

some post-war
developments
in JAZZ

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When Jesus Christ began preaching his gospel to the world, the Bible informs us that the local sages couldn't believe "anything good" could have come out of a hick-town like Nazareth.¹ According to Dr. George W. Pierce,² the most *avant-garde* cacophony being produced will not be heard tonight in some Harlem loft. Nay friends, the most "far out" combo will be blowing improvised solos around the summer world in your local field or hedge! Put another way, did you ever pay any attention while the grasshopper, click beetle, cicada and katydid bantered back and forth? Not until I spent a night in the Paraguayan Chaco being serenaded by thousands of insects, did Pierce's argument take on the aura of credibility.

i. the time of the hoppers 1945-50

Jazz buffs and historians would listen to such stories respectfully, then confidently reply that they could top such paradoxical tales. For example, they might relate how the initial step in the development of post-World War II jazz styles occurred in 1939, by accident, in an obscure Harlem chile house. The man upon whom this supernatural flash was bestowed was Charles Christopher Parker, Jr., better known to all his legions as "Yardbird" or "Bird." Parker had become bored with the hackneyed chords employed by most of his contemporaries, and was seeking something new. One night in December, while playing "Cherokee" with guitarist Biddy Fleet, Parker discovered that by running higher intervals of a chord as a melody line and backing these with appropriately related changes, he could play what he had been hearing. As Parker put it, "I came alive."³ (Skeptics please note that the red peppers and beans were probably in no way responsible.)

While the “Bird” unquestionably dominated the 1940-60 generation, he was not the only originator of the post-war jazz movement. As early as 1938-39, Swing, the pre-eminent jazz style of the pre-war era, had nearly exhausted its inventive potential. Youth and the listening public were still entranced with the likes of Glenn Miller, Benny Goodman and Artie Shaw, but young jazzmen found those same offerings increasingly *jejune*. In 1940, a Harlem jazz club, Minton’s Playhouse, became the headquarters of a clique of young musicians who were hoping to create a new musical language. Along with Parker, the Minton’s experimenters of 1940-42 (notably John Birks “Dizzy” Gillespie, trumpet; Kenny Clark, drums; Thelonious Monk and Mary Lou Williams, piano; and Charles Christian, guitar) evolved the basis of the jazz style eventually called “re-bop,” “be-bop,” and, inevitably perhaps, “bop.” One observer of the Minton’s scene, when asked about the origins of be-bop, provided a reply that was simplicity in itself: “Bird was responsible for the actual playing of it, and Dizzy (Gillespie) put (i.e., wrote) it down.”⁴

Whimsey aside, the perfecting of the new jazz style took time, and no one party was totally responsible. The innovators had to make a living while polishing and perfecting their creation; in candid terms, this meant playing in aggregations that performed the “old” jazz. Fortunately, such band leaders as Earl Hines and Billy Eckstine (1942-45) allowed their orchestras to become musical laboratories. By the time Dizzy Gillespie formed the first bop combo (1944),⁵ most of the rough edges had been rounded off, and the sponsors of a revolutionary new style were ready to test it on an unsuspecting public. Before the war ended, the center for bop had moved from Harlem to mid-town Manhattan. The new jazz had begun making converts, east, north, west and south. Even staid Europe soon had a significant number of disciples.

Chiefly because of his gregarious personality, Dizzy Gillespie was elected premier bopper by the communications media, and the trumpet star formed a large ensemble in 1946. This was to be (until June, 1950) the paramount orchestra dedicated to the presentation and promulgation of bop. In 1947, Woody Herman formed another such ensemble; by 1949, even the old King of Swing, Benny Goodman, had one leg up on the bop wagon. In addition to the orchestras, at least a dozen top flight combos (including that led by Charlie Parker) made their appearance upon the national scene. Proponents of Swing and Dixieland took a dim view of mushrooming “boperations,” but they were powerless to halt the changes taking place.

Unfortunately, the election of King be-bop by critics, musicians and certain jazz fanatics in no way indicated that the public concurred. The new jazz was difficult to dance to, full of “wierd” notes and unexpected intervals; these factors alone suggested troublesome days ahead. The press and radio concentrated their attention on the sartorial eccentricities favored by bop musicians (i.e., their berets, horn-rimmed glasses, leopard

skin jackets, wide ties). To some observers, the eccentricities became the essence of the music. Such persons might support the latest fad for a year or two, but then what? These uncertainties were multiplied by the fact that any musician with a beret or horn-rimmed glasses now became a "bop" musician. Youngsters who could hardly blow their horns, but could sprout a goatee and shout "cool, my man," loudly proclaimed both their devotion and expertise. The result was increasing confusion in the public mind as to what bop was, and who were its most credible exponents.

Though Gillespie had no problem maintaining his position as the high priest of bop, the major financial attraction of the 1946-50 period was the orchestra of Stanley Newcomb Kenton. Fronting a 19-20 piece outfit and dubbing his repertoire "Progressive Jazz,"⁶ Kenton's brassy, intensely controversial crew became the first jazz orchestra to earn \$1,000,000 in a twelve-month period (1948). While the musical efforts of the band rarely fell into the generally accepted bop framework, Kenton soloists like Art Pepper (alto sax), Ray Wetzel (trumpet), Bob Cooper (tenor sax) and Eddie Bert (trombone) "beeped" freely whenever awarded solo opportunities.

Nineteen forty nine marked the beginning of the end of the bop area. In November of that year, Charlie Barnet, who had formed a bop orchestra in January announced: "We're running in the red, so there's no percentage in going on."⁷ The following month, Woody Herman also threw in the sponge. He was joined by Charlie Ventura, whose "Bop for the People" Combo had been elected the outstanding small jazz group in the 1948 *Metronome* magazine annual poll. When asked about his disbandment, "C. V." quipped: "Be-bop is really dead, that is, if you could ever say that it was alive. . . ."⁸ One musician who had never believed bop to have been more than a corpse was Doc Evans, a Dixieland-style trumpeter since time immemorial. With Evans playing a dixie-style dirge, "concerned" students at the University of Minnesota gave "old-man bebop" an officious funeral.⁹ Disbanding in July, 1950, even Dizzy Gillespie announced that bop had reached the end of the trail.

Bop ceased to exist as a style of jazz totally distinct from other styles, but the majority of jazz soloists continued to perform in the tradition of Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, *et al.* Bop's harmonic and chromatic ideas gradually became accepted parts of American popular music; only the name really died. Woodrow Wilson Herman summed it up most succinctly. When asked in 1955 whether bop was dead, he replied: "No . . . the funny and sad thing is today you can play the same music that was damned in 1947 and 1948 and get away with it completely."¹⁰ Repetition of sounds apparently works wonders on the public ear. It is now 1968. The next time you come home after listening to live jazz, put a stack of Charlie Parker records on your hi-fi set and listen: Many of today's jazzmen are still "getting away with it."

be-bop: a tale of technique

Bop enthusiasts often insisted that their music was a separate and distinct form at odds with past jazz tradition. In one sense, they were correct. Bop was the first jazz style that would be primarily harmonic and rhythmic rather than melodic. Melody was developed for the most part from complex harmonic cadences. These cadences were further augmented by the use of chromatic devices which tended to further disguise an already unorthodox melody line. This is not to suggest that boppers failed to create stunning melodies; what happened was that to the untrained ear, the rhythmic accents seemed to fall in the wrong places. In addition, the chords (often employing numerous flatted fifths) used to improvise on, seemed "wrong."

In another sense, bop did not represent a revolution at all. While rhythmically, the time-keeping function shifted from bass drum to top cymbal, it was essentially the same 4/4 meter of the past. Furthermore, the trenchant figures, Parker, Gillespie, Powell, Clark (to name a few), were well grounded in the music of the Swing era. Chord progressions from tunes which dated back to the 1920's and 30's were modified, but they continued to be staple vehicles for boppish improvisations. Consider, for example, the "blues," a basic chord pattern that has been employed in jazz and folk music prior to 1900. The most common blues chord progression is twelve bars long, and can be played in any key. B^b is the key most often chosen: *Example I.*

Example I: A 12-bar blues progression in B^b major. The chords are: 1. B^b, 2. B^b, 3. B^b, 4. B^b7, 5. E^b(7), 6. E^b(7), 7. B^b, 8. B^b, 9. F7, 10. F7, 11. B^b, 12. B^b.

Boppers produced a near infinity of variations on blues chords. On "Blomdido" (Clef LP MG-C512) Charlie Parker employed the following: *Example II.*

Example II: A 12-bar blues progression in B^b major. The chords are: 1. B^b, 2. C^m7 F7, 3. B^b, 4. B^b7, 5. E^b7, 6. E^b7, 7. B^b, 8. C^m7 B^bm7 G^b7, 9. C^m7, 10. F7, 11. B^b, 12. B^b F7.

Another series of blues chords favored by boppers are these from a George Shearing composition, "Local 802 Blues" (recorded by the Metronome All-Stars, Capital-1550): *Example III.*

Boppers took a great delight in resurrecting old tunes, taking their chord structures and building melodies that would have left the originators gasping. Consider eight bars of “Whispering,” a song written originally in 1920 by J. Schonburger, R. Coburn and V. Rose: *Example IV*.

Recording for the now defunct Musicraft label in 1945-46, Dizzy Gillespie dropped this song into his beret, shook it slightly, and “Grooving High” emerged (rereleased on Savoy-12020): *Example V*.

While “Grooving High” was a few strides away from “Whispering” harmonically, the method of presentation by small bop combos did not differ significantly from their Swing era counterparts. The solo horns still played the themes in unison, single-line fashion. Unconsciously perhaps, boppers sought to impress upon the listener that the theme (generally played at the beginning and end of the song) was originally an improvised idea heard at a “jam session” the night before, and written down the next day. Conversely, the years following the end of World War II saw the emergence of a large number of composer-arrangers who intended to work primarily in the jazz field. In works for orchestras or ensembles employing 3-4 solo instruments, these composer-arrangers increasingly sought to integrate bop-style phrases with harmonic ideas developed by Schönberg, Stravinsky, Bartok and other contemporary classical masters. While such composer-arrangers as Walter “Gil” Fuller, Pete Rugolo, Tadd Dameron and George Handy (to name a few) did not forget that improvisation was the heart of jazz composition,

their works suggested that the themes used were intended to be more than simple vehicles for improvisers. Indeed, the themes and arranged materials were expected to stand by themselves as finished products.¹¹

Thus, out of the bop era grew two divergent, but not initially contentious factions. Many jazzmen preferred "simple" themes, familiar chord structures, and suspected that the composers were attempting to restrict the quantity of improvisation by writing more arranged passages. The composer-arrangers argued that they were only hoping to extend the scope and form of jazz by incorporating into it appropriate western European techniques. After 1950, conflicting factions would develop along these lines, and the argument has not yet been fully resolved.

the socio-economic implications of be-bop

While America today is at least dimly aware of the preeminent role of the Afro-American in both the origin and development of jazz, the blackman had rarely been the recipient of the profits which theoretically should have come his way. The problem in part lay in the belief of popular music's overlords (i.e., booking agencies, record companies, owners of major night clubs) that the white public would never accept musical innovations unless the supposed innovator was also white. While this assumption was probably valid prior to World War II, its socio-economic ramifications were catastrophic. Witness the case of the late Fletcher Henderson. As early as 1928, this bandleader had worked out the basis of the jazz style later known as Swing. By the early 30's he had assembled an outstanding aggregation—but it was still a black orchestra. A compromise of sorts resulted: Benny Goodman became "King of Swing" (everywhere except in Harlem and other urban ghettos) and Fletcher Henderson became his chief arranger.

White bands led by Artie Shaw, Tommy Dorsey, Glen Miller and Bunny Berrigan soon joined Goodman as members of the Swing hierarchy. Black powerhouse battalions led by Count Basie, Chick Webb and Earl Hines came into existence, played better jazz but earned less than half as much as their white counterparts.¹² In all fairness, it must be noted that Messrs. Goodman and Shaw demonstrated their belief that racial bars in jazz should not be tolerated by hiring black musicians despite strong opposition. Curiously enough, such attitudes probably increased black discontent, because from the latter's point of view, acceptance into white orchestras demonstrated how badly nature-tanned swingsters were needed! Why then be satisfied with a few crumbs while "Whitey" took the cake?

What was obvious was that to improve the blackman's socio-economic status in jazz would take some kind of musical insurrection. The time was ripe in 1940-41, because Swing had then passed its inventive peak. It should not be surprising therefore that a major purpose of the previ-

ously mentioned Minton's clique was the creation of a jazz form that whites could not play! Ideally, this would insure for black jazzmen the recognition they craved plus a lion's share of the profits.¹³ Any skeptic could have pointed out that the new jazz would be heard and financed by white customers. Some of these would be musicians, and most certainly they would soon be able to reproduce what they heard. Furthermore, since the black innovators would employ western tools (i.e., saxophones, chords, traditional notation) to express themselves, it was only a question of time before the whites caught on. Black hopes of maintaining a monopoly on their creation were ultimately fanciful, but conditions tended to change after World War II. From the onset of the be-bop era, Dizzy Gillespie was accepted as be-bop's preeminent figure. For the first time, a jazz style would have a blackman as its publicly acknowledged leader. Young partisans of all races slavishly copied Gillespie's affectations and the social and physical habits of other famous boppers.

It was the social-psychological outlook of the boppers that was most unnerving. The music had seemingly sprung from nowhere and insinuated itself into the public consciousness following a war which had caused a maximum amount of social dislocation. The young post-war boppers (and the hosts of non-playing bop adherents) began by rejecting all past jazz forms; bop was the only jazz.¹⁴ Sometimes audiences in clubs proved hostile or apathetic to the music. Obviously, thought the young bop musician, pearls had been cast before swine. Never did it occur to him that his fumbling imitation of Parker or Gillespie might further postpone the public's acceptance of the new jazz. The boppers reacted by adopting a patronizing attitude toward paying patrons, not announcing tunes and generally performing as if the feelings of the audience were not important. Many of these practices have since become traditional.

Dixieland had been "good time" music, nice to get drunk to. Swing had been music largely for dancers. With the bop era, jazz musicians became more conscious of their role as "artists." In practice this meant that they often acted like *prima donnas*. Charlie Parker, Dexter Gordon and other greats were predictably late for club and recording dates, often not showing up at all.¹⁵ Young jazzmen took their cues accordingly. Time considerations were unimportant, and those who objected to the bopper's cavalier attitude on the subject were obviously "square." Laws were for the common folk, not for boppers who could easily dispense with the assistance of the Establishment. Idealistically, the new jazz would help black jazzmen establish themselves as artists rather than musical comedians. In a sense, it was an attempt by both black and white jazzmen to destroy the things they hated—Tin Pan Alley, unscrupulous agents and bookers, band leaders who could not play and indirectly, middle class society. Realistically, the be-bop panorama was all of these things plus an apparent acceptance of "horse" (i.e., heroin) as a necessity for existence.

It is undeniable that musicians had been heroin users prior to 1945, but a frightful number of bop's leading figures were hopeless addicts.¹⁶ To both young bopper and fan, if the heroes were hooked, a ride on the "horse" was for them, too. Only since a growing number of youths have become users of psychedelic and other drugs has it become possible for many to realize how heavily the nuances of fad, curiosity or the weight of social pressure can weigh on immature minds. Some misguided souls thought that through heroin, peaks of performance could be reached which non-users could never hope to arrive at. Others became addicted because this was a means of rebelling against family and/or society. Some died, some ruined their health and a few even broke the habit; but only the "pusher" (i.e., drug supplier) chuckled on his way to the bank.

And so the word "bop" temporarily faded into disuse. "Modern Jazz" was a better descriptive monicker, and it did not evoke visions of hopped-up musicians sneering at customers or collapsing on the bandstand. Cashwise, however, bop had flopped. Musical entrepreneurs subsequently looked elsewhere for commercially exploitable presentations. New crooners, vocal quartets and Glenn Miller-styled dance bands provided entertainment for the masses during most of the 1950's.

Artistically, be-bop had been a smashing success. Unfortunately, the bop era marked the parting of the ways between jazz and the dancing public. After 1949-50, modern jazz was a creation loved by the hip, beautiful when well performed, but appreciated by the few.

ii. cool sounds and west coastin' 1950-56

Before passing from the jazz scene as a separate movement, be-bop gave birth to one illustrious progeny: "Cool Jazz." Since 1950, the term has been used in so many contradictory contexts that in a sense, it has become meaningless. "Cool Jazz" initially denoted two particular styles which reached their height in popularity during the 1950's.

(1) Lester Young long ago was dubbed "Pres" (short for "President" of the tenor saxophone gents). He burst onto the jazz scene during the 1930's. As a member of Count Basie's band, Young blew solos that became classics. More important, he instituted a new approach to the tenor saxophone. The great influence on that horn had been Coleman Hawkins. Hawkins blew a breathy, heavy-vibratoed horn in a bristling, extroverted style. Young approached the horn from another direction. He employed a light, pure sound without vibrato. In addition, Young's tenor sax style was relaxed and relatively introverted, particularly in comparison to Hawkins'.

The young saxophonists who would be leaders in the early 1950's were Stan Getz (tenor), Lee Konitz (alto) and Gerry Mulligan (baritone). Their chief influence in regard to sound and style was avowedly Lester

Young, and all three gladly admitted it.¹⁷ These stylists developed tubular, wispy sounds (even lighter than Young's), and all attempted to play in a relaxed fashion, making greater use of the lower and middle registers of their instruments. As opposed to the "hot" styles of Coleman Hawkins and Charlie Parker, the legions of reedmen who modeled their styles after Young via Getz, Konitz and Mulligan were said to blow "cool."

Of some interest is the fact that Young, an Afro-American, derived the idea for his sound from the work of Frankie Traumbauer, a white saxophonist who played a C-Melody horn. Such black tenor men of the 1945-50 era as Wardell Grey and Dexter Gordon list Young as a major influence, but they had also absorbed several other styles in their playing. In comparison with Hawkins' or Parker's style, Young's was never really influential among Negro saxophonists. Conversely, among white saxophonists between 1947-57, he was a sanctified figure!¹⁸ No jazz critic has successfully explained this phenomenon.

(2) As far back as 1940, Claude Thornhill had begun to evolve an orchestral ensemble sound, based on the vibratoless use of horns. Gil Evans went to work as an arranger for Thornhill, and in 1941 the latter added French horns to his orchestra. A few years later Thornhill added a tuba and wove it into the ensemble pattern as a whole. The blending of French horns, woodwinds and tuba, playing without vibrato, produced a thick-textured, moody, pensive sound which was often pleasingly placid.

Among the musicians to pass through the Thornhill band were the already-mentioned Lee Konitz and Gerry Mulligan. Evans, who had written and arranged a large number of songs for Thornhill, left in 1948, claiming that he was more interesting in writing in a jazz context. Evans had become the center of a circle of New York-based jazzmen, and sought an opportunity to expand upon his compositional ideas. Later in the year, Miles Davis (who had been one of the circle) organized a group that was a "miniature of the Thornhill Band,"¹⁹ but which also utilized the be-bop heritage. Gerry Mulligan, Gil Evans, Johnny Carissi and John Lewis wrote or arranged the ensemble's music. Davis played a middle register trumpet with a vibratoless tone and a deliberate, restrained solo delivery. The saxophones in the group were the two coolsters, Konitz and Mulligan. The group worked two engagements between September, 1948, and February, 1949. It recorded in 1949, and again in 1950.²⁰ The recordings reveal a Thornhill-style ensemble with most of the tunes being played at a medium tempo. Cool soloists weaved in and out of the arranged, relaxed context.

The initial impact of the Davis group was slight, but thanks to its recordings, the group's ensemble style became the sound heard around the world. Musicians from the group (Davis, John Lewis, Mulligan, Konitz, Gunther Schuller and Evans) would become potent guides to the jazz developments that lay ahead. Again curiously, the influence of the

Davis aggregation among New York jazzmen and black musicians in general was relatively slight. The Thornhill-Evans-Davis ensemble sound would find its greatest acceptance about 3,000 miles westward. A Woody Herman-Stan Kenton alumnus, Milton "Shorty" Rogers, departed the Kenton band in 1950. Settling in the Los Angeles area and employing other refugees from the Kenton band, Rogers first recorded an album in the style of the Miles Davis recordings of 1949-50.²¹ Rogers' next project was to make California receptive to cool jazz interpretations. One of Rogers' collaborators, the late John Graas, tells the story best:

. . . Things were rough at first [circa 1950-51]. . . . The club owners in Hollywood and Los Angeles wouldn't hear of anything but Dixieland. . . . But then the Lighthouse in Hermosa Beach let Howard Rumsey start some modern jazz nights. . . . Then Shorty . . . began getting gigs and record dates and he'd give us—all the ones who had been together at the beginning—first crack at them. . . . The records we began to make . . . had a great influence in a jazz-starved town. . . . The dam broke. . . .²²

In 1950-52, the jazz business on the east coast was still suffering from the be-bop episode, and financial recovery would be slow in coming. The burgeoning activity in the Los Angeles area after 1952 brought a great many musicians westward. One of the first expatriates, Gerry Mulligan, proceeded to develop a pianoless combo and record it for the Pacific Jazz label; success was almost instantaneous.²³ New musical combinations playing a myriad of styles were quickly assembled. Quite a number of these groups were in no sense "cool," nor did their efforts engender visions of the Miles Davis group of 1949-50. However, people need pigeon holes, and publicists are excellent at providing them. Los Angeles-based jazzmen often denied that they had created a separate jazz movement, but encouraging the public to believe that something intrinsically different was being created in the land of sun, smog and film clippings sold a lot of records. The label "West Coast Jazz" became a big top covering a host of musical combos and styles. Supposedly all of these were "cool," but by this time, the term had been used to include everything but Dixieland.

The most popular and financially successful of the West Coast groups emerged from San Francisco. Forming a quartet in 1951, Dave Brubeck began to enjoy phenomenal success by taking his aggregation not into nightclubs, but onto college campuses. A relatively untapped audience seemed prepared to claim jazz as its own, and other groups hastened to display their wares before eager audiences in the citadels of learning. So popular did Brubeck become that in November, 1954, *Time* magazine made him the first jazzman to grace its cover since the beginning of World War II.²⁴

Tastes change, and 1955-56 witnessed a dramatic reversal of form.

Musical activity did not diminish in the Los Angeles area, but on the east coast the financial doldrums ended, and be-bop returned to favor. Perhaps modern jazz buffs had tired of a steady diet of cucumbers and ice water; at any rate, the new bop revival swept all before it. Ex-coolsters made haste to jump on the new gravy train, and West Coast Jazz came to sound like the product in vogue over by the other ocean. At least they tried very hard to make it sound like the other product.

the cool school orientation 1950-56

One of the major objectives of the Miles Davis ensemble of 1949-50 had been to change the format generally applied by boppers. The numerous Charlie Parker-type combos set the style used by groups of six men or less. Initially the theme was played in unison, and a familiar set of chord progressions was employed as the basis for the improvisations. One solo followed another with virtually no ensemble playing. The restatement of the theme signalled *finis*. In retrospect, the bop style was like a Dagwood sandwich: two relatively small hunks of bread (i.e., theme and ensemble parts) supporting a monstrous amount of filling (i.e., solos). Miles Davis' approach was to achieve a balance between improvised solo performances and arranged ensemble playing. Just as significantly, the Davis group tried to get away from the "I-Got-Rhythm—Blues in B^b—How High the Moon" chord series. These the boppers had played *ad nauseum*; new life could have been breathed into them only *via* supernatural intervention.

The key to understanding the cool style approach was perhaps bound up in two words: restraint and subtlety. The music was not necessarily bereft of emotional vitality, but it did not stress the "shouting" qualities of the jazz of yore. A fair sampling of the music is Miles Davis' attractive "Boplicity": *Example VI*.

What Shorty Rogers and certain Los Angeles-based cohorts attempted to do was employ the Davis group's style while consciously working into the jazz structure other forms, usually derived from orthodox classical patterns (i.e., rondos, fugues, twelve-tone rows and so forth). West Coast experiments were by no means the only ones being carried on, but they were easily the most controversial.²⁵ Los Angeles-based musicians playing contemporary jazz were free to employ as many musicians as they pleased on record dates, but not all the music played sounded like J. S. Bach

with a jazz rhythm section supplying propulsion. Economic conditions in Los Angeles county made five-piece combos the rule in nightclubs. For such aggregations, standard material was used. A fair example is “Short-stop,” a blues by Shorty Rogers: *Example VII*.²⁶



With his “Cannon-ball,”²⁷ French hornist John Graas attempted to write a jazz canon. A composition like this was more in keeping with what was accepted as West Coast jazz: *Example VIII*.



The sudden rise to popular appeal of Los Angeles-based jazzmen had its repercussions. The initial response of eastern jazz critics to such groups as the Gerry Mulligan and Dave Brubeck Quartets was favorable, but a reaction set in rapidly. East Coast jazzmen were not endeared to their sun-drenched brethren once the press began booming the latter as masters of their craft. Denouncing the Gerry Mulligan Quartet in particular and West Coast Jazz in general as “Bopsieland,”²⁸ East Coasters reacted violently whenever it was intimated that jazzmen in L.A. were breaking new ground. The communications media were largely responsible for the misunderstandings prevalent, but this only demonstrates that musicians pay attention to what outsiders say about them. Probably the most that can be said of this despicable situation is that the furor created did not impede the trips of Brubeck, Rogers and associates to the savings associations of their choice.

Sepia-toned jazz makers were extremely quick to point out that West Coast jazz groups consisted almost entirely of white performers. The financial success of Pacific-side groups and the paucity of black faces among them suggested a continuing conspiracy to rob the black man of his heritage. The ascendancy of West Coast jazz marks the emergence of a phenomenon already rampant but now envisaged as a defense mechanism: Enter “Crow Jim.”²⁹ Whether racial prejudice was greater in the Los Angeles area than in Manhattan and vicinity is a question which defies a categorical response. Long before valid research could be undertaken to prove anything, popular response to jazz innovation had created new variables in the situation.

As early as 1955, Gerry Mulligan left the West Coast, remarking that much of the jazz produced there had acquired a “sameness of sound, a neutral quality.”³⁰ Some wags suggested that perhaps the atmosphere had something to do with the alleged condition. Some critics argued that recordings from the area were easily recognizable because of the weak

attack the rhythm sections usually employed. Evidence does not substantiate an oft-heard charge that the emphasis on composition and arranging denigrated the importance of improvised solos, for the label "West Coast Jazz" had come to include entirely too many contrasting styles. Nevertheless, the most trenchant criticism leveled against the Pacific Coast jazz movement of 1950-56 was that, with the possible exception of Chet Baker, it produced no new jazz soloist of unquestioned greatness.

In a sense then, the California coolsters reversed the process. With reference to the aforesaid Dagwood sandwich, the coolsters provided thick hunks of bread—but only a pittance of filling!

iii. "soul" and all that jazz 1955-60

In 1955, that which had been buried by the University of Minnesota students in December, 1949, walked again. The revival of jazz activity on the East Coast signalled a resurgence of the bop movement. First in New York, then all over the country, there appeared slashing, highly charged (overwhelmingly black) combos playing what had come to be tagged "hard bop," "hard funk" or "soul jazz."³¹ The objective of such groups was effectively verbalized by Horace Silver (piano), a new face and a vanguard member of the movement. Silver wanted to ". . . create tunes with a blues feeling and a hell of a beat and a melody that is meaningful."³² The hard bop combos sounded blues-oriented, generated loads of propulsion but often slipped up in the melodic department. Nevertheless, general acceptance of these groups demonstrated that a dominant segment of the jazz public felt that the cool period had run its course. Temporarily anyway, jazz buffs would not mind if vitality was emphasized to the detriment of other factors.

While the hard bop movement was at the forefront, other jazz stylists were also busy. John Lewis, a member of the 1949-50 Davis ensemble and musical director of the Modern Jazz Quartet, was primarily concerned with combining classical and jazz forms. Sometimes in company with Gunther Schuller (another 1949-50 Davis alumnus), Lewis produced a music that, for lack of a better name, was dubbed "Third Stream."³³ Lewis and Schuller were certainly not the only jazz-oriented composers trying different things. J. J. Johnson, Charlie Mingus, Teo Macero and William Russo among others, produced jazz ballets, suites and other extended works.³⁴ George Russell, a largely self-taught composer, wrote probably the first text by a jazz musician introducing a novel compositional theory.³⁵ When the Los Angeles-based craftsmen had been interested in adopting jazz into a more classical framework, their efforts had earned unmitigated derision. East Coast compositionists owed at least part of their acceptance to the *locus* of their activity.

From the hard bop era emerged two new jazz giants, tenor saxophonists Sonny Rollins and John Coltrane. Pianist Thelonious Monk, one of the Minton's crowd of 1941, finally began to bask in the spotlight

of public favor. Curiously enough, it was Miles Davis, "Mr. Cool" of 1949-50, who also dominated the jazz scene of the last half of the decade. With an all-star quintet behind him, Davis propped his tightly muted horn against the microphone, played standard tunes in a relaxed two-beat (2/4) and enraptured millions. The trumpet pace-setter had a few other stylistic tricks up his sleeve. As opposed to his eclectic, withdrawn statements, there was the wildly swinging John Coltrane who proved the perfect foil. Davis himself occasionally played in a fiery fashion, and the "Red" Garland-Paul Chambers-"Phily Jo" Jones rhythm section was only the best in jazz. Not limiting himself to quintet surroundings, Davis (1957) began recording with a large orchestra, the productive effort of his old associate, Gil Evans.³⁶

The bop revival was beneficial in the sense that it precipitated a general increase in jazz activity, but it was not without its debits. Many of the combos soon fell into predictable routines. Novelty disappeared, and increasing vigor in delivery could not bring it back. For many musicians and some buffs, bop had truly reached the end of the line by 1959. There were no mock burials this time, and a goodly number of jazz operatives are still playing it.

"soul" - - theory and implication

The most copied hard bop combo, the "Jazz Messengers," was essentially the creation of Horace Silver (piano) and Art Blakey (drums). The reason for the group's title lay in the thinking that there was a direct link between good jazz and the emotional response displayed at Sunday prayer meetings. Blakey explained:

When I was a kid, I went to church mainly to relieve myself of problems and hardships. We did it by singing and clapping our hands. We called this way of relieving trouble 'having the spirit hit you.' I get the same feeling, even more powerfully, when I'm playing jazz. You get the message when you hear the music. When we're on the stand and we see that there are people in the audience who aren't patting their feet and who aren't nodding their heads to our music, we know we're doing something wrong. Because when we do get our message across, those heads and feet do move.³⁷

This then was the hard bop ethic. Blakey's statement had no malicious intent, but its interpretation as accepted in the jazz community was dynamite. Hard bop was seen as a reaction to the cool sound, which had reputedly drained the emotional content from jazz. Jazz then had to be purified, and returned to its "roots." These were the Gospel-oriented black Baptist and Spiritualist Churches of the South and the urban ghettos of the North. Afro-American jazzmen, the obvious recipients of this religious heritage, played with "soul."³⁸ White jazzmen might imi-

tate, but as their roots were elsewhere, the jazz they produced was, by definition, a pale imitation. Only by living in a Negroid environment (and somehow soaking up the atmosphere) could the “ofays”³⁹ come to know what blacks allegedly possessed instinctively. As could have been expected, some young black jazzmen who had never seen the inside of a storefront Church now informed one and all how “soulful” they were. Surprisingly enough, the general contentions of the thesis stated above were swallowed whole by many white performers.⁴⁰ Some psychiatrist may one day claim that reaction to civil rights agitation and racial guilt complexes were responsible for these developments.

The bop revival of 1955-60 had other far-reaching results. Afro-Americans became universally accepted as the jazz originators. For the first time, a fair number of black jazz artists began to earn truly large sums of money, while basking in the jazz limelight. Such changes were welcome (it was now almost two decades since the opening of Minton’s), but there were also ominous ones. Crow Jim remained a potent factor in jazz relationships; aspiring white musicians discovered that for recognition in the field, Negro blood or *Man-Tan* could be used to advantage. The frequency of heroin addiction decreased considerably, but communication between performer and audience probably decreased. Again that influence of influences, Miles Davis, cut the pattern. When performing, Davis (who had undergone an operation on his vocal chords, and reputedly ruined them in a fit of anger) announced no tunes, and sauntered off the stage when he finished his solo. Davis almost never acknowledged applause, insulted some customers and generally treated the masses like William Vanderbilt, Jr. reputedly wished to run his railroad. Since Davis’ pockets bulged with greenbacks, would-be emulators concluded that the jazz audience had latent masochistic tendencies. There was only one Miles Davis however, and jazzmen who treated the audience cavalierly soon found customers spending their money elsewhere and night clubs closing. The musicians’ conclusion? Jazz would always be unpopular in the nation of its origin! Fortunately, performers like Julian “Cannonball” Adderly (alto sax) and his brother Nat (cornet) made a point to play hard bop with a gospel flavor and treat the audience as if it were a pleasure to perform. It is interesting to note that their combo (led by Julian) has remained a consistent money maker, and no one has described either gentleman as an Uncle Tom because he smiles while on the bandstand. Part of Nat Adderley’s “Sermonette” appears below: *Example IX*.

Charlie Parker died on March 12, 1955. Wherever he was, it would have pleased him to know that bop had gone over the top. What he would have thought of the next major jazz innovation makes interesting speculation. Dizzy Gillespie is supposed to have listened to an *avant-garde* group and asked, "Are you cats serious?"⁴¹ They were, but any number of jazz fans have asked the same question since.

iv. the new thing 1959

With one *LP* released, another "in the can,"⁴² Ornette Coleman came to New York in 1959. He huffed and puffed and the house of be-bop began crumbling at the edges. With his white plastic saxophone, Coleman blew up a storm that is still raging. Cometh now "free jazz," or what its advocates term the "new thing." As usual, there were impassioned statements pro and con with numerous musicians and critics playing an equivocal role. Many had been wrong about bop in 1945-56, and nobody wanted to look foolish this time. Coleman has since become a major influence, affecting in some fashion the playing style of countless others. Coleman's music has been described as raw, shrill, beautiful, repulsive, provocative, but rarely boring and always extremely personal. Some listeners responded wildly in support of Coleman, while others walked out of clubs five minutes after he started playing.

As in the development of bop, while Coleman was the man whose break with convention was most pronounced, such little known pianists as Cecil Taylor and Sun-Ra had been "edging out there" for sometime. In keeping with previous jazz developments, the music of Ornette Coleman made its greatest impact on the young practitioners of the jazz art. There were other significant influences on jazz aspirants too. The 1960's have been years of burgeoning racial tension, and numerous young performers (chiefly New York-based) began touting free jazz as music of social revolt. Most of these free-blowers were Afro-Americans, some of them highly articulate, and they interpreted the jazz they played to be a condemnation of this society.⁴³ Critics such as LeRoi Jones spoke of free jazz as "black music" and emphatically insisted that whites could not play it.⁴⁴ The impression usually given by this new *avant-garde*, white or black, was that they were sick of the capitalist world, the nightclub circuit—and parties who did not sing paeans of praise about their latest musical efforts. It remains to be seen what the firebrands of today will be saying or playing a decade from now, especially if they taste success in some fashion.

Despite the towering figure of Ornette Coleman, the "Charlie Parker of the 1960's" (until his death in August, 1967) was probably the late tenor-soprano saxophonist John Coltrane. Having developed a high degree of virtuosity while evolving an intensely individual sound, Coltrane formed his own quartet in 1960. "Trane" as he was known to his

mass of veneratorators (many of whom unhesitatingly copied his musical ideas) moved from chords to modal structures, then seemingly immersed himself in the study of Indian ragas. All these elements he absorbed into his playing, a factor which made him a prodigious performer no matter what the jazz context.⁴⁵

Another step away from past conventions was the use of different meters. Jazz generally has been played in 4/4 time during the post-war era, although 3/4 (waltztime) became vogueish during the late 1950's. A few efforts were made in 5/4 time during the 1960's, but by 1966 examples of 7/4, 11/4, and 19/4 were becoming increasingly common. Eric Dolphy revived interest in the bass clarinet, Rufus Harley began blowing jazz bagpipe and Roland Kirk effectively played three instruments at once. A whole host of eastern and near eastern instruments received cursory examination by jazzmen looking for new effects. Rhythmically, the bossa nova became fashionable in some quarters; other jazz performers explored the possibility of combining jazz and rock-and-roll motifs.

The over-all pattern, if one can be discerned, is that jazz musicians were striking out in many directions, searching for new sounds and ideas, bickering acrimoniously among themselves while unanimously condemning bookers, club owners, in short, the business side of the music business. More American jazzmen are in Europe, and/or Asia, and their presence has doubtless affected native jazz performers in countries like Germany, Australia, France, U.S.S.R., Poland and Sweden. In Chicago, musicians (most of them free jazz exponents) have formed perhaps the first successful jazzmen's cooperative,⁴⁶ but New York remains "where it's at" for most jazz enthusiasts.

The music known as jazz lost much of its popular appeal in the be-bop era. It may be music of revolt, but not to today's hippies or young collegians. A man can still make a living playing it, but more jazzmen are starving than eating steak. Lest this analysis sound discouraging, bear in mind that this has been the general situation since 1948-49. The more the music has changed, the more the socio-economic conditions connected with it have remained the same.

inside the new thing

Working within a framework of chords has on occasion been viewed as a disadvantage by jazz improvisers. The performer might play all the chords specified by the arranger or composer, but he would feel that this set of chords did not allow him to express himself freely. Matters become more difficult after 1945. Jazz composers and arrangers tended to work more difficult chord patterns into their works, or to construct chord sequences that did not seem natural to the improviser. Some jazzmen

claimed that they were being virtually imprisoned in harmonic mazes from which there was no escape.

One reaction to these developments was the gradual move away from jazz improvisation based on complex chords, and the utilization of modes. The most common modes employed are the Dorian and Lydian: *Example X*.



The use of modes increased improvisational potential since it theoretically provided the performer with greater freedom, and allowed the improviser to opt for a melodic rather than a harmonic approach. After 1958-59, tunes combining a variety of modal approaches became part of the repertoire of the contemporary jazzman.⁴⁷

It is against this background that Ornette Coleman waged his rebellion. Free jazz was exactly what the term implies. Chords, modes and so on, were dropped as bases for improvisation. Ideally then, the performer could blow any note or succession of sounds he desired. The walls of harmony came tumbling down and “melody” was enthroned. Next, the usual thirty-two, sixteen and twelve bar song forms were rejected as the “prisons” of yesteryear. Soloists were not to be tied down by any kind of conventional bar structure. Coleman further espoused that he was more interested in duplicating the sounds of the human voice on his instrument than playing notes. Indeed, the term “notes” quite imprecisely describes the moans, shrieks and hollers that occasionally escaped his horn.

For the rhythm section, Coleman also preached the gospel of liberty. He admitted that his kind of music had no consistent pulsation. Bassists and drummers could vary the time, or play patterns and figures as they felt them. The steady “ching-ching-ching” of the drummer’s stick against the cymbal became less frequent. Listening to Coleman’s combo perform, one received the impression that collective improvisation (something heretofore prevalent only in Dixieland) was the group’s stock-in-trade.⁴⁸

To this set of eyes and ears, one problem with new thing adherents is that they have been loath to concede the rawness of the musical products they have lionized. At the other pole, free jazz opponents have often ignored the music played; they would prefer to aim their shafts at the eccentricities of the musicians and the admittedly controversial statements sometimes made by some free jazz performers. Almost nine years have passed since Ornette Coleman’s 1959 explosion on the New York jazz scene. Today, none would call him a fraud, for jazzmen of all persuasions are taking increased liberties with meter, song form and intonation. At the same time, free jazz has not come to predominate as Swing

did between 1935-44, or even bop between 1946-49. The non-free jazz players are still holding the fort!

One reason for this situation has been the major questions raised about free jazz *per se*. Jazz audiences have been presented in recent years with a succession of new thing performers who honked, groaned and screeched into their instruments until the cacophony became quite boring. With no generally recognized standards yet evolved, who is to say which free jazz performer is a "better" player? With the harmonic structures of the past considered obsolescent, free jazzmen have to be performers of strength, passion and relative emotional maturity, for they supposedly have no chord "crutches" to lean on. After watching and listening to various bearded and beardless youths play their "thing," one is not necessarily cynical if he doubts the technical and other capabilities of many such exponents.

Free jazz as played by Ornette Coleman, and a few other performers whose recorded and personal performances have moved me, is a welter of subjective expressionism that the performers often do not seek to control or anticipate. Spontaneous emotion apparently counts more than anything else. But can this emotion be adequately projected through a saxophone or trumpet, and reproduced in a context so that the listener can comprehend? Given the aids provided be-bop and older jazz forms (i.e., harmonic structure, etc.), the listener had some help. He has little if any here. Free jazz reminds me of the "action" or improvisational painters; it is quite often a leap into the dark. Sometimes a great beauty is produced—but bear in mind that all the great homerun hitters struck out nearly twice as many times as they cleared the fence!

In recent years such jazzmen as Miles Davis, Charlie Lloyd and Sonny Rollins have mixed chords, modes and "free" sequences to produce some exhilarating music. All three musicians named have experienced both artistic recognition and some degree of financial success. New thing exponents might take the cue and begin a concert or set with a little familiar music like be-bop. This way, a few sympathetic vibrations between audience and performer might be generated. As a result, other jazzmen may achieve recognition, financial success and that inner satisfaction that comes from doing well something that you believe in. What else should the mature jazzmen crave?

ii. epilogue - - out of my mind

It was late one August evening (1967) when I stopped in a nite spot to catch Ornette Coleman's new quartet. I took a table in the middle of the house. Ornette was in good form, his sound having taken on a fullness and purity not at all evident in his 1959-62 performances. He was accompanied by two bassists, Charlie Hayden and Charles Izenzon (the drummer's name I forget). The format was predictable: some kind of

introductory theme, solo by Coleman, simultaneous improvisation by Hayden and Izenzon, a solo and exit line by Coleman. I repeat, Ornette was in good form, but the bass soloists were frustrating for even though I had an excellent seat, I couldn't hear them. From the stage came furious plucking sounds, sputters, twangs, snaps, crackles—but nothing that smacked of coherency. In order to hear more I took a seat next to the stage. Only then could I distinguish which bassist was playing what.

Out of curiosity, on the third number, as soon as the bassists began their solistic efforts, I walked to the four corners of the room. It was a noisy house. The room's acoustics and the roar of the crowd made listening a torture. What puzzled me was that despite the veritable uproar that was in process during the bassists' improvisational efforts, after their joint solo was finished (i.e., Coleman started playing again), there was vigorous applause, especially from the rear. But what was being applauded? Vibration? Sweat? Coleman's reappearance? They who could not be heard were being hailed by many who could not hear and others who were not really interested. Coleman announced no tunes, and appeared rather bored with the proceedings. Izenzon put forth most of the effort, but he must have known that the sound of his unamplified bass would not be heard in the noisy room. Even with some amplification, Hayden hardly made a dent in the mass of sound produced by the patrons. Naturally, the musicians did not ask for quiet. One may wonder whether they cared. Admittedly any performer appreciates a little courtesy applause, but if that's what it was, then the gulf between listener and performer seems to be widening. Where do we go from here with the blinded leading the deafened?

Such problems as bad room acoustics, apathetic audiences, vicious booking agents and unfavorable relations with the communications media have been bandied back and forth by jazz musicians and critics until one becomes almost inured to the protests. Only if the musicians band together in order to alleviate their woes will anything be done. Paradoxically, organization on anything except the most elementary levels has been something jazzmen have sought to avoid. It is an open secret that many people have entered the jazz world because they viewed it as one free of restrictions, rules and the kind of occupational discipline that characterizes Madison Avenue. This brand of individualism may produce great artists, but does nothing to improve the conditions under which the artist labors. Unless jazzmen are prepared to make a few sacrifices they will remain powerless in the face of the forces that provide their livelihood or market their product.

Since 1945-46, jazz has evolved into an extremely self-conscious art music. Looking ahead, jazz artists should realize that there will be prosperous years but lean ones too. To ease the shock that sudden economic disequilibrium usually brings, jazz, like the other performing arts, will need help. Eventually, a government or foundation subsidy should

be forthcoming. For the year 1968, saxophonist-trumpeter Ornette Coleman received a Guggenheim award. Considering that jazz is one of the few cultural innovations native to North America, it is only fitting that recognition of this kind has finally occurred.

Unfortunately, it is here that the question of organization becomes crucial. Under present circumstances, how can jazzmen determine which of their number should be eligible for subsidy? Presently there is no dependable means whereby those who play jazz for a living in Los Angeles can speak with one voice to their counterparts in Chicago. Admittedly some American Federation of Musicians locals are more sensitive in this regard than others, but many of their membership are only remotely concerned with the jazz idiom and are uninterested in the problems peculiar to that phase of musical endeavor. Jazz the art form will not die, but its practitioners have an unusual affinity for hanging on to the ropes.

* * * * *

A most menacing development of the last twenty years has been the oversupply of good jazz performers. Admittedly, the introduction of the jazz *LP* has allowed more musicians to be heard and created a means whereby many musicians can eke out a reasonable livelihood. At the same time, the number of jazz bands has not made any significant increase during the last twenty years and the number of jazz clubs has not increased. One notes, for example, that as of the Fall of 1967 there did not exist on the southside of Chicago a single club that booked nationally established jazz talent on a consistent basis! In reality therefore, there is not always room for outstanding new talent. No matter how capable they may be, the jazz world simply cannot put an unlimited number of saxophonists, percussionists, trumpet and piano players to work. Taking the cue, a good many jazzmen have entered other fields because they could not find sufficient work in the jazz musical jungle. Only the rock-and-roll idiom seems able to siphon off the avalanche of new talent that puts in its appearance annually. Bluntly, it is time for the jazz world to do something about a situation which threatens to swamp it. It might start by publicly admitting the problem exists.

* * * * *

Tonight and tomorrow night, jazz bands will be heard in London, Paris, Prague, Leningrad, Buenos Aires, Hong Kong and maybe even on mainland China. The jazz giants are still American jazzmen, but the music is no longer exclusively ours. Whether or not the constant craving for innovation which has marked American jazz development will wear off as jazz is played in other countries can not yet be determined. Hopefully, be-bop will still be alive in France or Japan even if free jazz becomes the predominant form here. One also suspects that whatever the trend of the 1970's, Jim Crow and Crow Jim attitudes will continue to be

a part of the national jazz panorama. Easy to prophesy is strife between proponents of jazz forms yet to come and defenders of some future *status quo*. This kind of conflict would appear inevitable. What is of decisive importance is that the disputants bear in mind that all jazz forms have a common heritage which goes back to the New Orleans days of the 1890's, and is rooted in musical developments since. Realization, therefore, that those who think or play differently are not necessarily imposters could make jazzmen more prone to respect each other. All should realize that if the latter do not respect one another, no one else will.

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footnotes

The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Professor George West, Department of Music, Michigan State University, in preparing the musical sections of this work.

1. Mark, Chapter 6, Verse 4.
2. See George F. Pierce, *The Songs of Insects* (Cambridge, 1948), ff.
3. Nat Hentoff and Nat Shapiro, eds., *Hear Me Talkin' to Ya* (New York, 1955), 355.
4. *Ibid.*, 352. The statement was that of Billy Eckstine, who had the first be-bop band. Mary Lou Williams, 350, credits Thelonious Monk above the others. Kenny Clarke, 354 (one of the originators according to Miss Williams), credits Parker with having influenced both Monk and Gillespie. Note that Parker was never one of the Minton's regulars.
- Leonard Feather, *Inside Be-Bop* (New York, 1949), 10, does not list Parker as one of the innovators. John S. Wilson, *Jazz: The Transition Years, 1940-1960* (New York, 1966), 15, called Parker "the most vitalizing force in the new music." Confusion like this is common where similar developments are going on in different places at approximately the same time.
5. The quintet consisted of Gillespie (trumpet), Don Byas (tenor), Max Roach (drums), George Wallington (piano) and Oscar Pettiford (bass). Gillespie and Pettiford were co-leaders.
6. Kenton never really defined "Progressive Jazz." Listening to the music one occasionally heard Afro-Cuban rhythms, splashes of Schonberg, Stravinsky and so on. The impression conveyed was that Kenton was playing a jazz that was more developed than anyone else. Such references caused a great deal of ill-feeling. For a sampling of Kenton music of the period, hear Capital LP-C-113.
7. *Downbeat Magazine*, #21, XVI (October 21, 1949), 1.
8. *Ibid.*, #24 (December 16, 1949), 12. The Ventura group's work is showcased in Decca LP-8046, and RCA Victor LPM-1135.
9. *Ibid.* The students in the funeral procession wore berets, dark glasses and so-called "bop" ties. English instructor Jack Stanley intoned the following epitaph: "They said you were flatted, but you were only diminished. They said you were cool, but you weren't so hot. They said you were gone, and now you are." Where is Mr. Stanley today?
10. *Metronome*, #4, LXXI (April, 1955), 19.
11. For examples of Gil Fuller's work, hear the Dizzy Gillespie Orchestra (RCA Victor LJM-1009). Ralph Burns' "Summer Sequence" is recorded on a Columbia subsidiary (Harmony-HC-7093). To these ears, George Handy's "The Blues" (found on Clef Records-MG-C-674) is one of the most outstanding works of the 1946-50 period.
12. Marshall Stearns, *The Story of Jazz* (New York, 1962), 4th printing, 209.
13. The role of the racial question in be-bop is quite controversial. Shapiro and Hentoff, 340-341, 352, make it clear that the Minton's-based progenitors of the new music (especially Thelonious Monk) had in mind a music that white musicians would not be able to copy and get rich on. A similar story is repeated by pianist Mary Lou Williams in *Time*, #16, LXXX (November 19, 1962), 59. Conversely, Nat Hentoff, in his "Jazz and Jim Crow," *Commonweal*, #26, LXXIII (March 24, 1961), 657, ridicules the idea. He writes: "I suspect that these tales of the birth of modern jazz as a secret society are almost entirely apocryphal." Don De Michael, former editor of *Downbeat Magazine* (Interview, Chicago, Illinois, February 17, 1967) informed this writer that Dizzy Gillespie told him a story similar to comments made by Mary Lou Williams.
- While a continuing conspiracy was hardly possible, the emergence of black vehemence as a result of white financial and artistic success during the Swing era is understandable.
14. The intolerance of the early boppers and the bigotry of some of their fans is best depicted in John S. Wilson, 19-20, and Barry Ulanov, *A History of Jazz in America* (New York, 1964), 5th printing, 246-249.
15. See Ira Gitler, *Jazz Masters of the Fifties* (New York, 1966), 33, 39, 121, 208-209.

16. Among the more significant jazz performers who were heroin addicts at one time or another were Charlie Parker, Sonny Stitt, Miles Davis, Stan Getz, Howard McGhee, "Red" Rodney, Allen Eager and Gerry Mulligan. Musicians for whom the use of heroin probably caused or contributed to their untimely deaths were Serge Chaloff, Fats Navarro, Wardell Gray and Leo Parker.

17. Wilson, *Jazz*, 35-38, and Joe Goldberg, *Jazz Masters of the Fifties* (New York, 1965), 13.

18. Ira Gitler, *Jazz Masters*, 218. A Lester Young-influenced tenor man, Brew Moore, reputedly summed up the feeling quite succinctly: "Anyone who doesn't play like Lester Young is wrong!"

19. Wilson, *Jazz*, 30-31. The group included French horn, tuba, trumpet, trombone, alto and baritone saxophones, bass, drums and piano. This was the smallest number of instruments that could be used and still have the group retain the Thornhill sound.

20. Eleven of the tracks have been gathered together on Miles Davis' "Birth of the Cool," Capital LP T-1974.

21. This was "Modern Sounds," Capital Records DC-294. Tenor sax was substituted for baritone, and no trombone was included.

22. Hentoff and Shapiro, *Hear Me Talkin'*, 396-398.

23. The Mulligan Quartet's original personnel included Chet Baker (trumpet), Bobby Whitlock (bass), Chris Hamilton (drums) and the leader (baritone sax). Aside from the absence of piano, the group's forte was improvised contrapuntal lines which gave the quartet a unique flair. The quartet's most significant works have been repackaged and appear on World Pacific LP-1287 and Fantasy LP-3220.

24. See *Time*, #19, LXIV (October 8, 1954). Shortly before, Brubeck had recorded his "Jazz Goes to College" album, one of the best-selling LP's of all time (Columbia 566).

25. Good examples of the West Coast "experimental" jazz of the 1951-55 period are by Shelly Manne and His Men, Contemporary C-2510 and 2511, Contemporary CTP-3504. Hear also Lyle "Spud" Murphy, Contemporary C-3506.

26. The totality of this composition can be heard on Shorty Rogers' "Cool and Crazy," RCA Victor LP-3130.

27. The full composition is recorded on Decca Records, DL-8343. It is a free canon, featuring two contrapuntal lines.

In the opinion of this writer, some of the best work done on the West Coast in the idiom generally associated with the name include Marty Paich, "Tenors West," GNP-21, Lennie Niehaus, "The Sextet," Vol. V, Contemporary C-3524 and Chet Baker, "Chet Baker's Ensemble," Pacific Jazz PJP-9.

28. *Metronome*, #9, LXXVII (September, 1960), 12. The Mulligan Quartet usually added a chorus or two of collective improvisation in free contrapuntal form to each of the tunes it performed. Collective improvisation is a time-honored Dixieland practice. The term quoted suggests that the music was a combination of Dixieland and be-bop. To East Coasters, such a mongrelized product was obviously disgusting and "queer." The term was later applied by East Coast jazzmen and their literary supporters to characterize practically all the overwhelmingly white groups originating in the Los Angeles area. Use of the term generally meant that white jazzmen on the West Coast were too "cool" and distinctly effeminate in their jazz (and possibly their sexual) outlooks.

29. The term means discrimination by blacks against whites. Its origins date at least to the 1946-49 period. Nat Hentoff, "Jazz and Jim Crow," *Commonweal*, #26, LXXIII (March 24, 1961), 658, and *Time*, #16, LXXX (November 19, 1962), 62, both agree that the financial success and the artistic acclaim received by the overwhelming white West Coast jazz movement fired the surfacing of the "Crow Jim" spirit. Rising black militancy in the civil rights movement was also a factor.

30. Wilson, *Jazz*, 43.

31. The term "soul" has been used in so many contexts that it has tended to lose its validity. Originally it meant that a jazzman played his instrument in extroverted fashion, with energy. More specifically, it became the idea that a jazzman's concept was rooted in the blues and the Baptist-Spiritualist Church music tradition. Jazzwise, the term referred to bluesy tunes based on the characteristics usually exhibited in the aforesaid Gospel-oriented church music. Two celebrated "soul" or "funky" (i.e., earthy, natural, not phony) tunes are Horace Silver's "Preacher" from Blue Note BLP-1518 and Cannonball Adderley's "Dis Here" from Riverside LP 12-311.

32. Wilson, *Jazz*, 47.

33. *Ibid.*, 82. Gunther Schuller, a member of the Miles Davis 1949-50 ensemble, coined the term to describe a music that was neither jazz nor classical but which drew elements from both. Fair examples of "third stream music" are John Lewis, "Third Stream Music," Atlantic SD-1345, and Gunther Schuller, *et al.*, "Modern Jazz Concert," Columbia WC-127.

34. Outstanding works include the above-mentioned "Modern Jazz Concert"; also J. J. Johnson, *et al.*, "Outstanding Jazz Compositions of the 20th Century," Columbia CZL-31; Bill Russo, "Seven Deadly Sins," Roulette Birdland SR-52-63; and Charlie Mingus, "The Black Saint and the Sinner Lady," Impulse 35.

35. Russell wrote a thesis on the "Lydian Chromatic Concept of Tonal Organization." Russell declared that his concept was not a "system" but a way to think about music which lends a disciplined freedom to the composer or improviser. The book, *Lydian Chromatic Concept of Tonal Organization* (New York, 1960), suggests that the future of jazz lies in pan-tonality.

36. The Davis-Evans efforts included "Miles Ahead," Columbia CL-1041, and "Sketches of Spain," Columbia CL-1480. The most recent (1962) was "Quiet Nights," Columbia CL-2106.

37. Wilson, *Jazz*, 49.

38. Refer to footnote 31. In the succeeding years, "soul" has come to refer to anything Afro-American.

39. "Ofay" is pig-latin for foe. It is a general term of opprobrium by blacks for whites.

40. Sterns, *Story of Jazz*, 242. On one occasion in 1963, I spoke to several white musicians who were personal friends about their marriage to Negro females. There was some laughter and joking, but one answered quite seriously: "It's the best way to get some soul, man." A further query at a later date verified that the statement had been made in all sincerity.

41. Wilson, *Jazz*, 63.

42. The expression refers to an LP recorded, but not yet released. The first album was "Somethin' Else," Contemporary C-3507; the second was "Tomorrow is the Question," Contemporary C-3569.

43. For example, see LeRoi Jones's column ("Apple Cores") in *Downbeat Magazine*, Volumes XXXIII and XXXIV (1966-67). See also Nat Hentoff, "New Jazz: Black, Angry and Hard to Understand," *New York Times Magazine* (December 25, 1966), 10-11, 31-33. Tenor saxophonist Archie Shepp has sometimes been considered a spokesman for the musicians who feel this way. See comments by Shepp in *Downbeat*, #26, XXXII (December 16, 1965), 11 and 42, and *Ibid.*, #10, XXXIII (May 17, 1966), 40. While Shepp and a few others have given the impression that they are opposed to the "Establishment" and the Anglo-Saxon's participation in jazz, Shepp continues to employ such whites as Rosewell Rudd (trombonist) in his aggregation. The angry, black free-blowers seem not particularly concerned about the chasm between their menacing statements but not so menacing actions.

44. See LeRoi Jones's comments and condemnation of white jazzmen attempting to play free jazz in his "Apple Cores" column in *Downbeat*, XXXIII and XXXIV. In particular, see Jones's column #2, XXXIV (January 26, 1967), 11. Refer also to Paul D. Zimmerman and Ruth Ross, "The New Jazz," *Newsweek*, #24, LXVIII (December 17, 1966), 101-108. The term "black music" specifically means that free jazz is Negro music, and it cannot be duly performed by white jazzmen. More generally, it means that whites cannot play jazz correctly.

Such literary figures in jazz as Martin Williams, *Downbeat*, #13, XXXIII (June 30, 1966), 21, and Leonard Feather, "Hierarchy of the Jazz Anarchy," *Esquire*, #3, CXIV (September, 1965), 123, 188 and 190, leave no doubt that the two journalists noted believed some blacks playing free jazz were avowed racists.

45. A good example of Coltrane's ability with chords is "Giant Steps" from the album of the same name (Atlantic 1311). Coltrane exhibits modular expression on "My Favorite Things" (Atlantic 1361). Coltrane plays relatively free on "Ascension" (Impulse A-95).

46. This is the *Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians (AACM)* which is presided over by Richard Abrams. For one man's observation on AACM, see this writer's "AACM: New Music (!) New Ideas (?)" in *Journal of Modern Culture*, #2, I (Fall 1967).

47. Perhaps the most important album demonstrating modal concepts was Miles Davis' "Kind of Blue," Columbia CL-1355. This album was released in 1958.

48. The observation was based on a few nights of listening to the Coleman group (Don Cherry, trumpet, [Bill Higgins, drums] and Charlie Hayden, bass) in February, 1959. Coleman later made an album called "*Free Jazz* (Atlantic 1238) which is almost 37 minutes of collective improvisation.