*Review Essay*

# The Jazz Studies Renaissance

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JAZZ IN MIND: Essays on the History and Meanings of Jazz. Reginald T. Buckner and Steven Weiland, Eds. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1991.

The publication of the essays in *Jazz in Mind* marks a tentative revival in jazz studies, the interdisciplinary examination of jazz as both a musical and cultural phenomenon. As the term "revival" suggests, today's scholars are not the first generation of academics to take a keen interest in what jazz musicians do, how their audiences respond to them, and how jazz becomes situated within various segments of American culture. To adequately locate and appreciate the essays in this volume, to grasp the diversity of approaches in jazz studies—and to articulate the field's current weaknesses—requires grounding the inquiry in the interests and achievements of that first generation of jazz scholars, active from the 1940s to the 1960s.

After World War II, social scientists in the United States were casting about for case studies in deviance, which (along with its antithesis, conformity) was perhaps the central concern of sociology and social psychology in the McCarthy era. The notable few drawn to jazz musicians as prospective deviants perceived them as having a particularly marked out-group attitude and a special subculture. Carlo Lastrucci had pioneered the study of jazz bands in 1941, and in 1947 Morroe Berger showed that mainstream disapproval of jazz (the precondition for jazz's deviant status) became palpable in the 1920s. In 1962 Neil Leonard published the pioneering book on jazz as social rebellion in the 1920s, *Jazz and the White*

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*Americans*, and Howard S. Becker, a musician as well as a sociologist, made perhaps the most important study through careful participant observation among white dance musicians. His investigation, resulting in essays in his 1963 book *Outsiders*, showed that these musicians had constructed a cultural opposition between themselves and the "squares" excluded from their charmed circle, which they reaffirmed through unusual dress, slang, and drug use.[1]

The paradigm of deviance, as refined and developed by many other social scientists, increased public interest and led to a flurry of case studies of juvenile delinquents, drug addicts, the Beat writers and others, as well as jazz musicians.[2] Despite this wide interest, however (or more likely because of it), the studies involving jazz remained scattered and disunited into the 1960s. No synthetic work appeared that might have provided a comprehensive portrait and theory of jazz culture. By then, jazz was being overshadowed by dramatic new cultural change. Deviance in small nightclubs and urban dance halls came to seem less stimulating than the willful, highly-publicized rebellion of youth on college campuses and in suburbs. Issues of race and gender had plainly been ignored in the jazz scholarship of the 1950s, but these topics now commanded the headlines and inspired new research priorities. It now seemed that new popular musics such as rock'n'roll and rhythm and blues filled many of the social functions previously associated with jazz, particularly its ascribed role as the music of deviants who sported an unusual new way of life.

It did not help jazz's profile that by 1960 the music was being taken into new directions—by Thelonious Monk, John Coltrane, Ornette Coleman, Miles Davis and others—that mystified the white majority (and many African Americans) on and off the campus.[3] In the 1960s and 1970s, in addition, jazz became bifurcated, as the aging veterans of the big band era became a new classical elite in the world's concert halls and the younger masters became engrossed in the Black Art and other countercultural movements. Jazz's apparent identity crisis only deepened scholarly disinterest. The *Journal of Jazz Studies* commenced publication in 1973, sponsored by the Institute of Jazz Studies at Rutgers University-Newark (then directed by the sociologist Charles Nanry), but whether by design or not, it never became integrated with the mainstream research interests of the academy.

As those research interests changed during the 1970s, the American studies movement gradually took interest in and began to revive scholarly interest in jazz. The shifts in research priorities since the 1960s that had diminished jazz studies had also stimulated new approaches to the study of music and culture. Folklorists and ethnomusicologists had already developed new methodologies for studying the craft and self-images of musicians, the ritualistic and other functions of live musical performance, and the social and intellectual significance assigned to music by different cohorts.[4] And students of American culture, also partially inspired by the post-1960s interest in protest traditions, began to engage in similar investigations. Practitioners of the "new labor history," for example, demonstrated that labor songs were part of a continuum of activity involving work, solidarity, leisure, family life, and consciousness, found among coal miners,

Wobblies, auto workers, and many others.[5] The reinvigoration of cultural history and the advent of cultural studies in the 1980s has revived interest in processes of artistic creation and the uses which the public finds for the performing arts.[6] All of these approaches enabled scholars to break free of the theory-testing rigidity of 1950s social science, and paved the way for a reevaluation of jazz.

It is surprising that cultural historians have taken this long to tackle a subject that many argue epitomizes the fundamental processes or "spirit" of American creativity. Jazz has gained an almost embarrassing amount of praise over the decades, termed by observers "America's classical music," its "only true art form," a symbol of the nation's racial heritage, the highest expression of the African-American intellect, and the United States's most effective goodwill ambassador. While it is clear that such encomiums are in part the product, on the one hand, of boosterism (often by jazz aficionados themselves) and, on the other, of a symbol-fixated mentality similar to that popular among 1950s American studies scholars, they may also be derived from the culture's genuine esteem for this biracial band music based on African-American musical fundamentals. However, for reasons that are almost impossible to discern, it seemed until recently as if cultural historians were tacitly rejecting the notion that jazz history revealed anything worthwhile about many of their recent focus topics: race, self-expression, social hierarchy, gender, and national identity. It would be worth a separate inquiry to discover why Steven Weiland and the late Reginald T. Buckner thought to argue in their introduction to *Jazz in Mind* that "the very choice of jazz as a subject identifies academic writers risking some professional marginality on behalf of their 'passion'" (16).

Gradually, however, the American studies community is reassessing the importance of jazz as an intriguing, unique phenomenon and as a product of general cultural and social forces in twentieth-century America. The volume edited by Buckner and Weiland presents a sampling of recent work, showing a stimulating yet uneven variety of approaches. The pieces printed here all show that jazz is being subjected to the scrutiny of scholars with interdisciplinary training and interests. Each essay reveals aspects of jazz that deserve sophisticated investigation, as well as various methods and approaches that might be generally employed. Both the promise and the imperfection of these pieces are suggestive of the state of jazz studies today.

It is significant that jazz, unlike advertising or enslavement or boxing, apparently still only receives attention from scholars who hold an aficionado's interest in the subject, what the editors term a "passion." They stress in their introduction that the extramusical significance of jazz is still only studied by an "academic underground" of lovers of the music who make jazz (as E.J. Hobsbawm has put it) their "object of passion" (14). This may be true, but the editors seem satisfied with this situation rather than eager to have jazz taken up by more "dispassionate" scholars. However, the benefits of detached observation are at the very least worth considering. Above all, this statement hints at a continuing weakness of jazz studies—a lack of (relatively dispassionate) theoretical under-

pinning. Thorough application of Henry Louis Gates's theory of signifying, Houston Baker, Jr.'s concept of blues ideology, Fred Lerdahl and Ray Jackendoff's model of generative musical grammar, or Antonio Gramsci's (-cum-Jackson Lears and others) concept of cultural hegemony (with respect to whites' handling of jazz) to the music would certainly stimulate a wider interest in jazz studies, but none of these projects are undertaken in this volume.[7]

Still, the essays included here put more limited but valuable conceptual tools to work. At the most basic level, jazz history needs to be more intensively researched, and the findings must be used to develop new theses regarding the significance of this history. One need is to show jazz's relation to earlier currents of African-American music and culture. Every worthwhile jazz history discusses the crucial black antecedents to jazz, such as ragtime and blues, but most only establish the chronology and do not explore the critical aesthetic and professional choices musicians made that compelled them to create jazz. To describe jazz's emergence from earlier musics is not to explain this emergence.

R. Reid Badger's essay, "James Reese Europe and the Prehistory of Jazz," a thoughtful discussion of a major African-American musician's move towards jazz, helps to rectify this situation. Badger's revealing sources, especially published interviews with the bandleader and contemporary descriptions of proto-jazz qualities in his groups' World War I-era recordings, show that Europe was not moored in ragtime, but was very much a transitional figure. When Europe's players launched into "The Memphis Blues" with a "soul-roaring crash" of the cymbals and delivered slow fare with half-closed eyes and a soulful blues feeling, or used "blue" notes, glissandi and other jazzy devices in their 1919 Pathé recordings, they anticipated the spirit and the letter of future jazz performance. The essay is hindered somewhat by Badger's reluctance to explore this issue deeply enough. The biographical-entry mode of writing is used too exclusively, no original analysis of the recordings is made, and the author hesitates to venture any general statements about ragtime's relation to jazz. Nor does he explore the thorny issue of what blacks and whites precisely meant in the 1910s by the word "jazz" (a term freely applied by some to Europe's music then). These issues are the context in which Europe's transitional role gained its significance. Nevertheless, Badger clearly goes beyond the basic chronological approach of earlier writers on this era in African-American music (especially Eileen Southern in her important history), and I look forward to his upcoming full-length biography of Europe.[8]

Researchers in jazz history, whether they aspire merely to dredge up data or eventually to produce a critical analysis based on those facts, are dependent upon jazz-oriented archives. Very few of these exist, although the ample collections of the Institute of Jazz Studies at Rutgers University-Newark and the William Ransom Hogan Jazz Archive at Tulane University easily give jazz the best archival coverage of any American popular music. These collections and others, however, do not cover all of the territories of jazz history equally well, and those regions lacking jazz archives have long been in danger of losing their collective

memories. Fuller documentation of more regions could have a great impact on jazz historiography, perhaps revising the hoary myth of jazz's birth in New Orleans and its eventual exodus up the Mississippi River, among other assumptions that have oversimplified the actual historical process.[9]

In the present volume, Benjamin Franklin V's discussion of his creation of the South Carolina Jazz and Blues Archives shows how the jazz history of any local region can and must be collected and preserved by interested scholars in the 1990s. Based in Columbia and assisted by the University of South Carolina and the local public radio station, Franklin emphasized the gathering of oral testimony and recordings. A practical and delightful piece, Franklin's essay, like Badger's, lacks a sense of context. The article does not discuss how local archives help to redefine the cultural geography of jazz, nor does Franklin consult the writings of oral historians and music archivists who have engaged in similar projects.[10] These considerations would deepen Franklin's examination of "the problem of local jazz history."

If it will mature, jazz studies must become involved with the critical analysis of aural, oral and written texts. While many gaps in the archives of early jazz exist—largely because the music grew up in black ghettos that were underchronicled and understudied in their day—there is still a rich and ample supply of testimony, literature, photography and recorded performance, and the trail of sources is even fuller for the period after 1930. Much of this material is not merely factual and unmediated. Already in the twenties, musicians and journalists began to interpret the significance of jazz, infusing jazz texts with rhetoric and various cultural functions. For example, the Broadway composers Eubie Blake and Noble Sissle told the *Baltimore Afro-American* in 1924 that jazz was "the Negro['s]... way of expressing his religious emotions" and of showing that "we have something of our own to develop."[11] Such statements grew out of the particular social and personal contexts surrounding the speakers, who then used the statements to grant new meaning to the contexts. These efforts created, in effect, a "jazz age" discourse that eventually captured the public's imagination.

The musicians' efforts to shape their stories and define the meanings of jazz were most evident in their published memoirs. Jazz autobiographies began appearing in the 1930s, numbered in the dozens by the 1950s, and by now there are at least one hundred such works, varying in scope and ambition but all painting revealing self-portraits of individuals and the vocation of jazz musician. Kathy Ogren's essay, "'Jazz Isn't Just Me': Jazz Autobiographies as Performance Personas," skillfully examines the memoirs of five black jazzmen: Jelly Roll Morton, Louis Armstrong, Sidney Bechet, Willie the Lion Smith and Danny Barker. Ogren shows that the musicians told their stories in the manner of a jazz performance, with all of the embellishment, improvisation, and core of discipline and seriousness characteristic of the art. In addition, all of them used their autobiographies to memorialize the African-American and urban cultures that had nurtured them. In telling their stories, Armstrong, Bechet and Smith expressed a pride in humble black origins that was rarely published elsewhere in

the mainstream book press of their era. As Ogren shows, the writers made conscious attempts to overcome the efforts of their cowriters and editors to homogenize their narratives. Ogren's exploration of jazz memoirs breaks much new ground, but space limitations prevent her from deepening her exploration of the texts as performances, masks and social documents. Recent breakthroughs by literary scholars in the interpretation of autobiographies (by African Americans and others) suggest the kinds of approaches that might be used.[12] In particular, Bechet's complex, poetic, and often mythologized memoir, *Treat It Gentle* (1960), will only yield compelling findings if the book is subjected to a full, rigorous and sensitive textual critique. Ogren's book in progress on jazz autobiography will likely enhance our appreciation of jazz texts significantly.

A second historian, William H. Kenney III, builds upon Ogren's approach and offers a fascinating and subtle analysis in "Negotiating the Color Line: Louis Armstrong's Autobiographies." While his essay is more idiosyncratic than systematic in its textual criticism, Kenney provides us with revelatory quotations and analyses of Armstrong's letters and personally typewritten draft of his second memoir, *Satchmo* (1954). These texts show beyond a doubt that the trumpeter knew exactly how white publishers manipulated his story, although he apparently was unable to steer clear of their bowdlerizing in the case of *Satchmo*. In his original writing, Armstrong was able to convey an angry and ironic vision of his painful childhood and the racism that surrounded him as an adult. In a 1941 letter he described a blacks-only dance at which he played where white onlookers were allowed to attend as "one beeg' family" (47); Kenney rightly notes that such labels are "telling irony" on Armstrong's part. The essay supplies a helpful biographical context for understanding Armstrong's writing, and makes very clear that a comprehensive study of his letters and original autobiography is needed. For now, nevertheless, Kenney's study stands as the most revealing exegesis of a jazz musician's memoirs (or least of passages from them) to have appeared.

The one essay in the volume not concerned with the jazz past is David T. Bastien and Todd J. Hostager, "Jazz as Social Structure, Process, and Outcome." In this case, the text is a live performance. Jazz performances received surprisingly little analysis from the post-World War II sociologists, who were more concerned with musicians' actions off of the stage. In the 1970s, though, Louis H. Levy examined the "social distance" between musicians and audience, and Alfred J. Pike proposed a phenomenological approach to the study of jazz performances. In addition, ethnomusicologists and folklorists, studying a wide variety of musical events, supplied many workable models for students of jazz performance. According to these interpretations, each event is an act of communication among the players, between them and the audience, a manipulation of psychological and real time (within the dictates of musical convention), and a discrete phenomenon that both draws from and contributes to the larger social and geographical setting. More recently, Kathy Ogren's first book discussed the origins of jazz performance practice at the "cultural crossroads" of the 1920s, and

I have explored the shaping of the jazz musician's professional standards before 1940.[13]

Bastien and Hostager draw upon an unusual discipline—management studies—to analyze a "zero-history group," a quartet of veteran players playing in concert for the first time. The musicians' shared conventions of making music, methods of communicating, self-management onstage, and evolving teamwork are effectively sketched here. Ample videotaping allowed the authors to engage in "multiple sequence tracking" of the players' musical, professional and verbal activity during three sets at a Minnesota festival. Bastien and Hostager correctly note the exciting promise of videotaping for contemporary jazz studies, especially as an aid in defining relations between the foreground (soloists) and background (rhythm players) in performances. Taping of images vastly increases the textual evidence of a given jazz performance, opening new paths of inquiry. Bastien and Hostager are aware that videotaped evidence does not provide omniscience—although it tempts one to believe that "seeing is believing," conclusively—and thus they prudently avoid drawing general conclusions about jazz performance from their study. Their approach shows limited but real potential for jazz studies. For example, a creative scholar might take the written and filmic evidence of past performances and evaluate it with some of the methods which Bastien, Hostager and others apply to recently videotaped events. In this way, our sense of jazz's special manipulations of space, time and personnel within specific social settings, past and present, would be enriched.

Beyond the need for sources and archives and the perils of textual analysis lies the task of contextualization, of relating jazz to larger currents in cultural history. Two essays in *Jazz in Mind* attempt to place jazz within the general cultural tradition of modernism. "Jazz and Modernism: Changing Conceptions of Innovation and Tradition," by Mark S. Harvey, surveys the interaction between jazz and modernism from 1900 to the present. He shows that jazz musicians have been obsessed with innovation, a concern shared by some modernist artists. However, Harvey argues that the pace and intensity of innovation in jazz was inconsistent, reaching a definitive stage between 1940 and 1960 but suffering since then from stagnation and from the "postmodern dilemma"—the desire to preserve continuity and a sense of tradition while remaining innovative. For jazz today, "the dangers of retreat to neoclassicism or of absorption into romanticism are real" (141).

While this basic argument is sound, and Harvey's depiction of the role of innovation in modernism is quite sophisticated, his discussion of jazz is disappointingly general. Armstrong and other twenties innovators are fleetingly referred to as "unconscious" innovators in the modernist vein, while the state of their consciousness (and conscious innovation) largely goes unexamined. While mention is made of the African-American orientation of jazz, black aesthetics and concepts of innovation receive little examination. Unlike Reid Badger's essay on James Europe, this piece does not explore the motivations and goals of the musicians who innovated. Duke Ellington, the most complex and successful

innovator in jazz history, deserves far more than the two sentences he gets here. The lack of such detail makes it difficult to generalize about such large amorphous entities as "jazz" and "modernism," and suggests that more research and case studies are needed before such generalizations can be supported.

Krin Gabbard's essay, "The Quoter and His Culture," explores the significance of musicians' quotations of classical, popular, and each others' melodies, but also strives (as Harvey does) to place jazz in the context of modernism, or more specifically, the avant-garde. Gabbard's very broad survey of avant-garde culture eventually obscures the specific issue of quotation in jazz, which is covered only cursorily here. While James Moody's 1949 quotation of Charlie Parker's earlier use of Percy Grainger's "Country Gardens" is an artistic act well worth exploring, it alone cannot support Gabbard's key claim that "boppers used quotation to undermine distinctions between high and low art and to question the 'aura' that in the minds of most listeners surrounds the work of composers like Percy Grainger but not the improvisations of a black saxophone player" (93). Even with more evidence, though, this thesis assumes too many controlled variables—the "bopper" identity, the terms "high and low art," and the content of most listeners' minds. One could argue, in fact, that 1940s bebop aficionados surrounded the playing of Moody, Parker and others with plenty of "aura," imbuing the live Swing Street scene with a mystique that is difficult to discern today on the players' recordings. Therefore, despite the worthiness of the topic, essays of this kind in jazz studies need a stronger basis in research and a more focused application of theory.

Finally, Greg Gaut's stimulating discussion of "Soviet Jazz: Transforming American Music" broaches the widest contextual issue of them all: the significance of the global dissemination of jazz. The histories of jazz and electronic broadcasting are deeply intertwined. When the phonograph was first mass-produced in the 1910s, when radio networks first spanned continents in the 1920s, and when short-wave radio first sent American propaganda across the globe in the 1940s, jazz was the most visible beneficiary, spreading more quickly than any other music in history. Jazz's early fame as a symbol of anti-bourgeois cultural rebellion flourished among young elites everywhere, who brought not only jazz records but American musicians themselves into the hotels of Shanghai, Cairo, Paris, Rio and Calcutta. After World War II, jazz became a cultural ambassador for the United States as it gained government sanction and underwriting for numerous foreign tours by prominent bands, nurturing jazz cultures in dozens of nations.

As in different regions of America, jazz developed abroad within specific social and ethnic contexts, evolving differently and fulfilling different functions in each nation. In the Soviet Union, as Gaut shows, jazz was the toy of official policy, banned in the 1930s but resurrected during the Khrushchev era. A tolerant attitude toward jazz persisted during Brezhnev's reign, and in 1983 an anti-Stalinist film parody entitled *Jazzman* was released.[14] As cultural exchange with the West increased even before *glasnost*, bands in the USSR proliferated and

gained greater exposure in the West, as touring and recording became more frequent.

As Gaut shows, however, the story of jazz in a foreign land is most compelling as a tale not of American cultural imperialism, but of that land's transformation of the music into something new, unique and complex. Jazz in this sense becomes part of what Ulf Hannerz and others term "creolization," in which American culture is absorbed by foreigners and changed into things that Yankees might find incomprehensible.[15] A major Soviet jazz pianist, the late Vagif Mustafa-Zadeh, Gaut writes, "experiment[ed] with the total integration of 'moogam,' the Azerbaijani folk style, into his jazz music," and the Ganelin Trio of Moscow (and now Israel) based its music not on African-American blues, but "grounded [it] in those uniquely Russian 'blues'" expressed in folk music and literature. Soviet jazz culture became autonomous and even imperialistic in its own right; a non-Party critic could boast that Russian jazz "is capable of breathing new life into Western jazz" because it is "perhaps the most dynamic and life-enhancing artistic manifestation of the jazz process in the world today" (72). When major Soviet groups visited the United States in recent years, however, American audiences greeted them icily, believing that the musicians hopelessly lacked a sense of swing. While Gaut argues that the current openness will incorporate ex-Soviet jazz into the growing realm of "world music" (in which many different traditions blend, but jazz is a crucial ingredient), his fine sketch most vividly shows the parochialism of the bands and their desire to identify with and enrich local cultures and audiences. Jazz and creolization, like politics, may largely be local phenomena. If this is true, then these outposts of world jazz would benefit from the same scholarly activities that the other essays in *Jazz in Mind* urge strongly on Americans: archive collection, fact-gathering, sociological studies, analysis of texts and performances, and placement of the jazz tradition within larger cultural contexts.

On the whole, this collection presents a stimulating and varied set of approaches, and gives a fairly accurate portrait of the state of jazz studies today. The health and future of the discipline, however, may be precarious. There is still a potentially ominous lack of wide interest in jazz among scholars for whom the music is not a "passion." The Wayne State University Press was compelled to discontinue its series on "Jazz History, Culture, and Criticism" (which *Jazz in Mind* initiates) due to a dearth of potential manuscripts. The awarding of a book contract to a second jazz studies collection was held up because the potential publisher (another academic press) had difficulty locating qualified manuscript reviewers.

A second problem, if alleviated, would probably increase the number of those interested and involved in jazz studies. While scholars are working effectively to establish parameters for archival collection, research, case-studying and contextualization, a general model or theory of jazz studies is still needed to orient this work toward a few main goals. Even a heuristic statement of purpose

would help to stimulate responses to the question, Why do we in American studies need to pay more attention to jazz?

It may be that the continuing racial crisis in America offers all of the urgency and necessity required to inspire us to continue and to increase our study of jazz. Jazz can be considered, among other things, a triumph of African-American culture and praxis, produced by generations of accomplished and reasonably confident and healthy black professionals (black males, usually, in fact), which filled a need of the white culture and was eventually praised and respected by all. The personal training and development, as well as the institutional and cultural supports, necessary for the success of the jazz musician show how African-American culture has flourished in the white-majority culture, and might flourish again. Would it not be timely to explore the implications of jazz's success for current educational and social policy? Another current crisis, the challenge to government funding of the arts, may also encourage us to examine just what is virtuous about jazz and what is subversive, to learn about the value of "immoral" or value-neutral music (whether privately or publicly funded), and to educate Americans about why jazz just may be America's representative art form.

Besides these priorities, less present-minded scholars may find more theoretical justifications for jazz studies. Musicology and music history lag far behind the other humanities in succumbing to deconstructionist approaches, but jazz seems as rich a "language" and as entrenched a cultural institution as any literary or artistic entity, shot through with race, gender, capitalistic and other kinds of power problematics.[16] In any event, only the conversion of more scholars to a simple persuasion—that jazz matters a great deal—will bring it out of the "academic underground" of jazz lovers and into the sunlight of mainstream thought.

## Notes

1. Carlo Lastrucci, "The Professional Dance Musician," *Journal of Musicology* 3 (Winter 1941), 168-72; Morroe Berger, "Jazz: Resistance to the Diffusion of a Culture Pattern," *Journal of Negro History* 32 (October 1947), 461-94; Neil Leonard, *Jazz and the White Americans: The Acceptance of a New Art Form* (Chicago, 1962); Howard S. Becker, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance* (London, 1963). See also Norman M. Margolis, "A Theory on the Psychology of Jazz," *American Imago* 11 (Fall 1954), 263-91; Aaron H. Esman, "Jazz—A Study in Cultural Conflict," *American Imago* 8 (June 1951), 219-26; and Charles Winick, "The Use of Drugs by Jazz Musicians," *Social Problems* 7 (Winter 1959-60), 240-53.

2. See, for example, David Matza, *Becoming Deviant* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1969); Delos H. Kelly, ed., *Deviant Behavior: A Text-Reader in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York, 1984); James B. Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage: America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950s* (New York, 1986).

3. See, for example, Martin T. Williams, *Jazz Masters in Transition, 1957-69* (New York, 1970).

4. See, for example, Alan P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music* (Evanston, Illinois, 1964); Roger D. Abrahams and George Foss, *Anglo-American Folksong Style* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1968); Bruno Nettl, *Folk Music in the United States: An Introduction* (Detroit, 1976) and *The Study of Ethnomusicology* (Urbana, Illinois, 1981).

5. See, for example, Joyce L. Kornbluh, *Rebel Voices: An I.W.W. Anthology* (Ann Arbor, 1964), introduction; Archie Green, *Only a Miner: Studies in Recorded Coal-Mining Songs* (Urbana, 1972);

Robbie Lieberman, *My Song is My Weapon: People's Songs, American Communism, and the Politics of Culture, 1930-1950* (Urbana, Illinois, 1989).

6. See, for example, Warren I. Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1984); Paul Buhle, ed., *Popular Culture in America* (Minneapolis, 1987), introduction; John Fiske, *Reading the Popular* (Boston, 1989); Patrick Brantlinger, *Crusoe's Footprints: Cultural Studies in Britain and America* (London, 1990).

7. See Henry Louis Gates Jr., *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of Afro-American Literary Criticism* (New York, 1988); Houston A. Baker, Jr., *Blues, Ideology, and Afro-American Literature: A Vernacular Theory* (Chicago, 1984); Fred Lerdahl and Ray Jackendoff, *A Generative Theory of Tonal Music* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1983); T. J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," *American Historical Review* 90 (June 1985), 567-593.

8. Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History*, 2d. ed. (New York, 1983), chap. 12.

9. On this question, see Tom Stoddard, *Jazz on the Barbary Coast* [California] (Chigwell, United Kingdom, 1982); David W. Stowe, "Jazz in the West: Cultural Frontier and Region During the Swing Era," *Western Historical Quarterly* 23 (February 1992), 53-73; Burton W. Peretti, *The Creation of Jazz: Music, Race, and Culture in Urban America* (Urbana, 1992), chaps. 2, 3.

10. See, for example, Ron Welburn, "Toward Theory and Method With the Jazz Oral History Project," *Black Music Research Journal* (1986), 79-95.

11. *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 23, 1924, 4.

12. See, for example, Charles T. Davis and Henry Louis Gates Jr., eds., *The Slave's Narrative* (New York, 1985); William L. Andrews, *To Tell a Free Story: The First Century of Afro-American Autobiography, 1769-1865* (Urbana, Illinois, 1986).

13. Louis H. Levy, "The Formalization of New Orleans Jazz Musicians: a Case Study of Organizational Change," (Ph.D. dissertation, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, 1976; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1979, 76-24327); Alfred J. Pike, "A Phenomenology of Jazz," *Journal of Jazz Studies* 2 (December 1974), 88-94; Jeff Todd Titon, *Early Downhome Blues: A Musical and Cultural Analysis* (Urbana, Illinois, 1975); Kathy J. Ogren, *The Jazz Revolution: Twenties America and the Meaning of Jazz* (New York, 1989); Peretti, *The Creation of Jazz*, chaps. 3, 6.

14. See also S. Frederick Starr, *Red and Hot: The Fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union, 1917-1980* (New York, 1983).

15. Ulf Hannerz, "American Culture: Creolized, Creolizing," Nordic Association for American Studies keynote lecture, May 28, 1987.

16. For recent applications of deconstructionist theory to music, see, for example, Claudia Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies: Narrative Film Music* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1987); Lawrence Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice: 1800-1900* (Berkeley, 1990); and Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman, eds., *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons* (Chicago, 1992).