Jazz (i)

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A music created mainly by African-Americans in the early 20th century through an amalgamation of elements drawn from European-American and tribal African musics. A unique type, it cannot safely be categorized as folk, popular, or art music, though it shares aspects of all three. It has had a profound effect on international culture, not only through its considerable popularity, but through the important role it has played in shaping the many forms of popular music that developed around and out of it.

I. Introduction.

It has been said that jazz has recapitulated the history of four centuries of European music, moving from the heterophonic polyphony of the early New Orleans style, through the big-band romanticism of the 1930s, to the chromaticism of bop and the free-form experiments after 1960. While this analysis is simplistic, it is nevertheless true that jazz has shown a penchant for rapid change, often rooted in youthful rebellion and accompanied by tensions between players of different generations. To some extent these changes result from pendulations between more formal “European” modes and more spontaneous “African” approaches. A second important trend has been the steady rise of jazz from its bohemian, even underground, beginnings, through various levels of the entertainment business, into widespread acceptance by American society as a form of art. The rise of jazz into respectability is still by no means complete. Although jazz is taught in many schools and colleges in the same way that literature and painting are, studied in scholarly fashion, and often presented in formal concert settings, it still has one foot in show business: much of jazz musicians’ incomes still derives from sales of recordings and appearances in nightclubs.

II. Origins and early history.

The genesis of jazz was a three-stage process: first, the development, in the 18th and 19th centuries, of an indigenous African-American folk music out of African and European-American elements; second, the rise out of this music of subforms, notably plantation and minstrel songs, ragtime, and blues; third, the appearance of jazz itself, from an imperfectly understood merging of blues, ragtime, and mainstream popular music.

1. African background.

Slaves, the bulk of them from West Africa, were imported into the New World by the hundreds of thousands from the 16th century. The music of these people varied from one cultural group to another, but all of it shared certain characteristics. It was in the main functional, intended to accompany

religious ceremonies and ecstatic dancing, to inspire hunters, to make work easier, and even to celebrate minor events such as the appearance of a child’s first tooth; and it was woven into the culture, forming a part of ordinary living almost as ubiquitous as speech.

Although the slaves’ musical heritage was chiefly vocal, there was also a great deal of instrumental music, in which the drum was the principal instrument and rhythm the dominant element. The foundation of West African instrumental music was the piling up of layers of rhythm, which might vary in character, meter, and tempo; the different layers frequently resulted in meters of three against two, but the relationships were often much more complicated, one rhythm being delivered fractionally faster than another so that thick textures were created. These contrasting rhythms, however, were not usually improvised spontaneously, but were set in advance or called out by a master drummer as the music progressed. The locking and unlocking of the rhythmic layers as they passed across each other was the chief characteristic of the music. Melodically it was comparatively simple, though melismas were common. It used scales roughly similar to European ones, but they tended to be pentatonic and seem to have avoided half-steps, either by skipping over them or by the raising or lowering of one of the pitches to widen the interval; pitches were frequently inexact by the standards of European music. A great deal of vocal music was in call-and-response form, and singers often used falsetto; heterophony was common. Instruments were fitted with rattles or shakes of metal, shell, or bone to enliven the sound.

When Africans were brought to the Americas they carried their music with them. In part this reflected a deliberate policy of the slave traders, who encouraged or even forced slaves on board ship to sing and dance in order to help maintain their physical condition and keep them from despair and suicide; once settled in the New World the slaves were still permitted or encouraged to keep their music alive, again on the theory that it kept them happy and docile. (However, at some times and in some places large drums, which slave owners feared could be used to signal revolt, were banned.) Even in New York and New England, as late as the 18th century African-Americans gathered at certain times for ceremonial ecstatic dancing to music that was still essentially African. Because there was a continuous flow of new arrivals from Africa until well into the 19th century, the African influence remained fresh; as late as the period after the Civil War the old dances were still being performed to the old music (though probably in modified form) in Place Congo in New Orleans.

About three-quarters of the African-Americans in the USA before Emancipation were plantation slaves. Living in communities often rigorously controlled, they found it difficult to preserve the old culture, and inevitably they adopted North American religions, language, rites of passage, and other folkways. However, such a process of acculturation is seldom total: characteristically, a form from the new culture is imbued with emotional or functional significance from the old. Thus the African-American slaves adopted European instruments, musical devices such as the diatonic scale, standard meters, and popular song forms, but they used them to reproduce African effects. For example, just as some African tribal musicians seem to have avoided half-steps, so the slaves tended to adjust the diatonic scale to similar effect by lowering the third, seventh, and sometimes fifth scale degrees microtonally, thereby creating the so-called blue note (*see* Blue note). And just as African musicians used falsetto and enlivened the sound of their instruments with rattles, so the slaves coarsened their voices with falsetto

or throat tones at points of emotion and drama in the music. Again, like African music, this African-American folk music was often functional, intended to accompany work, dancing or religious ceremonies, and it was thus far more ubiquitous than comparable music of European Americans.

From the point of view of jazz the most important aspect of the music of the slaves was the re-creation, by different means, of the counterrhythms of West African music. (Although counterrhythms are found in European-American concert music, they have never been an essential characteristic, and are largely absent from white-American vernacular music.) To reproduce the old effect, African-Americans began to undergird most of their music with an explicitly stated ground beat, which could be made by handclaps, dancers' footfalls, drums, or the blows of axes and sledgehammers. (Most European music, military marches aside, does not use an explicit ground beat; rather the beat arises out of the music itself.) Given such a continuous beat, they were able to create a sort of counterrhythm by stretching or condensing the melody so that its notes stood at points apart from the beat. This effect of counterrhythm was not worked out, as in Africa, but was arrived at spontaneously. It is difficult to say how much of the slaves' music displayed these rhythmic characteristics: Whites who left descriptions of early African-American music probably often missed subtle variations in time which their training had not equipped them to notice; but they remarked on rhythmic complexities often enough to suggest that playing with time was a common practice among African-American musicians.

19th-century African-American music fell into several categories, including work songs, spirituals, and field hollers. These types, however, were probably all based on a single musical practice employing the aforementioned rhythmic devices: African-American church and dance music, for example, were not different in essentials.

2. Plantation songs, spirituals, ragtime, the blues.

The second stage in the evolution of jazz began as the African-American folk music of the 19th century generated other forms, which worked their way into the mainstream of popular music, not only in the USA but also elsewhere in the world. White Americans have always been interested in, indeed fascinated by, the African-American subculture in their midst, and one manifestation of this fascination has been an interest in African-American music. Early in the 19th century Whites began producing songs supposedly in the manner of African-American plantation music. Many such "plantation songs" were incorporated in the minstrel shows that were vastly popular during much of the century; they were heavily "Europeanized" – imbued with the harmonic and other stylistic elements of mainstream American music – and suggested true African-American folk music only through the use of plagal cadences, frequently implied by extensive use of the sixth degree of the scale, and occasional syncopations, especially the prototypical rhythm shown in ex.1 . The best-known composer of plantation songs was Stephen Foster, but there were hundreds of others, some of them African-American. A similarly modified version of African-American folk music was the so-called spiritual, as brought to national consciousness by such concert groups as the Fisk Jubilee Singers. By the end of the 19th century both plantation songs and spirituals were the common property of all Americans.

Ex.1

A further offspring of 19th-century African-American music was Ragtime, which apparently came into being after Emancipation, when African-Americans were freer to travel and began to find employment as musicians in saloons, dance halls, and brothels. Ragtime may have developed from the transfer of an African-American banjo style to the piano. By comparison with European-American music it was highly syncopated, undoubtedly in an effort to capture a sense of African cross-rhythms. By the end of the 19th century it had broken out of the saloons where it developed and had become astonishingly popular throughout the USA.

A fourth subform to arise from African-American folk music was the Blues. Although some writers have speculated that the blues date well back into the 19th century, there is no first-hand reference to this music before the 20th century. The blues are known to have existed in New Orleans and the Mississippi Delta region just after 1900, but none was formally published until 1912; the vogue for the blues in white mainstream culture increased markedly in the 1920s.

3. The creation of jazz.

Although at various times writers have claimed that jazz arose in a number of places in America, all contemporary accounts give New Orleans as its birthplace. Precisely who played the first notes of jazz is not known. It was probably not the legendary Buddy Bolden, sometimes called the first jazz musician: the only two known contemporary reports say that Bolden did not play jazz, but a blues-tinged mix of ragtime and popular songs. It seems clear that a group of mixed-blood “Creoles of color” played a significant role. These Creoles, speaking a French patois and attending Catholic rather than Protestant churches, worked mainly as artisans and shopkeepers rather than as day laborers, as mainstream African-Americans did. They prided themselves on their French ancestry, and, although they were officially classified in the segregated South as African-American, they tried to hold themselves apart from laboring African-Americans. In particular, such Creoles living in country towns and villages around New Orleans were to an extent isolated from the southern culture around them, and may thus have been better able to preserve African elements in their music. The very few descriptions we have of their music suggest that it had a rhythmic snap akin to the “swing” of jazz.

In any case, many of the most admired of the first generation of musicians known certainly to have played jazz were Creoles of color, some of them from small towns around New Orleans. These include Sidney Bechet and Jimmie Noone, generally held to be the best of the New Orleans clarinetists; the cornetists Buddy Petit and Freddie Keppard, leading players on their instruments; the celebrated pianist Jelly Roll Morton; and Kid Ory and Honore Dutrey, the most admired trombonists of the time. The fact that jazz did not emerge first in, say, St. Louis, a hot-bed of ragtime, or Memphis, with its strong blues tradition, but in New Orleans, with its Creole culture, is instructive.

However, there is no evidence that the Creoles were solely responsible for the creation of jazz. Mainstream African-Americans such as Joe (later King) Oliver and Bunk Johnson were playing the music early and may have shaped it. It is also true that a cadre of white Americans, many of them of Sicilian ancestry, were playing jazz by at least 1910 and contributed something to the mix.

We cannot be certain what this music sounded like. For one thing, by 1900 there existed in New Orleans a large number of African-American and Creole bands playing many kinds of music. At least four general types of band are evident (*seealso* Bands, §4, (i)). A few of the more skilled groups, such as those led by John Robichaux and A. J. Piron, were playing arrangements of waltzes, quadrilles, and sentimental ballads, and, inevitably, ragtime in places such as Lincoln Park (patronized by African-Americans) and in elegant restaurants and clubs frequented by wealthy Whites. Then there were street bands, made up of various combinations of brass instruments, clarinets, and drums, which played marches, hymns, popular songs, and old favorites such as Henry Bishop's *Home, Sweet Home* and Septimus Winner's *Listen to the mockingbird*. This music was not played in what came to be the classic New Orleans polyphonic style, with trombone or clarinet answering the cornet or playing countermelodies to it; it was instead in a style that lay somewhere between true polyphony and heterophony, in which perhaps as many as a dozen winds played roughly parallel lines that at times doubled the lead, harmonized it, or answered it, usually in a fairly ragged manner. The effect was often cacophonous, though rhythmically stirring. Parade bands have often been considered the spawning ground for jazz, and it is true that many of the pioneer jazz musicians, including Buddy Bolden, Bunk Johnson, and Louis Armstrong, played in them. But two other types of band are closer to the true jazz bands that emerged in the second decade of the 20th century.

In the African-American area of Storyville, the pleasure district of New Orleans, was the famous Funky Butt Hall, and there were honky-tonks on nearly every corner; these were rough, dangerous bars with small dance floors, gambling rooms, and rooms upstairs where prostitutes took their customers. The characteristic dance in the honky-tonks was the slow drag, for which the blues were the most suitable music; the bands that played blues and a limited repertory of other tunes were informal groups of two to four pieces, and among the musicians who belonged to them were such seminal jazz players as Louis Armstrong, Jelly Roll Morton, and Sidney Bechet.

The principal model for the early jazz bands, however, was the New Orleans dance band, which consisted usually of violin, cornet, clarinet, trombone, drums, double bass, and guitar, though variants also existed. Contrary to a widely held belief, these bands rarely included tubas or banjos: the tuba was used primarily in parades, and the banjo, which became fashionable in jazz between about 1918 and 1931, was used by African-Americans mainly as a solo instrument or in string bands. Nor did the dance bands normally use two cornets: the lead was taken by cornet and violin. African-American dance bands evolved into the classic New Orleans jazz band in the years between 1900 and 1915. They played not only for dances but at picnics and funerals, and on street wagons to advertise sporting events, store openings, and their own performances. As a consequence they needed a broader repertory than either the parade bands or the "stink" bands in the honky-tonks; they played all types of dance music (the blues for the slow drag, quadrilles, polkas, and other social dances), rags, marches, hymns, popular songs, and even themes from concert pieces. Although the functions and sometimes even the

personnel of the different types of New Orleans band inevitably overlapped, it was the dance bands more than any others that combined ragtime, the blues, and other popular forms to produce the first rough jazz.

4. The emergence of hot music.

The African-American bands in New Orleans played a highly varied body of music, much of it inflected with elements drawn from 19th-century African-American music. Probably shortly after the turn of the century, the ingredients combined in a novel way to produce a new kind of music. Even at the time few people grasped the exact nature or cause of this change, but throughout the first decade of the century there was a growing recognition that a new type of music had been born. It was not at first called jazz: the musicians referred to their music as ragtime, and spoke of "playing hot" (*see* Hot; *seealso* New Orleans jazz).

At least two processes were at work. The first was the inflecting of other forms of music, especially ragtime, with the blues; it was inevitable that musicians such as Armstrong and Bechet, who so frequently played in the honky-tonks, would carry blues devices into the other music that they played. Features such as blue notes, slurring, bent notes, growls, and most particularly a loosening of the melody line from the ground beat were carried over into rags, marches, and ordinary popular melodies of the time.

The second process was the undergirding of the two-beat marches, and especially rags, with a 4/4 ground beat. Virtually all rags were written in two-beat time; in fact most were based on march forms, which necessarily require a duple meter. At some point early in the century musicians began to play ragtime in 4/4. Morton claimed to have done this in 1902 by stomping his foot in four while playing ragtime, and on this basis maintained that he invented jazz. While Morton's claim that he alone invented jazz can be discounted, rare transcriptions of Creole music do show something of this sort. Steve Brown, a white New Orleans double bass player, said: "The type of music played in the red light district was slow drags, barrel house, and a little plantation music, along with what we referred to as 'bumpy' music; for instance, *St. Louis Blues* … would be played in 4/4 time, while in ragtime it would be played in 2/4 time." Brown dates the "jazz craze" from 1905 (letter to Rufus C. Harris, *LNT*). Bebe Ridgely, an African-American trombonist of the period, said that Buddy Bolden played ragtime in a two-beat style: "It would sound a little different from today's bands with the double beat which is fast 4/4 time." Other musicians have said the same.

Thus there was a well-defined and clearly recognized difference between ragtime and the new hot music. At the same time the practice of setting the rhythms of the melody at variance with the ground beat, drawn from 19th-century African-American music, was beginning to enter ragtime. The most important effect of this was that players began to divide the new 4/4 beat unevenly, a technique that has become a definitive characteristic of jazz. Jazz musicians almost invariably play eighth-notes unevenly, in terms both of accent and duration, though there is considerable variation in style among players and at different times in the history of jazz. This manner of phrasing is an important element in producing the swing crucial to jazz, and it is present in at least rough form in the earliest jazz

recordings. It can be assumed to have made its appearance by about 1910, and possibly earlier. How it relates either to blues rhythms or to the new 4/4 approach to ragtime is difficult to say. However, the uneven division of the beat appears to be characteristic of Creole music.

Jazz, then, seems to have resulted from three developments: the addition of blues rhythms and pitch inflections to rags and other popular song and dance forms; the undergirding of rags and other two-beat forms with a 4/4 ground beat; and the uneven playing of eighth-notes. The new music was not forged instantaneously: recordings made as late as the early 1920s by New Orleans players show a close connection with ragtime, and stiff, somewhat cumbersome rhythms. But during and beyond that decade jazz continued to evolve steadily, from the even rocking motion of ragtime to the supple, flowing line of 1930s swing players.

5. New Orleans jazz musicians.

Although it is clear that jazz was created by New Orleans African-Americans from musics also created by African-Americans, white musicians played a role, although a subordinate one, almost from the beginning. They were familiar with ragtime, and they had ample opportunity to hear the new hot music in the streets, at Lincoln Park, and in the honky-tonks of the African-American area of Storyville, which drew many Whites. By about 1910 young white musicians such as Nick LaRocca, Paul Mares, Larry Shields, Leon Roppolo, and the Brunies brothers were playing creditable jazz. Although the claim that these Whites invented jazz is untrue, their influence was not negligible. Coming from the European-American musical tradition, from which they were familiar with polyphony but not heterophony, they tended to give their music a formal shape that was closer to concert music than that of African-American jazzmen. The polyphony they knew best was that of the band music of John Philip Sousa and others, and it was probably these Whites who firmly pushed jazz towards the classic New Orleans style in which the cornet states the melody, the clarinet provides a countermelody above or around the lead, and the trombone supplies connecting links and harmonic support emphasizing dominant and tonic.

It is precisely because African-American elements were less apparent in their playing that white musicians were able to make jazz accessible to white audiences. Although early jazz musicians frequently played for Whites at fraternity dances, at exclusive New Orleans restaurants, on the riverboats, and at private parties and dances, most early jazz was intended for African-American listeners and dancers. However, jazz could not have achieved its present significance if it had depended solely on the support of African-Americans, an impoverished minority constituting roughly 10% of the American population. It needed a white audience, and fortunately there was one waiting for it. By 1915 European-Americans had been prepared for the new jazz music by decades of plantation songs, spirituals, and, most important, more than a decade of ragtime. Many visitors to New Orleans heard the music, and interest in it began to grow during the second decade of the century.

III. The spread of jazz.

1. Jazz enters the cultural mainstream.

Jazz did not spread over the USA solely on the strength of its own merits, but as part of a profound social upheaval that shook American culture in the years between 1890 and 1920. In the 1890s an old American ethic of hard work and emotional constraint began to shatter before a new ideal that emphasized pleasure and self-expression as acceptable routes to personal well-being. This shift in the American ethic led to the development of new institutions: dance halls, cabarets, opulent restaurants, and theaters. Although such institutions had long existed in less elegant form in underworld districts such as New York's Tenderloin, in bohemian areas such as San Francisco's Barbary Coast, and in African-American ghettoes, around the turn of the century the middle class adopted them, made them respectable, and integrated them into the mainstream of American culture. This process whereby art forms spawned in the subculture are gradually expurgated and accepted into the mainstream has repeated itself many times in 20th-century American life: it occurred in the case of ragtime, developed in the African-American brothels and saloons especially around St. Louis, and with such dances as the turkey trot and the charleston, which evolved in low bars; the cabaret and cinema achieved respectability in the second decade of the century, and jazz became respectable in the 1920s.

By the end of World War I white Americans had discovered a new life-style, and it is no accident that the cinema, the Broadway theater, the dance hall, Tin Pan Alley, and the jazz band all arose around this time and crystallized in the professional entertainment industry, which has become one of the dominant institutions of American life. Jazz was seen as central to the new spirit, even lending its name to the 1920s, which were commonly called "the jazz age."

These new cultural and social trends were accompanied by a rapidly rising interest in African-Americans, and especially in African-American entertainment. African-Americans were seen – by both white and African-American intellectuals – as liberated, expressive people who typified the new ideal, and whose arts, music, and folkways could be looked to as guideposts to a better future. Inevitably, this focused attention on African-American music, and there was an upsurge of interest in African-American show business. Plantation songs, spirituals, and minstrelsy in general had been popular with European-Americans for decades, but to a considerable extent they had adapted and presented this music themselves. By the 1920s there was a current of interest in more authentic African-American forms. Eubie Blake's and Noble Sissle's Broadway hit *Shuffle Along* (1921) triggered a demand for African-American musical theater that reached a peak by the end of the decade.

Another element that contributed to the spread of jazz was the Prohibition law of 1920, which made the sale of alcohol illegal. A great many Americans opposed Prohibition simply because they wanted to drink, but intellectuals, and young people in general, saw it as a residue of the old Victorian repressiveness, directly opposed to their new ideals. The illegal speakeasies and cabarets of the Prohibition era were regarded as romantic, and jazz as the appropriate musical backdrop for their activities.

Particularly important to the spread of jazz was the beginning, about 1910, of a craze for social dancing. Unlike the relatively complex reels and quadrilles of the 19th century, the new trots, tangos, and one- and two-steps were simple couple dances which, because the partners were in close physical contact, had distinct sexual implications. This dance boom in turn produced two institutions important to jazz: the dance hall and the cabaret. Furthermore all of this dancing needed music. It is not clear what kind of music was played in the earliest part of the dance boom, but there is evidence that in New York and probably elsewhere there was a vogue for African-American bands (with banjos and drums figuring prominently in them) which almost certainly played raggy versions of popular tunes. The trots also called for music with uneven rhythms (it has been noted that such rhythms increased sharply in ragtime after 1910), and since jazz was to a considerable extent based on uneven rhythms the dance bands adopted it as ideal for the new dances. Moreover, it fitted the new social mood: to many young people after World War I, jazz was a symbol of the rebellion against the old morality.

The popularization of jazz was also aided by the development of sound recordings, which from 1910 became increasingly common in American homes. Record producers turned out thousands of new discs to enable people to dance at home, and much jazz, or jazz-oriented, music reached the public through this means.

Thus jazz was swept along by a wide array of currents – technological, intellectual, artistic, cultural, and social – all moving in parallel.

2. The dissemination from New Orleans.

Jazz began to spread out from New Orleans almost simultaneously with the rise of the dance boom. Undoubtedly the first jazz musicians to leave were those who joined African-American vaudeville minstrel shows as they passed through the city. Other musicians, such as Jelly Roll Morton, traveled along the Gulf Coast in the early years, playing jazz. Probably in 1907 a leading Creole string player, Bill Johnson (i), established himself on the West Coast, and he soon brought out some musicians from New Orleans to form his Creole Orchestra. In about 1914, with Freddie Keppard on cornet, it began a series of vaudeville tours, and in 1915 the band appeared in a Broadway revue called *Town Topics*. The Creole Orchestra did not become famous, but it was successful enough that other Creole orchestras were formed in imitation of it, to the point where Johnson began calling his group the Original Creole Orchestra (or Original Creole Band). Other musicians were encouraged to leave New Orleans by its example. Morton went to California, and in 1917 brought Buddy Petit and a group to play there. King Oliver went to Chicago in 1918 and formed his own band there in 1920; Kid Ory went to Los Angeles in 1919 and shortly afterwards organized a band with musicians he brought from New Orleans. Evidently a fair amount of jazz was played on the West Coast at an early stage – possibly as early as 1910. Oliver’s group was in Los Angeles and San Francisco in 1921–2, and the first jazz recordings to be made by an African-American band from New Orleans, Ory’s “Sunshine” sides, were made in Los Angeles late in 1921 or early in 1922.

However, the greatest impact was made in Chicago in 1915–16 by two white groups from New Orleans, led by Tom Brown and Johnny Stein. Working in cafés and cabarets frequented by white entertainers and the sporting crowd, they attracted a good deal of attention. After some shifts of personnel, in 1917 Stein's group, renamed the Original Dixieland Jazz Band and now led by Nick LaRocca, went to New York to play at Reisenweber's, an elegant Broadway "lobster palace" catering to a mixture of entertainers, the wealthy, and large crowds of tourists. The move of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band from the somewhat disreputable cabarets of Chicago to Reisenweber's was part of the aforementioned general movement from the Tenderloin into the entertainment mainstream. The band was an enormous success, and in February 1917 it made the first jazz recordings, for Victor. These became hits, and by the end of 1917 jazz was becoming a nationwide phenomenon with a large, primarily white, audience.

As jazz became popular, musicians everywhere in the USA were drawn to it both for its own qualities and because it was in vogue. They began to assemble bands on the model of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, and started playing the new music with greater or lesser success. In New York a group formed around Phil Napoleon, Miff Mole, and Frank Signorelli; it became popular and from 1922 made dozens of recordings under various names, the best-known of which was the Original Memphis Five. In the Midwest a group centered on Bix Beiderbecke, who had begun copying LaRocca's cornet phrases from recordings by the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, began working as the Wolverines. Another group, informally called the Austin High School Gang after the school in Chicago that some of its members attended, involved Benny Goodman and Jimmy McPartland. Among the most influential of these early groups was one that included Red Nichols, Mole, and Jimmy Dorsey; recording mainly as Red Nichols and his Five Pennies, it attracted followers and imitators from the mid-1920s. Nichols was especially influential in Europe, where his recordings were available by the late 1920s. The musicians in these groups were all white, but African-Americans, such as Al Wynn in Chicago and Buster Bailey in Memphis, were also attempting to learn the new music. By about 1923 groups modeled on the Original Dixieland Jazz Band were working in cabarets and dance halls all over the USA.

During the same period many New Orleans musicians moved to Chicago. They were drawn there in part by the fact that Chicago, dominated by criminal gangs, was a city that suffered from few restrictions and where the many cabarets and dance halls required the hot music of the jazzmen. Also important was the mass migration of African-Americans to northern cities, and Chicago in particular, which created a large audience for African-American music, especially the blues. These immigrants clustered in an area of the South Side called the Black Belt. The South Side was the home of a substantial proportion of the vice that gave Chicago its tone, and here, through much of the 1920s, the seminal New Orleans jazz figures worked: Oliver at Lincoln Gardens, the Pekin, and the Plantation; Noone, Earl Hines, and others at the Nest and the Apex; Armstrong at the Sunset and the Savoy; and Morton at various locations. Clustered in an area of a few blocks, these clubs and dance halls were mostly "black and tans," attracting audiences that were largely African-American on week nights but perhaps 75% white on weekends. Here the young white musicians Beiderbecke, Goodman, Freeman, Krupa, and many others came with their fans, and here they heard at first hand the music of the New Orleans style. Through much of the 1920s the "western" bands of Chicago were seen as more advanced than those in New York and elsewhere.

The music of the Chicago bands was, in the main, the classic New Orleans polyphonic jazz, though touches of heterophony remained. It was primarily an ensemble music with few solos, and depended on a thick texture and a rocking swing for its effects. It was not essentially improvised: performers generally worked from set parts, memorized rather than written, which they embellished or varied within narrow limits. Even solos tended to be played more or less the same, night after night.

The most important of these bands was King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band. A descendant of the Original Creole Band formed by Bill Johnson (i), by 1920 it was playing in the chief African-American and black-and-tan clubs in Chicago and elsewhere. More significantly, in 1923 it made a series of seminal recordings which constitute the first substantial body of African-American recorded jazz. Although Oliver eventually developed a reasonably wide following, the audience for these early recordings was made up mainly of African-Americans and some white musicians. In fact white musicians were so much drawn to the group that the managers of Lincoln Gardens (which was an African-American dance hall) put on "midnight rambles" on Wednesdays especially for them.

The heyday of Chicago as the center of jazz was brief: in 1928 a reformist government swept away the illegal cabarets and dance halls there, and by the following year the musicians were beginning to look towards New York. The movement out of Chicago robbed the old New Orleans style of what little viability it still had. While the nightlife of Chicago had resounded to the music for a decade, jazz had been little played in other cities, especially New York, and to dancers there it sounded unfamiliar and somewhat dated. After 1930 very little New Orleans jazz was recorded until the style was revived in the 1940s.

3. Armstrong and Beiderbecke.

Another service Oliver performed for the development of jazz was his sponsorship of Armstrong, who had grown up in New Orleans and served a rough apprenticeship there in the honky-tonks. In 1922 Oliver brought Armstrong to Chicago to join his Creole Jazz Band. Here he was seen only as a member of the band, but in 1924 he joined Fletcher Henderson's orchestra in New York as a jazz specialist; he was given ample solo space, both on recordings and in performances at the segregated Roseland Ballroom, the band's principal venue. Armstrong was immediately recognized as something extraordinary by musicians and a burgeoning group of jazz fans. The most striking qualities of his playing were a beautiful tone, a virtuoso technique that placed him far ahead of most other jazz musicians, an astonishing capacity for melodic invention, a virtually unmatched ability to "swing," and a "presence" or sense of exposed personality that permeated his music. The men in Henderson's band in particular were awed by his music and attempted to capture its essence, as did many other musicians, both African-American and white.

On his return to Chicago in 1925 Armstrong began to make the 60 or so recordings of the so-called Hot Five series. These brought him even greater exposure, and by 1928, when the series was completed, his name was becoming increasingly familiar to the general public and he was recognized in the jazz world as its leading figure. The earliest of the recordings by the Hot Five were essentially in the old New Orleans style, but Armstrong was increasingly pushed forward, both as a trumpeter and a singer,

by record producers who recognized his commercial appeal to the public. By the end of the series the recordings had become vehicles for Armstrong, the other players merely supplying backing and solo relief. Jazz musicians, overwhelmed by Armstrong's genius, began to emulate him, copying his solos not merely on trumpet but on other instruments as well.

Armstrong was not the first jazz musician to make a career as a soloist rather than as a member of an ensemble. The clarinetist Sidney Bechet had become something of a legend in New Orleans when he was still a teenager, and by 1917 he was attracting attention as a soloist as he toured through northern cities. In 1919 he was engaged by Will Marion Cook to play in Europe as featured soloist with a group. Although Bechet was not yet widely known to the general public, many musicians knew his work, and it is probably fair to say that he was important in showing the possibilities of the jazz solo.

But Bechet, who at this point took up soprano saxophone in addition to the clarinet, spent much of the 1920s coming and going to Europe, and made relatively few recordings. Armstrong, in any case, was the greater soloist. More than anyone, he showed the jazz world what a soloist could do. In his early period he tended to stay close to or paraphrase the original melodic line, but as he gained confidence in his powers he increasingly abandoned the melody altogether and ventured into flights of original invention, built on the harmonies of the song rather than developed around its melody.

Although Armstrong was by far the most influential jazz player of the day, there was a secondary line of development. Many young white players outside New Orleans had learned about jazz from the Original Dixieland Jazz Band and the New Orleans Rhythm Kings. They began to form their styles before they had heard Armstrong, or even Oliver. Inevitably they tended to play a somewhat more polished type of jazz with fewer of the blues inflections characteristic of African-American playing but with more harmonic diversity. Foremost among them were several musicians from the Midwest, the most important of whom was Bix Beiderbecke. He had formed his style on that of Nick LaRocca, and, while he later absorbed influences from Armstrong and the blues singers, his playing remained rooted in the earlier tradition. Beiderbecke exercised an influence on both African-American and white jazz musicians of the 1920s second only to that of Armstrong, and through him and his confreres an unbroken line can be traced from the Original Dixieland Jazz Band to the traditional jazz and allied musics of today. (Writers have applied the term "Chicago style" to this music, but in fact it was simply a variant of the New Orleans style; see Chicago jazz.)

4. The rise of symphonic jazz.

Even as the New Orleans style was becoming widely popular, others, principally Ferde Grofé, were developing a new approach to jazz. Grofé received a thorough education in classical music and began playing piano in dance halls, theaters, and brothels at an early age. In about 1914 he formed an alliance with the drummer Art Hickman, who led a dance band at the St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco. At this time virtually all dance music was played by relatively anonymous groups that generally consisted of violin, piano, drums, and perhaps one or two wind instruments. Such ensembles did not play from written arrangements; they simply repeated the melody of a song, with little variation, as many times as necessary.

It occurred to Grofé that a band using written arrangements incorporating devices drawn from symphonic music, such as counterpoint and harmonized choirs of instruments, could play a more interesting kind of dance music. He began working out dance-band arrangements, probably for Hickman, employing two principles that later became central to jazz writing: the use of a choir of instruments, in this case two saxophones, as the main means of exposing the melody, and the playing off of different instruments against one another in a rudimentary contrapuntal manner. By 1919 Hickman's orchestra, consisting of trumpet, trombone, two saxophones, and a rhythm section, had become well known on the West Coast and was beginning to develop a national reputation – unique for a dance band at that time – through its recordings for Columbia.

Around 1918 Paul Whiteman, another musician with a classical training and an interest in jazz, became aware of Grofé's work with Hickman; he engaged Grofé as pianist and arranger for his own dance orchestra and set out to emulate Hickman's success. Whiteman never learned to play jazz himself, but he had a discerning ear. More importantly, he had a talent for self-promotion: he managed to obtain a booking for his orchestra in a prestigious location in Atlantic City, New Jersey, where his immediate success led to a recording contract with Victor. Grofé's arrangements added to the popularity of Whiteman's band; in particular, the orchestra's recording of *Three o'Clock in the Morning* (1922, Vic. 18940) sold 3,500,000 copies, one for every other phonograph in the country. Whiteman named his new music "symphonic jazz" and proclaimed himself "King of Jazz." He became one of the most influential figures in 20th-century popular music, and, inevitably, other bandleaders around the world began to imitate him; by about 1923 the word jazz, in the popular mind, meant the symphonic jazz of Whiteman and his followers.

The New Orleans style did not die out, however. In fact it reached an apogee during the years 1925–7, when Armstrong (with the Hot Five) and Morton (with the Red Hot Peppers) made some of the finest recordings in the genre. Nonetheless the flood of symphonic jazz overwhelmed the older style, and by the latter years of the 1920s New Orleans jazz was moribund; the emerging bands led by such musicians as Jean Goldkette, Duke Ellington, Ben Pollack, and Fletcher Henderson worked from written and memorized head arrangements modeled after those of Grofé. Even King Oliver, whose New Orleans band had been highly influential among musicians in the North, added saxophones to his lineup and began to play in the new style.

5. Stride and blues piano

Because the piano can function without accompaniment, it has evolved as a jazz instrument to some degree independently of the rest of the jazz band. Early on there were two lines of development. One was the evolution out of ragtime of the stride style (*see* Piano, §2). Stride involves the alternation of chords and single notes (or octaves) in the left hand and the rapid, pianistic figures typical of ragtime in the right. Early stride was, in fact, ragtime imbued with a more improvisatory feel and the new, looser rhythms of jazz; it was sophisticated and thick-textured music. The second tradition of piano playing, essentially a transfer to the piano of the blues, was created by untutored African-Americans working in rough bars in the rural South and in African-American urban areas. It used a simple, repetitive bass, usually composed of single notes, and single-note figures in the right hand, also often

repeated. The form was usually the 12-bar blues, though the more accomplished of the unschooled pianists might have a small repertory of tunes as well. This tradition of playing encompassed the styles known as Barrelhouse and Boogie-woogie; in direct contrast to stride it was primarily rhythmic and harmonically unsophisticated.

There was very little contact between the two traditions at first. The stride style was brought to its peak in the mid-1920s in northeastern cities by such well-trained players as James P. Johnson, Willie “the Lion” Smith, Luckey Roberts, and Johnson’s protégé Fats Waller, while the barrelhouse and boogie-woogie styles were played mainly in the South and Midwest. The two traditions merged in the work of such pianists as Morton and, most notably, Earl Hines, who had had contact with both styles. Hines developed a technique that employed a great many octaves and single notes in the right hand and stride patterns interrupted by jagged patches of chords and single-note figures in the left. He received a good deal of attention in the second half of the 1920s as a result of his recordings with Armstrong and Noone, and became extremely influential. In the 1930s Teddy Wilson worked out a somewhat smoother, more refined version of Hines’s style. Wilson tended to use single-note lines in the right hand rather than the repetitive pianistic figures typical of ragtime and stride; with his left hand he would sometimes stride and sometimes comp – punctuate his playing irregularly with brief chords that were more rhythmic than harmonic in function. After 1935 Wilson worked with the highly popular trio and quartet of Benny Goodman, and through him Hines’s manner of playing pushed aside the older stride style based on ragtime to become the standard approach to jazz piano.

6. Jazz in the entertainment industry and the press.

By the second half of the 1920s jazz was no longer a specialty music confined to honky-tonks, parties, and low cabarets but a popular music tightly enmeshed in a thoroughly commercial entertainment business that was to a considerable extent dominated by organized crime. The musicians who made the classic New Orleans jazz recordings earned their livelihood in dance and show bands in cabarets, theaters, and dance halls, and also on vaudeville stages; their music mostly fulfilled the function of an accompaniment to dancing or films or the backing for an act. During the 1920s the main audience for jazz became white. By 1924 the bands led by Ellington and Henderson were playing mainly in segregated clubs, and those directed by Armstrong, Noone, Oliver, and others were doing the same after 1926 or so; although they continued to play frequently for African-American audiences in theaters and dance halls, it was more remunerative for these bands to perform for Whites. They were also broadcasting regularly, in some cases every night, from clubs, again mainly for white audiences. By the end of the 1920s, then, jazz had taken a large step on its way to respectability. It had become part of the mainstream of American show business; its leading figures were known to increasingly large audiences and were making in some cases considerable incomes. It is thus not true, as is almost universally believed, that jazz was despised or ignored at this time by the American public.

The American press began writing about jazz in 1917, when it first became known outside New Orleans, and during the 1920s hundreds of newspaper and magazine articles appeared on the subject. These were by no means all approving: both older and younger generations saw jazz as being related

to the changing morality, and inevitably the older generation decried it for corrupting the morals of youth. Nonetheless, probably the larger part of this press attention was, if not favorable, at least neutral. Jazz was popular, and the press could hardly ignore it.

Much of the coverage of jazz was ill-informed and tended to focus on the symphonic style of Whiteman and others. But there were also signs of a deeper understanding. As early as 1920 jazz fans and record collectors on college campuses were attempting to develop an aesthetic, however rough, for the music, and to distinguish between the authentic and the spurious. Throughout the 1920s many artists and intellectuals made a point of listening to jazz as part of their response to the new American spirit, and by the later years of the decade knowledgeable, thoughtful articles on jazz had begun to appear occasionally in magazines such as *The Bookman*, *New Republic*, and *Literary Digest*. From about 1925 *Orchestra World*, a magazine aimed at the general musical public, gave jazz some attention. And, most notably, by 1927 Robert Donaldson Darrell, writing in the *Phonograph Monthly Review* and *Disques*, was giving perceptive reviews of the music of Armstrong, Ellington, and other major jazz figures. Darrell was the first writer on jazz to make judgments in print that generally hold up today; he was, for example, the first writer to single out Ellington's *Black and Tan Fantasy* for extended comment, and, through his writings in *Disques*, it was he who drew the attention of Europeans to Ellington. Darrell may thus be considered the first true jazz critic.

Not everybody was happy to see jazz elevated to show-business respectability. Some musicians, like some fans, saw the new, acceptable style as a bastardization of the pure New Orleans form, and they spoke out against it, or tried to play in the old manner for whatever audiences they could find. But they were, for the moment at least, a tiny minority. From the current vantage point jazz is often viewed as an art and the musicians as artists. In the 1920s, however, few jazz musicians, least of all the African-Americans, saw themselves as anything but show-business professionals attempting to make a living in a tough, highly competitive trade, and the accusation that they had "sold out" meant little to them.

IV. The big-band era.

1. The rise of the big bands.

During the years between about 1921 and 1926 symphonic jazz and New Orleans jazz were poised against each other. Although initially symphonic jazz seemed to be more popular, by 1924 or 1925 it was becoming clear that a substantial number of Americans preferred a "hotter" type of arranged music than Whiteman and his imitators were providing. Several bandleaders responded to the demand for hot music, motivated not only by a concern for popularity but also by a preference for playing in what later came to be seen as the "true" style of jazz, rather than the "polite" style of Whiteman.

It has been almost universally said in jazz histories that the formula for the hot dance band was worked out by Fletcher Henderson and, especially, his early arranger, Don Redman. However, a careful study of these early recordings shows clearly that all of the devices seen as characteristic of the hot dance band had been used in Grofé's arrangements for Whiteman. For example, the so-called call-and-response interplay of brass and reeds, often traced to Africa, was used by Grofé with Whiteman, and

was undoubtedly drawn from standard polyphony used in symphonic works and the very popular marches of the time. Henderson was an educated, middle-class African-American, and his early recordings show a highly commercial band modeled directly on the Whiteman orchestra. Redman, who wrote the arrangements, had come to Henderson directly from the office of Paul Specht, one of the most successful of Whiteman's imitators, and was thus very familiar with the Grofé–Whiteman scheme.

But Henderson, by 1924, recognized that audiences wanted a hotter version of dance music than Whiteman, Specht, and others were providing, and that autumn he engaged Louis Armstrong expressly to play jazz solos. Armstrong unquestionably helped to show the Henderson men and other New York musicians what hot music was; but it is also clear from recordings that the band was tending in that direction before Armstrong arrived.

The Henderson orchestra was not alone in struggling towards a hotter version of Whiteman's dance music: the Goldkette Orchestra in Detroit and several bands in Chicago and elsewhere were moving in the same direction. But Henderson's orchestra by 1924 appears to have been ahead of the pack, although the fact that the group was recording considerably more than other groups may have biased the account. 1926 was the critical year: by then Henderson's band had reached its first maturity; Ellington's orchestra was making its first characteristic recordings; and the orchestras of Goldkette, Ben Pollack, Red Nichols, Luis Russell, and others, featuring soloists such as Benny Goodman, Jack Teagarden, Henry "Red" Allen, and Jimmy Dorsey, were capable of coming up to the mark set by Henderson. And by the end of the 1920s some of these bands, especially Ellington's, were eclipsing Henderson's.

An important factor in the development of big-band jazz was the new popularity of the saxophone. Although the instrument was invented in 1840, it played no significant role in American music until after the turn of the century, when it began to appear as a novelty in vaudeville shows, singly and in groups made up of instruments of various sizes and ranges. The saxophone proved to work well in such choirs, and by the early 1920s the instrument was an essential part of the dance band.

The creation of the big band was thus the result of a number of trends; when popular music emerged from the economic collapse of 1929, which had a far-reaching effect on entertainment as on all areas of American life, it was clear that the big band was the shape of jazz for the new decade. The twin streams of symphonic and New Orleans jazz had finally merged: the new music used arrangements and choirs of instruments, but it also featured hot jazz solos and, most important, it swung.

Precisely when the term "swing" – used to describe the rhythmic "lilt" central to jazz – was coined is difficult to pinpoint, but it was current by the early 1930s. It was then particularized and applied to the big bands which supposedly produced this rhythmic effect, though many of them did not swing very much; in the end, therefore, there were "swing" bands that did not swing, and small jazz bands, not categorized as swing bands, that did (*see* Swing). (It is best, in general, to refer to the ten- to 15-piece dance bands as "big bands," or "big jazz bands" when appropriate.)

By 1930, then, the New Orleans ensemble was finished for the moment; jazz was being played by the hot dance bands. Of particular importance was the Duke Ellington Orchestra. Ellington's work is so personal that he has never really had emulators in the way that so many musicians copied Armstrong

or Beiderbecke. But his conception was so original that it attracted the attention of intellectuals as well as musicians and fans, and by the early 1930s Ellington was seen by many as the pre-eminent figure in jazz. The group, originally a standard dance band, had been drawn towards New Orleans jazz by the playing of Sidney Bechet, who was a member briefly during the 1920s, and Bubber Miley, a disciple of King Oliver. From 1927 to 1931 the band held an engagement in New York at the Cotton Club in Harlem, the country's most famous cabaret, from which it broadcast regularly. Ellington – following the example of Whiteman, though with far greater success – attempted in his compositions to combine jazz and symphonic forms, and drew heavily on members of his orchestra for his musical ideas. His recording of *Black and Tan Fantasy* (1927) was regarded by many intellectuals as an indication that jazz was to be taken seriously, and throughout his long career his music was adduced as evidence that jazz was an art. Ellington had little formal training in music, but his fine musical intelligence and sound judgment allowed him to create scores of popular hits and hundreds of brilliant compositions, large and small. He was aided immensely in achieving this success by his talent for surrounding himself with such fine jazz musicians as Johnny Hodges, Cootie Williams, and Ben Webster, and drawing the best out of them.

The role of New Orleans musicians in bringing a jazz spirit to these early dance bands was critical. Bechet and others in Ellington's band, Armstrong in Henderson's, Pops Foster, Allen, and Luis Russell in Russell's, and others elsewhere inspired the musicians around them to attempt to capture the swing feeling. This was not, however, the rocking swing of the New Orleans band. The nature of jazz rhythm had subtly changed.

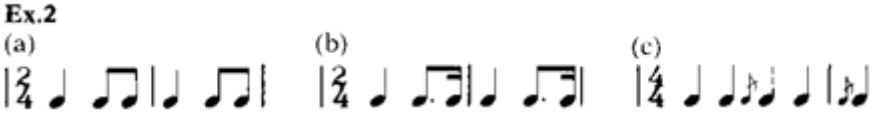
2. Swing as a musical phenomenon.

Because the sense of rhythm is so subjective, and because differences in timing of a 20th of a second can be critical, it is very difficult to analyze exactly the change that occurred in jazz rhythm in the big-band era. Jazz rhythms had grown out of the African-American musical practices of shading the melody away from the ground beat at some points, splitting the beat into two uneven parts, and undergirding two-beat ragtime with 4/4 time. The pioneer jazz musicians of New Orleans by no means applied these principles uniformly, nor understood them completely – into the 1920s many of them were playing the relatively stiff rhythms of ragtime. But by 1924, when a substantial number of recordings by New Orleans musicians were being released, it was clear that at least three among them had moved beyond ragtime. Bechet, Morton, and Armstrong – all of whom had, significantly, spent time playing the blues in New Orleans honky-tonks, and two of whom were Creoles – were playing with a light rhythmic spring, which is easy to feel but almost impossible to analyze or describe. However, certain common practices can be detected: the addition of a terminal vibrato, especially on longer notes, which seems to make them suddenly come to life; the spicing of the melodic line with accents and dynamic changes, so that it seems to take on the characteristics of speech; the placing of the notes to either side of the beat, which imparts lightness to the line; and the division of the beat into the uneven eighth-notes so characteristic of jazz. Armstrong, Bechet, Morton, and other New Orleans pioneers used some or all of these techniques, which were absorbed by the players they influenced. By the late 1920s such practices had been so widely adopted as to become characteristic of jazz, and any players who failed to

grasp them were seen as not “swinging.” Furthermore, new and even more subtle devices were being employed, such as the “secondary pulse” (the accenting of a note after it has been struck) and sudden pitch sags, both of which create the impression that the note has changed its nature or been struck again.

These techniques for creating swing spread through jazz during the 1920s, and by 1930 or so the swing style had become the accepted way of playing; anything else was old-fashioned. Whether as a result or simply as a parallel development, there came at the same time a marked change in the way the ground beat was played. In two-beat ragtime and the early jazz that followed it, odd- and even-numbered beats were distinctly different. Double bass players played on only the first and third quarters of a four-quarter bar. The stride piano bass produced a similar “boom-chick, boom-chick” effect. Drummers alternated quarter-notes and pairs of eighths. The effect was a back-and-forth rocking motion in the ground beat. After 1931 the guitar and double bass were reintroduced in place of the banjo and tuba; this sharpened and lightened the beat. Guitarists began to stroke downwards, instead of up and down, to even the beat. Double bass players began to play on all four quarters in the bar. Pianists tended more and more to comp rather than rely on the rocking stride-bass style. Drummers began to furnish the basic beat on the ride cymbal instead of the snare drum, which not only lightened the sound but made the pulse more subtle. Ragtime drummers had played accurate, precise rhythms, such as that shown in ex.2a . In the transition to jazz the drum figure took on a less rigid character (ex.2b), and in the swing style drummers played something freer still (ex.2c). Taken as a whole, the pulse became lighter, drier, and more flowing, tending to rush on ceaselessly from one bar to the next instead of proceeding in a rocking motion with rhythmic hitches. It should be noted, as careful studies with modern equipment has shown, that the division of the beat is not the two-to-one triplet division widely taught, but something closer to three-to-one, although there is substantial variation from one player to another, or even in one player working at different tempos.

Ex.2



Ex.2

One effect of all of these changes was that musicians began – or perhaps were forced – to deal with smaller fractions of time, and by 1930 or so jazz was being played with a perceptibly different rhythmic quality. Few musicians attempted to analyze it, but they (and their fans) recognized that a new element had entered the music. The New Orleans two-beat style was outdated; it had been replaced by four-beat swing. Indeed, so different did the new swing seem at the time that some musicians felt it necessary to insist that it was nevertheless jazz.

3. The big-band boom.

The big-band era, which extended roughly from 1929 to the mid-1940s, was characterized by two features: the distinctive ensemble that played written arrangements, and the modification of the jazz beat. But social factors also exercised an influence. One such was the economic depression following the crash of the stock market in 1929; this badly hurt the entertainment business in general and nearly destroyed the record industry, which was faced with free competition from the newly popular medium of radio. Cabarets, dependent on an affluent clientele, were forced to close, and the arrival of sound films meant that thousands of musicians who had been playing in theaters for silent films were thrown out of work. There was, furthermore, a sense among desperate entrepreneurs that the American public no longer wanted hot jazz, but preferred dreamy, escapist music that would help it forget its troubles; a feeling grew that jazz was dead, a craze of the 1920s that had had its day.

In retrospect it is clear that, although cabarets, dance halls, and the record business were suffering from the financial crisis, interest in hot music was still strong, and perhaps even growing. Hot dance bands continued to work steadily, and during the early years of the 1930s hundreds of jazz recordings, many of which later became recognized as classic, were issued.

The ground was thus prepared for what became the big-band boom of 1935–45. The immediate cause was the enormous success of Benny Goodman’s band, which had been formed in 1934 very much on the model of the bands led by Pollack and Henderson and the Casa Loma Orchestra. The rise to fame of Goodman’s band began when it obtained a radio contract for a late-night show, during which it played a great many hot “swing” numbers. Despite some setbacks, within months the band became an enormous success, and very quickly musicians formed dozens, and then hundreds, of similar groups to capitalize on the big-band boom. Goodman filled a vacuum. In the 20th century there appeared to be a need in young people for a strongly rhythmic, relatively simple music to which they can dance as well as listen. The Depression and allied conditions had stifled the peppy jazz music of the preceding generation, and there was nothing to replace it until the appearance of Goodman’s band.

Goodman’s success was not the only factor in the revival of the dance bands. Somewhat improved economic conditions, and the repeal of Prohibition in 1933, which allowed clubs and dance halls to sell liquor legally once again, created a considerable appetite for dance music. Goodman simply indicated the direction that this dance music would take. Like the early jazz bands of the preceding decade, the big bands were basically dance and show bands, an important part of the entertainment business. Well-known leaders such as Goodman, Tommy and Jimmy Dorsey, Glenn Miller, and others became celebrities whose private and social lives were chronicled in the gossip columns. The repertory of these bands was by no means exclusively jazz: many of them, denigrated by jazz fans as “mickey mouse” bands, played sweet music with little jazz feel, and even the best of them had to play a good deal of ordinary popular music of little lasting interest. But the music as a whole was rooted in jazz. All the big dance bands used rhythm sections to set a ground beat, employed a jazz feel at least occasionally in the section work, and made room for jazz solos. A few of them frequently produced excellent jazz: hard-swinging ensemble riffs interspersed with superior solos over driving rhythms. The best white orchestras were led by Goodman, Charlie Barnet, Woody Herman, and Bob Crosby; the best of the African-American orchestras were those of Jimmie Lunceford, Chick Webb, Ellington, and Count Basie.

Basie’s orchestra represented a special strain in the big-band movement. Although Basie came from New Jersey, he had spent much of his time as a young musician in Kansas City. This crime-ridden city had many rough cabarets where jazz was played, and these provided the context for the development of a style of playing known as Kansas City jazz; this relied heavily on the blues and on simple riffs, frequently invented on the club bandstands in the lengthy competitive jam sessions that were a feature of the musical life of the area. The bands that played in this style depended more on simple head arrangements (worked up by the musicians themselves) and strong solo work than on the type of complex arrangement favored by Henderson, Ellington, and other eastern bandleaders. Besides Basie’s band, those of Andy Kirk and Jay McShann came out of Kansas City, and by the late 1930s their approach had become influential. Important to Basie’s place in jazz history were soloists such as Dicky Wells, Buck Clayton, and especially Lester Young. Young was not widely known to the general public, but he was highly regarded by many musicians, who saw him as the chief rival to Coleman Hawkins. Whereas Hawkins’s style was harmonically thick, busy, and powerful, Young employed an extremely light tone and constructed simple, spare, but highly imaginative statements. In time a whole group of followers, including Stan Getz, Wardell Gray, and Zoot Sims, adopted his style and technique.

The most celebrated of the swing bands today is the Ellington group, which paradoxically had only one foot in the swing camp. Ellington had been developing his music along his own personal lines for a decade when the swing wave broke; his band was in it, but not truly of it. Ellington did not base his music so completely on the interplay of sections, but sometimes wrote across the sections, combining three or four reeds and brass. Further, he was more likely to write melodic lines than simple riffs. Nonetheless, he did at times employ standard swing-band practices, and his orchestra was perceived at the time as a swing band. It is widely agreed that during this period, from about 1939 to 1942, when the musicians’ union recording ban began, Ellington reached his greatest heights as a composer, with works such as *Cotton Tail*, *Harlem Air Shaft, Ko-ko*, and *Main Stem*.

4. Small-group jazz.

By far the largest part of the big-band jazz of the period from 1935 to 1945 was essentially commercial dance music, in which the jazz elements were considerably diluted. During the same period a much more serious-minded interpretation of swing was developed by small, informal jazz bands, often put together for a brief club engagement or single recording session. The center of this activity was 52nd Street in New York, though small-group jazz was also played in other cities and elsewhere in New York. During the period of Prohibition, midtown Manhattan had been dotted with speakeasies, many of them operating in the basements of the narrow brownstone houses typical of New York. The Onyx club on 52nd Street had long been popular with jazz musicians, and after the repeal of Prohibition it continued to present their music; very quickly its neighboring competitors also began to engage musicians to play jazz. These small clubs could accommodate big bands only with difficulty; they tended instead to use small groups, and it was quickly discovered that in order to attract an audience it was necessary only to employ one well-known jazz musician and back him with a rhythm section. From 1935 until the 1950s (when it was found to be more profitable to offer striptease acts) the clubs along 52nd Street, particularly in the block between Fifth and Sixth avenues, engaged virtually every important jazz

musician born between 1900 and 1925. Particularly associated with “the Street” (as musicians called it) were Billie Holiday, Art Tatum, Roy Eldridge, Coleman Hawkins, Lester Young, and various dixieland players, who usually appeared at Jimmy Ryan’s.

The popularity of the new form encouraged big-band leaders to organize small groups from the personnel of their bands to perform special jazz “spots” during the course of an evening. Goodman’s trio and quartet, the first important racially integrated groups to perform publicly in the USA, led the way, but very quickly Bob Crosby, Woody Herman, Tommy Dorsey, and others followed suit; small groups were also formed for recording purposes out of Ellington’s and Basie’s bands. Goodman’s groups were particularly successful, both musically and commercially, and helped to build a following for small-band jazz. Such ensembles usually consisted of one or two wind instruments and a rhythm section that invariably included piano and drums and sometimes double bass or guitar. The size of these groups was in part dictated by economics, but it was also encouraged by the desire of the best jazz musicians to have a greater scope for improvising than the big bands allowed. Small-group jazz was a development of the form that had been worked out for Armstrong in the later Hot Five recordings: the soloist stated the melody with considerable freedom, stepped back to allow one or two other members of the band to play solos, then took over again for one or more solo choruses as it suited him. (This formula was to remain the basic pattern of jazz playing for decades.) The main differences in the groups of the 1930s were the lighter, more flowing playing of the rhythm sections and the generally enhanced feeling of swing.

Along with the small swing bands there arose a number of small, independent recording companies specializing in jazz and often run for little or no profit. The principal bandleaders were under contract to the “big three” – Columbia, Victor, and Decca – but their star soloists and other jazz musicians outside the big bands were not. John Hammond took advantage of this fact to make for Brunswick during the second half of the 1930s a series of recordings led by Teddy Wilson and frequently featuring Billie Holiday and other important jazz musicians. In the main, however, the biggest companies were not interested in recording small-group jazz, and small ones moved in to fill the gap. The first of them, Commodore, was founded in 1938 specifically to record the work of a number of white dixieland players under the leadership of Eddie Condon, but it also issued excellent recordings by important African-American figures, such as Coleman Hawkins, Chu Berry, and Roy Eldridge. The success of Commodore encouraged the establishment of other independent recording companies, and by the end of the 1940s there were dozens, though most of them were short-lived. In time the major companies recognized that there was a market for small-band jazz, and from about 1940 sporadically recorded some of their stars, such as Armstrong, Basie, and various members of Ellington’s orchestra, in such contexts. But the small labels played a critical role (as they had in the 1920s, and have ever since) in preserving the important jazz of the time.

5. Jazz spreads abroad.

As early as 1919 the Original Dixieland Jazz Band made a tour of England, and during the 1920s a few other jazz musicians, most notably Sidney Bechet, spent time in Europe, either individually or with such touring show bands as that led by Sam Wooding. None of these musicians had much impact,

however: the Original Dixieland Jazz Band's music perplexed listeners in London and received uniformly bad reviews, while Bechet and others aroused little interest. More successful were tours made by those belonging to the symphonic-jazz contingent, among them Hickman, Whiteman, and Irving Aaronson, though their bands did not achieve the popularity abroad that they had at home. Nonetheless, throughout the early 1920s there was a growing interest in American dance music in Europe. But as the interest increased, so did a demand for American musicians, and eventually there were so many Americans in Europe that indigenous players demanded they be barred from performing.

There was little understanding of true jazz in Europe in the early 1920s, but by 1927 Spike Hughes in England and Hugues Panassié in France were writing criticism of good jazz recordings. In 1929 some editors from *Melody Maker* visited New York to hear the music at first hand, and Parlophone began to issue its New Rhythm Style Series, which included some of the best American jazz recordings.

One of the most important influences on early European players was Red Nichols and his various groups, especially those that included Miff Mole. Beiderbecke replaced Nichols as model when his recordings became available in the late 1920s, and at about the same time the partnership between Eddie Lang and Joe Venuti was becoming known. Ellington was also a major force, though Europeans, whose musical traditions were centered largely on composition, saw him predominantly as a composer. After the swing-band boom Benny Goodman also set an important example.

By the end of the 1920s a handful of European musicians were emulating the Americans. The French were probably the first to produce a cadre of good jazz players: Ray Ventura, for example, was performing a passable version of big-band jazz with his group the Collegians in 1928 (although it was heavily dependent on such visiting Americans as Danny Polo), as were Gregor and his Gregoriens, with such soloists as Alix Combelle, by 1930. Perhaps the best French jazz musician of the period was Philippe Brun, who in 1930 was working in England with Jack Hylton's orchestra. By the early 1930s Brun, Combelle, Michel Warlop, André Ekyan, Noël Chiboust, and a few others were performing at the general level of American players.

The British were not far behind. As early as 1927 Bert Firman was organizing recording sessions with a floating group of musicians; under the name the Rhythmic Eight, they produced occasional moments of acceptable jazz, although much of it was provided by visiting Americans. In the same year Fred Elizalde formed a student jazz band at Cambridge University, which later included a number of American players, most notably Adrian Rollini. The first British jazz musician of importance, however, was Nat Gonella: he began, as did many Europeans, as a disciple of Beiderbecke, but soon fell under the influence of Armstrong, and by 1932 was producing an excellent imitation of the work of his idol.

In Belgium, as early as 1927 Chas Remue and his New Stompers were playing in a rather stiff worked-out dixieland style patterned after the groups led by Nichols. In the Netherlands, the Ramblers, formed in 1926 by Theo Uden Masman, acquired an international following after making recordings with Coleman Hawkins (1935, 1937) and Benny Carter (1937). A Swiss group with strong German connections, Teddy Stauffer's Original Teddies, was popular in both Switzerland and Germany in the mid-1930s, when it performed a competent if unforceful imitation of American swing.

The position in Germany and Italy was complicated by the political situation. Jazz was never actually banned by Hitler’s regime, but it was severely frowned upon, and by and large musicians had to be cautious in its performance. (During the 1940s, however, the German authorities broadcast arrangements by Lutz Templin of American jazz recordings for propaganda purposes.) The most important jazz band in Germany between 1927 and 1933 was the Weintraub Syncopators; the majority of its members were Jewish, however, and after 1933 the group worked elsewhere in Europe. Ernst Landl in Austria and Ernst van ’t Hoff in the Netherlands were among the musicians who remained at home during the German occupation, defying the Nazis by playing jazz clandestinely. By the mid-1930s there were a few bands in Germany playing competently in the American swing style; one of the best was James Kok’s Jazz Virtuosen, which included some good jazz soloists. Jazz was virtually nonexistent in Italy until after World War II, although there was a Hot Club in Rome by 1938. Ironically, Romano Mussolini, the son of the dictator Benito Mussolini, led a successful career as a professional bop pianist in the 1950s.

There was little jazz played in countries further east, such as Poland and Czechoslovakia, until around the 1950s. In the USSR, however, a few bands were attempting to play American dance music in the early 1930s, but even later in the decade their efforts to achieve a sense of swing were stiff and they lacked musicians who could produce good jazz solos. Aleksandr Tsfasman, who formed a band in 1926, is generally considered the first virtuoso jazz musician in the USSR. The first well-known player in Eastern Europe was Ady Rosner, a German who was popular in Poland and Czechoslovakia in the 1930s before fleeing to the USSR in 1939.

Jazz developed even later in the Far East. There were a few isolated appearances by Westerners: Teddy Weatherford worked in various Asian countries, including India, Singapore, and the Philippines, for most of the period between 1926 and 1945; Buck Clayton took a band in 1934 to China, where it played for a lengthy engagement in Shanghai; bands led by Herb Flemming (1933–4) and Leon Abbey (1935–6, 1936–7) held residencies in India; and from the late 1930s Reuben Solomon and Cedric West performed in Burma; but the presence of all these musicians reflected little jazz interest.

There were similarly few players of international interest in South America during the 1930s. There were similarly few players of international interest in South America during the 1930s. Sam Wooding toured the continent in 1927 with a group that included Tommy Ladnier, Garvin Bushell, and Gene Sedric, and Hernán Oliva led a band in Argentina from 1935. Of greater importance was Oscar Alemán, who worked in Europe from the late 1920s until 1941, and who later became recognized as one of the finest swing guitarists.Wooding toured the continent in 1927 with a group that included Tommy Ladnier, Garvin Bushell, and Gene Sedric, and Hernán Oliva led a band in Argentina from 1935. Of greater importance was Oscar Alemán, who worked in Europe from the late 1920s until 1941, and who later became recognized as one of the finest swing guitarists.

Jazz in Australia developed much in parallel with jazz in Britain. The first significant Australian musician was Frank Coughlan, who led his own swing bands from 1936 into the 1970s, after having spent a period working in English dance orchestras.

The most important of all the early non-American jazz players was unquestionably Django Reinhardt, who was almost the only European to have a major influence on the Americans. He made some of his finest recordings with the Quintette du Hot Club de France in 1934, when he formed his partnership with Stephane Grappelli. The two men were inspired particularly by the earlier partnership of Lang and Venuti, which was highly popular in the USA and also well known to jazz fans in Europe. Reinhardt and Grappelli very quickly developed individual styles and established themselves as the leading European jazz musicians of the 1930s. Recordings by Reinhardt with the quintet and with visiting Americans were made available in the USA during the late 1930s, and he became the model for many young American guitarists, including, in the latter stages of his brief career, Charlie Christian.

By the mid-1930s both Armstrong and Ellington had appeared in London to high acclaim; Carter and Hawkins, along with such lesser-known of their compatriots as Freddy Johnson and Arthur Briggs, were resident in Europe; and American recordings were readily available. European musicians by now understood the music and there were a few excellent players among them, notably Svend Asmussen in Denmark, Tommy McQuater and George Chisholm in England, those associated with the Hot Club in France, the Ramblers and the Dutch Swing College in the Netherlands, and the members of Kok's and Stauffer's bands in Germany.

The main problem for European players was that the audience for jazz was small, and in places almost nonexistent. There were no clubs such as those in the USA which presented jazz on a full-time basis and paid musicians steady salaries, and there was little jazz broadcast on radio. As late as 1939 concerts given by Reinhardt in Paris might draw an audience of only 400 people, and until after World War II jazz remained a genre enjoyed by a small coterie.

The early 1930s saw the beginning of jazz criticism in Europe. Contrary to what is widely believed, it was Americans such as Carl Van Vechten, Robert Donaldson Darrell, Charles Edward Smith, and Abbe Niles rather than Europeans who were the first to write seriously about jazz. Europeans were in fact influenced particularly by Darrell and also by John Hammond, the most powerful critic of the time, who began writing for *Melody Maker* in 1932. Nonetheless the first books – Robert Goffin's *Aux frontières du jazz* (1932) and Panassié's *Le jazz hot* (1934) – were produced by Europeans; although both volumes were full of errors, Panassié's in particular was influential (if taken less seriously by fans in the USA). Panassié was also contributing articles regularly to the dance-band magazine *Jazz Tango*, and in 1935 he founded *Jazz hot*, the most important of the early jazz periodicals, which inevitably depended on Americans for much of its material. Through these writings, and his endless proselytizing, Panassié became regarded by Europeans, if not Americans, as the first important jazz critic.

6. The growth of jazz criticism in the USA.

In the 1930s, largely for reasons having to do with attitudes towards African-Americans, the American left-wing press took up jazz as a subject, and from 1936 there began to appear in the *New Republic*, the *New Masses*, *The Nation*, and similar publications occasional reviews and discussions of jazz by such writers as Otis Ferguson, Hammond, Charles Edward Smith, Bernard Haggin, and others. *Down Beat*, founded in 1934, was essentially a trade paper for dance-band musicians, but it carried reviews

of jazz recordings and frequent articles on jazz history. In 1938 there appeared the first of a spate of American books on jazz, many of them written by people associated with the political left. The most influential of them was *Jazzmen* (1939), edited by Frederic Ramsey, Jr., and Charles Edward Smith. Journals devoted to jazz, among them *Jazz Information*, *Society Rag*, and *Record Changer*, emerged at about the same time. In some measure this flurry of critical activity was intended to be a corrective to Panassié's *Le jazz hot*, which was published in the USA in translation in 1936.

This early criticism was not without its flaws. Students of the subject lacked many of the tools developed later, such as reliable discographies and biographical dictionaries. Few of them had much, if any, formal musical training and could not make useful musicological analyses of jazz styles. Moreover, because so much of the writing was produced by people from the political left, there was a pervasive tendency to picture the music as neglected and despised by a materialistic American bourgeois society. Some players, such as Armstrong, who had become commercially successful, were anathematized for having "sold out" to the capitalist entertainment business. The early American critics were also responsible for helping to promote the myth that jazz was appreciated more in Europe than at home, though European jazz writers also contributed to it. Yet despite the problems of this early jazz writing, much of it was sensitive and intelligent, and it opened the way for later students.

The burgeoning of jazz criticism had another important effect: it advanced the concept of jazz as an art and the jazz musician as an artist. The idea was hardly new: jazz had been termed one of the "lively arts" as early as 1921 (by Gilbert Seldes), and before long at least some were agreed that it was a "serious" art as well, even if the musicians continued to function as entertainers. The rise of a body of formal criticism in the 1930s presupposed that jazz was an art form, and throughout the big-band period there was an increasing tendency for both critics and musicians themselves, in however confused a way, to think of it as such. The general acceptance of this concept had several implications: that jazz was a proper subject for academic study and could be taught in schools as was painting or writing; that the musicians must be treated with respect; and that it was appropriate to play the music in the concert hall. The only one of these ideas to have an immediate effect was the last. In 1938 Beny Goodman, with some players from Ellington's and Basie's bands, gave a concert in Carnegie Hall, New York, and later the same year John Hammond, with the sponsorship of the *New Masses*, presented a group of jazz and blues musicians there. These concerts were successful, and henceforward jazz was heard increasingly in the concert hall. (*See also* Historiography, jazz.)

7. The New Orleans revival.

Many early jazz critics, in part for political reasons, disdained the new swing music, which they saw as "commercial," and took the position that the only true jazz was that of the early African-American pioneers and their white followers, especially those from the Midwest. The effect was to create an appetite among many jazz fans, especially younger ones, for the older music, and this in turn made it economically feasible for recording companies to reissue earlier recordings. From the late 1930s recordings made in the 1920s by Oliver, Morton, Armstrong, Noone, Beiderbecke, Nichols, Goodman, and others became increasingly available, and a market for secondhand copies of the original records,

desirable to collectors, opened up. Jazz fans who had been unfamiliar with the music began to understand it, and in the late 1930s a movement to revive the New Orleans style, or Dixieland as it had come to be called, was set in motion.

The revival movement developed in several different ways. On the one hand there was a group of younger men, such as Lu Watters and Turk Murphy in San Francisco, who wanted to re-create the music of Oliver, Morton, and the Armstrong of the Hot Fives as faithfully as possible. They used the instrumentation current in the 1920s, including tubas and banjos, held fast to the old repertory, and attempted to recapture the rolling two-beat rhythm of the earlier bands. The second school was built by a cadre of somewhat older men, centered on Eddie Condon in New York, and included Wild Bill Davison, Georg Brunis, Pee Wee Russell, Max Kaminsky, and Edmond Hall; these were musicians who had known New Orleans jazz at first hand and wanted to play it in the newer swing style, using the swing beat and subordinating ensemble playing to solo work. Eventually the interest in the New Orleans style focused attention on the New Orleans pioneers themselves. Sidney Bechet, who had fallen into obscurity, found himself in demand. Players such as Bunk Johnson and George Lewis (i), who had remained unnoticed in New Orleans, came to prominence in the early 1940s and began to work regularly. Armstrong and other New Orleans musicians were asked occasionally to record in the old style. (*See also* Traditional jazz.)

The revived New Orleans style achieved considerable popularity by jazz standards. The dixielanders in Condon’s circle were especially influential, and they created a substantial body of followers, especially on college campuses, who formed bands of their own. Through the 1940s and 1950s the dixieland style was one of the most popular forms of jazz, earning a larger audience than did the more critically acclaimed bop. The style still shows strength: there are more than 50 annual dixieland festivals in the United States, the largest of which, the Sacramento Dixieland Jubilee, presents 100 bands and draws 100,000 listeners. The movement is particularly strong in Europe, where it is the dominant form of jazz. Players such as Bob Wilber, Kenny Davern, Marty Grosz, Warren Vaché, Ed Polcer, and others have made careers specializing in dixieland and allied older forms.

V. Bop and modern jazz.

1. The climate for change.

By 1941, when the USA was drawn into World War II, big-band jazz was the dominant popular music of the country: there were hundreds of big bands, some 50 of which were nationally known, had large followings, recorded regularly, and worked in dance halls and theaters all the year round. A few, such as those of Barnet, Ellington, Basie, and Goodman, played a considerable amount of jazz, while others, such as the orchestras led by Guy Lombardo, Kay Kyser, and Sammy Kaye, performed little or none; most played a mixture. Although musicians and a growing body of jazz fans scorned the commercial dance bands, American taste in general was indiscriminate. Yet there was enough enthusiasm for good jazz to make Goodman and Ellington wealthy and to keep such musicians as Coleman Hawkins, Billie Holiday, and Roy Eldridge steadily employed at good fees.

Among some younger musicians, however, there was a sense that the possibilities of swing had been exhausted. The causes were not all musical. A generation of African-American musicians born around 1920 had come to maturity in a social climate quite different from the one in which the jazz pioneers had grown up. Armstrong, for example, had been raised in the deep South, where to have spoken out against racial oppression would have been to end his career as an entertainer; later, working in a gang-dominated entertainment industry, he was again at risk of injury or death if he behaved too intractably. Throughout the 1930s, however, there was a growing consciousness among Whites, especially on the political left, that in a democracy African-Americans could not be treated as second-class citizens. African-Americans were encouraged to believe that at least some Whites would support their demands for equality. The migration north during the first decade of the century had produced a large population of African-Americans who had grown up in this more liberal atmosphere. A new militant spirit began to be felt by African-Americans, particularly jazz musicians, who by 1940 were hearing from critics that they were artists worthy of respect; they also realized that white players in big bands usually commanded higher salaries than they could, for playing what African-Americans were beginning to conceive of as their music. Furthermore, African-American musicians constantly suffered the indignity of having their families and friends refused entry into white clubs and dance halls where they were playing. Many became bitter as well as militant.

These attitudes had two effects on African-American jazz musicians. The first was the development of a strong distaste for the show-business antics of Fats Waller, Cab Calloway, and Armstrong, whose routines suggested the stereotype of the grinning, carefree African-American with a natural gift for song and dance: Armstrong in particular was castigated on this account. The second was their turning away from the seemingly impenetrable white culture in favor of African-American culture, which was at least their own, and would welcome them; musically, this meant a turning away from the swing style of the big bands, whose very popularity among Whites made it suspect.

2. Developments in the musical language.

The two men chiefly responsible for finding an alternative to big-band swing that would also effectively exclude white elements were Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie. They were opposite personalities: Gillespie, a fractious, obstreperous, but intelligent and ultimately balanced personality, complementing Parker, a pathological, childlike genius. Disentangling the contributions of these men to the evolution of Bop (or bebop) is difficult; certainly others contributed as well. However, it is clear from recordings made by Gillespie in 1939 and 1940, especially with Cab Calloway’s orchestra, that he was frequently employing devices typical of what would be the bop style. From this evidence, coupled with his brief statements given to later interviewers, it may be surmised that he was first drawn to brief movements a half-step away from the expected chord and to the use of the flatted fifth. Other musicians had made use of these stratagems before: the pianist Art Tatum frequently jumped into distant keys at moments, and musicians such as Pee Wee Russell and Roy Eldridge (Gillespie’s primary model) had exploited flatted fifths and similar dissonances. But Gillespie was employing these devices regularly, and they drew him into a more general chromaticism, which in time worked its way into a system. For example, in Calloway's *Pickin' the Cabbage* (March 1940) he plays major thirds over minor chords at one point;

in *Bye Bye Blues* (June 1940) he uses a diminished ninth, and in *Cupid's Nightmare* (August 1940) a tritone substitution. Many similar examples can be found. Thus Gillespie was responsible for creating a harmonic language for bop.

The role of Charlie Parker in the creation of bop is problematic. There is little evidence that he theorized about the music in the same way that Gillespie, and perhaps others, did. The oft-told story that Parker began using the so-called higher intervals in chords (the ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth) while improvising on *Cherokee* is doubtful, and in any event the ninth and thirteenth had been widely employed in jazz before. It was not so much the use of these higher intervals that characterized the new bop music, but the “altered” tones, such as the diminished fifth and minor ninth, which Gillespie was introducing. Parker has to be seen as an intuitive musician who played what he was hearing in his mind. However, he was a far more imaginative improviser than Gillespie, and it was Parker, rather than Gillespie, whose choruses were endlessly analyzed by other musicians – as is even the case today. As a consequence his approach to harmony has been the primary model for modern bop musicians. This, however, was a later development; in the beginning it was Gillespie, the theorist, who was inventing the new approach to jazz.

But as disturbing as the new harmonies of bop were to many jazz fans and musicians, even more disturbing was the change in rhythm and meter. For one, the boppers tended to play strings of eighth-notes much more evenly than had been the custom in jazz. As we have seen, the division of a beat into a long first half and a short second one is critical to swing. However, the relative unevenness is highly individual: a player such as Coleman Hawkins frequently made a markedly uneven division, whereas Gillespie’s model Roy Eldridge made a more equal division. The bop musicians tended towards the latter, although once again it was an individual matter, with Gillespie following this model more so than Parker. (Such judgments, however, remain intuitive until further analysis using advanced technical equipment is made; it appears that the greater unevenness in Parker’s playing of supposed eighth-notes is more a matter of accentuation than of length.)

Harder for jazz fans and musicians to grasp was a new approach to meter by the bop musicians. In earlier forms, despite the general loosening of the melody line from the ground beat, improvised solos hewed to the shape that had been standard in Western music for centuries, with strong points in the flow of the music falling on or around strong points in the meter (such as the down beats of first, third, and fifth bars of a phrase), so that performances, both solo and ensemble, tended to be divided into symmetrical groups of two, four, eight, and 16 bars. By 1939 Charlie Christian, who popularized the electric guitar while playing with Benny Goodman, was phrasing away from the metrical strong points, for example ending phrases on the second half of the fourth beat, the weakest point in a bar, instead of on the more usual succeeding down beat. Gillespie does this at points in his 1939 solo on Lionel Hampton’s *Hot Mallets*, where he begins one figure on the second beat of the fifth bar and ends another on the fourth beat of the eleventh bar. Parker in particular made a system of phrasing away from the meter, sometimes “turning the beat around” for a whole chorus at a time. Counter-meters of this kind are extremely subjective; yet it appears that Charlie Parker was already hinting at something like this on *Body and Soul* in an air check by the Jay McShann band in 1940, especially in the final eight bars. But the effect of turning the beat around was sometimes so pronounced that the musicians

themselves lost track of the meter; according to Miles Davis (*DB*, xxii/22 (1955), 14), when Parker began to introduce the technique, the drummer, Max Roach, “would scream at Duke [Jordan, the pianist] not to follow Bird, but to stay where he was. Then eventually, it came around as Bird had planned and we were together again.” This practice of turning the beat around was not employed constantly, and some of the boppers, including Bud Powell, used it less frequently than others, such as Gillespie and Parker. But it was nonetheless an important characteristic of bop.

Another even more subtle effect, commensurately difficult to analyze, was created by shifting the melody line not a beat away from the meter, but a half-beat away. Analysis of Parker’s compositions is instructive in this respect, for a substantial number of them begin with what sounds like an eighth-note upbeat, but it is placed directly on the downbeat instead of ahead of it, as would be usual.

It is widely believed that many bop concepts were worked out in late-night jam sessions at Minton’s, a small club in Harlem. However, it is clear that there were similar sessions at other venues, especially Monroe’s Uptown House. Furthermore, neither Parker nor Gillespie played at Minton’s regularly, though many older swing players were frequent visitors, as was the young swing guitarist Charlie Christian. Nonetheless, Minton's group included Kenny Clarke and Thelonious Monk. Clarke had worked out a system of playing a very even 4/4 on the ride cymbal instead of placing the ride beat on the hi-hat, which was the practice of virtually all drummers of the time; Christian was shaping his phrases at odd angles to the original phrase structures of tunes; Monk was beginning to develop a spare, angular, eccentric piano style; and Gillespie was working on harmonic experiments of his own. In 1941 these musicians invited Parker to play with them at Minton’s and the novelties they had introduced began to settle into a style. This is evident in an amateur recording made in May of that year by a fan at Minton’s. Gillespie’s solos on *Kerouac*, based on the chords of *Exactly like You*, are certainly proto-bop, if not full-fledged bop itself. In time, as is frequently the case in music, innovative practices were worked into a theory. The chromatic dissonances came to be described as either the “higher” tones in a chord – such as the ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth – or “alterations” of these, for example, the diminished ninth or the augmented fourth, thus fitting such dissonances into the vocabulary of Western music theory. Additionally, the boppers worked out “substitute chords” which could be used in place of the standard chords of a tune. This practice was not new: Coleman Hawkins and Art Tatum in particular had used substitutions in their solos before. But the bop musicians made a system of the device. Many people contributed to these developments, but it is probable that Gillespie was responsible for introducing the practices that are still dominant in much jazz playing today (*see* Harmony).

The new features of bop are more evident in the playing of some than of others. They not only made the music less approachable for uninitiated listeners, they even troubled some musicians. Many of the older ones, including Hawkins, Eldridge, and Goodman, attempted to adopt them, but one of the few swing players who had much success with bop was Don Byas.

3. Bop piano.

Once again the piano followed a somewhat independent line of development in the bop period. During the big-band era Art Tatum had come to be seen as the pre-eminent pianist in jazz. He had begun as a stride player, taking as his model Fats Waller, but he possessed an extraordinary technique and he quickly developed a style that depended on much interrupted movement in both hands, sudden leaps into different keys, and extremely sophisticated and varied harmonies, involving frequent use of substitute chords. Tatum's harmonic innovations affected musicians as different as Hawkins and Parker, and the bop pianists were very conscious of his work.

However, bop piano was rooted primarily in the styles of Earl Hines and Teddy Wilson. The principal figure, Bud Powell, had begun as a swing pianist, modeling himself on Kenny Kersey, a follower of Wilson. Like Wilson, Powell and other boppers tended to use strings of single notes in the right hand, though these were based on the new bop harmonies. In the left hand they abandoned the stride system in favor of spare, irregular comping, especially when accompanying soloists; bop harmonies had become sufficiently thick to make it necessary for the pianist to stay out of the way of the soloist so as to avoid too much dissonance. The double bass now performed the piano's former function of outlining the chord changes as well as helping to carry the pulse. All the pianist needed to do was suggest the harmonic skeleton of the tune.

4. The commercial growth of bop.

The evolution of bop and its acceptance by fans was a rapid process. In 1942 some of the experimentalists, including Parker and Gillespie, joined the big band led by Hines, and according to Gillespie it was here, in 1943, that the bop movement took shape. When Hines's band collapsed in that year, several of his musicians went on to work in Billy Eckstine's band. In the winter of 1943–4 Gillespie took a small group with Max Roach and George Wallington, who both became influential bop musicians, to the Onyx club in New York. It is unfortunate that a dispute between the American Federation of Musicians and the recording companies forced a recording ban from 1942 into 1944, so that only a few private recordings of the developing music were made. In 1944 a group that included Parker and Roach played at the Three Deuces, giving the style further publicity, and in the same year some of the bop players, under the leadership of Hawkins (who was not a bopper), made the first bop recordings, including *Woody 'n' you* and *Disorder at the Border*. Also in that year Gillespie was chosen by a panel of critics as the "new star" on trumpet, and finally, in February 1945, Gillespie and Parker began to make the first of a series of classic bop recordings which eventually included *Groovin' High*, *Salt Peanuts*, *Hot House*, *Billie's Bounce*, *Now's the Time*, and *Koko*. These recordings established bop as the jazz movement of the future, though it was still highly controversial. Younger musicians were drawn in, and very quickly bop swept everything before it. One factor that contributed to the success of bop was the collapse of the big bands. At the end of 1946 a half-dozen of the most famous ones broke up. The causes were several, but the main ones were the increasing cost of maintaining a big band and a shift in public taste in favor of vocalists. The demise of the big bands left a sudden vacuum, which the boppers partly filled.

Despite the inherent difficulty of the style, by the late 1940s bop was in the ascendant. Gillespie had an excellent bop big band, which also introduced Latin rhythms to jazz through the conga drummer Chano Pozo (*see* Afro-Cuban jazz). Ultimately Gillespie's band was not economically successful, but both he and Parker were in demand and were making good incomes, and many of their followers were working regularly and recording frequently. Among the best of them were Fats Navarro, Sonny Stitt, and J. J. Johnson; later, in the mid-1950s, Sonny Rollins and Clifford Brown were the outstanding soloists who continued directly in this tradition.

5. The cool school.

Running parallel to bop from about the mid-1940s there was a movement to adopt more advanced harmonies and musical procedures suggested by European art music, especially that of Stravinsky and Debussy. Enlarged bands, employing instruments such as french horns and oboes, hitherto rare in jazz, began to appear. Foremost among them were the orchestras of Stan Kenton, Woody Herman, Boyd Raeburn, and Claude Thornhill (*see* Progressive jazz). These groups were essentially dance bands that had evolved out of the old big bands, but they used advanced harmonies and other elements drawn from bop (Gillespie arranged music for some of them, and played in Raeburn's band briefly) and occasionally performed "tone poems" and longer concert pieces in several movements. Although the musicians were thoroughly conscious of bop, and many of them in fact played in the bop style, the majority, including Stan Getz and Bill Harris (i) in Herman's band, were at heart swing players. They saw jazz moving towards a merger with European classical music, or at least increasingly adopting devices from symphonic music. This new manifestation of the tension in jazz between African and European-American elements was expressed directly in racial terms: on the one hand were the predominantly African-American boppers, working in a forceful, spontaneous, improvised mode, and on the other were the Whites, who cultivated a more thoughtful and carefully constructed manner. For a time it seemed that the balance would shift in the direction of the white, European-American style. The most advanced of the dance orchestras, Herman's and Kenton's, continued to do well, which suggested that the symphonic approach might prevail, though economics dictated that the future of the music lay in small groups rather than large ensembles.

By the years immediately after World War II a number of young musicians, working independently, were writing pieces for small jazz ensembles which incorporated devices drawn from symphonic music. The earliest of these was a group formed around Dave Brubeck, many of whose members were studying with the art music composer Darius Milhaud on the West Coast. In 1946 Brubeck formed an octet, which included Paul Desmond, Cal Tjader, Dick Collins, and Bill Smith (i), to play music written by its members. Some pieces, such as Brubeck's *Rondo*, were straightforward classical music; others, such as his arrangement of *The Way You Look Tonight*, were very advanced for the time, employing much counterpoint and harmonies that owed more to classical composers than jazz writers. Polyrhythms and polytonality were frequently used. The work prefigured the contrapuntalism which was later an important aspect of Brubeck's celebrated quartet.

At about the same time, in New York, a group loosely organized around Gil Evans, many of whom were former members of Claude Thornhill's orchestra and victims of the demise of the big band, were trying to work out a system for playing music they had performed with Thornhill, who had taken much from the French impressionist composers Claude Debussy and Maurice Ravel. Eventually Miles Davis joined the group. He secured a brief engagement for it in 1948 at the Royal Roost in New York, and in 1949 a recording contract. The recordings, extending into early 1950, thus went out under Davis's name, and were later reissued with the claim that Davis had invented cool jazz. In fact, the group's musical ideas came mainly from Thornhill's men, especially Evans, and it was only one of several groups working in the same direction. Nonetheless, the myth that Davis was responsible for "the birth of the cool" clings to this date.

Another contemporaneous group from the New York area, led by the pianist Lennie Tristano and including the saxophonists Lee Konitz and Warne Marsh and the guitarist Billy Bauer, was making recordings and occasionally playing in clubs; its esoteric music employed shifting tonalities and meters and frequently ignored bar-lines altogether. Yet another figure working in the same direction was John Lewis, who in the 1940s was attending the prestigious Manhattan School of Music. He, too, was looking for a way to bring elements from classical music into jazz, and in 1947 he wrote his Toccata for Trumpet and Orchestra, introduced by Gillespie at Carnegie Hall. Lewis associated himself with Gil Evans's men, and wrote some of the pieces which appeared on the so-called Birth of the Cool recordings.

None of these experimental groups had much impact in the jazz world, and they figured even less with the general public. Although they became classics with their reissue on LP, and have remained permanently in the catalogue in the CD era, the "Birth of the Cool" 78 r.p.m. recordings initially sold poorly, and the Brubeck octet and Davis's nonet made few significant public appearances. But the time was coming for what would be named variously cool jazz, or West Coast jazz (*see* Cool jazz and West coast jazz). In 1949 Brubeck, with a trio, began to attract attention with his advanced ideas. He made a few recordings and in 1951 asked the alto saxophonist Paul Desmond to join him to form the Dave Brubeck Quartet; this very quickly became one of the most popular of all jazz groups. Its music featured contrapuntalism and complex harmonies, and contrasted the restrained, dry sound of Desmond with Brubeck's hard-driving piano. By the mid-1950s the group was in heavy demand, especially for college concerts – an institution Brubeck was important in developing as a source of income for jazz musicians.

Then, in 1952, a young trumpeter named Chet Baker, almost by chance, was chosen by Charlie Parker to play with him for a three-week engagement on the West Coast. The job gave Baker considerable exposure in the jazz world. He soon began sitting in with the baritone saxophonist Gerry Mulligan, who had been one of Thornhill's arrangers and part of the "Birth of the Cool" group in New York. Again almost by chance Mulligan began working without a pianist, a practice almost unheard of in jazz. Soon thereafter he began to recorded with Baker, accompanied by double bass and drums, and this Gerry Mulligan Quartet became almost as popular as Brubeck's group. Important attractions were the simple but arresting contrapuntal lines Mulligan worked out for the two horns and Baker's gentle, thoughtful expression of ballads, such as *My Funny Valentine*.

Meanwhile, back in New York, in order to give his brass section a rest, Dizzy Gillespie was sometimes bringing his rhythm section, with the vibraphonist Milt Jackson, on stage during his big-band performances. The pianist was John Lewis. This rhythm section began recording independently as the Milt Jackson Quartet (1951–2) and then evolved, with some changes in the double bass and drum chairs, into the Modern Jazz Quartet. Under Lewis's direction, the quartet began to play pieces that leaned heavily on European art music, especially the Renaissance and Baroque music which Lewis admired. The contrast between the dry, controlled playing of the arrangements and the driving swing of Jackson's improvisations attracted large audiences. The MJQ, as it was often termed, worked steadily for twenty years, making it one of the most enduring of all jazz bands, and after a period of inactivity it was revived for annual tours. Some of its featured pieces, such as *Django* and *Bags' Groove*, have become part of the jazz repertory.

By 1952 or so it was clear that there existed a form of modern jazz that contrasted in significant ways with bop – the one controlled and reflective, the other fiery and hard driving, the one carefully structured, the other passionate and spontaneous. Inevitably, some critics and record company promoters saw the dichotomy as opposing white West Coast reserve with African-American East Coast passion. This does not hold up: many of the supposed West Coast musicians, such as Mulligan, were from the East; important members of the cool school, such as John Lewis and, to a lesser extent, Miles Davis, were African-American; and certain "cool" musicians, such as Milt Jackson and Brubeck, were hard-driving, passionate players. Yet some musicians benefited from the publicity the split created. One of the best-known members of the West Coast school at the time was Shorty Rogers, who worked with various groups, often including the reed players Jimmy Giuffre, Bud Shank, and Bob Cooper and the drummer Shelly Manne. Rogers has been neglected by jazz historians, but he was an excellent trumpet player and is thought to have been the first to bring the tone rows of the composer Arnold Schoenberg into jazz.

Through the 1950s the cool, or West Coast, school had greater popularity than did bop, reaching beyond jazz fans to a general audience. The music was more accessible than bop, and had a fresh, light sound that appealed especially to college students of the time. The recordings of Baker, Mulligan, Brubeck, and the MJQ are still in demand today.

6. Hard bop.

During the late 1940s and early 1950s it seemed, from the success of the groups led by Herman, Kenton, Brubeck, Mulligan, Davis, and Lewis, that jazz would follow the "classical" road. Indeed, a later attempt to create a fusion of jazz and art music, which was called Third stream, was made by some classically trained musicians, notably Gunther Schuller, from 1957; the movement failed, but it was regarded as significant. As has always been the case in jazz, however, when the music had been forced too far in one direction, such tension had been created that a backlash was inevitable. African-Americans, particularly, felt that the music had become too "white" and lacked the earthy, African-American elements they believed were essential to jazz. They were supported in this opinion by

adherents of the civil-rights movement that had grown up during the 1950s, who insisted that the African-American subculture was not only legitimate but central to their experience, and called upon African-Americans to stop emulating Whites and devote themselves to their own folkways.

African-American jazz musicians, however, had been brought up in cities, and saw their musical roots not in the blues and work songs of the rural South but in the gospel songs of the “sanctified” church. This music was very close to the African-American folk music of the 19th century: it used plagal cadences and blue notes, handclaps to establish a ground beat, and call-and-response patterns between preacher and congregation, and it was sometimes accompanied by ecstatic confession and trances. From the mid-1950s African-American bop groups began to introduce elements from gospel music, usually reinterpreted, into their jazz: blue notes, for example, were presented as ordinary minor thirds and sevenths. They developed a hard-swinging, coarse-toned, simplified form of bop. Instrumentation was confined to piano, double bass, drums, and two wind instruments, usually trumpet and tenor saxophone. Form became standardized as a melodic chorus played in unison to open and close the piece, with a series of solos sandwiched between. This Hard bop (and its related genres, funky or Soul jazz) attracted substantial jazz audiences in the second half of the 1950s and beyond, and was commercially successful. Leaders of the movement were Art Blakey, who led his Jazz Messengers for decades, and Charles Mingus, who played more complex and wide-ranging music and is known especially for his strikingly original compositions. Blakey’s music was somewhat formulaic, but, powered by the leader’s drumming, the work of the Jazz Messengers was always forceful. Mingus, by contrast, used a variety of instrumentations. His compositions were often individual and surprising, and he used the method employed by Duke Ellington of suggesting to his players the sort of feeling he wanted conveyed. His *Pithecanthropus erectus* foreshadowed free jazz, and his *Goodbye Pork Pie Hat*, a memorial to Lester Young, is still frequently played.

A third important figure in this mode of hard-driving bop was Sonny Rollins, who started as a swing player in the style of Coleman Hawkins but quickly adopted bop. Rollins was with Miles Davis’s early group and later with the important Max Roach–Clifford Brown Quintet. However, his best-known work is the album *Saxophone Colossus* (1956), which misleadingly has been highly praised for his development of a theme in his solo on *Blue Seven*. In fact his method was rarely that of thematic development: instead, he employed the same type of episodic, formulaic, and largely non-thematic improvisation heard in Parker’s solo playing. Rollins’s calypso tune *St. Thomas* has become a jazz standard.

7. Jazz piano in the 1950s.

While the stylistic upheavals of the late 1940s and 1950s were going on, the piano again developed somewhat independently of the main currents. The boppers continued to follow the method developed by Bud Powell, but from the late 1950s the most influential pianist of the day was Bill Evans (ii). In Evans’s playing the left hand lost most of its rhythmic function and was used primarily to supply supporting harmonies; the right hand tended to employ fewer of the strings of single notes typical of the boppers, focusing instead on chords. Evans’s playing was essentially more harmonic than melodic, meditative on the whole, and less rhythmic than had been customary in jazz piano; he frequently

played in 3/4. He was able to adopt such a style because he usually worked with a rhythm section that stated the beat. Evans was also interested in modes and varied tone-colors. He influenced many later musicians, including Herbie Hancock and Chick Corea, the dominant jazz pianists of the mid-1960s to early 1970s.

8. General trends, from the late 1940s to the early 1960s.

Despite the consolidation of bop and the proliferation of styles growing out of it, what has come to be called Mainstream jazz continued to attract substantial audiences. The term “mainstream” has been variously defined, but in general it is used of the 1930s swing style tempered by bop and cool influences. Among its leading proponents were Roy Eldridge, Ben Webster, Stan Getz, Zoot Sims, and Buddy Tate and the orchestras of Ellington, Goodman, Herman, and Basie. All of these remained active into the 1970s, and some into the 1980s. The Duke Ellington Orchestra, whose reputation had suffered in the early 1950s, found its fortunes revived in 1956 after an astonishing performance of *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue* at the Newport Jazz Festival, during which the audience was transfixed by a long, fiery tenor saxophone solo by Paul Gonsalves. Although Ellington grew increasingly preoccupied with his extended compositions, especially the three Sacred Concerts, the orchestra continued to present much of the band’s music of the 1930s and 1940s. Basie’s band continued to perform successfully even after the leader’s death in 1984, playing a hard-driving, if not always imaginative, swing with bop inflections. Thus, although the innovations of the 1940s and 1950s pushed the older music from the center of attention among critics and younger fans, it continued to attract strong support from audiences.

As a whole the period from the late 1940s into the early 1960s was a good one for jazz. In earlier eras many jazz musicians had been able to make a living from music, and a few, among them Armstrong, Waller, and Goodman, had grown wealthy; but they had all done so by tempering their jazz with ordinary popular music and plain entertainment. In the 1950s a considerable number of jazz musicians lived comfortably from performing, and some became wealthy playing jazz unalloyed with commercial elements. Nor was it only the boppers who achieved such success: the Ellington and Basie bands, maintaining their swing style only slightly modified by bop, continued to be profitable despite their high costs (Ellington’s band was helped to an extent by royalties from his songs). There were dixieland clubs in most major cities, and several in New York. Brubeck, Desmond, Mulligan, and others of the cool school were in considerable demand, and the Modern Jazz Quartet and Miles Davis’s groups gained what verged on wide popularity. For the first time since the 1920s true jazz attracted a broad audience and was able to stand financially on its own feet.

As a concomitant, the music took a further step away from the entertainment business towards the status of art. It was increasingly presented in concert settings, especially on college campuses, where Brubeck’s group in particular had a large following. The Newport Jazz Festival, founded in 1954 by the impresario George Wein and his wealthy patrons the Lorillard family in imitation of classical music festivals, further promoted the idea that jazz was art and therefore to be taken seriously.

Jazz criticism, too, was becoming more sophisticated. Bibliographies, improved discographies, and more accurate histories began to appear. Especially highly regarded were Marshall Stearns's *The Story of Jazz* (1956), generally considered the best of the histories to that date, and Nat Shapiro and Nat Hentoff's *Hear me Talkin' to ya* (1955), an anthology of interviews with jazz musicians. Although most of the authors of such writing were jazz enthusiasts rather than musicologists or professional historians, the best of them attempted to meet standards of good scholarship, suggesting again that jazz was to be treated not as mere entertainment but with the serious consideration usually accorded to art.

In spite of all this activity jazz did not become in the broad sense "popular": indeed, at no point in its history has it ever been the dominant popular music in America, although at times, as in the big-band era, simplified versions of it have attracted mass audiences. Nonetheless, in the 1950s pure jazz had an audience that probably numbered millions.

9. Developments outside the USA.

The period from the 1940s to the 1960s saw a rapid increase in jazz activity outside the USA. One contributing factor was that Hitler's Germany had condemned jazz as pertaining to African-Americans and Jews and therefore non-Aryan, which predisposed other Western Europeans in its favor; attending jazz concerts became for many a patriotic act. Also, from about 1943 Europe was swept by the dixieland revival that had taken place a few years earlier in the USA. Precisely what triggered this interest in New Orleans jazz is not clear, though the American book *Jazzmen* had discussed the style in some detail, and many recordings by the American revivalists had become widely available. Perhaps most important, however, was the influence of Panassié, who was a strong supporter of early jazz.

As had been the case in the USA, traditional jazz (or trad, as it came to be called) received support from the political left, who considered it the "authentic" music of the downtrodden African-American proletariat. Only a few specialists understood the New Orleans tradition, however, and to most Europeans the music was quite new. Trad rapidly became very popular, particularly among students, and dozens of dixieland bands were formed, mostly by young amateurs. Although many of these musicians were inexperienced, the bands produced such excellent players as Humphrey Lyttelton in England and Claude Luter in France.

Europeans were to a considerable extent cut off from jazz developments in the USA during the war years, and as a consequence many were stunned by the introduction of bop in the late 1940s. Panassié in particular attacked the new music, which led to a schism in the jazz world in France and, to some extent, elsewhere. Although trad continued to remain the most popular style, bop slowly made headway, especially after concerts given in Paris by Gillespie (1948) and Parker (1949). The European bop contingent therefore remained relatively small, but by 1960 it included such players as Ronnie Scott in England, Arne Domnérus, Rolf Ericson, and Lars Gullin in Sweden, Hans Koller and Friedrich Gulda in Austria, Bobby Jaspar in Belgium, Tete Montoliu in Spain, Roger Guérin and Pierre Michelot in France, Gil Cuppini in Italy, George Gruntz in Switzerland, and Dusko Goykovich in Yugoslavia.

The increased interest in jazz, particularly in its early forms, quickened the pace of European jazz scholarship, most notably in the field of discography. In the early 1930s Charles Delaunay began listing personnels and other information concerning recordings for the benefit of local jazz enthusiasts; his research was later published as *Hot Discography* (1936, rev. and enlarged 5/1948). There followed such works as Brian Rust's *Jazz Records* (1961, rev. and enlarged 5/1983), the standard work for the period 1897 to 1942, Jørgen Grunnet Jepsen's *Jazz Records, 1942–[1969]* (1963–70), and Walter Bruyninckx's *50 Years of Recorded Jazz, 1917–1967* ([1968–?1975], rev. and enlarged 4/[2000–]). Small magazines devoted to jazz, many of them short-lived, proliferated in Europe after World War II. There was also a steady stream of books on the subject, the best and best-known being André Hodeir's *Hommes et problèmes du jazz* (1954), which was translated as *Jazz: its Evolution and Essence* (1956).

Jazz remained a phenomenon primarily of the USA and Western Europe until the 1950s. During the Cold War Stalin forbade its performance and the music went underground, not only in the USSR, but also in other eastern countries under Soviet dominance; a few groups, however, such as Oleg Lundstrem's big band (originally modeled on Ellington's orchestra), maintained a legal existence. The jazz programs broadcast by Willis Conover on Voice of America, which the Soviet authorities failed to suppress, also contributed to the growing interest in the genre in the East.

After the death of Stalin in 1953 there was a cultural thaw, and jazz was again tolerated. The bands that were formed during this period ranged in style from dixieland to bop. In Poland, Andrzej Trzaskowski founded an important early group, Melomani, in 1951, and the first Sopot Jazz Festival in 1956 marked the emergence of a strong jazz community in that country, led by Krzysztof Komeda and Jan Wróblewski. The principal figure in Czechoslovakia was Gustav Brom, who formed a versatile jazz ensemble in 1955, and among the most highly regarded players in the USSR was Gennady Golstain, a bop musician who experimented with other forms in the 1960s and 1970s.

The swing and bop styles predominated in Japan when jazz began to take hold there after World War II. The Hot Club of Japan was founded in 1946 with an initial membership of 100, and *Swing Journal* began publication in the same year. Hidehiko Matsumoto emerged as an important soloist in the first bop group in 1949, and Nobuo Hara established his big band the Sharps and Flats in 1952; Eiji Kitamura became a leading swing clarinetist in the mold of Benny Goodman, with whom he played in Tokyo in 1957. Among other visiting Americans were Oscar Pettiford (1951), Gene Krupa and Hampton Hawes (both 1952), a Jazz at the Philharmonic group and Louis Armstrong (both 1953), Jack Teagarden (1959), Art Blakey (1961, 1963), Horace Silver (1962), and George Lewis (i) (1963, 1964). By far the most important figure in Japan was Toshiko Akiyoshi, who moved to the USA in 1956 after having been discovered by Peterson.

The American influence even penetrated as far as Thailand, where the king, Bhumibol Adulyadej, participated in jam sessions with Goodman and other touring jazz musicians. A strong interest in traditional jazz developed in Australia in the 1940s; its principal exponent was Graeme Bell, who helped to inaugurate the Australian Jazz Convention in 1946. Other styles also flourished on the continent: Don Burrows was fluent in swing and bop as well as early jazz, while Jack Brokensha, Errol Buddle, and Bryce Rohde all played bop from the late 1940s.

VI. After 1960.

1. The rise of free jazz.

By 1960 the bop movement was declining. One extra-musical factor was the appetite for heroin shown by this generation of musicians and their close followers. Although jazz had always been associated with such drugs as alcohol and marijuana, the use of heroin by the musicians of the 1940s to the 1960s reached epidemic proportions. It destroyed the careers, and in some cases the lives, of important players such as Parker, Red Rodney, Fats Navarro, Chet Baker, and Wardell Gray; and it damaged the careers of Sonny Rollins, Miles Davis, John Coltrane, Stan Getz, and many others. Had such men not suffered from heroin addiction it is entirely possible that the music would have developed quite differently.

The main musical reason for the decline of bop was the failure of the boppers to develop the form. Fifteen years after Gillespie and Parker made the classic early bop recordings, players were still using the same limited instrumentation and still sandwiching strings of solos between unison themes built on the chord sequences of a standard repertory of tunes. Audiences were losing interest, and the players themselves were bored with simply “running the changes.” One response to the sameness was to build ever more complicated sets of chord substitutions, a method adopted from the mid-1950s by Coltrane, who began thickening the harmonic texture to the point where the harmony was sometimes changing on every beat. A different approach, taken by Davis and Coltrane, was to base improvisation on modal harmonies rather than chord progressions; this had the effect of reducing chordal sequences to two or three elements. Modal jazz proved successful and such harmonies became a permanent part of the jazz language. But by the late 1950s a few musicians were taking a far more dramatic way out of the chordal straitjacket of bop. As early as 1949 Tristano and his group made a recording, *Intuition*, that was harmonically quite free. It puzzled listeners and was quickly forgotten. Then in 1956 Mingus included in his work *Pithecanthropus erectus* a good deal of exceedingly free nonharmonic playing, though the music was essentially in the standard tonal system. Mingus’s experiment received much attention, but it did not inspire imitators – free jazz was to be built by younger men.

The first of these was Cecil Taylor, a classically trained pianist. Taylor, like many jazz musicians of the time, was interested in the music of Igor Stravinsky and the French impressionists, as well as in the experiments of Dave Brubeck, who was attempting to introduce devices from the same composers into jazz. He developed a highly percussive piano style, in which chords, bars, and formal structures were ignored and passages of sound were strung together, acting as patches of color rather than related parts of a whole. By the late 1950s Taylor was working with a quartet that included Steve Lacy (who had begun as a dixielander), playing in a manner that many jazz fans found incomprehensible. In 1956 he made some recordings and the following year he began, with Lacy and others, to play casually at the Five Spot, a nightclub in New York frequented by artists, writers, and others sympathetic to Taylor’s innovations. The raffish atmosphere and the strange music attracted the attention of the press: very quickly Taylor became a prominent, though highly controversial, figure in jazz, and in the summer of 1957 he was invited to play at the Newport Jazz Festival.

At the same time, in Los Angeles, Ornette Coleman (who had come to maturity playing in rhythm-and-blues bands in Texas) was developing an equally difficult music, which also ignored chords and bar-lines, and frequently employed sounds not in the equal-tempered chromatic scale. Unlike Taylor, Coleman arrived at his method by instinct rather than study and theory. He was accused by other musicians of not understanding what he was doing, and was often driven from bandstands by the boppers with whom he tried to play. However, he eventually gathered some younger musicians around him, among them Don Cherry, who began rehearsing under Coleman's tutelage. In 1958 Coleman's group was recorded by the small Contemporary label. The recording, *Something Else!!!! The Music of Ornette Coleman*, did not at first sell well (though it remained available for decades), but it gave Coleman some legitimacy and impressed a few established musicians, notably John Lewis and Gunther Schuller. With their support more recordings were issued, and in autumn 1959 Coleman's group began an engagement at the Five Spot. It caused a furor in the jazz world and attracted the attention of formidable musical figures, such as Leonard Bernstein, and inevitably that of the press as well.

The majority of jazz musicians disliked, even detested, the music of Taylor and Coleman, and many jazz critics agreed with them. However, some younger musicians, especially African-Americans, were excited by it. Again, sociological forces contributed to the interest. By the late 1950s civil rights for African-Americans had become an important national concern; African-Americans were vociferously and explicitly demanding "freedom." It occurred to young African-American jazz musicians that they should seek freedom in their playing as well – freedom from the tyranny of bar-lines, chords, and formal structures. Their main aim was to express themselves unfettered by outmoded conventions: this meant not only throwing off the shackles of the conventional rules of music, but also, because no instrument should be subordinate to another, bringing forward rhythm instruments from their traditional supporting role to a place in the front line. These ideas were pursued to some extent by Coleman in his recording *Free Jazz* (1960). While one duo of double bass and drums maintained a steady beat, providing walking bass lines and swinging ride-cymbal patterns, a second duo engaged in collective improvisation with the wind instruments; the latter either played solos of variable length and indeterminate harmonic content, or supported one another by performing wildly changing short accompanying motifs that served the same function as did riffs in the swing style.

By the mid-1960s there were a number of young players at home in the new music – by then variously called "the New Thing," "avant-garde jazz," or Free jazz – among them Archie Shepp, Albert Ayler, John Tchicai, Donald Ayler, Sunny Murray, Milford Graves, and Roswell Rudd, as well as the musicians around Coleman and Taylor. It is difficult to describe their music, since, by its nature, it was built on few musical principles that were common to all. At its most free, as on Coltrane's album *Ascension* (1965), it may appear to some listeners a cacophonous jumble of musical sounds; others, surmounting the common first impression of the piece as noise, discover an orderly progression of solos and collective passages, a variety of imaginative timbres, a loose harmonic underpinning. Other performances of free jazz are quite simple and draw largely on the more standard jazz modes of bop or even swing, as does much of Shepp's work on the album *Four for Trane* (1964). Indeed, some of Coleman's themes, such as *Peace* or *Lonely Woman*, could easily have been transformed into popular tunes. However, certain principles run through much of free jazz. One is the employment, to some extent, of shouts, cries, or simple noise – sounds that are not musical in the ordinary sense; a second is

the complete freedom of the improviser (apart from the requirement, at times, to work from a given theme or idea); and a third is the avoidance of order: if the music seems to be falling into a pattern, some means are usually found to break it.

The free-jazz movement did not find easy acceptance. Older jazz fans, who were at ease with the New Orleans style or the big bands, had had considerable trouble in coming to terms with bop, and many were not prepared to make the effort to learn yet another musical language; they tended to dismiss free jazz as the ranting of angry men. Even younger fans, accustomed to the relatively uncomplicated cool and hard-bop styles, found avant-garde jazz difficult. But the new music was not easily dismissed. It appeared to be saying something, and many musicians and critics who basically disliked it acknowledged that they had to come to terms with it.

2. The modal alternative: Davis and Coltrane.

Alongside free jazz, alternative approaches continued to be explored, among them Davis's modally based music. A landmark in the development of Modal jazz was Davis's album *Kind of Blue* (1959), to which Coltrane also contributed. This album was extremely influential with jazz musicians for two decades. Much as been made of possible relationships to classical conceptions of musical modes (e.g., a "dorian" mode borrowed from medieval music and applied to Davis's composition *So What*, or some sort of ethnic "flamenco" mode which may be evoked in a segment of the contribution made by Bill Evans (ii), *Flamenco Sketches*). However, the truly revolutionary aspect of this album is not to be found in the employment of unconventional scales, which Coltrane and to a lesser extent Cannonball Adderley and Evans were likely to ignore anyway, improvising with non-scalar pitches whenever they deemed it suitable. Instead, what mattered was the slowing of harmonic rhythm (the rate at which chords change). With the exception of Evans's harmonically complex piece *Blue in Green*, from this same album, *Kind of Blue* focuses on static or slowly changing harmony, in sharp contrast to the fast-moving progressions of bop and related styles. Because of this so-called modality, the music was quite accessible and attracted many musicians and listeners. Nor was it incidental to the success of the recording that the liner notes by Evans gave hints of how the music had been put together, so that the album as a whole acted as a kind of tutor for other musicians, even though his notes are deceptive: there were, despite his assertion, multiple takes of each title; two titles are inadvertently switched in the liner notes; and his explanation of modal jazz was, as noted, a jumble.

Davis was outspoken in his contempt for free jazz; nevertheless, in the early 1960s he continued to look for new forms and new ways to play, though he remained reluctant to alter his repertory. Later, in the mid-1960s, he began working with younger men in touch with avant-garde sensibilities, in particular Wayne Shorter and Tony Williams, and conducting avant-garde experiments of his own; these included his recordings *Sketches of Spain* (1959–60), which is hard to classify as jazz, and *Nefertiti* (1967), which in diverse cautious ways alters conventional forms and instrumental roles. Coltrane likewise responded to the challenge of free jazz. Having established himself in 1959 as perhaps the foremost saxophonist in jazz of the time with *Giant Steps*, a racing bop number built on novel and swiftly shifting chord changes, he familiarized himself not only with modal theory but also with polytonality and non-tonal scales drawn from outside jazz. He began during the 1960s to

experiment with all of these musical materials, making forays into free jazz with *Impressions* (a free improvisation on a modal background, 1961) and *Expression* (an utterly free improvisation, 1967), but achieving his greatest popular success with *My Favorite Things* (a modal jazz treatment of this popular song, 1960) and *A Love Supreme* (a suite of blues, modal jazz, and non-vocal religious recitation, 1964), both of which drew buyers from beyond the jazz market. Coltrane was impelled to play free music in part by his sporadic association with Eric Dolphy, who played a number of woodwind instruments but specialized in bass clarinet. Dolphy began as a bop musician, but increasingly worked in the free-jazz idiom; a likable personality, he was very influential with the free-jazz players of the 1960s. However, it was initially the eclectics Davis and Coltrane, rather than Taylor, Coleman, and their followers, who were the most influential in fostering the experimental spirit among younger musicians. Indeed only Armstrong and Parker had a greater impact on jazz than these two.

3. Further developments in free jazz.

Free music never became the dominant mode in jazz in the same manner as did swing and bop, but it continued to develop alongside the mainstream. In the late 1960s a second generation of free-jazz players arose, the most important of whom were drawn from a loose group called the Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians (AACM), founded by Muhal Richard Abrams in 1965. Associated with this organization at various times were Anthony Braxton, Roscoe Mitchell, Lester Bowie, and Leroy Jenkins, among others. Out of the AACM grew a number of performing ensembles, the best known of which was the Art Ensemble of Chicago.

The music of this second generation was extremely varied and therefore less relentlessly inaccessible than some of the work of Coleman, Taylor, and Shepp; at times it sounded like ordinary bop, at others it was almost completely unstructured. Much of it used principles derived from the work of John Cage and other composers: in such cases the musicians worked to an outline, perhaps with predetermined emotional connotations, which allowed the improviser much freedom; randomness was deliberately sought, and there was considerable emphasis on variety of tone-color, produced by a huge array of conventional and unconventional instruments.

Even harder to categorize is the music of Sun Ra, one of the most highly regarded figures in the jazz avant garde. Sun Ra began his career as a stride pianist, under the influence of Earl Hines, and continued to play occasionally in this style to the end of his life. But generally his music was more advanced, ranging from fairly approachable pieces in a bop style with inflections borrowed from Coltrane (in which the saxophonist John Gilmore figured prominently) to extraordinary cacophonies played by two dozen musicians on a wide variety of standard and exotic instruments and sound makers. Sun Ra’s music was supported by a simplistic mystic philosophy and was often presented theatrically, with outlandish costumes and unusual lighting effects.

Despite the fact that free jazz never took precedence over other forms, it has continued to show strength and attract followers. Furthermore, almost all the players who came into jazz after 1960 occasionally used passages of free playing in their work; by the 1970s this practice, called playing “outside” the conventional scale, chord changes, and rhythmic structure, was common in many performances.

There is some question as to whether all these forms of free music can be defined as jazz. Free jazz frequently lacks a fixed ground beat or pulse – an indispensable characteristic of earlier jazz – and such usual hallmarks of jazz as blue notes, the conventional scale, tonal harmonies, and the like; however, it utilizes such standard features of jazz as improvisation, jazz instrumentation, bent pitches, distinctive tone-colors, and polyrhythms. Sun Ra's *Saturn* and Coleman's *Lonely Woman* are certainly jazz, and the Art Ensemble of Chicago's *Ninth Room* is at least jazz-like. But it is hard to see how a definition of jazz could be formulated that would encompass Sun Ra's *Somewhere There* and Braxton's *Composition 69N*.

4. Jazz-rock.

Possibly the most important impact on jazz of the 1960s and 1970s was that produced not by the avant garde, or any jazz musician at all, but by rock musicians. The rock-and-roll of the 1950s and the rock music that followed it in the 1960s captured the devotion of millions of young fans who might otherwise have become followers of jazz. In part the fault lay with jazz itself: the music had become abstract, thick-textured, and frequently arrhythmic. Although accessible styles continued to be played (for example, by the dixielanders around Condon, swing musicians such as Goodman and Eldridge, and boppers such as Gillespie and Stitt), young people born after World War II regarded such music as old-fashioned, and they were not interested in it. With the collapse of the big bands in the late 1940s and the rise of singers such as Eddie Fisher and Perry Como, who performed smooth, romantic songs, a whole generation of adolescents was left without the simple, direct, strongly rhythmic music that modern American youth seems to need. Earlier generations had found it in ragtime, the jazzy dance music of the 1920s, and the big swing bands of the next two decades. In the 1950s young people found what they wanted outside jazz, first in African-American rhythm-and-blues, and then in the forms that evolved out of it.

As a result, the jazz audience contracted. New York, which had had as many as 20 jazz clubs open at one time, had only half a dozen in the 1960s. The recordings even of successful players such as Davis and Brubeck did not sell well. Perhaps more painful still to these and other established performers was the attention paid by the press, even such longtime supporters of jazz as the magazine *Down Beat*, to rock musicians who were growing wealthy on a music of which jazz musicians were bluntly contemptuous. By the end of the 1960s many jazz fans were in despair: some announced the death of the music, and others predicted that it was flowing into forms so disparate that it might as well be dead.

Yet it was the rock fans, among them even those who had disparaged jazz at first, who were to revive the music. By the end of the 1960s many of those involved with rock, especially those who were playing it, found it limited; they wanted something more challenging and many of them found it in jazz, to which they were drawn, in part, by Coltrane. Towards the last years of his life Coltrane came to be regarded not merely as a great musician but as something of a prophet or "guru"; he seemed to exemplify a spirit of brotherhood and love for his fellow humans which was particularly attractive to young people who had found a creed and culture in the "flower-power" movement of the period. Although Coltrane hardly had a following equal to that of the Beatles or Jefferson Airplane, he was

known to many, especially those who had bought his album *A Love Supreme*, as much for spiritual as musical reasons. Through Coltrane a considerable number of young rock musicians became interested in jazz, first in Coltrane's experiments in free form, then in the bop from which he had developed his style. Coltrane was not the only jazz figure to attract these young people (a surprisingly large number came from families that had an enthusiasm for earlier forms of jazz), but he was an important influence. Inevitably it occurred to them that some fusion of rock and jazz might be possible. Various claims have been made for the invention of Jazz-rock or "fusion": some of the earliest musicians to attempt to create a new form were Larry Coryell and Gary Burton, both in the mid-1960s.

Another route into jazz-rock was taken in the late 1960s by a few jazz musicians and groups who were looking for a way to capture part of the enormous rock audience; these include the Fourth Way, Tony Williams, John McLaughlin, and Randy and Michael Brecker in the group Dreams (which included Billy Cobham). But perhaps the most important of these was Miles Davis, who throughout the 1960s had continued to associate with young players and experiment with new forms. On *Miles Smiles* (1966) his drummer Williams introduced into jazz the practice of closing the hi-hat cymbal on every beat; this diminished a sense of swing and in its place gave a nod towards the relentless regularity of rock drumming. On *Filles de Kilimanjaro* (1968) Davis made use of loose constructions, much arrhythmic playing in the winds, and at times a heavier beat suggestive of rock; Chick Corea and Herbie Hancock played electric piano on the album. In 1969 Davis made *In a Silent Way*, which explicitly attempted a rapprochement with rock in its interpretation of Joe Zawinul's title tune. Many electronic instruments and three keyboards were used on the recording, and for the most part the music was free and formless; more significantly, it also had something approaching the rock beat. *Filles de Kilimanjaro* did not sell very well initially (it later became a classic, as did all of Davis's work from these years); similarly, *In a Silent Way* was not a great success, but it did well enough to encourage Davis to take a further step in the same direction. The album that followed, *Bitches Brew* (1969), was a true jazz-rock fusion, combining a good deal of jazz solo work with electronic instruments and a rock beat; it was an enormous commercial success for a jazz recording, and once again put Davis in the forefront of modern jazz. The group Weather Report, which had as its guiding spirits Zawinul and Wayne Shorter (both earlier collaborators with Davis), began to make headway with the fans from 1972, when it altered its orientation from collectively improvised performance to an emphasis on arrangement and a steady, heavy beat. The popularity of these musicians encouraged others to emulate them, and by the mid-1970s there existed a strong fusion movement, which included among its leaders McLaughlin, Corea, and Hancock.

As had been the case with free jazz, many musicians and fans thought that fusion could not properly be defined as jazz. Jazz enthusiasts disliked the emphasis on electronic instruments, but their chief reservation concerned the beat. Rock had evolved from rhythm-and-blues, a style performed principally by African-Americans, which had grown out of the blues and blues-related styles and incorporated some aspects of the music of African-American swing bands; its beat, and much else about it, swung in the jazz manner. However, particularly after the Beatles became the dominating influence in rock, the nature of the rock beat changed. In part this resulted from a misperception of the execution by some jazz drummers, such as Sid Catlett, of rim shots on the even-numbered beats of the bar; apparently some rock musicians took this rhythm to be the basic beat and in imitating it produced

a ground beat for rock half as fast as that of jazz. Another characteristic of the beat in rock of the 1960s was created by the tendency of rhythm sections to play strings of eighth-notes precisely in time and without differentiation, a practice totally antithetical to jazz. Either of these rhythmic attributes would have made it difficult for rock players to produce the swing essential to jazz; together they eliminated swing altogether. And if jazz-rock failed to swing in the accepted jazz sense, could it be considered jazz? It is probably most appropriate to think of jazz-rock as another of those popular musics derived from jazz, like the symphonic jazz of Whiteman and the “polite” dance music of some of the big bands, rather than as part of the main line of development of jazz itself.

5. Explorations of new forms outside the USA.

The majority of jazz musicians in the USA had initially been hostile towards avant-garde jazz, and most felt that jazz-rock was too commercial, and not really jazz at all. European fans, however, more readily accepted both, and European musicians, most notably those groups affiliated to the ECM label, were willing to combine the two genres. By the 1970s the Germans in particular believed that the center of avant-garde jazz had moved to Europe. German musicians such as Alex Schlippenbach and Albert Mangelsdorff were experimenting with a variety of nontraditional forms; the technical innovations and new sound resources employed by the English guitarist Derek Bailey were proving influential; and Steve Lacy, Cecil Taylor’s former associate, had settled in Paris and was developing a European following. From the late 1970s the French violinist Jean-Luc Ponty reached a large audience touring in the USA with his jazz-rock bands.

Although avant-garde music of various kinds received a great deal of critical attention in Europe, other forms of jazz remained strong: dixieland continued perhaps to be the most popular of these, while a number of big bands were active, notably the Clarke–Boland Big Band.

There was a different line of development in Eastern Europe in the 1970s and 1980s. Although from the late 1950s jazz had become more politically acceptable in these countries, it remained subject to changing official attitudes. In general, Eastern governments disliked the adoption of Western modes, and held that their musicians should develop their own form of jazz and draw for substance on national folk styles. A large number of players began to introduce folk elements into their work, partly in a cynical attempt to make their music acceptable to the authorities, but also from a quite genuine interest in folk songs and modes. Among the musicians who incorporated folk-based jazz in their repertories were Vyacheslav Ganelin in the USSR, Urszula Dudziak and Zbigniew Namysłowski in Poland, and György Szabados in Hungary. During the same period players in other countries also drew on folk music, notably Seppo Paakkunainen in Finland, Jan Garbarek in Norway, Bengt-Arne Wallin in Sweden, Maffy Falay in Turkey, and Gato Barbieri in Argentina.

Free jazz was of little importance in Japan, where interest in new styles was focused on jazz-rock (the expatriates Terumasa Hino and Yosuke Yamashita contributed to the European free-jazz movement, however). The leading Japanese bop musician after Akiyoshi, Sadao Watanabe, began incorporating jazz-rock in his repertory from the late 1960s; other notable players to emerge around the same time

included Ryo Kawasaki and Kazumi Watanabe. Bop also continued to flourish, and three Japanese double bass players – Isao Suzuki (1969), Mikio Masuda (1974), and Yoshio Suzuki (1976) – became members of Art Blakey's Jazz Messengers.

Despite its crucial importance as a central source of the musical and sociological elements of jazz, Africa has played only a peripheral role in the music's development. Although Arthur Briggs toured Egypt in 1937 and Bill Coleman and Herman Chittison led a band there that played in Cairo and Alexandria in 1938–40, such visits by Americans were almost unknown until the 1960s, and even then remained uncommon. Armstrong made tours with the All Stars in 1960 and 1961; Randy Weston ran a nightclub in Tangiers from 1968 to 1972 after having toured in 1961, 1963, and 1967; and Oliver Nelson took his septet in 1969. Similarly, the continent did not produce any important jazz performers until the 1960s; significantly, these all emerged from the most European of the African countries, South Africa, and were primarily free-jazz musicians, such as Abdullah Ibrahim and the group of players associated with Chris McGregor. Sun Ra visited Cairo in 1971 and 1983, when he recorded with the Egyptian conga player Salah Ragab.

The audience for jazz outside the USA continued to be relatively small throughout the 1960s and 1970s, and to some extent musicians depended on grants of various kinds from governments, radio stations, and similar organizations rather than on direct support from the public through the sale of records and admissions to concerts and nightclubs. Nonetheless, by the 1980s jazz had become a truly international music, with a variety of national styles surrounding its general traditions.

6. The resurgence of jazz in the USA.

Early in the 1970s it appeared that either jazz was dying or it was to be melded into rock via jazz-rock fusion. Neither happened; instead, jazz experienced a revival of interest. By the end of the decade there were as many jazz clubs operating as there had been in the good times of the 1920s and the 1950s; younger jazz players such as Jon Faddis and the Brecker brothers were being recorded; and older players such as Art Pepper and Dexter Gordon suddenly found themselves making American recordings and tours, Pepper after years in obscurity, and Gordon after years of comparatively low-profile work in northern Europe.

Probably several factors combined to awaken this new interest in jazz in the USA. For one, by the mid-1970s people who had been youthful jazz fans in the 1920s and 1930s had risen to positions of authority in government, educational institutions, the media, and the entertainment business, and were able to promote the music from their executive suites. A second factor was essentially political: jazz was increasingly being perceived as an "African-American" music, whether correctly or not; it was felt that African-American accomplishments ought to be publicized, and, as part of this process, jazz was given greater attention by media, granting institutions, and universities.

But undoubtedly the most powerful cause for the renewed interest in jazz was the growing strength of the jazz education movement. There had been sporadic attempts to teach jazz in formal ways dating back to the 1930s, and there was a long history of renowned African-American teachers in Los Angeles, Chicago, and elsewhere preparing their band students for a career in jazz and popular music, in

recognition of the longstanding and then insurmountable racist barriers to an African-American pursuing a symphonic career. But the real beginning of jazz education in the mainstream sense of the term was the creation in the music department at North Texas State Teacher's College (now the University of North Texas), just after the end of World War II, of a course in writing and playing for the big band, the theory being that students were likely to be making their livings playing in dance bands. In fact, the real purpose of the course was to teach jazz composition. Then, in the 1950s, the Berklee College of Music, devoted solely to jazz, began to attract attention. The Jazz education movement grew only slowly at first. However, in the 1970s college enrollments began to decline for a variety of reasons; in order to attract students, music departments began increasingly to offer courses in jazz history, theory, and practice. By the 1980s most major universities offered some type of jazz education, and by the 1990s the majority of colleges and universities, as well as many high schools, and even junior high schools, had some jazz courses.

Many of these courses were intended for music students, and emphasized jazz playing. Nonetheless, tens of thousands of other students also took jazz history or appreciation courses. Not all of these left the courses as ardent jazz fans, but some of them did, and many more developed an interest in one or another style of jazz. These jazz education programs, by themselves, created a substantial potential audience for the music.

Running parallel to the rising jazz education movement was a growing body of jazz scholarship. Jazz had always had its writers and critics, but most of them saw themselves as advocates for the music or particular musicians and forms, and often allowed their enthusiasms to triumph over careful study. Winthrop Sargeant's *Jazz, Hot & Hybrid* (1938) and André Hodeir's *Hommes et problèmes du jazz* (1954), both musicological studies, were exceptions, but they were rare. In 1968 Gunther Schuller published *Early Jazz*, the first systematic study of jazz using sophisticated techniques of musical analysis. There soon appeared a number of books attempting to use sound principles of scholarship, among them Chris Albertson's *Bessie: Empress of the Blues* (1972), Walter C. Allen's *Hendersonia: the Music of Fletcher Henderson and his Musicians: a Bio-discography* (1973), Ekkehard Jost's *Free Jazz* (1974), *Bix: Man and Legend* (1974) by Richard Sudhalter, Philip Evans, and William Dean-Myatt, James Lincoln Collier's *The Making of Jazz* (1978), Donald Marquis's *In Search of Buddy Bolden* (1978), and several books by John Chilton, including his notable *Who's Who of Jazz: Storyville to Swing Street* (1970). This spate of books became a flood through the 1980s and 1990s. The majority of these volumes, it must be admitted, were more enthusiastic than informed, but there were always among them some that were carefully researched and added to the understanding of jazz. In addition, universities increasingly through the 1980s and 1990s permitted young scholars to write dissertations on jazz. These tended to be musicological analyses of various musicians' work, but at least a few of them were historical and sociological.

Especially important to jazz scholarship was the establishing of specialist libraries and archives such as the Institute of Jazz Studies at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, and the William Ransom Hogan Jazz Archive at Tulane University in New Orleans. Both institutions house important research tools for the jazz scholar: extensive record collections, files of clippings, jazz publications, and oral history material.

Schools and colleges also began to institute courses in jazz studies; in fact such courses became so numerous that, according to *Down Beat*, in the late 1970s a quarter of a million people were studying jazz formally. The US government and state and local governments began to offer grants totaling millions of dollars to jazz musicians and students.

The new enthusiasm for jazz was also responsible for an extraordinary increase in the number of reissues of early jazz recordings. Sets of recordings of the work of older players such as Fats Waller, Bessie Smith, and Charlie Parker (in some cases the entire recorded output of a musician) poured into record stores, many of them from Europe and Japan. By 1980 the amount of historical material available was beyond the resources of most private collectors to amass. With the advent of the CD and the phasing out of the LP in the late 1980s to early 1990s, it was feared that this mass of jazz recordings would disappear. This has not happened: indeed, there is probably more of the earlier work available today in well-stocked record stores than there was twenty years ago. A great deal of the jazz scholarship being undertaken today would not be possible without the easy availability of the older music.

7. Conclusions.

To a considerable extent the strong jazz education movement has become the tail wagging the dog of jazz. A survey of jazz educators shows clearly that jazz education is focused tightly on bop and the big swing band in the 1950s mode of Basie, Herman, and Kenton. The first tendency arises from the fact that bop, with its highly developed constellation of fake books of tunes, transcriptions of improvised solos, and accompanying play-along recordings, can now serve as a viable substitute for classical music in teaching students ear-training and the rudiments of harmony and counterpoint; one can use the Parker *Omnibook* rather than Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier*, attract students who might otherwise not participate in music courses, and yet still maintain the standards of musical rigor expected in an academy. The second tendency was probably inevitable, for the jazz education movement developed expressly to produce players and composers for the big dance band of the 1950s. To be sure, there are always some jazz teachers who take a more balanced view, giving appropriate attention to other forms of the music. And it is also true that avant-garde jazz has held a place in educational institutions. But it is a rare jazz course that deals with swing more than cursorily, and most simply ignore dixieland and allied forms.

As a consequence, students come out of jazz courses believing that what has been termed "post-Coltrane bop" is the main line in jazz. In general, the national press has taken the same position, giving the bulk of its jazz space to players such as Joshua Redman, Benny Green, Roy Hargrove, and others who play in that vein. And it is certainly true that this advanced bop, mixed with some "outside" playing, is a major element in jazz at the beginning of the 21st century. It is also true that the most publicized jazz musician of this generation, Wynton Marsalis, made his name playing bop with Art Blakey and with his own groups.

But, as is the case with both Marsalis and post-Coltrane bop in general, academic and press attention has been disproportionate to what is actually listened to and played. Although there are no reliable surveys to depend on, it is probably true that swing-cum-dixieland in a number of related varieties has an audience as large as – or even larger than – neo-bop in terms of record sales, festival appearances, and club bookings. Two of the best-selling recording artists are Duke Ellington and Benny Goodman, and Louis Armstrong is not far behind. Cool players such as Baker, Mulligan, and Brubeck outsell many of the new players. Not that bop has been forgotten: Parker, Gillespie, Davis, and Coltrane are all major record sellers. But the pre-bop music, which has been called by some "classic jazz," remains very strong.

Jazz in the new century, then, is bifurcated: on the one hand there is the neo-bop school, "officially" recognized as the main line of jazz by universities, granting institutions, and the press generally; on the other hand there is classic jazz, consisting of dixieland and swing in both large and small band forms. The audience is similarly divided: enthusiasts for one school rarely pay much attention to the other. Indeed, each tends to view the other as a hostile camp.

Nonetheless, there remain other schools, or tendencies, in jazz today. For one, avant-garde or free jazz in various forms still shows strength and has a devoted audience, however small. Fusion, also in a variety of forms, remains popular, with musicians such as John Scofield continuing to draw good audiences. In a related manner, a number of jazz musicians today are drawing into their music elements, or whole pieces, in musical forms that would in the past have been considered foreign to jazz: folk, country, ethnic, and classical music. How strong this movement will prove to be in the future is a matter for conjecture, but its best-known exponent, the guitarist Bill Frisell, has attracted a good deal of attention.

The general picture, then, is that nobody has appeared in jazz since John Coltrane who has captured the attention of fans and musicians and reshaped the music in the way that Armstrong, Parker, and to a lesser extent he and Davis did: the music is looking backwards as much as it does forwards. Wynton Marsalis, who has emerged as the foremost spokesman for jazz, has been criticized for his focus on older forms at the expense of innovation, but in fact his is the view that perhaps the majority of jazz fans have taken.

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