And that "[when] a process yields results you really don't like, that's the perfect time to endorse that process. It proves your belief in the larger agenda. And that's why, if asked, I would be happy to play. As far as protesting goes, I did that on November 8th. The election was the protest."[109] While this could be read as ambivalence about the actions of President Trump and his, then soon to be, administration, considering this post through the lens of patronage and economic markets offers an alternative interpretation.

Marsalis, as the highest paid jazz musician in the world, is nothing if not a shrewd and skilled business man. His views on jazz, here are not what is important, but rather how he uses

[107] Monson, *Freedom Sounds*, 184-5.
[108] Wynton Marsalis's Facebook page, accessed 12 March, 2017. https://www.facebook.com/wyntonmarsalis/posts/10154806120372976
[109] Ibid.

his position as a notable performer of jazz to continue to disseminate his personal views on the music. In that way, revealing that he would perform at the inauguration is more indicative of his stature as a businessmen than as a trumpeter. Marsalis is well-aware of the fact that by answering negatively, he would isolate much of his current, and potential, JALC audience and groups of donors. However, to avoid this interpretation, Marsalis finesses his response so as to justify his statement as being in the spirit of democracy, claiming that "Being a child of the Civil Rights Movement, [he] grew up knowing that activists from all walks of life courageously faced injustice head on… Now is not the time for leaders to disappear and allow the national dialogue to be shifted away from the sometimes-impossible negotiations of conflicting viewpoints that are essential to the well-being (sic) of our democracy."[110] By using this type of rhetoric Marsalis also reinforces his "Jazz as Democracy" and "America's Classical Music" agenda. A quick look on the JALC website's "support" page reinforces this idea for possible patrons. The page reads "For 29 years, our organization [JALC] has brought people together through a common love of America's greatest art form: jazz. But we can't do it alone."[111]

His opinion on this matter changed dramatically only a few short months later when President Trump suggested defunding the National Endowment of the Arts (NEA). On the 3 April 2017 episode of the CBS morning program, "CBS This Morning," Marsalis responds to a prompt from host Norah O'Donnell regarding the proposed cuts: "There's so much wrong with so much that's going on in our politics not just directed at him [President Trump]… Your national budget is symbolic, so you're basically telling the world, 'this is what we, as a nation, think about *our* arts… When we tell people our arts are not important, our wisdom is not

[110] Ibid.

[111] Jazz at Lincoln Center, "Give the Gift." Accessed 12 March 2017. http://www.jazz.org/givethegift/

important, we're preparing our public to be more ignorant."[112] To be sure, Marsalis never at any point specifically condemns the president, his rhetoric about ignorance being the result of defunding arts is indicative of these systems of patronage. Still, Marsalis walks a line in an attempt not to disrespect the President and his governmental supporters who have taken a strong stand against arts funding while simultaneously expressing his dismay at the newly proposed budget. In this way, such systems continue to persist, even at the highest levels of success and perceived financial security in the jazz world.

University as Patron

As a music that was consistently considered to be problematic, jazz now functions for the university, similarly to the way black musicians have functioned for their white patrons. Anthropologist Eitan Y. Wilf, in his 2014 study of university jazz programs, *School for Cool*, posits that universities hire professional jazz musicians into their faculty because they bring a "real world" dynamism into the classroom that cannot exist without them, a process Wilf calls "Charisma Infusion."[113] This concept is of particular importance, because without the presence of faculty who have "real world" experience the program holds very little cultural capital. David Ake theorizes that "the street," coined in reference to New York City's 52nd Street, among others of that city, represents an idealized time in jazz musicking practices: "college-based [jazz] programs have replaced not only the proverbial street as the primary training grounds for young jazz musicians but also urban nightclubs as the main professional homes for hundreds of jazz

[112] Wynton Marsalis, interview by Norah O'Donnell, Gayle King, and Charlie Rose, *CBS This Morning*, April 3, 2017.

[113] Eitan Y. Wilf, *School for Cool: The Academic Jazz Program and the Paradox of Institutionalized Creativity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014). For his discussion of charisma infusion, see specifically Wilf's fourth chapter: "Charisma Infusion: Bringing *the Street* Back into the Classroom," pp. 83-114. However, it must be noted that Wilf's study is somewhat stilted in that he bases much of it at Berklee College of Music, a school that very much holds its own unique identity in the world of academic jazz programs and cannot be compared to its competitors based on its sheer size of 4,083 students according to statistics for its 2014-15 school year that can be found at: https://www.berklee.edu/sites/default/files/2014-15%20Fact%20Sheet_Final_0.pdf

performers and composers."[114] By cultivating this image of "the street," jazz programs generate charisma for the music school, validating their existence and imbuing it with cultural capital. Similarly, the music school infuses the *entire* university with the charisma and cultural capital that comes with housing a jazz program. Jazz programs signal a particular openness to diversity and arts that having a classical music performance program does not.

However, charisma infusion is only one part of the university's claim to jazz as its new somewhat neglected step-child.[115] The continuous debate of locating the first university jazz program is also reflective of the system of patronage in higher education. By hoping to lay claim to the being first academic jazz program, universities are looking to place themselves on the right side of history, in much the same way that European jazz critics historically positioned themselves as the first to pay serious critical attention to jazz as an art form.[116] In this regard, the university seeks to explore, celebrate and affirm (to borrow from Christopher Small) diversity and their place in making it a part of the university setting.[117]

What needs more attention in this area is the racial and gender makeups of college jazz programs. As Ken Prouty notes "one of the core criticisms of institutionalized jazz studies is that it has moved the music too far beyond the non-academic jazz community, from its roots in *vernacular traditions and practices.* At times this has been expressed more directly, with charges

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[114] David Ake, "Crossing The Street: Rethinking Jazz Education," in *Jazz/Not Jazz: The Music and its Boundaries*, edited by David Ake, Daniel Goldmark, and Charles Hiroshi Garrett. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 238.

[115] David Baker, "Jazz: The Academy's Neglected Stepchild," *Down Beat* 32, (1965). 29-32.

[116] The issues surrounding such claims appear in Prouty, *Knowing Jazz*; Travis A. Jackson, "New Bottle, Old Wine": Wither Jazz Studies," in *Issues in African American Music: Power, Gender, Race, Representation*. Edited by Portia K. Maultsby and Mellonee V. Burnim. (New York: Routledge, 2017), 31; Wilf, *School for Cool*, 33-36; and Richard C. Jankowsky "The Medium is the Message: Jazz Diplomacy and the Democratic Imagination," in *Jazz Worlds/World Jazz*, Edited by Philip V. Bohlman and Goffredo Plastino (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 262.

[117] Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1998), 212.

that the field is *overwhelmingly white*, especially when measured against the predominance of African American jazz artists," (emphasis mine).[118] What Prouty notes is the university jazz program's propensity to *perform* diversity rather than actually committing to it. Often, university jazz programs do not reflect the values of equality and inclusion either by gender or racially. More studies are necessary to determine the true makeup of university jazz programs, but cursory looks at program websites and collegiate jazz festivals gives credence to this point. Moreover, within the program the concept of charisma is inextricably bound with problematic stereotypes of black masculinity.

African American literature scholar Erica R. Edwards, in her research on charismatic black leadership, has posited that "[charisma] is a gendered and gendering structure of knowing and conceptualizing social and political movement. I do not mean to suggest that women cannot or have not become charismatic leaders. Rather, I mean to emphasize that charisma participates in a gendered economy of political authority in which the attributes of the ideal leader are the traits American society usually conceives as rightly belonging to men or to normative masculinity…"[119] While Edwards is writing clearly on political charisma her assertions carry over into the ways that charisma exists within the jazz program. Hipness and authenticity, a topic that will be returned to in chapter 2, can be found by associating with black musicians, as in the previous case studies, or through a performed sonic blackness. Within academic jazz programs, the choice of repertoire, musical influences, and personal actions all contribute to the charisma of the program and the individual. Often, as Edwards points out, these performances of charisma rely heavily upon gendered foundations of authenticity. This is a likely cause for the limited

[118] Prouty, *Knowing Jazz*, 58.
[119] Erica R. Edwards, *Charisma and the Ficitions of Black Leadership* (Minneapolis, MN: University fo Minnesota Press, 2012).

participation of women in academic jazz programs, and the jazz scene writ large. 2017 and 2018 have pointed to this problem within jazz culture as more and more women speak out on injustices they have faced as performers of this music.[120] Yet while academic jazz often takes the blame for much of this inequality, jazz as a music has historically practiced charisma infusing practices that routinely discriminate against queer and female musicians.[121]

Conclusion

In jazz then, patronage should be understood as a two-way exchange rather than a one-way process of altruism. As demonstrated by Hammond, Wein, and Granz, patronage relationships offer patrons cultural capital in exchange for the access and financial support that comes with their whiteness and personal wealth. It is certainly true that all three men made important contributions to black jazz musicians, but their relationships were far more complicated than scholars have previously theorized. The strength of the system is made manifest through the fact that challenges to white patronage were largely unsuccessful leading to the University, and even the government, to function as the strongest most consistent patrons to the music. Two entities that, while not entirely white, are decidedly not black in the ways that they have been run both historically and in the present. Such relationships have had profound implications on the creation and dissemination of jazz throughout the history of the music as well. Due to the need for black musicians to appease their white patrons in many situations, they

[120] For more on the women speaking out on injustices in jazz see: Natalie Weiner, "Is Jazz Still Sexist?," *JazzTimes*, June 21, 2017; Sasha Berliner, "An Open Letter to Ethan Iverson (And the Rest of the Jazz Patriarchy)," *Blog: Social and Political Commentary*, September 21, 2017; Giovanni Russonello, "For Women in Jazz, A Year of Reckoning and Recognition," *New York Times*, December 1, 2017;; Kalia Vandever, "Token Girl," *Medium.com*, March 16, 2018; and the open letter with 893 signatures as of March 20, 2018: We Have Voice Collective, "Open Letter: We Have Voice," *too-many.org*, https://too-many.org, this website is also unique because it offers a "Related Articles," and "Resources" pages that are linked out to many other articles dealing with sexism in jazz and beyond.

[121] There are a small number of notable exceptions to this though, such as pianist/composer Mary Lou Williams as artist in residence at Duke University from 1977 until her death in 1981 and, more recently, pianist Geri Allen as head of the jazz studies Ph.D. at the University of Pittsburgh from 2012 until her death in June 2017.

were forced to change their artistic vision to more closely match with that of their patron's. In the next chapter, I explore a period in which musicians sought a blacker audience base and move away from solely white patronage. Through changes in their music and approach to performance hard bop musicians evince a sonic black nationalism and problematize established economic and political systems surrounding jazz.

Chapter 2 This is Their Music:

The Politics of Blackness in Post-war Jazz Styles

Hard bop of the 1950s has often been framed as a time of musical and political "regression" in jazz historiography. Falling between the complex musical stylings of bebop musicians in the 1940s and the esoterism of the 1960s free jazz movement, hard bop *appears* far less challenging both musically and politically. Such an understanding of the hard bop style though, strips its practitioners of their agency, politics, and overlooks processes of black music-making. In the same way that bebop and free jazz musicians evince a black nationalist politics, so too do hard bop musicians, however, theirs is often enacted *sonically* rather than verbally. This point is of particular importance since it has often been the practice of many critics and historians to frame black nationalism as a "militant" and "violent" political stance rather than as a multi-faceted and nuanced viewpoint in black communities. In this paper, I challenge accepted narratives of hard bop as a "popular" music that lacks the complexity of bebop or free jazz, as a style that emerges *solely* as a response to west coast and cool jazz sounds, and as music that is less politically meaningful than the surrounding bebop and free jazz movements both within and without black audiences. In so doing, I reframe black nationalism as a sonically enacted force that serves as a way to evince racial pride, reach out to multiple black communities and people, and as a positive force the marginalized black artists and people in the United States.

Characterizations of Hard Bop

As the first extended study of the hard bop genre, poet and author David H. Rosenthal's, *Hard Bop: Jazz and Black Music 1955-1965*, has influenced on current understanding of hard bop musicians and style. Rosenthal begins with a chapter on bebop, immediately characterizing the music as "a banner of rebellion, filled with excitement of discovery, turning jazz inside out

and electrifying a musical language in danger of excessive codification. At its most extreme, the world of bebop meant rejecting respectability in favor of a bohemian quest for strong sensation, for the aesthetic and spiritual."[122] Focusing on the counter cultural aspects of the music is a common approach to discussions of bebop, but such a viewpoint routinely overlooks the music itself and the processes by which musicians created it. On the next page though, Rosenthal digs deeper into his counter-culture-based argument, claiming that "Bebop, then, was partly an outburst of black rage and denial, an attempt to create an alternative world from which one could gaze with distant irony at 'square' America… Cool, ironic distance; it's not for nothing that beboppers' favorite drug was heroin."[123] Rosenthal's focus on the "deviance" of the music, a topic on which sociologist Howard Becker has written much, and its "sordid" characteristics, merely reinforces ideas of black music being the result of "anger," "hatred," and "militancy," rather than of the creative/intellectual processes of black musicians.[124] To be sure, anger and frustration were part of bebop musicians response to what they saw as creatively stifling swing music, but to suggest that it was the primary motivation overlooks the lived experience of musicians. Rosenthal's approach is not unique though, in that black nationalism and black politics by extension, are consistently re-inscribed with negative connotations in the jazz world by critics and earlier writers viewing jazz as an "art" music that is above politics.[125]

In order to clarify the often muddy boundaries between hard bop and bebop, Rosenthal posits that there are four possible sub-categories within the hard bop umbrella: the first are

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[122] David H. Rosenthal, *Hard Bop: Jazz and Black Music 1955-1965* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 15.
[123] Ibid., 16.
[124] In particular, I refer to Becker's two influential works: Howard S. Becker, "The Professional Dance Musician and His Audience," *American Journal of Sociology* 57 (1951-52): 136-44; and Howard S. Becker, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York: The Free Press, 1973).
[125] A well-known example of such an approach is Mark Gridley, "Misconceptions in Linking Free Jazz with the Civil Rights Movement," *College Music Symposium* 47 (2007):139-155.

musicians interested in the intersection between jazz and black popular music; the second are musicians lesser known regulars in the hard bop recording and playing scene such as Tina Brooks, Jackie McLean, Elmo Hope, and Mal Waldron; the third group are more lyrical players such as Art Farmer, composers Benny Golson and Gigi Gryce, and pianist Hank Jones; and the fourth group are experimentalists such as Sonny Rollins, John Coltrane "(prior to 1965)," Thelonious Monk, and Charles Mingus.[126] The first three categories are convincing in their inclusion of the different ways musicians approached jazz in the 1950s, especially since Rosenthal avoids the trap of understanding hard bop through solely the "funky" or "soulful" performances such as Horace Silver's "The Preacher," or Lee Morgan's "Sidewinder."[127] His fourth category, however, is somewhat confusing in that, of all the musicians he lists, Sonny Rollins was the only musician active in what is considered to be the hard bop scene. Charles Mingus resists categorization due to the breadth of his musical style, the same could be said of Thelonious Monk whose style had not changed since his time in the bebop scene of the 1940s, and John Coltrane's playing at the time was heavily influenced by the language of bebop musicians, but was also looking forward to the "Giant Steps" and "sheets of sound" phases that he would enter by the end of the 1950s. In the task of assembling these categories, Rosenthal's extensive listening allowed for a rather comprehensive look at important records and stylistic traits that have defined the musicians of the hard bop era.

Following Rosenthal's book, the prevalence of college textbooks and general histories leads to their strong influence on present day conceptions of hard bop musically and historically. Mark C. Gridley's *Jazz Styles* textbook, for years the most widely adopted on the college market,

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[126] Rosenthal, *Hard Bop*, 44-5.

[127] Horace Silver, "The Preacher," recorded February 6, 1954 on *Horace Silver and the Jazz Messengers*, Blue Note BLP 1518; and Lee Morgan, "The Sidewinder," recorded December 13, 1963 on *The Sidewinder*, Blue Note BLP 4157.

frames hard bop almost solely in relation to bebop before it: "Those who came after Parker and Gillespie simplified the styles. Some of hard bop was then a matter of simplification though some of hard bop was original. Also note that hard bop's originality was not as drastic a departure from bop as bop had been from swing."[128] Gridley is certainly not wrong in his assessment of hard bop being much closer to bebop than any other previous styles, but he errs in his assertion that it was merely a simplification of bop or that the "'chattering' and spontaneous communication between soloist and accompanist… [was] *intrusive*," (emphasis mine).[129] This passage points more to an aesthetic preference of the author than to musical practice or reality. In particular, "chattering" or "noise" from drummers, an approach that began with the bass drum "bombs" of Kenny Clarke and Max Roach responding to bebop soloists but developed into a textural effect with hard bop drummers such as Art Blakey, is common in African American music making practices and would not necessarily have felt "intrusive" to soloists.

In their textbook, *Jazz: The First 100 Years*, Henry Martin and Keith Waters frame hard bop as the antithesis of cool jazz, a music they claim is "overly cerebral and devoid of energy and emotion," due to "the compositional sophistication of the West Coast players and third-stream composers… [that] seemed an attempt to align with the European classical tradition – a pretentious striving for the cachet of "high art."[130] In contrast, "hard bop payers continued to extend the bebop tradition with its emphasis on improvisation, thirty-two-bar formal structures, and straight-ahead swinging… Further some of these bands made use of simpler, earthier style known as funky (or soul) jazz."[131] Here, Martin and Waters, perhaps unknowingly, reinforce the

[128] Mark C. Gridley, *Jazz Styles*, Tenth Edition (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2009), 230.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Henry Martin and Keith Waters, *Jazz: The First 100 Years* (Belmont, CA: Schirmer/Thomson Learning, 2002), 221.
[131] Ibid.

idea of a figurative Cartesian split being mapped onto white cool jazz players and black hard boppers: cool jazz appeals to the "head" or "intellect," while the blackness of hard bop primarily appeals to "the body," ignoring stylistic and racial overlaps that resist such an analysis. In doing so, they reduce both musics to only their surface-level characteristics and reject the idea of a boundary that is permeable, if in existence at all.

Alyn Shipton's characterization of hard bop is more musically nuanced and reflective of the actual sound of the music: "aggressive brass and saxophone solos, using all the harmonic and melodic ingredients of bebop, began to be set in a highly accessible framework of catch riff-based melodies, over a gospel-tinged rhythm, buoyed up with the backbeat inflections of rhythm and blues."[132] Shipton's understanding is much stronger than the previous writers in its omission of language that judges the music or frames it solely as a response to the "white" cool jazz style. Gary Giddins and Scott DeVeaux in their text book, *Jazz*, follow that approach, but take it further in pointing to the fact that "hard bop came to embody a general attitude (tough, urban, straightforward) and a new mainstream in jazz–one that made a point of resisting overt experimentation," while keeping in mind that "for the most part, cool and hard bop represented the natural development of bop in a changing world."[133] While the idea that hard bop resisted experimentation or that it was a "natural development" may be somewhat reductive, hard bop reflecting a new attitude towards playing not absolutely dissimilar from cool jazz is refreshing. The most complimentary treatment of hard bop though, comes in Brian Harker's textbook, *Jazz: An American Journey*. Harker engages directly with the difficulty of pinning down exactly what hard bop is, while still attempting to distill its core musical elements. "In some ways 'hard bop'

[132] Alyn Shipton, *A New History of Jazz*, 2nd edition (New York: Continuum, 2007), 487.
[133] Gary Giddins and Scott DeVeaux, *Jazz* (New York: W.W. Norton Co., 2009), 354-55.

is a more slippery term than 'cool jazz," writes Harker, "The "hardness of hard bop usually refers to heavily accented rhythms and an overt bluesy expressiveness. Yet in the absence of clear gospel or R&B influences, some jazz seems to fall into the hard bop category almost by default: if it is not clearly 'cool,' it must be hard bop."[134] Especially refreshing about this definition is his realization that "many hard bop recordings contain cool elements as well; the two styles are not mutually exclusive."[135] Harker's discussion of the shared musical elements between styles points to the lived experience of musicians, who do not often see such rigid boundaries as critics would have their readers believe. This is especially important when it comes to styles that have been so firmly coded as white and black, with little to no crossover.

Modern interpretations of hard bop are largely the result of contemporary treatments of the music by noted critics and jazz writers. One such example is Martin Williams's essay, "The Funky Hard Bop Regression," in his collection, *The Art of Jazz: Essays on the Nature and Development of Jazz*.[136] Williams claims that "The [hard bop] movement has been called regressive, self-conscious, monotonous, and even contrived," but Williams, himself, does not hold this view.[137] He continues on to state that "[the] almost wholesale 'return to the roots' has already had significance and has been made with good reason," due to the fact that it "has saved both the emotional heart of jazz and its very substance from a preciocity [sic], contrivance, and emptiness that certain tendencies in cool jazz might have led to."[138] In Williams's view, hard bop engages with an authenticity lost in the bebop era to complex musical lines and a disdain for

[134] Brian Harker, *Jazz: An American Journey* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005), 226.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Martin Williams, *The Art of Jazz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959).
[137] Ibid, 233.
[138] Ibid., 233-34.

repetition at the cost of "structure" or thematic unity.[139] While such a defense of hard bop is notable, especially considering the highly provocative title of his essay, his focus on the *return* to "roots" assumes that they were at some point lost or excised completely from the music, overlooking the importance of those practices in the bebop era.[140] Moreover, the assertion that bebop musicians' interest in complex harmonies and intricate lines is "contrived" or "precious," proposes a rather limited understanding of the motivations of bebop musicians both stylistically and politically.

Jazz critic/producer Nat Hentoff also weighed in on hard bop but, unlike Williams, seeks to illuminate the reasons behind musicians moving in that direction. In his liner notes to the 1955 Art Blakey Jazz Messengers album, *Hard Bop,* Hentoff suggests that "hard boppers are not without lyricism, but theirs is a leaping, raw ardor that is impatient with rounding the corners of searching out the more shaded and the more convoluted areas of expression. Their music is 'hard', not in the sense that it lacks emotion, but in the sense that it is, or intends to be, as unsentimental and as spontaneously direct emotionally as it is possible to be."[141] In a relatively sympathetic treatment, Hentoff identifies the directness with which hard bop musicians approached their music. Yet, just six years later in his 1961 book, *The Jazz Life,* Hentoff revises his stance and loses much of the sympathy he held earlier. However, his viewpoint was not any more understanding of the music, suggesting that "[b]oth grinding humor and angry bitterness are at the base of much jazz... among the modern 'hard boppers,' there are several musicians who

[139] Ibid, 233-6. A similar argument about structure and thematic coherence was made by Gunther Schuller on Sonny Rollins: see: Gunther Schuller, "Sonny Rollins and the Challenge of Thematic Improvisation," *The Jazz Review* 1, no. 1 (November 1958).

[140] Here, I think of musicians such as Charlie Parker, Fats Navarro, Thelonious Monk, and Kenny Dorham, among others, whose playing still contained overt influences of blues music.

[141] Nat Hentoff, liner notes to *Hard Bop,* Art Blakey and the Jazz Messengers, Columbia CL 1040.

have played with unalloyed hatred."[142] Just over thirty pages later, Hentoff renews this thought in response to journalist Francis Newton's article on the Modern Jazz Quartet: "The prevalence of 'hard bop' (which was no less spontaneous for all its hostility) and the subsequent apotheosis of the 'funky' and 'soulful' indicate that Newton was oversimplifying." [143] Hentoff is primarily responding to Newton's suggestion that black musicians take pride in intellectualism to avoid demeaning stereotypes of them and their music. While Hentoff is correct in his assertion of oversimplification on Newton's part, he nevertheless evinces a limiting perspective on black music-making practices, suggesting that a "blacker" style is the result of anger and "hostility" rather than musicians' aesthetic preference or a deliberate change in approach. In doing so, Hentoff strips black musicians of their intellectual agency, chalking it up to mere emotionality.

Williams and Hentoff's work reinforced dominant narratives about black music in the United States as that of an exoticized "other," more representative of popular and folk musics not deserving of the "highbrow" designation that Western Art Music holds. Emotionality and roots are coded as indicators of a "folk" culture that is separate from the "highbrow" intellectualism of European classical music, or in the case of hard bop, the detachment of cool jazz. By routinely separating jazz and other popular musics from art music, they take on the categorization of Other in music criticism. Cultural historian Lawrence Levine has described this process of separation and stratification as the "sacralization of culture." Levine suggests that "[t]he process of sacralization reinforced the all too prevalent notion that for the source of divine inspiration and artistic creation one had to look not only upward but eastward and toward Europe."[144] Consistently pitting hard bop against the worldliness and intellectualism (read Europeanness) of

[142] Nat Hentoff, *The Jazz Life* (New York: The Dial Press, 1961), 140.
[143] Ibid., 174. Also, note that Francis Newton is a pen-name of historian Eric Hobsbawm.
[144] Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 140.

the preceding bebop movement leads to the characterizations of hard bop that focus on its "regressive" sound by the overt influence of blues and other black popular musics. Despite Hentoff and Williams's lack of using such terminology to describe the music, their appeals towards "roots" and feeling rather than thoughtfulness firmly place hard bop outside the scope of "art" or serious music.[145] Not thoughtfully engaging with the inclusion of other black musics also overlooks the political importance of hard bop for black musicians and audiences.

The "Problem" of Black Nationalism

The more direct engagement of hard bop musicians with black cultural sources contributes to the appearance of hard bop as a "blacker" music both sonically and politically. Bebop musicians, as David Ake has noted, "sought to distinguish themselves from the perceived backwardness of their Southern relatives, [by] displaying a new sense of independence and worldliness,"[146] with the notable exception of Charlie Parker, whose music often contained well-known blues phrases and ideas. For hard bop musicians though, drawing on their black roots made the music much more accessible to black audiences, and also represented a black aesthetic much more clearly. The value put on sonic blackness suggests a sense of race pride that, while not absent from bebop, puts a greater value on the black audience and community from which the musicians emerged. Such changes therefore, can be understood as a form of black nationalism in the attempt to unite members of black communities. However, due to the ways in which black nationalism has previously been theorized it is more often seen as a "problem" to be dealt with, rather than as a valid political stance.

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[145] Discussions such as those of Williams and Hentoff are reflective of what the "Primitivist Myth" in jazz, as theorized by Ted Gioia. For more on this see, Ted Gioia, *The Imperfect Art: Reflections on Jazz and Modern Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 19-49.

[146] David Ake, *Jazz Cultures* (Berkeley: University of California Press 2002), 48.

Cornel West, among others, has argued that "black authenticity," and therefore black nationalism, has historically been a hyper masculine political orientation which has drawn upon various forms of prejudice to establish legitimacy. West posits that often such politics rely on "attacking black women and black gay men and lesbians. In this way, black nationalist and black male-centered claims to black authenticity reinforce black cultural conservatism."[147] While West maybe stereotyping black nationalistic politics to a certain extent, the cultural conservatism he refers to is reflected in the often misogynistic and homophobic tendencies of jazz musicians and critics that have prevented full participation by female and queer musicians. The "anger" and "hardness" of sound that Hentoff and others refer, have been coded as masculine approaches to jazz improvisation and performance; an idea which is compounded further by the notable absence of women in hard bop recordings and historical narratives. However, the fraught gender and sexual politics of black nationalism are corrections, in this case severe over-corrections, to systems of white oppression in the United States.

Too often, black nationalist politics are based around an idea of the "hyper-masculine" black male in order to fight against legacy of oppression and slavery that purposefully and repeatedly "emasculated" black men through subordination. Historian Kevin K. Gaines asserts that for "black nationalists… a rhetorical masculinity, so symbolic of ruling power, would be central to the pursuit of an authentic, authoritative, and putatively non-western cultural identity."[148] In dealing with systems of white oppression in which the dominant narrative suggested "civilized Anglo-Saxon nations were destined to subdue effeminate, tropical, savage, and childlike peoples… incapable of self-government," black nationalist political activists sought

[147] Cornel West, *Race Matters* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001), 27.
[148] Kevin K. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 113.

a strongly oppositional stance that rejected narratives of black inferiority.[149] Hard bop functions similarly within jazz historiography, as it is often contrasted with the "intellectual orientation and… experimental aesthetic," what Eric Porter has called "critical ecumenicalism," of bebop that rejected previously held primitivist/exoticized conceptions of the black jazz musician as an intuition-based well of creativity.[150] Such distinctions made between hard bop and bebop, or hard bop and free jazz have important gendered implications as well. Ingrid Monson has suggested that "Among the many implications of the stark contrast drawn in sonic stereotypes of black sounds and white sounds are its gendered associations. Here African American aesthetics are coded as *manly and virile*, and the white aesthetic by contrast is coded as *feminine or*, at least, *less virile*," (emphasis mine).[151] Musical characteristics such as "hard" sounds, bent notes, and blues tonality, have been coded as masculine in the context of jazz performance, musical ideas that will be returned to late in greater detail. Hearing and categorizing hard bop as a masculine style has great implications for its position and characterization in jazz historiography. Sherrie Tucker has identified the importance of such gendered readings as particular moments when jazz has "gone straight."[152] Tucker suggests that "jazz studies needs to know more about how jazz becomes a sign for heterosexuality in the moments in which that has happened, and it needs to queer straightness, to see it as 'perplexing,' in order to see it all."[153] Hard bop has often been framed as one of these moments, due to the increase in black musical influences. That perceived increase in "blackness" in the music though, often draws upon the same problematic ideologies

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[149] Ibid.

[150] Eric Porter, *What is This Thing Called Jazz: African American Musicians as Artists, Critics, and Activists* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 57.

[151] Monson, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call Out to Jazz and Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 77.

[152] Sherrie Tucker, "When Did Jazz Go Straight? A Queer Question for Jazz Studies," *Critical Studies in Improvisation/Études critiques en improvisation* 4, no. 2 (2008).

[153] Ibid.

that have framed understandings of black nationalist politics. However, the blacker sound of hard bop also serves a positive role in uniting black musicians and audiences around a shared pride for their music.

Monson has recognized that "the symbolic centrality of African American music and of jazz in particular in the celebration of cultural pride was tied of the fact that jazz was an interracially and internationally recognized arena of black excellence – a domain of cultural leadership in which African Americans were the reigning cultural heroes."[154] Though Monson's argument is primarily focused on the late-1950s and 1960s avant garde styles, her perspective is useful in understanding the ways in which black nationalist politics are at the core of black music making in the 20th century United States. Overlooking this perspective strips hard bop practitioners of their agency as black musicians and political entities, and reduces their music to a one that is less politically salient because of its accessibility to audiences that struggled with the more challenging sounds of bebop. Further, and perhaps most importantly, Monson's framing of black political thought confronts the idea of "black-nationalism-as-problem" and instead seeks to locate it in an environment of black oppression. While such an approach is useful, broader non-U.S.-centric conceptions of black nationalism are important to truly understand the ways in which music can serve as both a cultural and political expression in black communities.

Cultural historian Paul Gilroy grapples with the "problem" of black nationalism in his 1993 book, *The Black Atlantic*, by dealing explicitly with the ways in which it has most often been characterized.[155] Gilroy posits that there are two common approaches taken in exhibiting

[154] Ingrid Monson, *Freedom Sounds*, 170-171.
[155] Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993).

black nationalism, "essentialism" and "pluralism." Essentialism, as Gilroy views it, is "often characterized by a brute pan-Africanism… and it is the intellectual's job to give them a new direction, firstly by recovering and then by donating the racial awareness that the masses seem to lack."[156] Contrastingly, pluralism, "seeks to celebrate complex representations of black particularity that [are] *internally* divided: by class, sexuality, gender, age, ethnicity, economics, and political consciousness…" and utilizes "an uneasy but exhilarating fusion of modernist and populist techniques and styles… [while] warning against the pitfalls of artistic conceit."[157] These two approaches, however, stand not as opposing forces into which black people must be divided, rather, they represent the two ends of a spectrum, between which most people fall. Both ways of enacting black nationalism link black people in a more global sense as a community of African diasporic peoples. Benedict Anderson's concept of an "imagined community" is useful here as a way to understand the link that Gilroy describes. Anderson asserts that "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign… it is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members… yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion," (emphasis in original).[158] As Anderson suggests, in a less specific manner than Gilroy, people feel connected because of a certain commonality. Musically, hard bop musicians appeal to this shared cultural memory and experience through the conspicuous influence of popular black music styles. While it may not be a conscious choice, black musicians and audiences are connected by their understanding of particular ways of being and performing.

[156] Ibid., 31-2.
[157] Ibid., 32.
[158] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

Musicians seeking to engage both musically and politically with Africa have utilized a pan-Africanist sensibility that suggests a greater fascination with African diasporic influences in jazz.[159] Specifically, the work of musicians such as Randy Weston, Art Blakey, John Coltrane, Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie, and Duke Ellington, among others have recorded/performed music in service of that purpose. For others, though, blackness could be represented through African American music-making practices that did not require an overt African sensibility, drawing on shared understandings colored not by an "African past," but by a black present. Such divergent appeals to pan-Africanist or overtly African American themes can be understood as a way to link the imagined community through a juxtaposition of specificity and worldliness. Thomas Turino, in his book *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe*, has suggested that such a process is common practice in efforts to construct a national identity culturally.[160] Referring to it as "The Twin Paradoxes of Nationalism and Cultural Reformism," Turino suggests that "nations can only understand themselves as such in relation to other nations that are relatively similar in character," but that in the construction of a cultural nationalism, they are "dependent on cosmopolitanism, but are simultaneously threatened by it: unless nation-states maintain their unique identity, they will disappear as distinct, and thus operative units, on the international scene."[161] Black jazz musicians have continually wrestled with this very idea due to the tension between commercial marketplaces that seek to reach large audiences and simultaneously commodify blackness as a symbol of musical "authenticity."

[159] For more on such musicians see Monson, *Freedom Sounds*; or Penny Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997); and Robin D.G. Kelley, *Africa Speaks, America Answers*: *Modern Jazz In Revolutionary Times* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012).
[160] Thomas Turino, *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 15.
[161] Ibid, 15.

As Turino has noted though, constructing a nationalist music or cultural form requires appeals to specific groups in specific ways. Edward T. Hall has explored why such an approach is necessary, positing "[h]igh context cultures make greater distinctions between insiders and outsiders than low-context cultures do…When talking about something that they have on their minds, a high-context individual will expect his interlocutor to know what's bothering him, so that he doesn't have to be specific."[162] Based on Hall's understanding, jazz musicians are a high context culture based on their shared occupational experience. Contrastingly, the larger "imagined" black community is more representative of a low-context culture in which the commonality amongst members is derived from the experience of being black. In that way, hard bop musicians consciously draw on materials that appeal to an audience of low-context group members who would not have been drawn to the more sonically challenging music of the bebop era without prior knowledge of some sort.

Due to the efficacy of their musical breadth, black audiences found recognizable sounds and approaches in hard bop groups of the 1950s. Bebop is characterized by its New York-centric scene and musicians who, though they toured, limited much of their playing to the Northeast or West Coast with few performances in the middle of America. Contrastingly, hard bop players, as Mark Anthony Neal notes "Black popular music in the 1950s and the significance of the Chitlin' circuit represent a singular moment in the role of black public(s) in the creation, maintenance, and distribution of black musical expression in the post-World War II era, in that it is a period also marked by the intense commodification of black popular music forms."[163] Such commodification and reaching economic independence point to the financial side of black

[162] Edward T. Hall, *Beyond Culture* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1976), 98.
[163]Mark Anthony Neal, *What the Music Said: Black Popular Music and Black Public Culture* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1999), 31.

nationalist movements of the period, an approach that hard bop musicians and their work fit into well. Moreover, Neal continues that "hard-bop stalwarts like Art Blakey, Horace Silver, and lee Morgan, as well as fringe jazz artists like hornmen Willis "Gator" Jackson, Jimmy Forrest, and Gene Ammons, had to be well versed in the blues, bebop and gospel idioms and willing to accept the contemporary influences of rhythm and blues and later, soul and funk."[164] Neal's work reveals that musicians of the 1950s not only treated audiences differently, but sought out different audiences entirely based on the different forms of musical knowledge they needed to perform.

Sounding Black

Overt musical expressions of blackness by hard bop musicians reject the highbrow/lowbrow dialectic that surrounded the music from its inception but was thrust to the forefront in the bebop era. The aforementioned "cool" and "affected" distance that Rosenthal argues for speaks to a specific engagement with conceptions of highbrow and lowbrow art in the United States. That distance has been framed as a way of rejecting the commercial structures and as a statement of black-exceptionalism in music. However, that approach was characterized by a specific way of "being" in the commercial marketplace. "By the late 1940s," writes Eric Porter, bebop "had come to symbolize, among other things, juvenile delinquency, black militancy, masculine assertion, serious artistic expression, and intellectualism [as well as the threat of integration]. For a brief moment bebop seemed to be a vehicle for making serious, black jazz artistry respectable and remunerative. And it seemed as if this legitimacy might come from either or both its potential to enter smoothly into the realm of high culture and its oppositional capital

[164] Ibid.

as avant-garde expression."[165] Porter's description points out some of the many contradictions that exist within the ways that bebop has previously been framed. Delinquency, militancy, and black masculinity have often been used as factors in keeping black music and artistic achievement out of public spaces, but aspirations towards serious art and intellectualism complicate that process. For that reason, bebop's political meaning stems primarily from its counter-cultural framing within society and its *supposed* rejection of commercialism. David Stowe has written about the externally-constructed nature of bebop's position in the commercial marketplace. Stowe writes: "Some historians have attributed to the popular music industry, particularly the trade press, a reflexive, subtly racist animosity toward bebop, a musical form depicted as the protest music of alienated African-Americans motivated by a newfound race consciousness. But this representation, though not wholly false, blurs the categories and distorts the dynamics of change in the postwar jazz community. The polarization and infighting of the postwar years is best understood not simply as a response to bebop, but as part of a longer struggle between critics and musicians, extending back to the mid-1930s, over the authority to define jazz."[166] Stowe's argument about the oppositional nature of critic-musician relationships points to what many have viewed as bebop's anti-commercial nature; especially due to the fact that many critics' primarily took issue with poor performances of bop.[167] Scott DeVeaux, furthered that viewpoint in *The Birth of Bebop*, positing that the pervasiveness of such discourse is due to the fact that "the anticommercial stance [has] proved particularly congenial to

[165] Eric Porter, "'Dizzy Atmosphere': The Challenge of Bebop," *American Music* 17, no. 4 (Winter, 1999): 11.
[166] Stowe, *Swing Changes*.
[167] Ibid., 227-9.

champions of jazz as a form of modernism. All modernist art forms stoutly declare their independence from the marketplace and zealously patron their borders with mass culture."[168]

"Silencing" the agency of black bebop musicians in favor of political militancy overlooks the actual sound of much of the music and therefore creates a larger, and artificially constructed divide between the bebop and hard bop of the 1950s. While it is certainly true that there are musical differences, hard bop musicians draw heavily on the harmonic and melodic ideas of bebop; and in many cases hard bop musicians had been previously been viewed as beboppers.[169] The primary stylistic shift is exemplified through the interest in conspicuously incorporating other black musical styles into musical practice. Beboppers often resisted such performance practice though, as David Ake has noted: "[seeking] to distinguish themselves from the perceived backwardness of their Southern relatives, [by] displaying a new sense of independence and worldliness."[170] Though blues and R&B are not solely representative of the American south, bebop musicians saw such musics, and their presence in jazz improvisation, as appealing to a less sophisticated time in which black musicians were thought of as intuitive beings. Hard bop musicians choosing to incorporate those styles so freely implies a rejection of the highbrow/lowbrow dialectic that was so much a part of bebop musicians' avoidance of them in the 1940s.

Looking more closely at the music of the period reveals the close relationship of bebop's harmonic/melodic sensibilities and the influence of blues and R&B on musicians of the 1950s. In particular, Ingrid Monson has pointed to Lee Morgan as the "quintessential hard bopper" and the

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[168] Scott K. DeVeaux, *The Birth of Bebop: A Social and Musical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 13.

[169] Examples of such musicians are: drummers Max Roach and Art Blakey; trumpeters Kenny Dorham and Howard McGhee; pianists Tommy Flanagan and Red Garland; bassists Paul Chambers

[170] David Ake, *Jazz Cultures*, 48.

"absolute embodiment of 'badness'," using his trumpet solo on Bobby Timmons's "Moanin'" as evidence.[171] Monson writes that "Morgan's blues-inflected trumpet line replete with bends, scoops, and dramatic registral sweeps proves that it does not take a saxophone or a voice to give a vocal quality to a melodic line… the bravado to open a solo on a smeared high concert D and then repeat the pitch strong and loud three times in the first five measures boasts of chops of an extraordinary kind."[172] However, Morgan's bravado means little outside the context of group performance.

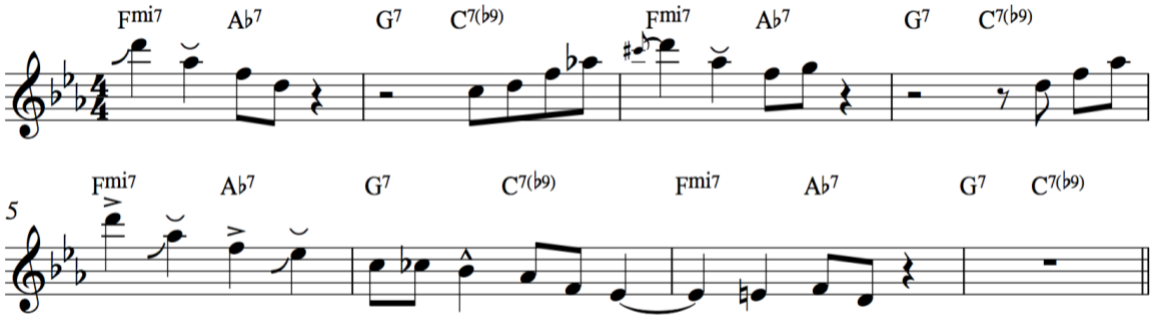

Figure 1: The first eight bars of Lee Morgan's trumpet solo on "Moanin'" from Art Blakey's 1959 album of the same name. Transcribed by the author.

Morgan's choice of half-valved Ab's in measures 1, 3, and 5, all of which land on beat 2, accentuate the strong shuffle beat that Art Blakey is supplying behind him. Moreover, the choice of a high D natural on F minor seventh and Ab dominant seventh chords, suggest a simultaneous engagement with bebop harmony and blues-based melodic content. Further, closer examination of the structure of Morgan's solo reveals a lack of separation between blues and bebop styles. The "A" sections primarily rely on blues-based melodies that strongly engage with Blakey's backbeat in the drums and pianist Bobby Timmons's, while the B sections integrate that melodic content with flowing bop-based sixteenth-note lines.

[171] Art Blakey and the Jazz Messengers, "Moanin'," by Bobby Timmons, recorded October 30, 1958, on *Art Blakey and the Jazz Messengers*, Blue Note BST 84003.
[172] Ibid.

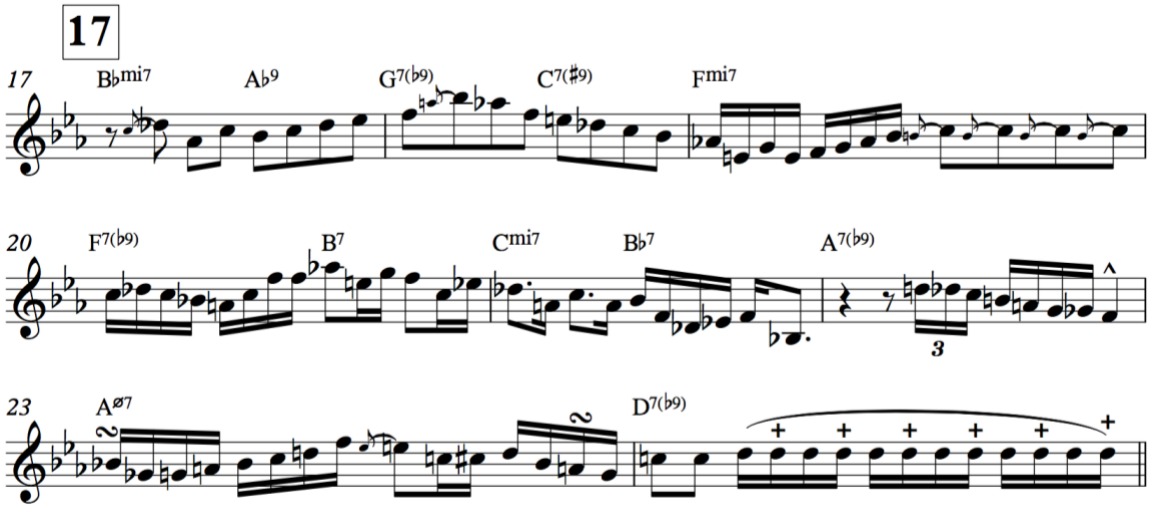

Figure 2: The "bridge" of Morgan's 1st solo chorus.

Figure 2 shows the ways in which Morgan makes use of grace notes (mm. 17, 18, and 19), turns (m. 23), false fingering (m. 24), and purposefully wide vibrato on the low Bb in measure 21, to invoke a blues aesthetic. It is also clear though, from the use of flatted fifths and ninths that Morgan is aware of voice-leading practices that were a large part of the paradigm shift of improvisation in the 1940s.

Yet, Morgan's foregrounding of musical expressivity throughout the solo is perhaps even more notable than his use of bebop material. The wide variety in his deployment of "sound" is markedly different than that of explicitly "bop" trumpet players whose use of vibrato in medium to up-tempo situations was more incidental or learned than as a purposefully employed ornament or effect. Gabriel Solis has written about such techniques, but specifically in regard to Pharoah Sanders and avant garde performance practice. Solis suggests that this "timbral virtuosity" is "more than just technical skill. It is also, indeed perhaps more so, the development of timbral ideas, the creation of intensity and repose through timbral means."[173] Morgan's "timbral

[173] Gabriel Solis, "Timbral Virtuosity: Pharoah Sanders, Sonic Heterogeneity, and the Jazz Avant-Garde in the 1960s and 70s," *Jazz Perspectives* 9, no. 1 (2015): 54.

virtuosity" is an important aspect of what has coded his sonic identity as "black." Contrasted against his trumpet playing peers both white and black: Miles Davis, Kenny Dorham, Shorty Rogers, Chet Baker, and Clifford Brown among others, Morgan makes much greater use of variety in his sound during his solo.

Morgan's solo also displays a knowledge of contemporary more popular black musics, in addition to his bop vocabulary and uses that knowledge to "signify" on the bebop music of the 1940s. Literature scholar Henry Louis Gates Jr. posits that gestures of repetition, metaphor, irony, parody, satire, and other literary techniques African American's create new meanings for words, actions, or gestures, a process that he has called "signifyin(g)." [174] In the case of Lee Morgan, he is signifyin(g) on multiple levels: first on the more traditionally held ideas of "virtuosity" in the bebop era, on jazz music as an "art" music removed from the realm of popular, and on R&B music simultaneous. Morgan's signification comes through an invocation of more complex bebop language on the bridges, but also through non-traditional ideas of virtuosity. By rejecting the speed and technique-based conceptions of virtuosity Morgan makes it clear that such musical showmanship is neither necessary to prove a full command over the instrument and is a partial result of the preoccupation with jazz music's status within the cultural hierarchy of the United States. Finally, Morgan's quote of Lucky Millinder's 1941 R&B song, "Big Fat Mama," to conclude his solo points directly to the blurring of the line between popular

[174] Henry Louis Gates Jr., *The Signifyin(g) Monkey: A Theory of African American Literary Criticism*, 25th Anniversary Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

and art musics, or high and lowbrow cultures.

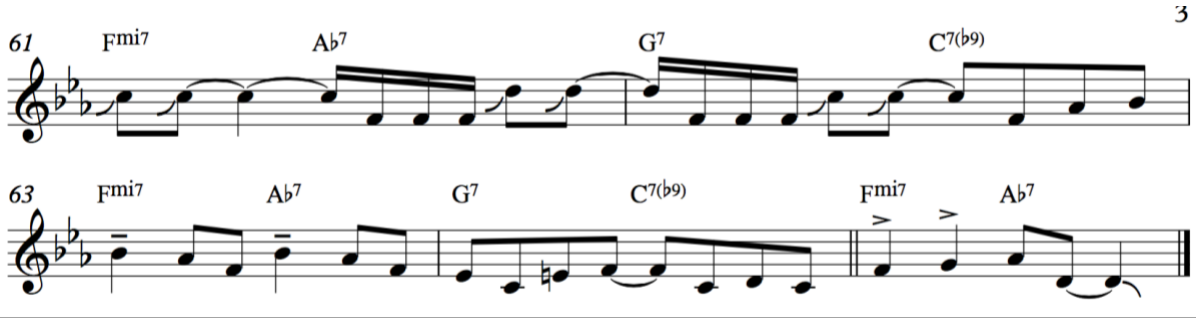

Figure 3: Last 4 bars of Morgan's trumpet solo. "Big Fat Mama" quote.

Morgan's musical relationship to Art Blakey on this recording is also indicative of black music-making practices that aim to excite audiences into participation. In the December 16, 1953 issue of *DownBeat* Magazine, Blakey quipped "We're trying to build up a group that has that good old jazz feeling. We want to blow and have a ball and make mistakes, if necessary, but have that good feeling that used to be in jazz… We'll certainly play modern, but we want to get the people to follow the beat and let the horns do what they want to."[175] Blakey continued on to suggest that such feeling was lost in bebop, in part due to new attitudes towards the audience, but also to drug use: "Let's be frank. A lot of the public has a whole set of ideas about what a modern jazzman is like and we brought it out on ourselves. And more important than the effect on the public is the fact that a man is really committing suicide when he falls into dope."[176] Blakey's group then, can be understood as consciously fighting against contemporary ideas about the attitudes and lifestyles of "modern jazzman."

Blakey's backbeat on this recording is a particularly notable example of that rejection. Vijay Iyer has written specifically about the ways backbeat has functioned within black music-making: "The edginess and repetition of the backbeat embodies the cyclic, earthy atmosphere of

[175] Nat Hentoff, "Blakey Beats Drum For 'That Good Old Feeling'," *DownBeat* (December 16, 1953), 17-S.
[176] Ibid.

the ring-shout ritual. The backbeat taps into the hypnotic function role of repetition in such rituals, in which steady, moderate, tempo rhythmic ostinato, and physical body motion (stomping and clapping) were combined in a collective setting to create a shared multisensory experience."[177] Blakey's stated approach to performance and that heard on "Moanin'," is reflective of what Iyer has identified. An idea that is further reinforced through his opening remarks to the audience, in which he tells the audience: "If you feel like patting your feet, pat your feet. If you feel like clapping your hands, clap your hands. And if you feel like taking off your shoes, take off your shoes. We are here to have a ball. So, we want you to leave your worldly troubles outside, and come in here, and swing…"[178]

Returning to the example of "Moanin'," close attention to Blakey's drumming in relation to Morgan's solo reveals the ways in which the groove meant to catalyze audience response is created. The first 16 bars of Morgan's solo (figures 1 and 4), are reflective of how groove is generated with the tension between soloist and drummer.

[177] Vijay Iyer, "Embodied Mind, Situated Cognition, and Expressive Microtiming in African-American Music," *Music Perception: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 19, no. 3 (Spring 2002), 406.
[178] Art Blakey, "Close Your Eyes," by Bernice Petkere, recorded April 15, 1959, with Lee Morgan, Hank Mobley, Bobby Timmons, Jymie Merritt, and Pee Wee Marquette, on *At the Jazz Corner of the World Vol. 1,* Blue Note BLP 4015.

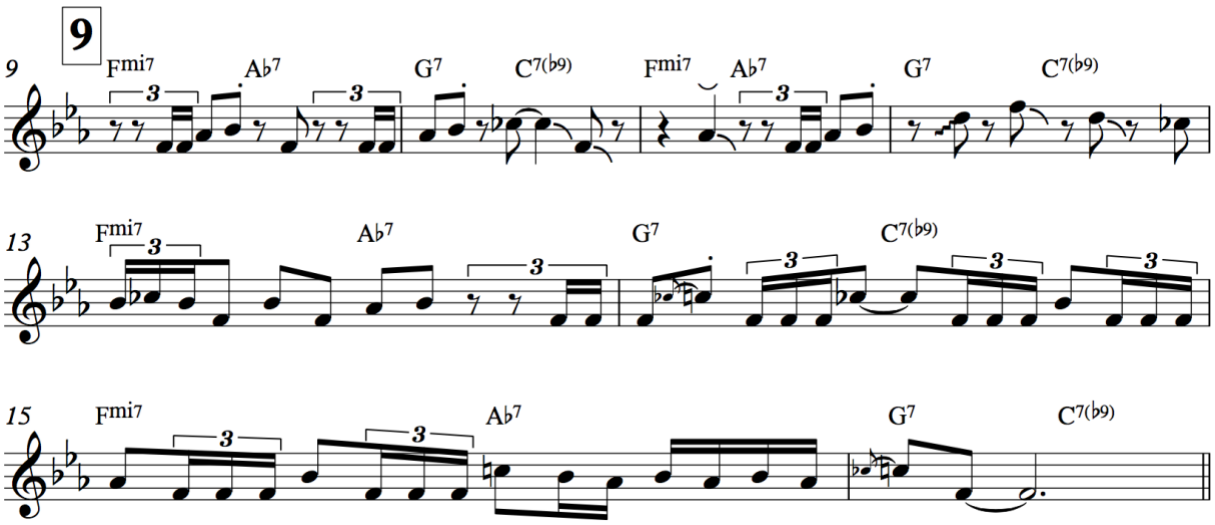

Figure 4: Second "A" section of Morgan's trumpet solo.

Morgan's laid-back phrasing in the first 8 bars, especially in his approach to quarter notes, does not fit perfectly within the rhythmic grid that Blakey and bassist Jymie Merritt are generating, and the resulting friction is what creates such a strong sense of groove. To return to Vijay Iyer's work, he has suggested that "musicians are aware of this to some degree, and they have a term for it: the drummer is said to play 'in the pocket.' Although perhaps unaware of the exact temporal details of this effect, a skilled musician or listener in this genre hears this kind of expressive microdelay as 'relaxed or 'laidback' as opposed to 'stiff' or 'on top.'"[179] The second 8 bars in figure are particularly indicative of how such rhythmic micro-level choices can create a strong sense of propulsion, as both Blakey and Morgan push towards the bridge through the use of smaller subdivisions than in the first 8 bars.

Charles Keil has theorized that such tension, what he refers to as "participatory discrepancy," is not only incidental in recordings such as this one, but *necessary* for the creation of groove. Keil posits that "[i]t is the little discrepancies within a jazz drummer's beat, between

[179] Iyer, "Embodied Mind…", 406.

bass and drums, between rhythm sections and soloists, that create 'swing' and invite us to participate."[180] While participatory discrepancies are not necessarily employed consciously in jazz to spur audience involvement, they are nonetheless an important part of African diasporic music making processes that have, historically, been a way to engage audiences. In the case of "Moanin'," Blakey's largely unchanging backbeat and Jymie Merritt's walking bass, supply the rhythmic landscape against which Morgan's phrasing is compared. While there have been attempts to quantify such relationships, their importance and effectiveness is better understood through listening than attempts to visually interpret such phenomenon.[181] Instead, their approaches to playing can be understood as a way of engaging more directly with the aesthetics of other black musics, as opposed to just the jazz "tradition."

The "blacker" hard bop sound was not only heard in the work of Blakey and Morgan. Trumpeter Clifford Brown's work offers a unique opportunity to examine the blurred line between jazz and other black popular musics. Take for example Brown's trumpet solos on the 1952 recordings of "Ida Red" and "I Come from Jamaica" with R&B vocalist Chris Powell on the OKeh record label.[182] On both recordings Brown's solo evidences knowledge of bebop harmony and melody, but its application is over music that would not have been considered jazz. Brown's playing on this recording is still heavily indebted to Dizzy, and its bebop vocabulary is especially pronounced in relation to the proceeding guitar solo on "I Come From Jamaica,"

[180] Charles Keil, "Participatory Discrepancies and the Power of Music," *Cultural Anthropology* 2, no. 3 (Aug., 1987), 277.

[181] See: J.A. Prögler, "Searching for Swing: Participatory Discrepancies in the Jazz Rhythm Section," Special Issue: Participatory Discrepancies, *Ethnomusicology* 39, no. 1 (Winter 1995). In this article, Prögler uses graphs to attempt to quantify and visually represent participatory discrepancies at work in jazz performance, as well as the various ways they can be employed by jazz performers.

[182] Chris Powell, "Ida Red," recorded March 21, 1952 in Chicago, Illinois. OKeh 6875; and Chris Powell, "I Come From Jamaica," recorded March 21, 1952 in Chicago, Illinois. OKeh 6900.

which is primarily based on blues licks and effects. Contrasting his playing on these earlier R&B recordings with a later well-known recording such as his 1954 "Joy Spring" reveals similar approaches to improvisation rhythmically and melodically.[183] To be sure, Brown's playing has developed over the three-year period and he is less obviously influenced by Gillespie, but the use of turns and blues tonality remain present. While Brown's invocation of blues vocabulary and tonality is not as overt as in Morgan's playing on "Moanin'," its presence suggests a similar perspective on jazz improvisation that does not see blues as anachronistic.

Conclusion

Taking into consideration the political and musical agency of black jazz musicians in the 1950s allows hard bop to be reframed as an important political and musical development, not just for its practitioners, but for black audiences as well. The conspicuous influence of other black musics and more overt usage of African-diasporic music-making practices, mark an important moment for musicians of the 1950s. In contrast to the perceived anti-commercial orientation of bebop in the 1940s and early 1950s, many hard bop musicians *actively* sought to involve audiences in performances, a goal they worked towards through the cultivation of a blacker sound. To be sure, as DeVeaux and Stowe have written, bebop was not anti-commercial, but the attitude Blakey and others took to *specifically* attract black audiences marks a departure from the approach of bebop musicians of the 1950s. In doing so, these musicians rejected the highbrow/lowbrow dialectic often used to separate jazz from other more popular black musics. As a system that is designed to preference white musics, particularly those of Europe, hard bop musicians breaking away represents an important political action. In problematizing cultural hierarchy by infusing jazz, an increasingly highbrow music, with popular black stylistic traits

[183] Clifford Brown, "Joy Spring," by Clifford Brown, recorded August 6, 1954, with Max Roach, on *Clifford Brown & Max Roach*, EmArcy MG 26043.

hard bop musicians mark a significant departure from that system. In that way, hard bop musicians were able to evince a *sonic* black nationalism that was not reliant on the militancy or violence. To be sure, bebop and free jazz musicians were not reliant on such tactics either, but most were uncompromising when it came to the character of their music, insisting on its status as "art.".

Though black nationalism has historically been considered a problematic stance in the jazz community due to the assumption that art transcends politics, hard bop musicians displayed a racial pride that was unapologetically black. Through tune titles, interviews, and playing style, hard bop musicians cultivated the combination of cosmopolitanism and specificity that Thomas Turino has theorized necessary for nationalist appeal. However, despite such positive reframing, the highly masculinized discourses surrounding the music and its practitioners have routinely excluded or disparaged black women and queerness. To be sure, both misogyny and homophobia are not foreign to jazz communities and are in fact why so few female or out queer musicians are found throughout the history, but hard bop represents a specific moment in which more traditional ideas of masculinity come to the foreground. Musically, blackness and masculinity have consistently been conflated leading to the "hard" and "angry" sounds of the music being contrasted with the "lighter," "detached" feminine sounds of cool jazz.

It is through elements of music-making most familiar to black audiences, while maintaining much of the harmonic and melodic intricacy of bebop, hard bop musicians were able to create a strong sonic nationalism. Lee Morgan and Art Blakey's playing on "Moanin'," most clearly evidences the overt influence of popular black musics. Clifford Brown's playing that similar does so in his approaches to improvisation on "Ida Red" and "Joy Spring," tunes separated by three years and arbitrarily imposed stylistic boundaries. This sonic blackness,

moreover, reframes black nationalism as a unifying force for the black community rooted in pride over black accomplishments, rather than as one that exists *primarily* as a response to white oppression. Understanding hard bop in this way returns to the musicians their agency, puts value on their lived experience as working musicians in the 1950s, and takes the black political implications of the music seriously. In the final chapter, I take a similar approach to John Coltrane's and Miles Davis's 1960s bands that are also able to evince a sonic black nationalism, but through the foregrounding of groove, group sound, and rejection of established perspectives on bandleaders and their "sidemen."

Chapter 3 "Groove is Like a Conversation":

John Coltrane, Miles Davis, and the Facilitation of Groove

In an interview with multi-instrumentalist and YouTube sensation Jacob Collier, he posited that "groove is like a conversation," in his attempt to distill the important aspects of what makes something feel "groovy," or "swinging."[184] Though this interview is relatively recent, groove has historically been thought to be the province of the rhythm section, while determination of the group aesthetic has been that of the bandleader. However, such a viewpoint is rather limiting in its adherence to cultural hierarchy-driven conceptions of music-making and constructed boundaries around the roles of band members. Due to that fact, discussions surrounding the history of jazz often take the form of chronological "great men" narratives focusing primarily on five men in particular: Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, Charlie Parker, Miles Davis, and John Coltrane, with few others considered besides the enigmatic Ornette Coleman. Absent from these discussions are the social, cultural and, most importantly, musical contexts that surround those players and facilitated their musical successes. The musicians alongside these "great men" are looked to as "mere" sidemen, following the leader's vision, but closer examination of these groups reveals that this was not the case, even from the leader's point of view. In this chapter, I intend to reframe "sidemen" in as co-facilitators in the creation of group sound through an analysis of John Coltrane's classic 1960s quartet and Miles Davis's "second great quintet" of the 1960s, understand both leaders' approaches as reflective of black nationalist politics of the 1960s despite their notable apoliticism, and as an overlooked area for

[184] Jacob Collier, Interview by Leo Sidran, *Third-Story Podcast*, published December 04, 2014, http://www.third-story.com/listen/2014/12/4/episode-20-jacob-collier.

improvisation pedagogy. In this way, I challenge established "great-man" narratives that reinforce previously held conceptions of cultural hierarchy in the United States.

Coltrane and Davis's groups are advantageous choices for this study, as they are both notable examples of "group processes" at work as necessary components for "the creation of jazz music."[185] Examining these groups, Travis A. Jackson notes that the musicians "seemed to be engaged in *conversation* rather than in musical performance" and that "anyone who has listened to these groups knows that their impact was as much a product of the *group* as it was of the leader… Improviser- or composer-centered writing has been valuable but, because of its narrowness, is incomplete," (emphasis in original).[186] Understanding the recorded output of these bands as the result of *group* sound rather than that of the *individual*, provides a more accurate understanding of jazz performance practice, both historically and in the present. However, Jackson's point that "[t]aken together, the guitar [or another chordal/harmonic instrument], bass, and drums – the rhythm section – and their interplay are responsible for the creation of 'swing,' for the furnishing of a driving rhythmic foundation," does not go far enough in that it still excludes the soloist from the creation of the swing feel.[187] Take, for example, the infamous piano introduction to Charlie Parker's 1945 recording of "Thriving on a Riff." Pianist Sadik Hakim's harmonically ambiguous piano playing prevents the rhythm section from successfully setting up a true swing-feel for the remainder of the recording. Pianist Al Haig's piano introduction to Parker's 1953 recording of "Confirmation" is almost the exact opposite of this as he successfully

[185] Travis A. Jackson, "Become Like One: Communication, Interaction, and the Development of Group Sound in 'Jazz' Performance" (master's thesis, Columbia University, 1995), iv.
[186] Ibid., v-vi.
[187] Ibid., 19.

signals harmonic and rhythmic frameworks ahead of Parker's entrance.[188] Swing, or "groove" more broadly, cannot exist without the commitment/participation of the entire band.

Participating in "The Groove"

Crucial to the development group sound is the concept of "groove." Often this term goes undefined, leading to a multiplicity of competing ideas about its intended meaning. Ethnomusicologist Charles Keil suggests that groove is based on inexact conceptions of the underlying pulse between members of the band, a phenomenon he refers to as "participatory discrepancy."[189] According to Keil: "it is the little discrepancies within a jazz drummer's beat, between bass and drums, between rhythm section and soloists, that create 'swing' and invite us to participate,"[190] claiming that the concept of is reflective of "semiconscious or unconscious slightly out of syncnesses" in performance. Frequent discussion amongst jazz musicians of "where the beat is," and how others are "feeling" the pulse during performances speaks to the ways in which those ideas exist within practice. Vijay Iyer has written about this phenomenon, suggesting that "Often musicians are aware of this to come degree, and they have a term for it: the drummer is said to play 'in the pocket.' Although perhaps unaware of the exact temporal details of this effect, a skilled musician or listener in this genre hears this kind of expressive microdelay as 'relaxed' or 'laid back' as opposed to 'stiff' or 'on top.'"[191] Iyer's approach foregrounds the ways in which musicians experience or understand those disagreements on pulse

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[188] Charlie Parker, "Thriving on a Riff," recorded November 26, 1945, with Sadik Hakim, Miles Davis, Curly Russell, and Max Roach, Savoy MG 12079; and Charlie Parker, "Confirmation," recorded July 28, 1953, with Al Haig, Percy Heath, and Max Roach, Verve J00J-29001.

[189] Charles Keil, "Participatory Discrepancies and the Power of Music," *Cultural Anthropology* 2, no. 3, (August 1987): 275-83.

[190] Ibid., 277, and 275.

[191] Vijay Iyer has pointed to such discussions in his article: Vijay Iyer, "Embodied Mind, Situated Cognition, and Expressive Microtiming in African-American Music," *Music Perception: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 19, no. 3 (Spring 2002): 406; however, Iyer looks at this process from a cognition standpoint and the ways in which musicians experience or understand what he refers as microdelays and choices in microtiming.

that come across in practice. Such disagreements are not only common, but almost impossible to avoid as no two people feel pulse in the exact same way. Finding other musicians whose sense of time is compelling, is an important part of forming a group that has a strong sense of cohesion in performance. In a 1995 follow-up to his original article, Keil found, through interviews with drummers, bassists, pianists, and guitarists, that "everyone assumes [] each person has a unique feel for time [the position of the pulse] and that bringing different or discrepant personalities together generates different kinds of groove or swing."[192] For the jazz musicians Keil interviewed, the combination of these "unique feels" is what leads to a strong groove.

J. A. Prögler takes this concept further through the use of technology to measure individual musicians' placement of the beat in experiments with a metronome and timeline graphs.[193] Prögler uses an insightful play on words to describe the phenomenon of "unique feels" coming together to make a performance swing: "Although all musical examples in my experiments were performed with the intention of playing along with either a metronome or a pre-recorded performance, the world 'play' took on a new, multiple meaning after the examples were analyzed. The instrument attacks were rarely on the beat – whether the 'beat' was provided by a metronome click or by another instrument. Instead things fell or were placed either before or after that beat. So, rather than playing *with* the beat, some performers were *playing* with the beat," (emphasis in original).[194] While such findings may be useful to those interested in more "exact" understandings of participatory discrepancies, Prögler's study is limited in its application to actual jazz performance practice. The history of aurally disseminated information remains a

[192] Charles Keil, "The Theory of Participatory Discrepancies: A Progress Report," *Ethnomusicology 39*, no. 1, Special Issue: Participatory Discrepancies, (Winter 1995), 8.
[193] J.A. Prögler, "Searching for Swing: Participatory Discrepancies in the Jazz Rhythm Section," *Ethnomusicology* 39, no. 1, Special Issue: Participatory Discrepancies (Winter 1995): 21-54.
[194] Ibid., 48.

strong barrier for the widespread use of charts and graphs as a means of understanding musicians' approaches to swing and groove.

Expanding Keil's and Prögler's work on participatory discrepancies to include soloist/improvisers provides a more precise understanding of groove-creation within a jazz context. Using John Coltrane's recording of "My Favorite Things" as an example of musical transformation through signifyin(g), Ingrid Monson has suggested that scholars understand that Coltrane, and soloists more broadly, "[provide] a fourth independent part to the texture."[195] Their role as an important contributor to the groove of the recording should therefore not be overlooked. Both Coltrane and Davis were well-aware of the rhythmic environment that surrounded them and did not merely *play over* it, but rather *emerged from,* and *contributed to* it.

Black music historian Samuel Floyd Jr. wrote in his seminal 1995 text, *The Power of Black Music*, about Davis's new approach in the 1960s that reflected previous African American musicking practices: "Davis had begun by reshaping jazz standards in new and different ways, re-defining the role of the rhythm section, and introducing abrupt changes of tempo, and even silences, in his performances… rather than floating on top of the section or playing on the beats, he and his sidemen began to cut into the rhythmic flow, becoming part of its texture and leaving spaces for the excursions of the drummer."[196] While Floyd's use of the term "sidemen" may be somewhat antithetical to the thesis of this paper, his point concerning performance practice in the 1960s is well-taken. By players cutting "into the rhythmic flow" and "becoming part of its texture" groove becomes not only the *product* of performance, but the *process* as well. The creation and continuation/prolongation of groove becomes the center around which Davis's and

[195] Ingrid Monson, "Doubleness and Jazz Improvisation: Irony, Parody, and Ethnomusicology," *Critical Inquiry* 20, no. 2 (Winter, 1994), 297.
[196] Samuel A. Floyd Jr., *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting Its History from Africa to the United States* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Coltrane's groups built their sounds. Floyd continues this line of thought by positing that "[Davis's] more fully integrated, evolving style began to bring about a more primeval ensemble sound, which in its emotional character, recalls African ensemble music, the [ring] shout, and, in less evident ways, New Orleans jazz… The whole musical environment was repetitive, hypnotic, funky, and exciting, insinuating the entire black musical tradition, including its African manifestations."[197] Here, Floyd invokes a sense of the cultural memory that he refers to as the "collective unconscious;" another way of viewing cultural memory that relies on the use of techniques, ideas, or feelings of the past that were not experienced by those currently invoking or experiencing them.[198] By appealing to both the cultural memory and "collective unconscious" of the black community, Davis and Coltrane's groups are able to assert a sonic blackness that is antagonistic to canonization practices centered around the primacy of the individual.[199]

Guthrie Ramsey Jr. takes Floyd's concepts a step further asserting that "specific post-World War II musical 'texts,' as well as the discourses that surround them, do not simply reflect or symbolize the ethnicity process among African Americans; they are important sites within which the very process itself is worked out and negotiated."[200] Ramsey's suggestions extend Floyd's work by linking the idea of cultural memory to the practice of music-making and in the lived experience of black musicians. Ramsey goes on to assert that "[m]usical gestures, genres, and styles are performed; likewise, ethnicity and nearly every other aspect of identity should be considered performances. Blackness doesn't really exist until it is done, or 'practiced,' in the

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[197] Ibid.

[198] Ibid., 189.

[199] For more on such canonization practices, see Lawrence Levine's discussion of the "sacralization of culture" in: Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow the Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).

[200] Guthrie P. Ramsey Jr., *Race Music: Back Cultures from Bebop to Hip-Hop* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003).

world."[201] The Coltrane and Davis group's approaches to performance at this time which relied on music-making practices associated with both contemporary popular black forms and pre-bebop jazz forms allowed for a sonic "blackening" of their music. By introducing sounds and techniques that evoke a shared cultural memory, or unifying experience, Coltrane and Davis problematize the notion that art is above matters of everyday life, especially those relating to a particular lived experience or way of being; and in doing so implicitly reject established notions of highbrow "pure" music.

Pointing directly to that community aspect, but in the political realm, civil rights leaders and Black Power activists Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton assert that: "Black visibility is not Black Power. Most of the black politicians around the country today are not examples of Black Power. The power must be that of a community, and emanate from there."[202] Despite the fact that Coltrane and Davis were not outright supporters of the Black Power or black nationalist movements, their performance styles based around group contribution and participation rather than solely following the vision of a charismatic leader, mirror the approaches used in contemporary black radical politics. Carmichael and Hamilton propose that exact idea in relation to the black power movement: "[the] goal of black self-determination and black self-identity – Black Power – is full participation in the decision -making processes affecting the lives of black people, and recognition of the virtues in themselves as black people."[203] Each member of the band recognizing their importance and value as individuals, but also as parts of a greater whole further reflects the foundation of concurrent Black Power movement. Leroi Jones has pointed to rhythm as the most important aspect of black music-

[201] Ibid, 38.
[202] Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (Great Britain: Pelican Books, 1969).
[203] Ibid., 61.

making, and a result of group participation; something that was lost in what he views as a more restrictive "cool" school: "One result of this 'insertion' of rhythm into the melodic fabric of bop as well as the music of the avant-garde is the subsequent freedom allowed to instruments that are normally supposed to carry the entire rhythmic impetus of the music…I think the development of the *cool school* served to obscure the really valuable legacies of bop. Rhythmic diversity and freedom were the really valuable legacies."[204] While Jones here simplifies the complexity of the "cool school" players, he nevertheless recognizes the importance of rhythmic diversity and freedom for the jazz avant-garde which, for him, is a decidedly black musico-political movement. To be sure, Jones is not writing on either Davis or Coltrane in this essay, but his points about the rhythmic driving force behind the music is certainly true of their music in the 1960s as well.

Both the Coltrane and Davis groups used rhythm as the driving force for their creative impulses rather than as a tool to navigate assist in the navigation of complex harmonies as seen in the bebop movement. As discussed in chapter 2, bebop's harmonic material was already being transformed into something much different in the hard bop era as musicians began to draw on much more blues material and groove-based improvisations. The time-no-changes of the Davis band and the frequency with which McCoy Tyner would drop out during other band members' improvisations points to the importance of rhythmic interplay. A band that grooves must work together in order to generate that feeling unlike harmonies and melodies which can be created individually. In that way, these groups invoke a sense of communal music-making reflective of the approach taken by black nationalist political entities of the time. Further, by rejecting previously held conceptions of group dynamics and canonization processes, Coltrane and

[204] Amiri Baraka, *Black Music* (New York, NY: First Da Capo Press Edition, 1998).

Davis's bands resist established narratives of highbrow/lowbrow art that is predicated on the valorization of individuals, rather than foster understandings of actual performance practice. Understanding the ways these groups were formed helps to give credence to that idea as well as give value to the musicians' agency and lived experience in the 1960s jazz scene.

Searching for "Groove"

Throughout jazz history, and particularly since the bebop era, many improvisers have approached improvisation as a highly individualistic journey on which a rhythm section functions purely to support their efforts. Yet, in the cases of Coltrane and Davis, each made personnel choices that enabled them to approach improvisation as a collective process requiring interaction, a shared musical "goal," and awareness of their musical contributions during performances. As stated above, both Coltrane and Davis were not particularly forthcoming in regard to providing clear instruction for their bandmates, yet similar approaches lead to highly dissimilar results in the final musical product.

Coltrane

Pianist McCoy Tyner recalls that Coltrane's lack of specificity led to the interaction that came to characterize their performances: "[Coltrane] just had things sketched out that he would want, nothing in detail, just more or less a few changes, and there you go! We had reached a point where we had that kind of high level communication between us."[205] When prompted about what sort of leader Coltrane was, Tyner responded "[he] wasn't dictatorial at all. He didn't tell you what to do, he left the playing up to you…It was because it was like that, that we had that sort of freedom, we would surprise ourselves, we would reach certain points together [sic]

[205] McCoy Tyner, interview by *Jerry Jazz Musician*, November 8, 2001, "*The A Love Supreme* interviews: Pianist McCoy Tyner", http://www.jerryjazzmusician.com/2001/11/mccoy-tyner-talks-about-john-coltrane-and-the-recording-of-a-love-supreme/.

Jazz is a very good moral teacher. You have to respect the other guy who is on stage with you in order to achieve what you are looking for. You have to respect the music and the person that is next to you, that way you can get the best out of the situation."[206] Tyner reveals that the group dynamic was based on the freedom to explore their individual musical ideas within the context of the band. It is likely that freedom which led Tyner to call jazz a "very good moral teacher," due to the necessity of working *with* bandmates rather than moving forward in isolation.

Coltrane's discussion of bassist Reggie Workman, the predecessor to the band's eventual long-term bassist, Jimmy Garrison, illuminates his determination process for whether or not a particular musician was a good fit for the group: "I'm not especially pleased with my current bassist, Reggie Workman. He's not mature yet."[207] Part of Coltrane's displeasure with Workman, Lewis Porter notes, is that he was not working well with drummer Elvin Jones, on whose energy and rhythmic flexibility Coltrane had come to rely during performance. It seems then that Workman's problem was his inability to function as a co-facilitator for their group sound with Jones and Coltrane. Evincing a macro-level approach to band-leading, Coltrane used personnel as the way to cultivate a particular performance aesthetic rather than through specific directions to his bandmates. A similar methodology was employed in his previous process of hiring Tyner and Jones, who offered him unique sounds he thought necessary for the direction he was headed musically. In particular, the expansive harmonic palette offered through Tyner's quartal harmonies and pedal tones, and the energetic subdivided nature of Jones's drumming, were necessary for the harmonic and rhythmic openness for which the group became known in the 1960s.

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[206] Ibid.

[207] Quoted in Lewis Porter, *John Coltrane: His Life and Music* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 200.

Davis

Miles Davis also used personnel as the primary method of establishing a "sound" for his band, but his selection process was enacted differently than Coltrane's. According to his biographer, John Szwed, "Miles often said that he himself played as a member of the rhythm section, punching out short phrases, breaking up the flow of the melody line so that the rhythm could be heard through it…"[208] Davis used that playing style to test out pianist Herbie Hancock, bassist Ron Carter, and drummer Tony Williams in several "auditions" held at his home that he listened to remotely, only joining them for a few tunes over the course of several days.[209] Szwed writes "[The rhythm section] began to move the accompaniment in a new direction" after Miles asked why they played differently for tenor saxophonist George Coleman. Szwed continues "Herbie remembered… Miles began to bob and weave, sweating and struggling to stay with them. When he said nothing about it, they continued the same way the next night, and again Miles tried to find some way to fit in. But by the third day, Hancock said it was *he* who was trying to catch up: Miles had taken his playing to another level."[210] For Davis, the process of finding the right band members was less about making real a sound he already conceptualized, and more about finding musicians whose playing he found interesting and would push him into unfamiliar musical areas. Davis also gave them a significant amount of space for both improvisations and creative accompaniment since his goal was to have performance results that could differ drastically from performance to performance. When he was inclined to offer direction, Davis was known for giving cryptic suggestions such as "I don't want to play chords

[208] John Szwed, *So What: The Life of Miles Davis* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002), 238.
[209] Ibid., 237-8.
[210] Ibid., 239. It should also be noted that while this band was new to Davis, they functioned in the 1960s as a unit of sorts, playing with many other musicians throughout that ten-year period, either altogether, or with one member absent.

any more (sic)," leaving his bandmates either to decipher what it was he intended by the direction or figure out an alternative that he might find satisfactory.[211] For that reason, Coltrane often spoke of his time playing with Davis as being somewhat confusing: "Miles is sort of a strange guy: he doesn't talk a lot, and he rarely discusses music…It's very hard, in a situation like that, to know exactly what you should do, and maybe it's because of that that I started to do what I wanted."[212] That confusion and ambiguity though, also allowed for new approaches and sounds due to the trial-and-error process employed when attempting to understand Davis's directions.

The freedom and ambiguous statements that characterized Davis's approach did not always result in the polished materials he initially released on the Columbia label in the later 1950s. With his "second great quintet" of the mid-1960s, high standards of execution became subservient to the exploration of "risky" musical paths and creativity, representing a strong departure from *Milestones* (1958), *Kind of Blue* (1959), and *Someday My Prince Will Come* (1961), which stand as high-quality products highly mediated by both Davis's and Columbia's artistic standards. Contrastingly, the recordings of the 1960s quintet are often described as evincing a sense of "risk," characterized by a rejection of performance practices originating in bebop of the 1940s. Yet despite the "riskiness" heard by scholars and critics, the musicians themselves felt the music to be much more historically-grounded. Herbie Hancock claimed that "Miles was [the] history. He was the link [to past styles of jazz]. We were sort of walking a tightrope with the kind of experimenting we were doing in music, not *total* experimentation, but we used to call it "controlled freedom," (emphasis added).[213] Hancock saw the presence of Miles

[211] Ibid.
[212] Chris DeVito, "John Coltrane: An Interview" in *Coltrane on Coltrane: The John Coltrane Interviews*. Interviewed by François Postif in January 1962 for *Jazz Hot*.
[213] Hancock quoted in Szwed, *So What*, 255.

Davis as a link to performance approaches of previous generations, preventing a complete departing from the history of the music. Despite that apparent linkage though, Davis felt strongly about moving past what he saw as "safe" approaches to playing. In response to the perceived aesthetic perfection of Freddie Hubbard's *Backlash* album in a 1968 blindfold test with Leonard Feather, Davis claimed "That's what I tell all my musicians; I tell them be ready to play what you know and play above what you know. Anything might happen above what you've been used to playing - you're ready to get into that, and above that, and take that out."[214] It was through that choice to play above what they knew and, more importantly, what Davis knew that they were able to construct the unique musical identity that comes across on both their studio and live dates.

Recordings

Despite their similarities, Coltrane and Davis's leadership methods yielded markedly different results. Listening closely to both live and studio recordings is particularly important for both Coltrane and Davis due to the fact that their live performance repertoire remained somewhat stagnant while their studio performances frequently featured new material. The highly-mediated nature of in-studio recording processes as well as the attendant problems with the evolutionary importance historians have accorded to these somewhat "unreliable" informants is revealed through this juxtaposition; especially when considering the contradiction of authenticity lying only in live performance.[215] So, while it is that recordings cannot fully explain the phenomenon

[214] Davis quoted in Leonard Feather, "Miles Davis Blindfold Test Pt. 1," *DownBeat* 35, no. 12 (June 13, 1968): 34.
[215] This idea is explored in-depth in Jed Rasula, "The Media of Memory: The Seductive Menace of records in Jazz History," in *Jazz Among the Discourses* edited by Krin Gabbard (Durham: Duke University Press 1995): 134-162; as well as by Travis A. Jackson, "Capturing the Jazz Moment," (lecture, Chicago Humanities Festival, Chicago, November 6, 2011).

of jazz performance, they will be useful tools for this analysis due to the opportunity to listen multiple times through a particular performance.

John Coltrane's "My Favorite Things"

John Coltrane's "My Favorite Things" provides an advantageous starting place because of its 8-year presence in his repertoire. Spanning from the eponymous record of 1961 to Coltrane's final recorded, and overall penultimate, performance at the Olatunji Center of African Culture in New York in April 1967, "My Favorite Things" is useful in exploring Coltrane's role as co-facilitator of groove and group sound. Ingrid Monson has noted the ways that Coltrane's group departed from Rodgers and Hammerstein's 1959 original, both formally and harmonically, on their recorded version of a year later.[216] Monson writes: "the Coltrane quartet plays only the A sections of the melody. The B section is not heard until the reprise of the tune at the very end of the performance, when Coltrane abbreviates the thematic statement to a major A section followed by the B section and the minor vamp. Coltrane's B section does not modulate to the relative major."[217] She also discusses the harmonic changes that reduce the tune's chord changes to "extendable vamps – [E minor 9 to F# minor 9/E] for the minor section and [E Major 7 to F# minor 7/E] for the major section."[218] Monson, however, limits the process of groove creation to the three rhythm section players, limiting Coltrane's role to that of an outsider *interacting* with, but not *existing* within the groove.

The 1961 recording begins with Tyner, Jones, and bassist Steve Davis playing rhythmic and harmonic hits as an intro before setting up the groove that will characterize most of the

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[216] The discussion that follows refers to the John Coltrane, "My Favorite Things," by Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein, recorded in October 1960, with McCoy Tyner, Steve Davis, and Elvin Jones, on *My Favorite Things*, Atlantic SD-1361, released 1961.

[217] Ingrid Monson, *Saying Something: Jazz Improvisation and Interaction*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1996), 109.

[218] Ibid.

recording at 0:09. When Coltrane enters with the melody, he alters it significantly from what is written in the score, but what is more interesting is the way he deals with the E major section at 1:02. At 1:19 Coltrane begins a pattern in which he repeatedly bounces off of a lower note to a concert B natural engaging directly with the subdivisions of Elvin Jones's triplet-based swing feel. Jones enforces this idea by a pattern of triplets in his snare drum at 1:24. The metric disagreement between Coltrane's line and Jones's snare hits create a subtle "out of syncness" over Tyner and Davis's steady ostinatos, giving the performance a sense of forward motion. An example of this can be found at 1:57 in the recording when Coltrane plays a descending flurry of notes landing slightly after beat 3, rather than making the downbeat with Tyner, Davis, and Jones. A simultaneous press roll from Jones further emphasizes this moment.

Coltrane's solo also displays this kind of interaction with the rhythm section, demonstrating the ways in which they facilitate his musical choices. Following Tyner's solo, largely phrased around the melody and quartal piano shapes, Coltrane re-enters with some fills and finally the melody at 7:10. His solo begins at 7:27, in which he continually highlights concert B natural; orienting himself firmly within the context of Tyner's piano playing which uses a B natural as the top note of his F# minor 11 voicing. The switch from minor 9^{th} chords for the melody to minor 11^{th} for Coltrane's solo is an important element of this recording. Tyner is well-known for his use of quartal harmonies in this group, the employment of which presents an opportunity for more adventurous note choice than does tertian harmony.

Steve Davis plays an important role throughout this recording as well, standing as the grounding element to an otherwise dense and continuously fluctuating texture. While Jones spends much of the solo keeping the groove and occasionally responding with triplet-based figures on the snare, as at 8:30, the pulse of his swing feel is situated slightly behind where Steve

Davis is feeling his. Close listening to Coltrane's solo and Tyner's ostinato will also reveal that both are primarily engaging with Davis's bass line rather than Jones's drumming. However, it is the slight laziness that Jones plays with that creates the sense of "pocket" for this recording, a laziness that Coltrane mimics at 7:56 with a series of "delayed" B naturals.[219] Such rhythmic discrepancy results in a much larger pocket for the musicians to work within, allowing Coltrane to use less metronomically perfect flurries of notes in his solos (e.g. at 1:57, 8:03, and 8:59). Certainly, these phrases are not *arrhythmic* nor are they completely out of time, but rather, they are not representative of a clear subdivision of the beat.

The band's performance of "My Favorite Things" recorded live at the Half Note in 1965 presents a unique counterpart to the studio recording due to the tension between new choices while continuing to adhere to many of the original arrangement choices.[220] For this performance, Coltrane plays an introductory solo then Tyner, Jones, and bassist Jimmy Garrison enter with the 1961 introduction. The rhythm section approaches groove in a similar way, with the exception of Tyner's ostinato minor 9th chords being substituted for chromatically moving quartal harmonies. Coltrane addresses the pulse of group directly this time though, playing eighth notes and triplets that are strongly rooted in the rhythmic pulse that Garrison and Jones are generating from 1:01 to 1:16. At 1:30 Coltrane takes a similarly rhythmically grounded approach for the E major section, augmenting and transforming the motive from his 1961 recording but instead of using B natural as the arrival point, he now uses D#. This shift is notable because of the instability of major

[219] Vijay Iyer has written about the phenomenon of pocket in a 2002 publication: Vijay Iyer, "Embodied Mind…," 406. Iyer writes: "If we consier the downbeat ot be exactly when the bass drum is struck, then the snare drum is very often played ever so slightly *later* than the midpoint between two consecutive pulses… Often musicians are aware of this to some degree, and htye have a term for it: the drummer is said to play "in the pocket." Although perhaps unaware of the exact temporal details of this effect, a skilled musician or listener in this genre hears this kind of expressive microdelay as "relaxed" or "laid back" as opposed to "stiff" or "on top."

[220] The recording referred to in this section is John Coltrane, "My Favorite Things," by Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein, recorded March and May 1965, with McCoy Tyner, Jimmy Garrison, and Elvin Jones, on *Live at the Half Note: One Down, One Up*, Impulse! 9862143, 2005.

sevenths as compared to fifths, a sign of his increasingly adventurous approach to performance. The size of the "pocket" has also grown significantly in this recording with Garrison as the bass player. Steve Davis and McCoy Tyner often locked-in to a specific pulse in the earlier recording, but now Garrison is playing slightly ahead of the beat, Tyner in the middle, and Jones still slightly behind, making the range of rhythmic possibilities far greater.

With the change in personnel, McCoy Tyner's playing here has also been freed up to do more than hold the groove steady. From 1:47 to 2:15 Tyner can be heard interjecting phrases into his ostinato that match up rhythmically with Coltrane's bouncing figure; an interaction that is taken further at 2:25 when Jones begins inserting himself into the musical interactions with triplet figures on his snare and offbeat figures in the cymbals. The offbeats here are particularly notable because they serve as a lead-in the strong dotted-quarter-note rhythmic cohesion at 2:48 instigated by McCoy Tyner's chromatically moving quartal voicings. This technique continues past 3:00, with Coltrane emphasizing the strength of the gesture at 3:11 through eighth-note figures that meander up and down throughout the range of his saxophone. More often than not, it seems that these sections are catalyzed by Tyner or Jones, rather than by Coltrane as has been previously thought. Coltrane's attention seems drawn to exploring diatonic melodies, with Tyner and Jones continually pushing him into outside key areas. Within this, Garrison switches frequently between dotted-quarter-note rhythms, walking, and a combination of the two. Of particular note in this first solo is the moment at 4:58 when Coltrane uses a flurry of notes to first ascend then descend to the down beat at 5:00, a gesture he made in 1961, but less temporally grounded.

After McCoy Tyner's roughly 13-minute solo beginning at 5:35, Coltrane returns at 18:43 to restate the melody after a series of raucous-sounding trills. Then, at 19:16 Coltrane

begins his solo with a melodic phrase that first emphasizes beat 3, then the eighth-note subdivision through repeated B naturals. The Garrison's broken time feel, Jones's cymbal patterns, harmonically ambiguous rhythmic patterns of Tyner make the B naturals in this recoding much more rhythmically and melodically aggressive. At 20:00, Coltrane returns to the flowing sixteenth-note textures he made ample use of in 1961 matching the harmonic ambiguity of Tyner's comping and bombastic nature of Jones's drumming. Within that environment, Coltrane's lines function less as melodic phrases than they do as another layer of the groove. His continued sixteenth-notes function as a *texture* rather than as a *melody*, improvised or otherwise. This technique is reflective of Coltrane's playing during this period in his career, and especially his more overt sojourns into the "avant-garde." Even those recordings, such as *Om, Meditations, Sun Ship, Transition,* and *Interstellar Space* should be conceived of as explorations in group sound and the malleability of groove, rather than as a complete rejection of it. Evidence of this can be found in his recording of "My Favorite Things" from the Olatunji concert that, while much more rambunctious than these two recordings, keeps a sense of groove and pocket underneath the dense surrounding textures.

Miles Davis, Tony Williams, and Rhythmic Subterfuge

Unlike Coltrane's group that expanded upon similar ideas in each performance, Miles Davis's quintet made being open to new avenues and possibilities the goal of their performances. By consistently changing rhythmic feels and a lack of harmonic and melodic specificity, the Davis group moved beyond a musical space in which participatory discrepancy can be used to understand their sound. For that reason, they present a unique case study through their simultaneous *engagement with* and *abandonment of* groove. It will be most instructive to begin by examining a place at which groove exists and is then thwarted by the highly interactive and

malleable texture of the group. Wayne Shorter's "Pinocchio" from *Nefertiti* serves as a strong example of this due to the employment of many of the group's well-known performance devices.

The recording begins with a notable departure from bebop-based performance practice by playing the 18-bar melody four times before the beginning of Davis's trumpet solo. The first statement features the most conventional rhythm section accompaniment with only small interjections from Williams and Hancock; the second time through (0:21), the accompaniment becomes busier featuring rolls and cymbal crashes from Williams and right hand counter-melodies from Hancock; the third time through, Williams uses the bass drum and hi-hat to emphasize his triplet interjections; and the final time Williams and Hancock begin in a highly interactive manner, but relax as they transition into Davis's solo. At the start of the solo Hancock immediately drops out leaving the interactivity of the rhythm section primarily to Williams while Carter continues a walking bass line. Williams's snare work from 1:43 to 2:10, concurrent with Wayne Shorter and Herbie Hancock's entrances, suggests a disregard for creating a sense of pocket. His consistent interjections prevent the groove from settling and put him in direct opposition to Davis's soloing and Carter's walking bassline. He continues this approach through the statement of the melody until the beginning of Shorter's solo at 2:33.

For Shorter's solo, Hancock is notably absent again creating another time-no-changes improvisation setting. Shorter's solo, though brief, has much to offer analysts. His highly motivic playing at 2:42 and then at 2:47 facilitates enthusiastic responses from Williams, and then Carter who alters his bassline to reflect a triple-time subdivision. At 3:03, Williams's interjections function as filler material between Shorter's phrases, manifesting in a call-and-response sound. After another statement of the melody at 3:25, through which Williams continues to improvise, Hancock begins his short solo at 3:47. Unlike Shorter, Hancock's is not particularly motivic and

therefore leaves less space for Williams to insert his voice besides some snare drum chatter from 3:59 to 4:10, and bass drum and cymbal hits around 4:19. The melody returns again at 4:30, with Williams and Hancock filling in spaces. Hancock is particularly noticeable due to his offbeat chordal hits starting at 4:47 to end the tune underneath a sustained note by Shorter and Davis. Neither Williams nor Carter add anything to this and allow Hancock's chord to be the final attention-grabbing gesture.

What can be gleaned from this recording is the importance of Tony Williams as catalyst for much of the interactivity in the band. Historians have often pointed to Williams as the driving force of the communicatory nature of the band to the exclusion of Hancock and Carter. However, that viewpoint is heavily colored by the nature of the studio recordings that place Hancock and Carter much lower in the mix and are mediated by the nature of the recording studio which has, through jazz history, been a much more tightly regulated arena of performance. This approach is one that is similar for the Coltrane group as well, whose studio recordings during this period are noticeably more reserved than his live albums.

The Davis group's live recording of "Footprints" from the 1967 Newport jazz festival provides an illuminating look into the band's live performance approach that differed significantly from that in their recordings. First, at Davis's behest the band played the same set of eight or nine tunes in all live performances, largely ignoring the new music that appeared on their recordings throughout the 1960s. Moreover, Hancock's and Carter's expanded roles decenter Tony Williams as the primary catalyst and focal point of the group. Finally, with the possibility of longer performances, they could further delve deeper into different avenues of performance.

At the start of this recording Davis begins the melody alone, followed by the entrance of the rhythm section and Wayne Shorter harmonizing with his melody. Throughout, Hancock plays particularly strong intervallic scalar passages either entirely descending or ascending until just before Davis's solo begins at 0:42. Unlike the studio performance of "Pinocchio," Hancock is far more present and continues playing throughout Davis's and Shorter's solos. Both he and Williams provide relatively busy figures behind Davis's separated trumpet lines. At 1:02 the two come together with Ron Carter to enforce a particular quarter note-dotted quarter rest-dotted quarter note figure. However, after a particularly dense section from 1:30 to 1:50 the entire band begins a decrescendo into the last 8 bars of the form at 2:00 to lead into Wayne Shorter's solo that begins at 2:17.

Shorter begins his solo much more introspectively than Davis does, allowing Hancock to enter the sonic foreground by providing a steady piano figure for the first chorus behind Shorter starting at 2:29. Simultaneously, Carter uses a more active bass line to lead into a push from Williams's hi-hat into the next chorus. With their prodding, Shorter begins playing flurries of notes that the rhythm section responds to with a brief double-time feel from 3:05 until 3:10 with a big hit at the top of the chorus. Shorter uses the opportunity to begin referencing the melody while Hancock responds with slews of chromatic lines at 3:21 that first bring Shorter down, and then up to a slow figure over washes of sound from Hancock and Williams with Carter playing off the written bass line. At the instigation of the rhythm section, it begins to feel at 3:50 as if they are going to enter a fully free improvisation without changes or time, but Hancock's clear evocation of the turnaround at 4:08 and Shorter's melody quotes at 4:13 bring it back from the brink of falling apart. At 4:30 Shorter begins his last chorus on a concert Db, the flatted 9^{th} of the key while Hancock and plays a harmonically ambiguous chord repeatedly until 4:48 when they

begin transitioning into the piano solo. At that point, Carter abandons the bass line in favor of dissonant two-note punctuations that eventually lead into a short double-time feel at 5:08 from Williams. Though he had been largely playing melody lines of his own accord, at 5:38 he directly engages Carter's 2 over 3 feel, and Williams's cymbal pattern.

He then moves away from melodic figures at 5:52 in favor of chordal gestures that lead into arpeggiated figures in his next chorus. The arpeggiations cause Carter to break up his bass line, and Williams to contribute hits on the snare and bass drum. While they are not hitting together, their various rhythms complement each other leading to a sense of group cohesion, despite the lack of one discernible groove. Carter then begins hinting at the original bassline again, pulling Hancock and Williams back from their denser explorations until a push into the final melody choruses at 6:42. During both times through the melody, Hancock fills in the gaps with melodies more general than specific to the chords. They end this piece with, what would now feel almost like, a hip-hop groove due to its repetitive nature and heavy back beat. Hancock plays a repeated figure in his right hand starting at 7:24, much like he did on the "Pinocchio" recording with Williams occasionally inserting himself with rapid snare hits, until a final chord that naturally fades out.

This recording points to the importance of experimentation in live performance that was often absent from in-studio sessions. While most historians are aware of the difference between studio recordings and those that are made live, the variation in performance practice is not merely the result of time constraints in the studio or "feeling" the audience in public settings. For the Davis group, the dissimilarity was derived largely from the fact that a tune such as "Footprints" had been in the repertoire for at least two years at the point of the 1967 Newport Festival, and the musicians were much more comfortable with it. However, what is often

overlooked is the commercial nature of recordings and the necessity to continue releasing "fresh" material that prevents most artists from releasing the same music repeatedly over the course of their career. To be sure, there are notable jazz artists who have done just that such as Thelonious Monk. In Monk's case though, his records did not usually sell well, perhaps due to his eccentricity, but equally likely is the fact that his recordings often featured the same 10 or 15 tunes that he had recorded many times before. For a musician such as Miles Davis, the studio was a place to create a "product" as well as a piece of art, therefore negating the possibility that risks and "controlled freedom" could be employed as robustly as they could in live performance. Studio sessions were also likely mediated by the band sight-reading the tunes, diverting their attention from being solely focused on interaction.

Conclusion

Reframing Coltrane and Davis as co-facilitators of group sound and groove within their 1960s ensembles presents an opportunity for jazz scholars to gain a better understanding of what actually constitutes jazz performance. Though it is common practice in current jazz scholarship to cite the Davis and Coltrane group as models of group interaction, these claims are often left unsubstantiated or continue to reify Davis and Coltrane as "leaders" who steered their sidemen to the desired endpoint. However, as demonstrated from the above analysis, the "sidemen" were often the instigators of changes in musical texture, direction, and in the creation of groove. The work of Tyner, Jones, Hancock, and Williams, is especially notable because of the foregrounded nature of their instruments in recorded performance; that fact being augmented further by the timbres of piano and drums cutting through recorded mixes. Davis/Garrison and Carter should not be forgotten in this process though, as their playing was often the element that grounded performance making it possible for the others to interact in more overt ways. Without such a

strong foundation, the adventurous nature of both groups would have yielded far different results, if successful at all.

For that reason, scholars should keep in mind the importance of these players in the overall sound of these groups. While it is true that Coltrane and Davis were often the catalyst for the exploratory nature of the groups, their curiosity could not have been manifest in actual performance without the contributions of their bandmates. Such processes are highly complicated endeavors that need all those involved to commit and contribute as equals. Finally, understanding the two groups in this way provides a less "great-soloist/improviser"-centric narrative that has largely been the modus operandi for jazz historiographers. Viewing all members of the band as co-facilitators presents a much more realistic viewpoint of both the Coltrane and Davis, and their bandmates' approach to musicking in the 1960s; an approach that characterized jazz performance both before *and* after their oft-cited examples. With this understanding in mind, jazz historiography will come closer to representing the realities of jazz performance practice to both students and scholars of the current era.

Conclusion

In a 2014 blog post jazz trumpeter and internet blogger, Nicholas Payton, lamented the term jazz and what it means for black musicians past and present. In this post he claims: "Black arts have been so affected by the Western aesthetic that they appear at times to be no difference between the two, but fundamentally they serve a different function and there are another set of rules at play. Black music can coexist along with the Western aesthetic, as far as I see it. The fact that we have yet to formally establish that there is a such thing as Black music is the basis of the confusion."[221] What Payton alludes to here remains an issue in much jazz scholarship as well when black music is analyzed or understood through European classical music frameworks. To be sure, the theoretical techniques and ideas from that sphere have impacted and influenced the study of jazz and other black musics in positive ways, but to treat them as indistinguishable does a disservice to both spheres. As Michel-Rolph Trouillot has written erasure techniques can take many forms, but with black music it has historically taken the form of what he refers to as "banalization." That particular process relies on "empty[ing] a number of singular events of their revolutionary content so that the entire string of facts, gnawed from all sides, becomes trivialized."[222] By divorcing jazz performance and recording from their socio-political contexts or only focusing on the socio-political and overlooking sound, many scholars and critics have only told half of the story for the musicians performing the music. Within this thesis, I have attempted to view jazz, and black music broadly, as an area all its own, connecting sound with political, social, and economic contexts within the United States negating the banalization forces that have removed those issues from the music.

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[221] Nicholas Payton, "Black American Music and the Jazz Tradition," Nicholas Payton Personal Website: nicholaspayton.wordpress.com, April 30, 2014.

[222] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995).

Patronage, as an economic system has configured the successes and failures of many jazz musicians throughout the history of the music, and continues to do so through university and academic jazz programs. In such relationships economic and cultural capital consistently exist on a spectrum in which each party benefits from the others' form of capital. However, these relationships have affected the ways different styles within the history of jazz are discussed now. Critics, pedagogues, and scholars have relied on these relationships either directly engaged with the musicians personally, or as historical entities. The discursive frameworks that surround hard bop in the 1950s are the result of these relationships and the tensions of cross-racial politics in jazz. Blacker-sounding music and musicians seeking audiences of their own race represent a political orientation that has been silenced by those unwilling to engage with black political thought.

Historically, only particular types of black politics have been acceptable to the scholars or audiences dealing with jazz, ignoring the importance of the nationalist implications of black art. Black nationalism has, since the its inception, been labeled as a militant and violent stance, removing from its proponents their agency and political saliency. Hard bop, as a style surrounded by two more sonically challenging approaches to playing, has often been stripped of its political meaning. However, by viewing this music as evincing a sonic black nationalism, constructed here through the inclusion of influence from other black popular forms of music-making, it can be understood as an equally important point in the history of jazz. Attracting blacker audiences and approaching playing as a highly enjoyable activity that necessitated audience participation, hard bop musicians implicitly rejected the highbrow/lowbrow dialectic held a strong influence on the approach of bebop musicians whose uncompromising artistic visions were at odds with their desire for audiences. To be sure, this does not mean that hard bop musicians compromised their

artistic visions in any way, but rather that they saw a failure in the bebop movement to a particular type of audience that they found valuable. Moreover, looking to hard bop as reflective of sonic black nationalism, brings to light many of the problematic ways in which "blackness" has been coded. Relying on problematic depictions of black masculinity that centers around prejudice against both women and queer populations. However, while sonic black nationalism is enacted here through the influence of popular musics and blacker audiences, it is a much broader approach that is executed in individual instances rather than in a uniform way.

John Coltrane and Miles Davis's 1960s bands making use of group participation rather solely following the vision of a leader, reflect the community-based grassroots approaches of black political organizations of the 1960s. By focusing primarily on bandleaders and ignoring the importance of "sidemen" in performance, scholars and critics have overlooked the actual dynamics of generating group sound that necessitate participation of all players. By reframing sidemen and bandleaders as "co-facilitators" of groove and group sound, musical and cultural analysis comes much closer to the musicians' experience of performing jazz. The Coltrane and Davis groups by making groove the center of their approach to performance, point indirectly to previous forms of black and African diasporic music-making practices that use it as a way to compel audiences and participation of others. In the same way, it requires the involvement of all members of group because groove cannot be created by one musician, but instead requires the involvement commitment of everyone. Both groups' view on performance then, reflects the strategies outlined by Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton among others, as important parts of the black power movement. In that way, Coltrane's and Davis's groups also evince a sonic black nationalism, but in a much different way than hard bop musicians. Understanding both bands through that lens allows for scholars and writers to get closer to reflecting the

experience of the musicians performing the music, returning to them their agency and the complexity of jazz performance.

Nationalism has consistently been an important part of black musicking, as it has intentionally separated from white and European sounds due to its Other status. Due to that separation, black musicians have consistently found new ways of *sounding* their identity, often without text. In the above chapters, I have attempted to outline some of the ways in which black musicians navigate their identity and retain agency in the creation and dissemination of their music. Certainly, what I explore above are not the only cases in which these types of analysis would be useful, as demonstrated by work done by Eileen Southern, Samuel Floyd Jr, Amiri Baraka, Guthrie Ramsey Jr., Ingrid Monson, and Robin D.G. Kelley among others. Further work can be done in other genres of black music (e.g. rap, R&B, soul, funk, blues, etc…) and other artists. Intersections of these type of racial issues with gender and sexuality or nationality will also be fruitful projects in finding more ways to again foreground musicians' voices that have been silenced. Moreover, by understanding such problems historically, their present day equivalents can be addressed more robustly by both scholars and performers alike. Finally, further analysis of the university and its role in creating and perpetuating these issues would be especially illuminating due to it being the center of many young musicians' experience in the 21st century. It is my hope that these issues will continue to be explored by musicologists and scholars looking to more accurately represent the performance and life experience of black musicians in the U.S. and abroad.

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