Freedom Sounds

CIVIL RIGHTS CALL OUT TO JAZZ AND AFRICA

INGRID MONSON

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For Okolo M. Ewunike,
Sonja D. Williams,
and Solveig K. Daffinrud,
with all my heart

Contents

1 Introduction 3

2 Jim Crow, Economics, and the Politics of Musicianship 29

3 Modernism, Race, and Aesthetics 66

4 Africa, the Cold War, and the Diaspora at Home 107

5 Activism and Fund-Raising from *Freedom Now* to the Freedom Rides 152

6 Activism and Fund-Raising from Birmingham to Black Power 199

7 The Debate Within: White Backlash, the New Thing, and Economics 238

8 Aesthetic Agency, Self-Determination, and the Spiritual Quest 283

9 Coda 312

Appendix A Abbreviations and Acronyms 323

Appendix B Interviews, Archival Sources, and Recordings 325

Notes 331

Index 381

What I am arguing is that, just as harmony functioned as a bridge discourse between classical music and black vernacular musics, swing and the blues served as linking discourses between Afro-modernism and American popular music. The big difference is that the white localization of the blues and swing was not as frequently borrowed back into African American musical practice at a later point in time Rather, in response to the commercial and popular success of white jazz musicians, which was viewed by many as depriving African American musicians of a fair economic return on their creativity, many African American jazz musicians of the 1950s and 1960s seemed determined to emphasize and develop black difference rather than witness a repeat of the 1930s, when Benny Goodman was crowned the King of Swing. The racialized power differentials in the music industry, in other words, led to a dynamic that offered African American musicians a choice between emphasizing difference and earning recognition as black artists or emphasizing sameness and having the history of African American leadership in the music erased in a sea of colorblindness.

The renewed emphasis on black difference in the aesthetics of hard bop was often heard at the time as angry, militant, and masculine. In describing Lee Morgan's exceptional "badness," Rosenthal says that "what Lee possessed and Cannonball lacked, at least by comparison, was *malice.*" Furthermore, it made his colleagues "sound like a bunch of sissies beside him."[109] The assertive sound of the music combined with titles that referenced black culture, politics, and Africa—"Dat Dere," "Moanin,'" "The Sermon," "Cornbread," "Freedom Suite," "Fables of Faubus," "Wednesday Night Prayer Meeting," "Freedom Rider," "Appointment in Ghana," "Dahomey Dance," "Africa," "Black," "Tell It Like It Is"—all invited the listener to contextualize the music in relationship to African American culture, the unfolding civil rights movement, and African independence. It was not until after the Montgomery bus boycott, the independence of Ghana, and the desegregation crisis in Little Rock, after all, that the full flowering of hard bop took place. Many African American musicians, it seems, rejected the discourse of musical colorblindness and preferred instead a musical modernism that drew attention to blackness. The use of musical culture as a weapon in this larger struggle for political and cultural recognition is hardly surprising. As Sahlins has said, "the cultural self-consciousness developing among imperialism's erstwhile victims is one of the more remarkable phenomena of world history in the later twentieth century."[110]

4

Africa, the Cold War, and the Diaspora at Home

We were all aware. The black community was aware of what was going on in Africa because we were looking around for some help.

—Max Roach

THE 1960S ARE usually associated with black Americans' development of pride in their African roots, yet even a cursory examination of African American intellectual history reveals that, throughout the twentieth century, the domestic civil rights struggle was consistently viewed as intertwined with the fate of Africa and anticolonialism more broadly. For instance, W.E.B. Du Bois's lifelong interest in Pan-Africanism, which included participation in seven Pan-Africanist conferences between 1900 and 1945, as well as his eventual emigration to postindependence Ghana, put forth a Marxist analysis of racism and colonialism. Marcus Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), which riveted Harlem in the 1920s, stressed migration back to Africa, black entrepreneurship, and a spiritual vision of black global unity made manifest in the slogan "One Aim, One God, One Destiny." Malcolm X, whose rise to public prominence in the early 1960s galvanized black people across the nation, in many ways combined and updated the messages of both Du Bois and Garvey to an increasingly militant younger generation outraged by the

violence against the civil rights movement. Malcolm X also became an inspiration to the leaders of many newly independent African nations.[1]

The U.S. State Department also shared an internationalist view of the civil rights movement but with a vastly different political objective. In the early 1950s the State Department grew increasingly concerned that domestic racial relations were having a negative impact on the Cold War. More specifically, it worried that the dozens of countries on the verge of independence from Western colonial powers (most of them with non-Caucasian populations) would view racism in the United States as a strong reason to ally with the Soviet Union rather than the West. Indeed, the Soviet Union often pointed to U.S. racial policies as evidence of the hypocrisy of the United States's claim to be leader of the free world.[2]

The lives of jazz musicians intersected with these global political currents in a variety of ways that are explored in this chapter: (1) the career of Paul Robeson; (2) the State Department jazz tours, which began in 1956; (3) musical projects that were inspired by events on the African continent, the independence of Ghana in 1957, and the admission of sixteen African nations to the United Nations in 1960; and (4) the influence of African and Afro-Caribbean immigrants in the musical landscape of New York and California.

Paul Robeson

In the 1940s Paul Robeson was tremendously admired by many jazz musicians as a singer, actor, and political activist. Robeson's highly successful appearances as Shakespeare's Othello on Broadway in 1943 and 1944, for which he earned the Donaldson Award for best actor of the year and the NAACP's Spingarn medal for outstanding achievement by a black American, were followed closely by the jazz community, including Dizzy Gillespie, who attended opening night. For the first time in the United States, an African American had been cast in a major production of one of the most famous roles in the Western theatrical tradition. Paul Robeson had also been known since the 1920s as a great singer of African American spirituals and international folk music, as well as for his refusal to sing operatic and classical repertory.[3]

In the 1940s Paul Robeson connected the domestic struggle for civil rights to an anticolonialist perspective through his work with the Council on African Affairs (CAA). As Penny Von Eschen has documented, in the early and midforties the CAA sponsored many rallies and benefit concerts in New York City that drew attention to anticolonialist issues, including the annexation of Southwest Africa (now Namibia) by South Africa. Many well-known jazz musicians appeared at these events. Robeson's forty-sixth birthday celebration on April 16, 1944 (which also marked an anniversary of the CAA), included performances by Count Basie, Mary Lou Williams, and Duke Ellington. Robeson's speech at the event emphasized the need of colonial peoples for self-determination and called for international solidarity.

One of the CAA's most widely publicized events in the forties was the Big Three Unity Rally to support famine relief in South Africa. Held at Madison Square Garden on June 6, 1946, the rally drew nineteen thousand people. Mary Lou Williams appeared on a roster that included the Golden Gate Quartet, Pete Seeger, Paul Robeson, Josh White, and Sonny Terry. Later in the year Duke Ellington collaborated with John Latouche on "Beggar's Holiday," a musical theater piece performed as a benefit for the Council on African Affairs on Christmas night. When Ben Davis Jr., a Communist Party member, ran for a seat on the New York City Council in late 1943, Robeson performed a scene from *Othello* at a victory rally organized by Teddy Wilson. Among other performers participating in the all-star show were Coleman Hawkins, Billie Holiday, Pearl Primus, Hazel Scott, Mary Lou Williams, and Ella Fitzgerald. Another enthusiastic admirer of Robeson was Charlie Parker, who was known to go out of his way to hear any Robeson performance. In 1951, after Robeson's passport had been revoked by the State Department, Parker even sought Robeson out at Chicago's Pershing Hotel because he wanted to shake his hand and tell him personally, "You're a great man."[4]

In the 1930s Robeson became interested in African culture and politics while in London, where he met several future leaders of the African independence movement, including Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta, Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, and Nigerians Nnamdi Azikiwe and K. O. Mbadiwe.[5] In London he also became acquainted with Jawaharlal Nehru's sister Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, who discussed with him anticolonial efforts in India. In 1937 Robeson and Max Yergan founded the International Committee on African Affairs, which was reorganized in 1942 as the Council on African Affairs. The organization's objectives were to educate the American public about Africa and facilitate the studies of African students in the United States.[6]

In the few years between the end of World War II and the beginning of the Cold War in 1947 under President Truman, a broadly anticolonialist analysis of World War II and its implications for the domestic civil rights agenda was supported by not only leftists but also more mainstream civil rights voices, including those of then city councilman Adam Clayton Powell Jr.; Walter White, executive director of the NAACP; and Mary McLeod Bethune of the National Council of Negro Women. The popular legitimacy of an anticolonial internationalist perspective had been encouraged in 1945 by the founding of the United Nations, whose organizing conference included much debate over how colonial subjects should be represented.[7]

Within six months of the conference two major gatherings were held to discuss the rights of African colonial subjects and develop a means for representing them in the United Nations. First, W.E.B. Du Bois organized a meeting of several organizations to discuss proposals that had originated at the Pan-African Congress held in Manchester, England, in 1945, and the African Academy of Arts and Research (AAAR) held another.[8] The AAAR was headed by Kingsley Ozoumba Mbadiwe,[9] a Nigerian who had been encouraged to study in the United States by activist newspaper editor Nnamdi Azikiwe. Dizzy Gillespie met Mbadiwe in New York in the midforties and later did a benefit concert for the AAAR at the Diplomat Hotel with Max Roach, Charlie Parker, and a group of African and Cuban drummers. In his autobiography Gillespie spoke about doing several concerts for the organization: "Those concerts for the African Academy of Arts and Research turned out to be tremendous. Through that experience, Charlie Parker and I found the connections between Afro-Cuban and African music and discovered the identity of our music with theirs. Those concerts should definitely have been recorded, because we had a ball discovering our identity."[10]

By 1950 Paul Robeson's passport had been revoked for his outspoken criticism of the Korean War, and by 1951 W.E.B. Du Bois had been indicted as an unregistered foreign agent for his work against the Cold War. Both were suspected of being Communists. Liberals, who had previously allied themselves with the work of the CAA, began leaving the organization in 1948, which isolated the anticolonialist perspective on civil rights on the Left. In the war against Communism, many African American leaders saw an opportunity to press for domestic civil rights. Since the Soviet Union pointed to racism in U.S. racial policies as a reason for the colonized nations to support a Communist vision of the future, many

liberal African American leaders, including Walter White, argued that antidiscrimination measures at home were essential in the fight against Communism. This new argument—that anti-Communism and civil rights were allies—is the logic that underlay the Eisenhower administration's decision to launch the State Department's Cultural Presentations Program (CPP) in 1954.

As Von Eschen has observed, the United States emerged as a global power between 1945 and 1960 at the same time as forty countries representing a quarter of the world's population (800 million) cast off colonialism and gained their independence. The United States wanted these newly emerging nations to ally with the West, not the Soviet Union. In 1956 the State Department was persuaded that jazz was an important tool in achieving this diplomatic objective.[11]

The State Department Cultural Presentations Program

The Cultural Presentations Program (more informally known as the State Department tours) began in 1954 as the President's Special International Program for Cultural Presentations and was overseen by the Bureau of International Educational and Cultural Affairs of the Department of State. The department had been following the success of touring Soviet cultural groups at festivals and fairs in various regions of the world, especially in generating support among the young. In August 1954 President Eisenhower asked Congress to approve a President's Emergency Fund for the purpose of establishing a cultural exchange program capable of demonstrating the superiority of the cultural values of free enterprise.[12] The sum of five million dollars was appropriated, half of which was designated for cultural presentations and the other half for U.S. manufacturers to attend international trade fairs. Two years later the program was given full legislative sanction at the same funding level under the International Cultural and Trade Fairs Participation Act of 1956 (PL-806). A 1961 report evaluating the program explained that the initial impetus of the program had been competition through culture and that it had targeted two audiences—the intellectual leadership of nonaligned nations and those segments of youth showing the "greatest promise of eventual leadership"[13]

The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (CU)[14] designated the American National Theatre and Academy (ANTA) as its professional agent

for administering the program. A privately supported membership organization chartered by Congress in 1935, ANTA had already been assisting the State Department in international exchange, most recently for the Berlin festivals held in 1951, 1952, and 1953. The International Exchange Service (IES) of ANTA, headed by Robert Dowling, set up advisory panels in music, dance, and drama and charged them with evaluating and selecting performing groups for the International Exchange Program (IEP), also known as the Cultural Presentations Program. Members of the original Music Advisory Panel, who served on a volunteer basis, included composers William Schuman, Virgil Thomson, and Howard Hanson; Paul Henry Lang and Jay Harrison of the *New York Herald Tribune;* Harold Spivacke of the Library of Congress; Carleton Sprague Smith, director of the Music Division of the New York Public Library; Edwin Hughes of the National Music Council; and Al Manuti, president of Local 802 of the American Federation of Musicians.[15]

Among the groups and people that toured under the auspices of the State Department in 1954 and 1955 were the American Ballet Theater, organist E. Power Biggs, the New York Philharmonic, the Jose Limón dance group, a production of *Porgy and Bess,* and baritone William Warfield. The State Department also included sporting events in its conception of cultural exchange. During these same years the Harlem Globetrotters, the AAU track team, and the skiing team of the University of Denver were among the sports groups sent abroad.[16]

In early 1955 the Music Advisory Panel (MAP) was asked to consider Harry James as a potential performer to send abroad. Some members of the panel did not feel comfortable judging popular music and suggested that they needed a jazz expert on the panel. The ambivalence of the panel members about jazz and popular music was apparent when one of the ANTA officials attending the meeting took the position that a popular music group should never be sent abroad until a symphony orchestra had been heard first. "We are known all over the world for jazz," he remarked, "We are trying to indicate that we have other music." Harold Spivacke, on the other hand, took the position that since "the Russians have made a point of associating us with lowdown jazz, and use it as propaganda against us . . . we should say we are proud of it."[17]

By November 1955, after Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr. urged the State Department to include jazz in its cultural exchange programs, the panel stated that "there is a sudden great interest in the field of jazz." They

approached Marshall Stearns, president of the Institute of Jazz Studies at Hunter College, as a possible panel member and asked him to initiate negotiations with major artists. Although the classical music panelists included three well-known classical composers—Virgil Thomson, Howard Hanson, and William Schuman—jazz artists of an equivalent stature (such as Duke Ellington or Louis Armstrong) were apparently never considered as potential judges. At the December 20, 1955, meeting of the music panel, Stearns officially joined the group as special consultant on jazz projects for the first time and named the bands of Louis Armstrong, Dizzy Gillespie, Duke Ellington, Count Basie, and Stan Kenton as the five best groups in jazz.

After one panel member inquired whether "these Negro bands have white players too" (they did), the panel decided that the jazz projects ideally should be "mixed color groups." The panel's first choice for the inaugural State Department jazz tour was Louis Armstrong, but panel members felt that he was too expensive, and, besides, he was busy with a movie project (Murrow's *Saga of Satchmo*). Duke Ellington was the second choice, but "unfortunately he refuses to fly" (as did Count Basie). Dizzy Gillespie was next in line, earning double-edged praise from the panel that ultimately reveals the vortex of contradiction and ambivalence into which the International Exchange Program pulled jazz: "Gillespie is an intelligent comedian, cultivated, with novelty acts, and his musical material is interesting. A tour is therefore recommended for him."[18]

Eight years later, despite the extraordinary success of the jazz tours, the State Department was still delivering backhanded compliments: "Most Jazz performers have been outstanding in their willingness to take part in demonstration and clinic sessions outside of their scheduled appearances. Jazz is certainly no substitute for the great symphonies, but must be kept in its own context. Its use offers a challenge in the proper spacing and balancing of presentations in all the performing arts."[19]

Dizzy Gillespie and the Cool War

In November 1955, Adam Clayton Powell Jr. held a press conference on the steps of the House Office Building in Washington, D.C., to announce the State Department's intention to send jazz performers abroad on goodwill tours. "Instead of talking about a cold war," he quipped, "we can call it a 'cool war' from now on." Out came Dizzy Gillespie onto the steps

of the building, holding up his trumpet to add, "The weapon that we will use is the cool line," and then blew a few for the delighted CBS newsreel crew. *Down Beat* described the State Department's official support for jazz as "a Utopian dream come true." Citing the enthusiastic support of Theodore Streibert, chief of the U.S. Information Services (USIS), Powell explained that he had convinced the department that "instead of emphasizing ballet dancers and classical music, they can get real value out of spending the vast majority of the money on jazz and other Americana such as folk music, mambos, spirituals, American-Indian dances, Hawaiian music, and so forth."[20] The new openness of the State Department to the possibility of sending jazz musicians abroad may also have had something to do with the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (something they wished to advertise) and the lynching of Emmett Till in September 1955 (something whose negative impact in the international sphere they wished to counteract).

In early February 1956 the State Department officially announced that Dizzy Gillespie's band would be the first jazz group sent abroad under ANTA's International Exchange Program, although a contract was not signed until a few weeks before the first concert of the tour on March 27. The State Department had originally planned to begin the tour in Bombay, but a few weeks before the scheduled appearances, Nehru announced a firm policy of nonalignment with either the United States or the Soviet Union. The State Department canceled appearances in India and quickly made arrangements for the tour to commence in Abadan, Iran. Gillespie's first tour proved so successful that the State Department asked him to do a second one to Latin America later that summer (see table 4.1).

At this point in the program the department apparently scheduled tour dates as something of a reward for cooperative countries. As Gillespie recalled, "Our tour was limited to countries which had treaties with the United States or where you had U.S. military bases: Persia [Iran], Lebanon, Syria, Pakistan, Turkey, and Greece. We didn't go to any of the countries the U.S. didn't have some sort of 'security' agreement with."[21]

Gillespie, who had been performing mostly in small groups, saw the State Department invitation as an opportunity to work with a big band without the ordinary financial risks involved with booking a large ensemble. Since he was about to head for Europe with Jazz at the Philharmonic, he asked Quincy Jones to put the band together while he was away. As Gillespie put it, the band fitted the program's preference for mixed

TABLE 4.1. Itineraries of Dizzy Gillespie's two State Department tours in 1956

First Tour, Mar.–May 1956		*Second Tour, July–Aug. 1956*	
Mar. 27–30	Abadan, Iran	July 25	Quito, Ecuador
Apr. 2–5	Dacca, Pakistan	July 26–27	Guayaquil, Ecuador
Apr. 7–11	Karachi, Pakistan	July 28–Aug. 4	Buenos Aires, Argentina
Apr. 14–17	Beirut, Lebanon	Aug. 5	Montevideo, Uruguay
Apr. 18	Damascus, Syria	Aug. 6–12	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
Apr. 19	Aleppo, Syria	Aug. 13–15	Sao Paulo, Brazil
Apr. 23–25	Ankara, Turkey	Aug. 16–18	Belo Horizonte, Brazil
Apr. 27–May 5	Istanbul, Turkey	Aug. 19	Santos, Brazil
May 7–8	Belgrade, Yugoslavia	Aug. 20–21	Sao Paulo, Brazil
May 9–10	Belgrade, Yugoslavia	**Tour total**	49 performances
May 12–21	Athens, Greece		
Tour total	54 performances		

"Dizzy Gillespie Itinerary, Near and Middle East," CU subseries 1, box 9, folder 11, "Performance Records G–P," 1956.

ensembles: "We had a complete 'American' assortment of blacks, whites, males, females, Jews, and Gentiles in the band." The band included, among others, Melba Liston, Ernie Wilkins, Quincy Jones, Phil Woods, Walter Davis Jr., Charlie Persip, and Frank Rehak.[22]

With Quincy Jones in charge of preparatory rehearsals, a program was developed that presented a concise musical history of jazz. Quincy Jones, Melba Liston, and Ernie Wilkins were responsible for the arranging and contributed original charts as well, including Liston's "Annie's Dance" (based on a theme by Grieg) and "My Reverie" and Quincy Jones's "Q's Tune." The first half of the concert began with Dizzy Gillespie on bongo drums and Charlie Persip on drum set demonstrating African rhythms. Herb Lance followed, singing several spirituals such as "Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child" and "Joshua Fit the Battle of Jericho." These were followed by an old-time blues and a small group playing "When the Saints Go Marching In" in New Orleans style. Dizzy and the full band continued with a series of arrangements illustrating the development of the big band and summarizing jazz trumpet styles. Among the compositions they played were Duke Ellington's "Mood Indigo," Benny Goodman's "King Porter Stomp" (arr. Fletcher Henderson), Jimmie Lunceford's "For Dancers Only," Roy Eldridge's "Rockin' Chair," and Count Basie's "One O'Clock Jump," which were scored from the original recordings. To illustrate how bebop musicians wrote new compositions over the chord

changes of existing standards, Gillespie simultaneously played "Groovin' High" and "Whispering."

The second half of the concert included more contemporary arrangements of "Stella by Starlight" (arr. Melba Liston), "Cool Breeze," and "A Night in Tunisia." Herb Lance sang "Lucky Old Sun" and "Seems Like She Just Don't Care," and Dottie Saulters's repertory included "Birth of the Blues," "Make Love to Me," "Gabriel," "All God's Children," and "Born to Be Blue." Gillespie also featured a small group doing bebop numbers such as "Shoo Be Doo Be," "Sunny Side of the Street," and "Begin the Beguine." Charlie Persip was featured on an arrangement of "The Champ." Marshall Stearns, who had advocated for Gillespie on the Music Advisory Panel, accompanied the band on the tour as a lecturer on jazz history and an all-around band boy.[23]

Quincy Jones remembers an official from ANTA as "arrogant and condescending": "He came to rehearsal and stood in front of the band in a preppy wool suit and bow tie, and gave us advice in a flat, patronizing voice, saying, 'I have nothing to tell you except that when you're abroad, you're representing our country. So please indulge in your various idiosyncrasies discreetly.' . . . This kind of talk got our jaws tight. We were good and pissed off, but like the black soldiers in World War II, we kept on keepin' on."[24]

The opening concert on March 27 was at the Taj Theatre in Abadan, Iran, where Dizzy Gillespie and his All-Stars performed before Princess Shahnaz Pahlavi, daughter of the Shah of Iran. Most of the predominantly Muslim audience had had no previous exposure to jazz and were more disconcerted by the mixed-gender composition of the band than its mixed ethnic membership. Melba Liston on trombone and Dottie Saulters on vocals performed with men in clothing considered immodest by Muslim standards. As the band played its history of jazz section, the audience was extremely quiet, seemingly apathetic and puzzled. But then, according to a reporter from the *Pittsburgh Courier*, a "miracle" took place. The audience started to "catch the beat," awkwardly at first, and by intermission "the theater was as hot as any American jazz spot." On subsequent concerts in Abadan, the education process proceeded more quickly, as fans from previous concerts returned and led the way in participation.[25]

The first night in Dacca (now Dhaka, Bangladesh), according to Marshall Stearns, was a "colossal flop" as the band played to a small audience in a city with no jukeboxes and very few radios. Gillespie, who was disconcerted to have mentioned Louis Armstrong during the concert and received absolutely no response, commented later, "When you call Louis's name and nobody answers, you know you're in trouble." By the third or fourth concert word had spread (with the help of the USIS), and the band was playing to packed halls.[26]

In Karachi, Pakistan, Dizzy played with a snake charmer, a terrific photo opportunity that provided several widely circulated photos of Gillespie's bell in the face of an upright cobra while a fifteen-foot-long python lay across his shoulders. When the cobra suddenly hissed and attacked the horn, Gillespie remembers doing a "world record backward broad jump" away from the snake. Although the cobra was defanged, Gillespie was "almost scared bopless," as a *Courier* reporter put it, especially when he found out the following day that many supposedly defanged snakes were not. This led to a popular jazz community legend that Dizzy was so bad he could even charm a cobra.[27]

Throughout the tour Gillespie and his band participated in jam sessions with local musicians and befriended people outside the elite audiences that the State Department intended them to impress. The desire of many band members to make contact with people outside embassy circles at times caused tension between the State Department and the musicians. In Ankara, the band arrived at the Turkish American Club, where an outdoor jam session had been arranged for which only well-heeled people seemed to have tickets. Gillespie noticed a group of young "ragamuffins" peering in through the outside wall and is reported to have said, "Man, we're here to play for all the people," a remark overheard by a USIS official. When asked why he had not yet joined the jam (which had already begun), Gillespie explained that he was not going to play until the young people had been let in. The ambassador hemmed and hawed but finally agreed to Dizzy's demand.[28]

Quincy Jones recalls that the elites at embassy events often ignored the musicians and that the conditions that musicians endured while traveling were part of Gillespie's protest: three months of "110 degree heat, crappy food, swarming with flies, no showers, no baths, dysentery, constant traveling, and this was the thank-you we got."[29]

Gillespie and his band members also enjoyed meeting local musicians. In Ankara Gillespie met Muvaffak Falay, a Turkish trumpet player who

had listened to jazz recordings but had never heard a live American musician. Gillespie was so touched by Falay's enthusiastic response to him that he had the State Department get a cigarette case engraved with the words "In Token of the Brotherhood of Jazz" and presented it to him the following night during the concert. At times Gillespie sought out local musicians, including a single-stringed violin player in Dacca (Dhaka) and a sarangi player in Karachi. In Turkey, Quincy Jones met Arif Mardin, who later achieved fame with his musical arrangements for Aretha Franklin.[30]

One of the more powerful things experienced by the musicians who went on the State Department tours was the feeling that they were extending the reach of jazz to the whole world. Stearns expressed a common sentiment when he stated after watching a Karachi crowd get into the groove, "There's something universal here." Although the jazz musicians knew very well that they were being used to serve U.S. interests in the Cold War (this was part of their briefing from the State Department), they took pride in their power to reach overseas audiences in a way that classical music could not and pursued their own visions of cultural ambassadorship. Jazz, in their view, offered an alternative, more democratic vision of American society, and the musicians enjoyed enacting a sense of solidarity and diasporic interconnection with people outside the European orbit. They did not view their participation in the program as an aspect of Western cultural imperialism but as an alternative to it.

The musicians considered it a great honor to have been selected by the State Department, and representing the United States was something they felt they could do without compromising their integrity. As Dizzy Gillespie recalled, "I sort've liked the idea of representing America, but I wasn't going over to apologize for the racist policies of America. . . . I know what they've done to us, and I'm not gonna make any excuses." Gillespie's personal desire for the tour was to bring people together through music, and this goal worked well for the State Department, which was delighted with his band's willingness to meet with people, engage in jam sessions with local musicians, hand out free tickets, give away instruments to promising local musicians, and even buy clothes for young fans who sat outside the door of theaters every night to listen but could not afford a ticket. "Yeah, I was very honored to have been chosen as the first jazz musician to represent the United States on a cultural mission,

and I had a good time." The tour was so successful—way beyond State Department expectations—that they immediately signed him up to do another one, this time to South America, which took place from July 25 to August 21, 1956.[31]

Everywhere the band went the musicians were asked many questions about racism in the United States. The Montgomery bus boycott, which throughout 1956 was widely covered by the international press, was taking place during both tours. Many audiences were impressed that Gillespie not only had an interracial band but also was the leader. "That was strange to them because they'd heard about blacks being lynched and burned, and here I come with half whites and blacks and a girl playing in the band. And everybody seemed to be getting along fine." Trombonist Melba Liston encountered numerous questions from women in the Middle East about "how in the world I could be running around there traveling and single when they were so subjected over there." Her appearance with the band evidently inspired "a bunch of the sisters over there to demand a little more appreciation for their innate abilities."[32]

Gillespie ultimately spoke frankly about U.S. racial problems but took his own success as a sign of racial progress: "We have our problems but we're still working on it. I'm the leader of this band, and those white guys are working for me. That's a helluva thing." This sentiment could not have more perfectly fit the State Department's objective of presenting African American success as a counterweight to negative Soviet publicity on racial relations in the United States. A more critical voice, however, was that of W.E.B. Du Bois, who said, "Some of our best scholars and civil servants have been bribed by the State Department to testify abroad and especially in Africa to the success of capitalism in making the Negro free. Yet it was British capitalism which made the African slave trade the greatest commercial venture in the world; and it was American slavery that raised capitalism to its domination in the 19th century."[33]

One irony of Gillespie's success as a U.S. cultural ambassador is the fact that he was once a card-carrying member of the Communist Party—not out of political conviction, he explained, but because in the late thirties he played many racially mixed "communist dances" and other events with bassist Cass Carr in New York while awaiting permission to join Local 802 of the AFM. After much proselytization, he said "I signed one of those cards; [but] I never went to a meeting." Nevertheless, had the State

Department realized that Dizzy had ever belonged to Communist Party USA or realized the extent of his sympathies for Paul Robeson, they likely would not have sent him abroad.[34]

Finances

Although the State Department was gratified by the success of the Gillespie tours, Southern segregationists and more conservative cold warriors found much to criticize. One letter to the editor of the *Savannah Georgia News* saw in the jazz tours evidence of Communist infiltration of the State Department. Along with the appointment of what the writer claimed were "unqualified" African Americans to policy-making positions in the State Department,[35] the fact that the Gillespie band was paid $2,150 per week (more than President Eisenhower's salary of $2,000 a week, the writer claimed) was viewed as pandering to black Americans at taxpayers' expense, something the Reds must have planned. Since criticism of the government for overpaying performers was common to those voicing criticism of the tours, the finances of the tours deserve some examination.[36]

On its tour through the Middle East the Gillespie band was actually paid $1,950 per week, a sum that was distributed among twenty-one persons, including administrative personnel, plus a $15 dollar per diem per person (an average of $197 per person per week). Anticipating a net loss on the concerts, the International Exchange Program agreed to pay transportation ($30,000) and the difference between income earned by concerts and expenses up to a maximum of $62,000 for the approximately nine week tour.[37] Congress consequently appropriated $92,000 for the tour in March 1956. The band agreed in principle to perform a maximum of fourteen performances per week, although they actually played about six performances per week on their first tour. The band also agreed, "by reason of the room scarcity in the countries," to be housed two to a room. Concerts were booked with the help of ANTA, the State Department, and Shaw Artists Corporation, Gillespie's booking agent. Government funding protected against financial loss up to a specified maximum figure (in the case of Gillespie's first tour, $62,000). The contracts had provisions for curtailing tours should it be discovered during a tour that losses were greater than expected.[38]

Gillespie's Latin American tour was paid $2,500 per week for a group of twenty (an average of $125 per week [$235 with per diem]). The department scheduled nearly the maximum number of engagements per week on this tour since the band performed forty-nine engagements in a four-week period (approximately twelve performances per week). The State Department's salary budget appeared to be based on simple union scale (a minimum wage) despite the fact that they were asking the top bands in the country to perform. Bandleaders who had been approached by the State Department about tours in 1955 and 1956, including Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, and Count Basie, told the *Pittsburgh Courier* that they could not afford to play for what the government was offering and that "as musical ambassadors they expect more than scale." The department was, in some cases, offering up to $1,000 per week less than what these bandleaders were earning in the private sector. In Louis Armstrong's case the difference was even larger. On commercially booked gigs in 1956 Armstrong's earnings averaged $5,000 per night. Armstrong had offered to do the State Department tour for $1,500 a night guaranteed, but the government found this figure too high despite the fact that it was playing classical musicians at higher rates than this.[39]

The Gillespie tours were actually quite a bargain for the State Department since later tours offered far better terms. It apparently took some time for the government to appreciate the value of jazz as a diplomatic commodity and adjust its payment schedule accordingly. Wilbur De Paris, who led an eleven-week tour to Africa from March 4 to May 17, 1957, was paid $2,000 per week, plus a $15 per diem for an eight-person ensemble (an average of $355 per week). A four-week tour of Poland and Yugoslavia in April 1957 paid the nineteen-person Glenn Miller Orchestra $10,000 a week (an average of $526 per person per week), a figure that apparently included per diem payments.[40]

Figures from Herbie Mann's tour in 1960 and Louis Armstrong's tour to Africa in 1960 and 1961 provide some idea of the way fees were distributed in professional ensembles. Herbie Mann's fourteen-week tour across the African continent was budgeted at $4,600 per week. Of this, Mann earned $1,200 per week, vibist and arranger Johnny Rae $350, bassist Don Payne $275, trumpeter Doc Cheatham $300, trombonist Willie Dennis $300, conguero Patato Valdez $325, and bongoist José Mangual $325. Seventy-three percent of the weekly gross ($3,400), in other

TABLE 4.2. A comparison of selected State Department tour budgets

Performer	*Dates*	*Destinations*	*Number of Performers and Administrative Personnel*	*Maximum Number of Performances per Week*	*Budget per Week*
Dizzy Gillespie	Mar. 27–May 21, 1956	Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, Syria, Yugoslavia, Greece	21	14	$1,950 plus per diem
Dizzy Gillespie	July 25–Aug. 21, 1956	Ecuador, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil	20	14	$2,500 plus per diem
Wilbur De Paris	Mar. 4–May 17, 1957	Sudan, Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia, Congo, Kenya, Tanganyika, Libya, Ethiopia, Tunisia, Morocco	8		$2,000 plus per diem
Glenn Miller Orchestra	Apr. 1–24, 1957	Yugoslavia, Poland	19	10	$10,000
Dave Brubeck	Mar. 6–May 9, 1958	Poland, Turkey, India, Ceylon, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq	6	9	$4,000
Herbie Mann	Dec. 31, 1959–Apr. 5, 1960	Sierra Leone, Liberia, Nigeria, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Tanganyika, Kenya, Ethiopia, Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia	10	8	$4,600
Louis Armstrong (cosponsored by Pepsi)	Oct. 25–Dec. 4, 1960; Jan. 10–29, 1961	Cameroun, Congo, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, Rhodesia, Togo, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Mali, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Sudan, Egypt	12	6	$10,000
Benny Goodman	May 30–July 9, 1962	Soviet Union	24	6	$10,000

"Projects Completed and Approved for Assistance, from beginning July 1954 through June 1965, FY 1955, through FY 1966," CU subseries 1, box 2, folder 9, "Cultural Presentations Program, Projects Completed and Approved for Assistance, 1954–1966."

words, was paid out in salaries. Administrative and miscellaneous expenses, including a company manager, an accountant, uniform upkeep, insurance, a personal manager, and payroll taxes, made up the remainder. Louis Armstrong's tour to Africa from October 24, 1960, to December 1960 and January 19–29, 1961, was budgeted at $10,000 per week for seven performers and five administrative personnel, forty-eight percent of which was budgeted for performers' salaries: Armstrong (including expenses for his wife) $2,000 per week, Barney Bigard $560, pianist Billy Kyle $420, Trummy Young $550, drummer Danny Barcelona $420, bassist Mort Herbert $420, and vocalist Velma Middleton $420. Armstrong's entourage included a valet; his doctor, Alexander Schiff; a band boy; and a personal manager. Later tours not only paid more but also required fewer performances per week. Table 4.2 summarizes these figures.[41]

To place these figures in perspective, remember that classical musicians were generally paid higher salaries by the State Department. Rudolf Serkin earned $3,000 per concert for the four concerts he performed in India from November 25 to November 29, 1956. Violinist Joseph Fuchs earned $700 per concert, plus $250 per week, during a tour of Central and South America from May 24 to July 7, 1957; Marian Anderson was paid $1,100 per concert during her tour of Norway and Germany from September 19 to October 23, 1956; and William Warfield earned $2,500 a week on a tour of the Middle and Far East from January 6 to March 13, 1958.[42]

Demographics and African Destinations

Between 1956 and 1969 the State Department sponsored twenty-eight tours featuring jazz groups and R&B groups (table 4.3). Sixteen tours were led by African American bandleaders (57%), but since several musicians undertook more than one tour, eleven African American bandleaders were sponsored. Twelve tours were led by white musicians (42%), but since three musicians undertook two tours apiece, seven bandleaders were supported. The chosen ones were Dizzy Gillespie, Wilbur De Paris, Louis Armstrong, Cozy Cole, Duke Ellington, Earl Hines, Randy Weston, Charles Lloyd, Oliver Nelson, Junior Wells, Buddy Guy, Benny Goodman, Dave Brubeck, Woody Herman, Jack Teagarden, Red Nichols, Charlie Byrd, and Paul Winter. The stylistic spread of the bands ranged from New Orleans jazz to bebop, with the notable absence of four of the

TABLE 4.3. Department of State Cultural Presentations Program, jazz tours completed, 1956–1969

Date	*Performing Group*	*Destinations*
1956 Mar. 27–May 21	Dizzy Gillespie	Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia, United Arab Republic
1956 July 26–Aug. 21	Dizzy Gillespie	Ecuador, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil
1956 Dec. 6–Jan. 17, 1957	Benny Goodman	Thailand, Singapore, Burma, Japan, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Cambodia
1957 Mar. 4–May 17	Wilbur De Paris	Africa: Sudan, Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia, Congo, Central African Republic, Kenya, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Libya, Tunisia
1958 Mar. 6–May 9	Dave Brubeck	Poland, Turkey, India, Ceylon, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq
1958 Aug. 10–31	Woody Herman	Panama, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, Brazil, Jamaica, Honduras, Guatemala
1958 Sept. 26–Jan. 21, 1959	Jack Teagarden	Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, Singapore, Malay, Philippines, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea, Japan, Okinawa
1959 Dec. 31–Apr. 5, 1960	Herbie Mann	Africa: Sierra Leone, Liberia, Nigeria, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Tanzania, Kenya, Ethiopia, Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia
1960 Jan. 4–Mar. 30	Red Nichols	Greece, Turkey, Cypress, Palestine, Jordan, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Nepal, UAR, Syria
1960 Oct. 25–Dec. 4	Louis Armstrong	Africa: Cameroun, Congo, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Togo, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Mali, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Sudan
1961 Jan. 10–29	Louis Armstrong	Egypt
1961 Mar. 12–May 27	Charlie Byrd	Venezuela, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras
1962 Feb. 6–July 13	Paul Winter	Haiti, Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, French West Indies, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Chile, Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil, British Guiana, Venezuela
1962 May 30–July 9	Benny Goodman	USSR

TABLE 4.3. (*continued*)

Date	*Performing Group*	*Destinations*
1962 May 31–June 4	Louis Armstrong	Chile
1962 Oct. 15–Mar. 7, 1963	Cozy Cole	Africa: Morocco, Senegal, Volta, Niger, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Congo, Chad, Central African Republic, Cameroun, Ghana, Togo, Guinea
1963 Sept. 6–Nov. 22	Duke Ellington	Near East, South Asia, Syria, Jordan, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Turkey, Ceylon, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, India
1965 Sept. 5–24	Paul Winter Sextet	Brazil
1966 Mar. 31–Apr. 9	Duke Ellington	Africa: Senegal
1966 Apr. 1–June 8	Woody Herman	Africa: Tanzania, Uganda, Congo, Ivory Coast, Algeria; Yugoslavia, UAR, Romania
1966 July 7–Aug. 17	Earl Hines	USSR
1967 Jan. 16–Apr. 9	Randy Weston	Africa: Algeria, Cameroun, Gabon, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Morocco, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Upper Volta; Lebanon, Egypt
1967 Oct. 12–22	Charles Lloyd	Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania
1967 Nov. 13–Jan. 20, 1968	Junior Wells	Africa: Dahomey, Cambodia, Togo, Central African Republic, Chad, Mali, Niger, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Senegal
1968 Apr. 1–May 26	Charlie Byrd	Korea, Japan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Ceylon, Philippines
1968 Apr. 29–June 23	Charles Lloyd	Okinawa, Hong Kong, Thailand, Laos, Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines, Taiwan
1969 Mar.–Apr.	Oliver Nelson	Africa: Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Niger, Upper Volta, Senegal
1969 Apr. 24–June 14	Buddy Guy	Africa: Congo, Tanzania, Malagasy Republic, Mauritius, Zambia, Malawi, Kenya, Uganda

Compiled from "Tours Completed from Beginning of Program in 1954 through June 1968 (FY1955–1968)," CU subseries 1, general and historical files, box 3, folder 10, "Cultural Presentations, Lists of Groups, 1954–1968"; "Projects Completed and Approved for Assistance from Beginning July 1954 through June 1962: FY 1955 through FY 1963," CU subseries 1, general and historical files, box 1, folder 39, "GTIC, Cultural Presentations, 1962–1965," 1–21; "Randy Weston Sextet, Itinerary," CU series 2, performing arts subseries 1, performers, box 31, folder 23, "Weston, Randy (American Jazz in Africa) (1 of 4)," n.d.; "Wilbur De Paris, Final Itinerary," aerogramme, Nov. 25, 1966; CU subseries 1, general and historical files, box 9, folder 10, "Performance Records A–F," 1957; "Herbie Mann Jazz Band" (itinerary), CU subseries 1, general and historical files, box 9, folder 11, "Performance Records G–P," 1960.

most talked-about musicians of the day: Miles Davis, John Coltrane, Charles Mingus, and Thelonius Monk.

The Music Advisory Panel certainly discussed these musicians, as well as many others, but its choices reflected the program's desire for musicians who would "present well" at diplomatic events and had name recognition among embassy officials around the world, whose musical tastes were generally formed before bebop.[43] For a time, performers and their groups were given letter grades evaluating their suitability as "Jazz ambassadors."[44] In December 1959, the panel, whose jazz experts included Marshall Stearns and John Wilson, gave Max Roach a C and in April 1960 gave Miles Davis a dual grade—A minus for his music but a C for "personal behavior."[45]

The absence of African American members on the Music Advisory Panel was well known in the jazz world. In 1963 jazz critic Don DeMichael wrote to Lucius Battle, the executive secretary of the Cultural Presentations Program to nominate Duke Ellington, Coleman Hawkins, or Ralph Ellison to a vacant seat on the panel. It was not until 1967, however, that an African American—Julius Willis, a folk music expert—was appointed to the music panel. Gunther Schuller joined the group as a combined jazz and classical music specialist that same year.[46]

The African continent was an especially important destination for African American bands sponsored by the State Department. Eight of the ten tours with African destinations were led by black bandleaders (table 4.4). Particularly notable are Wilbur De Paris's tour in 1957, which began with Ghana's independence celebrations, Louis Armstrong's visit to the Congo shortly after its independence (and just before Patrice Lumumba's disappearance and assassination), Duke Ellington's presence at Leopold Senghor's First World Festival of Negro Arts, held in Dakar in April 1966, and Randy Weston's exceptional tour of the continent in 1967. The symbolic value of African American musicians in counteracting the United States' well-deserved reputation for racism was particularly strong for U.S. embassies in Africa. That this strategy was apparently effective is clear in the following report from the U.S. Embassy in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May 1957, which describes the effect of Wilbur De Paris's visit:

> One Ethiopian Body Guard officer . . . expressed surprise, while talking with a member of the band, to learn that the musician had just purchased a new home and that he owned his own automobile.

TABLE 4.4. State Department tours to Africa, 1956–1969

Date	*Performing Group*	*Destinations*
1957 Mar. 4–May 17	Wilbur De Paris	Africa: Sudan, Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia, Congo, Central African Republic, Kenya, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Libya, Tunisia
1959 Dec. 31–Apr 5, 1960	Herbie Mann	Africa: Sierra Leone, Liberia, Nigeria, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Tanzania, Kenya, Ethiopia, Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia
1960 Oct. 25–Dec. 4	Louis Armstrong	Africa: Cameroun, Congo, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Togo, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Mali, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Sudan
1962 Oct. 15–Mar. 7, 1963	Cozy Cole	Africa: Morocco, Senegal, Volta, Niger, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Congo, Chad, Central African Republic, Cameroun, Ghana, Togo, Guinea
1966 Mar. 31–Apr. 9	Duke Ellington	Africa: Senegal
1966 Apr. 1–June 8	Woody Herman	Africa: Tanzania, Uganda, Congo, Ivory Coast, Algeria; Yugoslavia, UAR, Romania
1967 Jan. 16–Apr. 9	Randy Weston	Africa: Algeria, Cameroun, Gabon, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Morocco, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Upper Volta; Lebanon, Egypt
1967 Nov. 13–Jan. 20, 1968	Junior Wells	Africa: Dahomey, Cambodia, Togo, Central African Republic, Chad, Mali, Niger, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Senegal
1969 Mar.–Apr.	Oliver Nelson	Africa: Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Niger, Upper Volta, Senegal
1969 Apr. 24–June 14	Buddy Guy	Africa: Congo, Tanzania, Malagasy Republic, Mauritius, Zambia, Malawi, Kenya, Uganda

Compiled from "Tours Completed from Beginning of Program in 1954 through June 1968 (FY1955–FY1968)," CU subseries 1, general and historical files, box 3, folder 10, "Cultural Presentations, Lists of Groups, 1954–1968"; "Projects Completed and Approved for Assistance from Beginning July 1954 through June 1962: FY 1955 through FY 1963," CU subseries 1, general and historical files, box 1, folder 39, "GTIC, Cultural Presentations, 1962–1965," 1–21; "Randy Weston Sextet, Itinerary," CU series 2, performing arts subseries 1, performers, box 31, folder 23, "Weston, Randy (American Jazz in Africa) (1 of 4)," n.d.; "Wilbur De Paris, Final Itinerary," CU subseries 1, general and historical files, box 9, folder 10, "Performance Records A–F," 1957; "Herbie Mann Jazz Band," (itinerary), CU subseries 1, general and historical files, box 9, folder 11, "Performance Records G–P," 1960.

He later told an Embassy staff member that while he had read of American Negroes having such material possessions, he had doubted this was true. He told the staff member that he had now revised his opinion of the status of Negroes in the United States. He said he would not have believed these facts had not the American Negro told him himself. . . . The general aura of goodwill generated by this visit of an American Negro musical group was extensive, and the spirit of cooperation engendered by the visit has enabled the Embassy and USIS to establish new and valuable contacts."[47]

Nevertheless, the State Department tours had both intended and unintended consequences, as musicians asserted their goals for the tours and confronted the attitudes of State Department personnel. Randy Weston's report to the State Department on the strengths and weaknesses of his 1967 tour, for example, included many recommendations for improving the effectiveness of the trips and exposed the racial attitudes of the State Department escort officer who accompanied the group in its travels:

> That kind of attitude (and we noticed it in a few of the local U.S. personnel, too) inhibits goodwill between the peoples of any given country and the United States and tends to weaken the good impact of a tour. These negative attitudes were very upsetting to us, whenever we encountered them (either in our own escort or in local U.S. personnel), and made our job—and *theirs*—more difficult than it should have been. It is a shame that the United States ever sends people with what we (and many Africans) consider to be "colonial" mentalities any place overseas, for they make a very bad impression on nearly everyone who meets them.[48]

Louis Armstrong in Ghana

While Dizzy Gillespie was touring the Middle East for the State Department, Louis Armstrong and his All-Stars were being filmed in Africa for *See It Now*, a television program produced by Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly. The television material was later expanded into a documentary film titled *Satchmo the Great*.[49] In the film, which features footage of Armstrong on tour in Switzerland, France, England, and Ghana, Murrow describes Armstrong as an "ambassador with a horn," which serves to underscore the fact that, long before the State Department tours, Armstrong had already established himself as "Ambassador Satch." When Armstrong arrived in Accra, Ghana, in May 1956, he was greeted at the airport by a crowd of ten thousand, including a band playing a highlife piece in his honor called "All for You, Louis." Louis descended to the tarmac, trumpet in hand, and walked over to join the overjoyed band. He and his wife Lucille were later whisked away to lunch with Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah, who within a year would become independent Ghana's first president.

After lunch, Armstrong played an outdoor concert at Accra's largest park to an audience estimated at nearly one hundred thousand.[50] The film footage shows an enthusiastic and dancing crowd as far as the eye can see. At an evening concert Armstrong dedicated Fats Waller's [What did I do to be so] "Black and Blue" to Prime Minister Nkrumah, who was so moved by Armstrong's tribute that he is captured teary eyed on film. Nkrumah had become a fan of Armstrong when he was a student at Lincoln University near Philadelphia in the late 1930s.

The following day seventy tribal chiefs and their drummers and dancers performed for Armstrong at Achimota College in Accra. Seated outside underneath umbrellas to protect him from the sun, Armstrong listened to a wide selection of traditional music from Ghana's many ethnic groups. The delegation of chiefs presented him with a specially designed talking drum to commemorate his visit to Ghana, and Armstrong later remarked that "every time I listened to these cats beat it out on them tribal drums I kept saying to myself, 'Satch, you're hearing the real stuff.' " An Ewe woman dancing before him reminded him strongly of his mother, Mary Ann. "She danced and sang like my mother, and when I went over to talk to her she even held her head like Mama used to hold hers and before long I was calling her 'Mama.' " Armstrong, it seems, experienced a newfound sense of membership in an African diaspora. "After all, my ancestors came from here, and I still have African blood in me." Only a few years earlier, he had ridiculed a Babs Gonzalez record for "trying to take everybody to Africa."[51]

Armstrong's visit to Ghana came at a crucial time for Nkrumah's Convention People's Party (CPP), which faced an election in July that would determine whether it would be the party to govern the Gold Coast

during the transition to independence. The CPP favored a centralized state under the leadership of Nkrumah, while the National Liberation Movement (NLM) favored a federal system that would ensure representation of Ghana's principal regions and ethnic groups. The CPP offered a vision of national unity that downplayed ethnic differences and autonomous political structures, while the NLM was widely perceived as an Ashanti-dominated movement. Although the NLM charged the CPP with corruption and dictatorial tendencies (charges that would later be borne out), the CPP's message of a modern national unity, which de-emphasized tribal differences and would later embrace a vision of pan-African unity, ultimately carried the election.[52]

Armstrong's appearance before the tribal chiefs at Achimota College may have been designed to demonstrate the CPP's support of traditional culture, thereby undermining the NLM's criticisms of Nkrumah, while at the same time presenting Armstrong as the embodiment of a black modernity to which the CPP aspired. While American commentators found in jazz's international success evidence of a universal musical language, African audiences across the continent seemed to view black American jazz musicians as sophisticated examples of African progress. If going to Africa provided Armstrong a feeling of authentic connection to his ethnic roots, jazz gave many African audiences a sense of the possibilities of an urban modernity. It did not matter to the Ghanaians that Armstrong's repertory and style were considered outdated by younger American musicians; to the audiences in Accra, he was a modern king.

After the Convention People's Party victory in the election of July 17, 1956,[53] Ghana's formal independence from the British Empire was set for March 6, 1957, a development widely heralded as portending the total dismantling of the colonial system in sub-Saharan Africa. The State Department was keenly aware of Ghana's impending independence, as well as the success of the Armstrong visit the previous May. By December 1956 word had reached the Music Advisory Panel of ANTA that the State Department wanted to select a suitable jazz group to attend the independence ceremonies in Accra. Having ruled out paying a fee acceptable to Armstrong, the panel considered Billy Taylor with percussionist Cándido Camero, Wilbur De Paris (who had a less expensive New Orleans combo), and pianist Erroll Garner. Since funds were not available for a trip to Accra alone, they booked Wilbur De Paris for the independence ceremonies, plus a two-and-a-half-month tour of the African continent (March 4–May 17)

that included well-attended stops in Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia, the Belgian Congo (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo), Kenya, Senegal, Ethiopia, the Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, and Morocco. The itinerary overlapped, in part, the destinations of Vice President Richard Nixon's diplomatic tour of Africa, which included Ghana's independence ceremonies, as well as Morocco, Liberia, Uganda, Ethiopia, Sudan, Libya, Italy, and Tunisia.[54]

The choice of De Paris, in retrospect, seems peculiar since neither his appearance at Ghana's independence ceremonies nor the African tour received anywhere near the level of publicity given Dizzy Gillespie's tours in 1956, despite the political importance the State Department placed on Africa. In Ghana, De Paris was overshadowed by the lingering effects of Armstrong's visit in May. Although "Ambassador Satch" was personally invited to the festivities, he was unable to attend due to other performing commitments. Instead, Lucille Armstrong attended in his place and brought along a copy of *Satchmo the Great.* The film was screened before an audience that included President Kwame Nkrumah, Vice President Richard Nixon, and the Duchess of Kent. Although everyone enjoyed the film, the audience evidently chanted "we want Satchmo." When Nkrumah confided in Mrs. Armstrong that he was worried about the scheduled dance with the Duchess of Kent (since he did not know any Western ballroom dances), she came to the rescue by teaching him the waltz and the foxtrot. Lucille Armstrong's activities were widely mentioned in the African American press, but Wilbur De Paris received hardly a word.[55]

Other public figures who attended the independence ceremonies were Reverend Martin Luther King Jr.; Ralph Bunche, undersecretary general of the United Nations; Congressmen Adam Clayton Powell Jr.; and Charles Diggs. The U.S. government wanted to communicate to African audiences that Americans supported African independence—but perhaps not too loudly. President Eisenhower was notably absent from the festivities. As with John F. Kennedy's call to Coretta Scott King while Martin Luther King Jr. was in jail (and Robert F. Kennedy's subsequent call to a Georgia judge) during the 1960 presidential campaign, the government apparently hoped that coverage would be minimal in white newspapers but maximal in the black press.[56]

Ghana's independence was in fact widely celebrated in African American newspapers, many of which sent correspondents to Accra. Among them were Alex Rivera, Marguerite Cartwright, and J. A. Rogers of

the *Pittsburgh Courier* and Ethel Payne of the *Chicago Defender*. To commemorate the event, the *Courier* published a thirty-two-page special supplement that included feature stories about Ghana's history, personal profiles of Nkrumah, and many ads and editorials congratulating Ghana on its triumph. Ghana's independence was taken not only as a harbinger of the demise of colonialism on the African continent but also as a beacon of hope and challenge to the American civil rights movement.[57] In the minds of many African American commentators, the success of Ghana could "prove," once and for all, the worthiness of people of color:

> But the significance to American Negroes is more than the extension of a greeting or a hand of welcome. This is because the ancient empire of Ghana was the land of the forefathers of most American Negroes. Traced through the centuries, the majority of American Negroes are Ghanaians whose cultural roots have been destroyed, a new people who have lost touch with their original culture and civilization and have failed of full acceptance in the new society where they find themselves. Are American Negroes an inferior people? Can they meet the full challenge of modern, Western civilization? We American Negroes look to Ghana to furnish the answers to these questions.[58]

The acceptance of the notion that Africans and African Americans needed to "prove" their equality was stated even more explicitly later in the *Courier* editorial: "When we, American Negroes, shake hands with Ghana today, we say not only 'Welcome!' but also, 'your opportunity to prove yourself is our opportunity to prove ourselves.' "[59]

J. A. Rogers, whose illustrated "Your History" columns had been acquainting the *Courier*'s readers with African American history for quite some time, observed that Accra, Ghana's capital, compared "most favorably with any U.S. metropolis of comparable size" with its "splendid railroad depot," "busy wharves," "fine motels," movie theaters, and eight daily newspapers printed on modern presses. The big difference was that in Ghana this infrastructure was run by Africans. Rogers's tone, like that of the *Courier* editorial, responded to the American presumption of African backwardness by explicitly asserting Ghana's competitiveness in modern ways. At Achimota College, he stressed, "courses are the same as those given in leading American and European universities."[60]

The week before Ghana's independence celebrations, Louis Armstrong found himself lambasted in the *Pittsburgh Courier* for playing to segregated audiences, much as Nat King Cole had been in 1956. George Pitts felt that "it's about time high-salaried Negro entertainers started doing something about being forced to play before segregated audiences in the South." Calling for a contract clause that would void any booking before a segregated audience (similar to the one suggested by Norman Granz and Paul Robeson), Pitts quoted a statement by Armstrong that smoothed over the problem of segregated halls: "Man, the horn don't know anything about it. I'll play anywhere they'll listen." Pitts found statements like these "sickening."[61]

Two weeks after Pitts's criticism, another article appeared in the *Courier* denouncing several entertainers for appearing before segregated audiences. "Stay Out of Dixie!" William Nunn exclaimed, singling out Louis Armstrong, Nat Cole, and Duke Ellington in particular. The public shaming of Armstrong in the black press in the months before Little Rock may partially explain why he chose to speak out publicly for the first time during the Central High desegregation crisis.[62]

In July 1957 *Variety* reported that a State Department tour to the Soviet Union was in the works for Armstrong for the following spring. When Armstrong sounded off in September, accusing Eisenhower of allowing Governor Orval Faubus to run the country, he explained his decision to back out of the State Department tour: "The people over there ask me what's wrong with my country. What am I supposed to say?" The State Department was conspicuously quiet, evidently wanting to leave the door open for Armstrong's eventual participation in the Cultural Presentations Program. Here, after all, was proof that the domestic racial situation did indeed have a negative impact on U.S. foreign policy objectives. In 1956 and 1957, it seems, the domestic and international political issues combined to link the African continent, the State Department, Little Rock, and jazz as the music found itself of considerable symbolic value to a variety of constituencies.[63]

Art Blakey's Diaspora

As Norman Weinstein has documented, references to the African continent can be found in musical works throughout the history of jazz, from

Eubie Blake's "Sounds of Africa" (1899), Clarence Williams's "Senegalese Stomp" (1926), Duke Ellington's "Liberian Suite" (1947), and John Coltrane's "Africa Brass" (1961) to Randy Weston's "Khepera" (1998).[64] Indeed there are far too many recordings on African themes between 1950 and 1967 to do justice to the repertory here. Instead I would like to follow some of Art Blakey's and Randy Weston's major projects referencing Africa from 1953 to 1962 for what they reveal about the interconnectedness of African musical projects in jazz with both historical events on the African continent and Afro-Caribbean musics and musicians at home. For, although African musicians such as Babatunde Olatunji from Nigeria and Asadata Dafora from Sierre Leone played an important role in making jazz musicians aware of the richness of African musics, the most famous African projects of the 1950s and early 1960s were often realized through the participation of top-flight Afro-Caribbean musicians.

Art Blakey's "Message from Kenya," for example, is a duet with percussionist Sabu Martinez, a young American-born conga player whose primary inspiration was Chano Pozo (the Cuban dancer and percussionist whose collaboration with Dizzy Gillespie on "Cubana Be Cubana Bop" and "Manteca" inaugurated the Cubop movement).[65] When Pozo was killed in 1948, Martinez was asked to take his place in Dizzy Gillespie's band. Martinez collaborated with Art Blakey on several of his most famous African and diasporic projects, including *Orgy in Rhythm* (1957), "Cu-Bop!" (1957), *Drum Suite* (1957), and *Holiday for Skins* (1958).[66] The most striking thing about "Message from Kenya" is that, although the title references the African continent, Martinez's conga playing and chanting invoke Changó and Yemoja, two of Santería's (Lucumí's) Orishas.[67] Martinez sets the pace on conga, and, throughout his opening solo, Blakey seems determined to make his tom toms sound like a set of low-pitched congas. The one part of the drum set he never touches throughout the four-minute performance is the snare drum.

The Afro-Cuban connection is also apparent in Blakey's drumming on the remainder of the *Horace Silver Trio* album, on which "A Message from Kenya" appears. Blakey's solo on "Safari" (1:55–2:09), for example, opens with a congalike pattern played on the toms (figure 4.1).[68] This gesture is followed by some inspired pitch-bending that transfers the elbow-on-the-drum technique of conga players to the drum set.[69]

Why was the message from Kenya and not Cuba? It is hard to say for sure, but, throughout much of 1953, coverage of the Mau Mau uprisings in

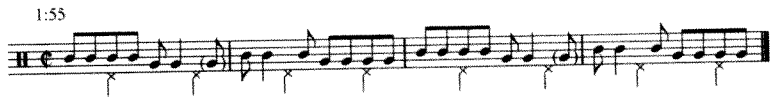

FIGURE 4.1. Art Blakey, "Safari," tom-tom pattern, transcribed by I. Monson. Used by permission. Music by Horace Silver, copyright by Ecaroh Music.

Kenya frequently appeared in the news. The Mau Mau, whose principal base of support was the Kikuyu people, emerged in the wake of unsuccessful attempts to secure land reform from the British colonial government. In 1952, in response to desperate economic conditions in the countryside, the Mau Mau (or Kenya Land and Freedom movement) sought to reclaim expropriated territory by driving whites off the land through lethal violence and sabotage. The British used the movement to discredit the broader independence movement, most notably Jomo Kenyatta, who was imprisoned by the British from 1952 to 1959 on the false charge of masterminding the Mau Mau. Blakey's was not the only reference to Kenya; in 1958 Machito and his Afro-Cubans recorded an album titled *Kenya,* which featured several jazz soloists, including Julian "Cannonball" Adderley, Doc Cheatham, Joe Newman, and Eddie Bert. The liner notes draw a parallel between Kenya and Machito's musical explorations: "For just as Kenya stands for the new Africa, it represents here in this collection of sides the newest in Afro-Cuban jazz."[70]

Three and a half weeks before Ghana's independence celebrations (in March 1957) Art Blakey recorded an album titled *Ritual* for Blue Note Records. In a verbal introduction to the title track, he recounted his trip to the African continent:

> In 1947 after the Eckstine Band broke up we took a trip to Africa. I was supposed to stay there three months and I stayed two years, because I wanted to live among the people and find out just how they lived, and about the drums especially. We were in the interior of Nigeria. And I met some people they call the Ijaw people who are very, very interesting people. They live sort of primitive. The drum is the most important instrument there. Anything that happens that day that is good, they play about it that night. This particular thing caught my ear for the different rhythms."[71]

The most remarkable thing about these comments is Blakey's explicit admission that one of the reasons he went to Africa was to learn "about the drums especially." In later years Blakey went to great lengths to deny that music was a motivating factor for his travel to Africa or that he had ever touched a drum while on the continent. In one of the most detailed accounts of his African sojourn Blakey told two French interviewers in 1963, "For two years, I immersed myself solely in philosophers, religion, and Hebrew and Arab languages. I do not remember having played an instrument even one time during this entire period."[72]

Later, Blakey's denials became even more emphatic: "I didn't go to Africa to study drums—somebody wrote that—I went to Africa because there wasn't anything else for me to do. I couldn't get any gigs, and I had to work my way over on a boat. I went over there to study religion and philosophy. I didn't bother with the drums, I wasn't after that. I went over there to see what I could do about religion."[73]

Yet, in 1957, on the eve of Ghana's independence Art Blakey chose to let the world know that he had been to Africa even though he neglected to mention that he had actually spent most of his time in Ghana, not Nigeria. Blakey could not have been in Africa for two full years since his recording history places him in the United States in March and October of 1948.[74] Given Blakey's many contradictory and enigmatic statements about his experiences in Africa, it is hard to fully accept the programmatic description of *Ritual* he provides. When asked why Blakey verbally denied Africa, Randy Weston emphasized that Art was a legendary storyteller whose words were less important than what he played. "Art was the one," Weston emphasized, who inspired Weston's own musical explorations of African music in the 1950s.[75]

For the title track, "Ritual," recorded on February 11, 1957, Blakey reconfigured the band into a pseudo-Afro-Cuban rhythm section with Jackie McLean, Spanky DeBrest, Sam Dockery, and Bill Hardman on lead cowbell, supporting cowbell, maracas, and claves rather than their usual alto sax, bass, piano and trumpet, respectively. Like West African master drummers, who lead from the lowest-pitched instrument, Blakey once again emphasizes the low-pitched tom toms in his solo. The evocation of Cuba in this piece is entirely atmospheric since the valiant efforts of the band members as percussionists are certainly not up to the standards of Afro-Cuban percussion. A little more than a week later Blakey recorded an album for CBS called *Drum Suite,* which included Sabu Martinez on bongo and Cuban conguero Cándido Camero.[76] It included three heavily Cuban pieces titled "The Sacrifice," "Cubano Chant," and "Oscalypso."[77]

For *Orgy in Rhythm,* which was recorded the day after Ghana's independence ceremonies (March 7, 1957), Sabu Martinez organized a full Afro-Cuban rhythm section. In addition to Sabu, the percussionists included Carlos "Patato" Valdés (spelled "Potato Valdez" on the album cover), José Valiente, Ubaldo Nieto, and Evilio Quintero. Patato Valdés had immigrated to New York from Cuba in the early 1950s, and he became especially known for his work in the bands of Machito and Tito Puente. Nieto had also worked with Machito and appeared on Dizzy Gillespie's 1954 recording *Afro.*[78]

Orgy in Rhythm also included four drum set players—Blakey, Art Taylor, Jo Jones, and "Specs" Wright. Both Jones and Wright also played timpani on the album, which features extended drum solos over Afro-Cuban vamps and the haunting flute work of Herbie Mann. Later, under State Department sponsorship, Mann would play with Machito's band and tour Africa with an ensemble that included Machito veterans Patato Valdés and José Mangual.

The atmosphere of the album is folkloric, as musical projects such as these were often described, and there were many of them in the 1950s, including most famously Tito Puente's *Puente in Percussion* (1955) and *Top Percussion* (1957). "Toffi" features Art Blakey singing an African-style chant in call and response with a chorus, as well as extended solos on piano, flute, and percussion, all over a repeating bass ostinato in six that is paired with a 6/8 (12/8) Afro-Cuban clave pattern that is usually associated with sacred repertory. This is the so-called long bell version of the pattern (figure 4.2) It is notated here in 12/8.[79] The Afro-Cuban percussion section affords the jazz drummers a chance to take extended solos against an interactive accompaniment rather than solo alone, as is more usual in jazz bands.

"Buhaina Chant" begins with timpani and flute paired in an out-of-time introduction that is followed by a solo voice that leads into the up-tempo percussion descarga (as improvised jam sessions are called in Latin

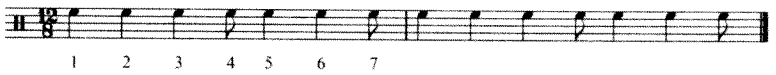

FIGURE 4.2. Long-bell pattern, from Art Blakey's "Toffi," transcribed by I. Monson. Used by permission of EMI.

music). The musical plan of the introduction is quite similar to the exotic opening of Pérez Prado's *Voodoo Suite* (1954), with its rumbling timpani and chanted vocal. Although the title *Orgy in Rhythm* delivers on the stereotyped associations of drums, Africa, and sexuality, Blue Note's cover art was quite tame (a photo of Blakey seated at the drum set), especially in comparison to the scantily clad black female dancer on the cover of Prado's *Voodoo Suite.*

The Latin percussion section on *Holiday for Skins* (1958), also organized by Sabu Martinez, featured a very young Ray Baretto, Chonguito Vicente, Victor Gonzalez, Julio Martinez, and Andy Delannoy. Baretto had joined Tito Puente's band in 1957, and Vicente was a mainstay of the Tito Rodríguez band. Like *Orgy in Rhythm, Holiday for Skins* allowed a group of drum set players (Blakey, Philly Joe Jones, and Jo Jones) to solo over bass and percussion accompaniment.

The religious flavor of Santería (Lucumí) is especially in evidence on "Dinga," a piece that includes a chanted invocation to Elegua, the Yoruba Orisha of the crossroads. Elegua is always the first Orisha to be saluted in the *oro del igbodu,* a series of musical rhythms to honor the Orishas. The flowing, rhythmic feel established by the percussion section at the opening is called *bembé,* also the name of the central public ceremony in Santería in which it is typically used. Its full texture is built up entrance by entrance. A bass line enters first, setting up the expectation of a 3/4 or 6/8 meter (figure 4.3, entrance 1), similar to what occurs in "Toffi."[80]

When the first cowbell enters, it establishes a two-against-three feel against the bass (entrance 2). After this pattern stabilizes, the second cowbell player enters with the short-bell version of the Afro-Cuban 6/8 clave pattern (entrance 3). Soon a two-pitch conga rhythm enters (alternating an open and a slapped tone), which subdivides the two sides of the two-against-three feel (entrance 4). A second conga rhythm enters (entrance 5) a few moments later and subdivides the three sides of the cross-rhythm. The chant to Elegua enters over this composite texture. "Dinga" echoes Sabu Martinez's "Simba," which was recorded in April 1957 (especially in its chant to Elegua), as well as Tito Puente's venerated album, *Top Percussion,* recorded in July 1957. Three of the eleven percussion pieces on the album ("Eleguara," "Bragada," and "Obarisco") use the same rhythmic feel as "Dinga" except that there is no bass part. All also invoke the Orishas.[81]

Blakey's rejection of these recordings has obscured their significance in jazz history. Blakey claimed that the musicians' egos and competitiveness

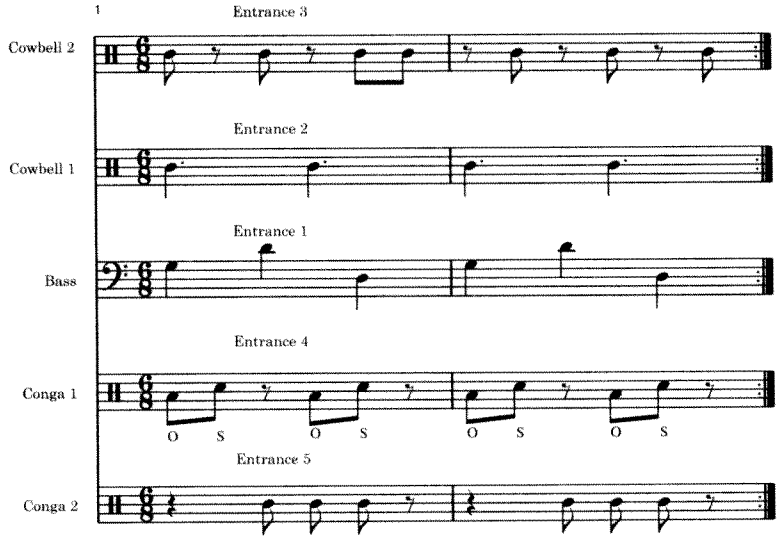

FIGURE 4.3. Art Blakey, "Dinga," percussion entrances, transcribed by I. Monson. Used by permission of EMI.

got in the way of achieving the musical experience he was seeking: "On my record date I called all these drummers. You would tell one, 'Take a solo here and we will play background.' Well, the first drummer would take a solo and it would be so damn long the next guy would have no chance to play. He'd be trying to show the other drummers how much he knew. But put us all together and we knew nothin.' It was a novelty at the time, but it just didn't happen."[82]

Critics were also ambivalent about these recordings. Dom Cerulli, writing for *Down Beat,* gave *Orgy in Rhythm* three and a half stars, finding "the effect . . . more that of a travelog sound track than of a jazz session." He found the album halfway between "religious and/or tribal music" and jazz and argued that the latter selections were the most valid. Don Gold, on the other hand, praised *Ritual* highly. In his opinion, the album featured "Blakey firing more intercontinental missiles than the Russians dreamed existed." He nevertheless drew upon common Western images of Africa at the time: "It's all quite fascinating, in its savagery."

In addition, *Metronome*'s reviewer Jack Maher, continuing on the trope of African savagery, found volume two of *Orgy in Rhythm* to be "less bloody than his [Blakey's] first." Maher thought that drummers would be

particularly interested in the record. In what would become a common inference later on, he heard hostility in the African sound: "The main reservation we have about this album is wild and frightening hostility Blakey and Taylor show as they seem intent upon beating heads in and the rumble filled background." *Holiday for Skins* was given two and half stars by *Down Beat*'s reviewer, who found it a "scant offering indeed" and asked "how many Africanesque chants can one stand?" He noted somewhat sarcastically that fans of drum solos would nevertheless probably find it the "apotheosis of everything." None of the reviewers mentioned African independence as a context for Blakey's recordings, but these predominantly white writers were not likely to have been avid readers of the *Pittsburgh Courier, Chicago Defender,* or *New York Amsterdam News,* which throughout the 1950s covered news from the African continent and publicized the visits of Haile Selassie, William V. S. Tubman, and Kwame Nkrumah to the United States in 1954 and 1958.[83]

Africa at Home

The participation of veterans of the Machito, Tito Puente, and Tito Rodríguez bands in projects such as Art Blakey's *Orgy in Rhythm* and *Holiday for Skins* remind us that the musical landscape of the 1950s was defined not simply by West Coast jazz, hard bop, rock and roll, and rhythm and blues but also by the mambo craze. The Palladium at Fifty-third and Broadway was the most famous venue where Latino, African American, and white audiences mingled, but both the Apollo Theater and the Savoy Ballroom also held regular mambo nights in the 1950s. Calypso also had its place on the listening menus of mainstream and African American audiences long before the calypso craze of 1956, which was set off by Harry Belafonte's album *Calypso.*[84]

The invisibility of the Spanish- and English-speaking Caribbean in the cultural history of American popular music is partly due to the fact that the dominant racial ideology required assigning people of Caribbean descent to one side or the other of the black/white color line.[85] Since Caribbean people range from white to brown to black, the cultural distinctiveness of the various ethnic groups (Cuban, Puerto Rican, Trinidadian, Jamaican, Haitian) was often rendered invisible to a broader American audience. Although Afro-Cuban musicians could sometimes argue that they were "Spanish" and not "black" and be successful at receiving service in Southern Jim Crow restaurants, the more visible the African ancestry, the more likely the American public would view the person as black.

Yet, an interest in Latin rhythms was not confined to African American jazz musicians. Both Stan Kenton and George Shearing, two prominent white musicians, were also caught up in the mambo craze of the 1950s. Kenton even recorded a tribute to Machito in 1947 and went with his arranger, Pete Rugulo, to seek musical advice on Cuban music from Mario Bauzá and René Hernández. Kenton's use of Latin music seems divorced from any interest in the African diasporic political implications of the type that interested Art Blakey and Randy Weston, but he did hire prominent Caribbean musicians of color as did Shearing. Kenton's musical practice infused Latin rhythms into a big band sound with symphonic aspirations.[86] George Shearing's band of the 1950s included Afro-Cuban percussionist Armando Peraza, as well as bassist Al McKibbon, an African American who became heavily involved in Afro-Cuban music after working with Chano Pozo in Dizzy Gillespie's band. Shearing's small group efforts on pieces such as "Call Mambo," "Afro No. IV," and "Estampa Cabana" (all from 1958) illustrate how thoroughly he had studied secular dance rhythms of Cuban music, including montuno patterns.[87]

Musically what distinguishes the self-consciously Africanist aspirations of Art Blakey's projects is the use of the 6/8 clave feels of Afro-Cuban sacred music. Although Blakey also used the secular dance rhythms of the mambo in his Jazz Messenger recordings of, for example, "Split Kick" and "Night in Tunisia," the cultural valence of *Orgy in Rhythm* and *Holiday for Skins* emphasizes the sacred rhythms of Santería and their cultural continuities with African "tribal" rhythms, as they were often described in the 1950s. The 6/8 clave bell pattern in Cuba, after all, is identical (except for the convention of its notation) to the 12/8 bell pattern found in several West African cultures, including the Ewe and the Yoruba.[88]

Blakey was not alone in making this musical linkage. At least three other major projects that made the connection between freedom in Africa and African America also used the 6/8 (12/8) clave bell pattern of Afro-Cuban sacred music (or a close variation) and included both African and Caribbean musicians: Max Roach's *We Insist! Freedom Now Suite* (1960), Randy Weston's *Uhuru Afrika* (1960), and Art Blakey's *African Beat* (1962). Among the Caribbean musicians not previously mentioned were

Ray Mantilla, Cándido Camero, Armando Peraza, and Montego Joe; among the African musicians were Babatunde Olatunji and Solomon Ilori.

The linkages among Africa, the Caribbean, and African America were not merely symbolic but, as Randy Weston and Max Roach have argued, also part of a larger black community in New York that included Spanish- and English-speaking people from the Caribbean living side by side with African Americans, especially in Harlem and Brooklyn. Randy Weston recalls how his own family embodied this meeting of the Caribbean, Africa, and African America.

> See, my dad's people came from Jamaica, Panama, and Costa Rica, and my mother's family is from Virginia. So I grew up in Brooklyn, New York. I was the first generation of New Yorkers, and I had the opportunity to savor and enjoy my mother's cooking and my father's cooking—different types of music. [There were] differences of accent, but I kept seeing the relationship between the two. And they were truly African people, just from different parts of the planet. But my father, he was a great lover of Marcus Garvey. And as a boy he told me when I was quite small, he said, "My son," he says, "you are an African born in America." And he said that "your people are a global people, and before you can really know yourself, you have to know the history of Africa. You have to know African civilization, before Africa was invaded.[89]

Max Roach, who grew up with Weston, also recalled Brooklyn as a place where the legacy of Marcus Garvey was strong. Garvey's interest in Africa, global black unity, and economic self-determination were among the things that inspired Roach's interest in Africa in these years: "Well, that all came about from Marcus Garvey, you know. Marcus Garvey was in the black community—and still is—one of the major heroes, even though he went to jail and all that kind of stuff. He really was very revolutionary."[90]

Garvey, who was born and raised in Jamaica, lived in London from 1912 to 1914, where he met many Africans interested Pan-Africanism and the struggle against colonialism. In 1914 he returned to Jamaica and formed the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), which he moved to Harlem in 1916. During the 1920s his spellbinding oratory, mass meetings, parades, and his newspaper (*Negro World*) earned him the respect and support of tens of thousands of black New Yorkers of African

American and West Indian descent, among them Duke Ellington's trombonist, Tricky Sam Nanton. Garvey's legacy is especially important for understanding the long history of linking spiritual, political, and Africanist interests in African American culture and its impact on the jazz world of the 1960s.[91]

Weston remembers Brooklyn as a vibrant community that prided itself on a strong musical cosmopolitanism:

> You know our parents, they were so advanced. I was just talking to Jackie McLean about that. Our parents were so incredible every day. I think . . . not only about my own mother and father, but that generation. Why? Because they listened only to the best music, and they listened to all kinds of music. So growing up we heard jazz, blues, calypso, Latin, European classical music, you name it, we'd have a variety of music. My dad would take me to the Apollo theater to hear Andy Kirk's band with Mary Lou Williams at the piano, or Duke Ellington. And at that time, people were not as put in boxes like today. Like, "I only like this kind of music." They always had the best music. So I was very fortunate to be able to grow up in Brooklyn, New York.[92]

Weston's father, Frank Edward Weston, owned a restaurant in Brooklyn that served as a meeting place for all kinds of music, people, and ideas. Weston worked there as he was building his career in the 1950s and fondly remembers his father cooking for ten or more musicians after hours and challenging them to justify whatever they were doing musically, spiritually, and politically.

A similarly vibrant account of musical life in Brooklyn is found in Bilal Abdurahman's *In the Key of Time*, a memoir of Bedford Stuyvesant from the 1940s to the 1960s. Abdurahman describes weekly jam sessions at the Putnam Central Club (near the intersection of Putnam and Classon avenues) that included musicians like Cecil Payne, Max Roach, Wilbur Ware, Ahmad Abdul Malik, Alex Korah, Randy Weston, and Wynton Kelly.[93] Charles Mingus participated in the running of these sessions in the summer of 1953, which led to the recording of an ensemble featuring the four trombones of J. J. Johnson, Kai Winding, Bennie Green, and Willie Dennis live at Putnam Central for Debut Records in 1953.[94] Abdurahman remembers several other Brooklyn clubs as offering a mixture of live and

recorded music (on jukeboxes) that spanned the stylistic range of calypso, jazz, blues, and R&B, including the Elks Ballroom, Crawford's Ballroom, the Tip Top, and the Verona Cafe.[95]

In 1958 Abdurahman opened the African Quarter, a restaurant located near the intersection of Fulton Street and Stuyvesant Avenue in Brooklyn, which served African food, offered the sounds of jazz and "East African Music," and was visited by several African dignitaries, whose presence in New York increased as newly independent nations joined the UN. In the early 1960s Abdurahman played darbukka in some of the "East meets West" musical events organized by bassist and oud player Ahmed Abdul Malik, which also included Montego Joe on conga and bongo.[96]

Another event along these lines was titled "Oriental and Jazz" and featured Abdul-Malik, Richard Williams, and Bilal Abdurahman (figure 4.4). In the early 1960s concerts organized around the theme of Africa were held in Harlem as well, such as the African Bag concert in 1963 (featuring Ray Bryant's Quintet) (figure 4.5). Some of the culturally themed events

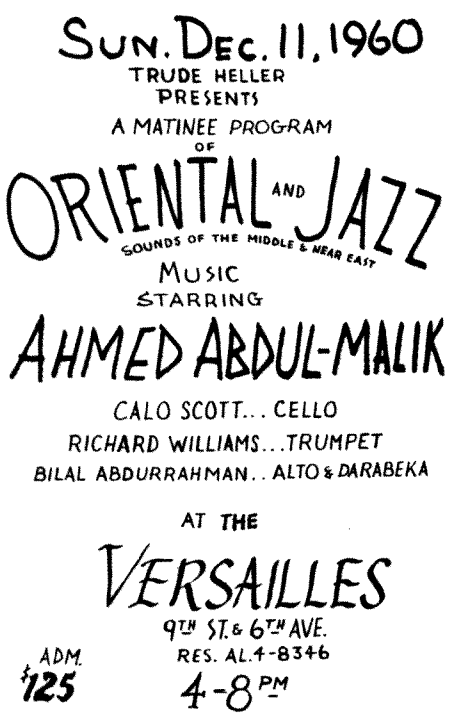

FIGURE 4.4. "Oriental and Jazz." Rutgers Institute of Jazz Studies, Topics files: handbills, New York jazz clubs. Courtesy of Rutgers Institute of Jazz Studies.

FIGURE 4.5. "African Bag." Rutgers Institute of Jazz Studies, Topics files: handbills, New York jazz clubs. Courtesy of Rutgers Institute of Jazz Studies.

made particular appeals to women, as did the "Fashions Set to Music" event held at the District 65 hall of the United Auto Workers on Astor Place. The clothes for this event were designed by Mildred Weston, and "original music to highlight the fashions" was provided by Randy Weston and Nadi Qamar (figure 4.6). The African Bag concert offered "Free Egyptian Perfume for the Ladies."

The linking of Africa and Asia was a prominent theme in the diasporic sensibilities of the late 1950s and 1960s, which was fostered in part by Islam and in part by an anticolonialist perspective that connected the fates of black, brown, and yellow people from around the world. In 1955 several African, Middle Eastern, and Asian nations who wished to remain neutral with respect to the Cold War organized an Afro-Asian conference, which was held in Bandung, Indonesia. Many African Americans were interested in this meeting of Africa and Asia, and Adam Clayton Powell Jr. was

FIGURE 4.6. "Fashions Set to Music." Rutgers Institute of Jazz Studies, Topics files: handbills, New York jazz clubs. Courtesy of Rutgers Institute of Jazz Studies.

among the attendees. This landmark show of strength by people of color around the world made State Department officials sufficiently nervous that they refused Powell's request to attend as an official observer and also made it difficult for him to obtain a visa as a private citizen.[97]

The cultural linking of Africa and Asia also became a theme emphasized by the Nation of Islam, which sponsored several African-Asian unity bazaars in the early 1960s. Noting that Islam "covers the entire earth," the

Nation of Islam stated in 1961 that people of the white world were called "occidental," while the black world, consisting of black, brown, red, and yellow people, were known as "orientals."[98] The cultural theme of linking the East and the West in the jazz world of the late 1950s and early 1960s, in other words, often had a political subtext that is perhaps best contextualized by the growth of community spaces, events, and networks of individuals interested in exploring the cultural diversity of blackness and its relationship to Africa.

Muslim musicians were prominent in several of the musical projects that made links to Africa and the diaspora. The universalist message of Islam provided an alternative to Western modernism's vision of universality that would play an increasingly important role in the spiritual visions of jazz musicians in the 1960s. Although the religious practice of the Nation of Islam (NOI) connected Islam to an ideology of racial separation, Muslim jazz musicians were not necessarily members of the NOI. Art Blakey, as well as Ahmad Jamal, Yusef Lateef, and Sahib Shihab, were converted to Islam by the Ahmaddiyah movement, which did not share the NOI's vision of racial separation. Indeed, in the early 1960s Art Blakey (Abdullah Ibn Buhaina) expressed intense disdain for the Nation of Islam.[99] Other musicians such as McCoy Tyner (Sulaimon Saud) were Sunni Muslims, who also did not share the Nation of Islam's position on separation. As Art Blakey explained to his French interviewers in 1963, "Islam brought the black man what he was looking for, an escape like some found in drugs or drinking: a way of living and thinking he could choose in complete freedom. This is the reason we adopted this new religion in such numbers. It was for us, above all, a way of rebelling."[100]

Uhuru Afrika

In November 1960 pianist Randy Weston recorded *Uhuru Afrika,* a four-movement composition celebrating the emerging independent African nations. It was recorded two months after the historic admission of sixteen sub-Saharan African nations to the United Nations, which brought thousands of delegates and dignitaries to New York, including Fidel Castro, whose delegation moved to the Theresa Hotel in Harlem after inhospitable treatment at a midtown hotel. Twelve of these nations issued a statement the day after their admission asking the Cold War powers to

refrain from confronting each other on the African continent. That year had already been a dramatic one in the civil rights movement, for the entire country was riveted by the contagious spread of student lunch-counter sit-ins that were intended to bring about an end to segregated public accommodations. In October Martin Luther King had been imprisoned on trumped-up charges following a sit-in at Rich's department store in Atlanta and, in what turned out to be the gesture that swung the election, Senator John F. Kennedy called Coretta Scott King to wish her well.[101]

As Randy Weston recalls, the social atmosphere of the late 1950s was key to the genesis of *Uhuru Afrika,* which means "Freedom Africa" in Kiswahili:

> Now, in the Civil Rights days it was like a tremendous spiritual energy that covered all the fields of music, art, and poetry. There was a tremendous movement for African American people to get as much freedom as possible. So the musicians were caught up into this wonderful period. I can't explain how it happened, but it happened in the late 1950s. I had already met the great arranger Melba Liston. And we wanted, I wanted, to do a work of music which would describe the global African people. . . . If you look globally we speak many different languages, we live in many different parts of the planet. We have a lot of diversity. At the same time, there's a lot of similarity in things that we do . . . and in addition to that, many of the African countries were just getting their independence. And the wonderful thing about being in New York, the United Nations was there. So I had an opportunity to meet many African diplomats. Many people from Kenya, from Nigeria, from Ghana, from Egypt, many parts of Africa. And I would always talk to them to try to understand a little bit more about the continent. As Langston Hughes always said, [Africa is] our ancestral home.[102]

In Weston's view it was especially important to do a celebratory work because the prevailing image of Africans in mainstream American culture in the 1950s had been defined by the *Story of Little Black Sambo* and Tarzan movies.[103] Recalling the awkwardness of reading the book in grade school Weston commented, "I was sitting next to a white child, and we were buddies. But when we looked at this same book, I think our lives changed at that particular moment. So I was very disturbed by the image of us as a people." The fact that in Tarzan movies Africans were presented as without language filled Weston with the desire to begin *Uhuru Afrika* with an African language. A number of African diplomats recommended Kiswahili since it was a Bantu language that was used in both the northeastern and southern regions of the continent.[104]

Uhuru Kwanza, the first movement, is divided into two parts. The first is a spoken invocation by Tuntemeke Sanga, a diplomat from Tanzania, who is accompanied by Cándido Camero on conga. It opens with "Freedom! Uhuru, Uhuru Kwanza. Freedom, Freedom First!" Weston explains: "That meant that many people were saying, 'Well, African countries shouldn't have their independence until they do this or until they do that.' We said no. First of all, our freedom, our independence."

Cándido Camero's conga leads the percussion section into a rolling 12/8 feel that is joined by percussionists Armando Peraza, Babatunde Olatunji, Max Roach, Charlie Persip, and G. T. Hogan. The second part of *Uhuru Kwanza* features Randy Weston on piano, who presents all twelve pitches of the chromatic scale by playing a whole-tone scale that begins on C and then modulates down a half step and returns. The melody that follows has a rhythm to which the word "Uhuru" can be sung (figure 4.7).[105]

For texts, Weston went to Langston Hughes, who had had a huge impact on Weston's life. He asked for a "freedom poem for African people" and lyrics for a song about the African woman because "its very important to recognize the power of the African woman, which are our mothers, our sisters, our daughters. . . . Langston wrote a beautiful text."

The first stanza of the poem makes the African lady a metaphor for the future of the African continent, one of the relatively few unsexualized odes to women in the jazz literature. The following year, Abbey Lincoln would record it on her album *Straight Ahead.* On *Uhuru Afrika,* the first stanza was sung by Martha Flowers.

Night is gone—
I hear your song,
African lady.
The dark fades away,
Now it's day,

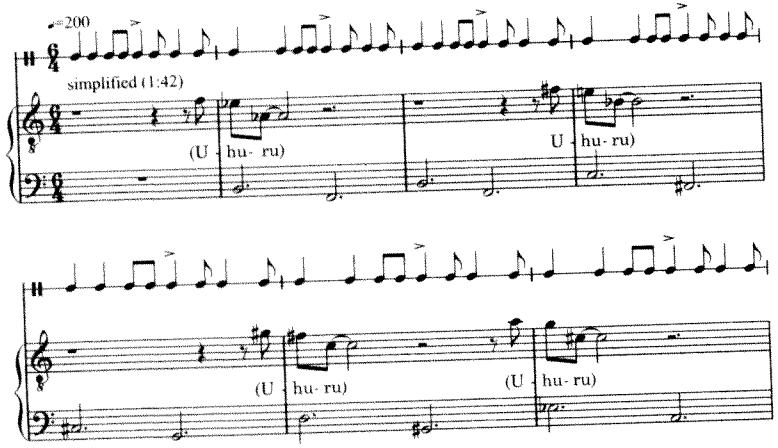

FIGURE 4.7. Randy Weston, "Uhuru Kwanza," part 2, New York, November 1960, Roulette R 65001, transcribed by I. Monson. Composed by Randy Weston 3 1961, renewed 1989. Worldwide administration by Black Sun Music (SESAC), a div. of Mayflower Music Corp.

A new morning breaks.
The birds in the sky all sing
For Africa awakes.
Bright light floods the land,
And tomorrow's in your hand.
African lady.

Trombonist and composer/arranger Melba Liston orchestrated and arranged Weston's compositions for big band. The arrangement of "African Lady" features the flutes of Yusef Lateef and Les Spann as the birds awakening behind Flowers's vocal. Liston's writing, which ranges from lush, thick, beautifully voiced textures to harmonically tense and rhythmically assertive brass writing, is crucial to the dramatic unfolding of the second and third movements: "African Lady" and "Bantu."

Weston remembers that "Melba was writing music up to the last second of the day [before the recording]" and that the copyist, whose feet swelled up from the effort, was copying music "all over the house to get done in time to do this recording." The orchestra included a who's who of the contemporary jazz scene with Clark Terry, Benny Bailey, Richard Williams, and Freddie Hubbard on trumpets; Slide Hampton, Jimmy Cleveland, and Quentin Jackson on trombones; Julius Watkins on French horn; a reed section that included Gigi Gryce, Sahib Shihab, Budd Johnson, Yusef Lateef, Cecil Payne, and Les Spann; and two bassists, George Duvivier and Ron Carter.

The band recorded two days in a row at New York's Bell Sound studios beginning at 9:00 A.M. "And believe it or not," Weston recalled, "not one person was late. And that's why I say it was a spiritual get-together." The work is serious but at the same time overflowing with optimism and a utopian vision of the future. "Kucheza Blues," its final movement, was intended to capture the joyfulness of freedom finally achieved. Its title is based on the Kiswahili word *kucheza,* which means "playing" or "dancing."[106] Weston explained that the song says that, on "that day when have our freedom and our independence as a people, we're going to have a big party . . . and that's 'Kucheza Blues.' "

Yet, as Weston acknowledges, *Uhuru Afrika* was not very popular at the time, in part "because the term 'African American' was sort of not quite *in,* you know. We were Negroes and colored. We have other names, we have many names. But at that particular time it wasn't very popular." The interest in African liberation and the diaspora was an intensifying presence in the aesthetic agency, musical practice, and political thinking of musicians in the 1950s, but it was a passionate interest of a relatively small group of people in the African American artistic and literary scenes. As the civil rights movement intensified in the early 1960s, many more people would come to view the link between Africa and jazz as a crucial cultural connection.

5

Activism and Fund-Raising from *Freedom Now* to the Freedom Rides

On January 15, 1961, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) sponsored a benefit performance of *We Insist! Max Roach's Freedom Now Suite* at New York's Village Gate. The poster announcing the event (figure 5.1) depicted three African American men seated at a lunch-counter sit-in, making explicit through visual means the link between the political events of 1960 and the subject matter of the *Freedom Now Suite*.[1] It is the same photograph that graced the album cover of the Candid recording and is modeled on widely distributed photos of the lunch-counter sit-ins held in Greensboro, North Carolina, and many other locations in February and March 1960.[2]

Like Duke Ellington in "Black, Brown, and Beige," the composers of the *Freedom Now Suite* (Max Roach and Oscar Brown Jr.) presented in music a panoramic perspective on African American history and summed up the contemporary hopes and demands of African Americans at the crossroads of an intensified civil rights struggle. The *Freedom Now* benefit was unusual in its explicitly political dramatic content and use of images from contemporary events. In other respects, however, it was one among dozens of events held between 1960 and 1967 in which jazz musicians donated their services to civil rights organizations and other related causes. Billed as all-star concerts, "cocktail sips," "steak-outs," receptions, swing parties, variety shows, or fund-raising dinners, these events raised money and generated a sense of political involvement among audience members

FIGURE 5.1. Poster of *Freedom Now Suite* benefit concert, held January 15, 1961. Courtesy of Art D'Lugoff.

at a time when what might be called a culture of commitment was emerging.

Benefit concerts are among the most obvious forms of political participation by jazz musicians in the early 1960s. Ranging from small club-hosted events to gala performances at concert halls and stadiums, these fund-raisers benefited many different causes, including civil rights, African

independence, and black labor organizations. On many of these occasions jazz musicians appeared either alongside gospel singers and folk musicians or on the same bill with more mainstream entertainers such as Frank Sinatra and Sammy Davis Jr. Actors and writers were also among those drafted for these fund-raising events, including Sidney Poitier, Ruby Dee, Ossie Davis, Peter Lawford, Marlon Brando, and Lorraine Hansberry.

Among those who participated in fund-raising events were proponents of a full range of jazz styles, including Count Basie, Louis Armstrong, Miles Davis, Duke Ellington, Cannonball Adderley, Thelonious Monk, Dizzy Gillespie, Dave Brubeck, John Coltrane, Sarah Vaughan, Prince Lasha, Ella Fitzgerald, Paul Bley, Don Friedman, Max Roach, Abbey Lincoln, Eric Dolphy, Charles Mingus, and numerous others. For many jazz fans, the number of fund-raising concerts done by well-known jazz musicians in the early sixties, as well as the diverse jazz styles represented in them, is likely to come as a surprise. Ever since Amiri Baraka's *Blues People* and Frank Kofsky's *Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music,* the jazz literature has typically associated free jazz with the raging politics of the sixties. The fact that an aesthetically broad range of African and non–African American musicians regularly lent their names to civil rights (and other political) organizations in the years between Greensboro and Black Power has gone relatively unnoticed.[3]

Although socially minded concerts had been a feature of the jazz landscape since at least the 1930s, when Duke Ellington, Benny Carter, and many others played for a variety of causes, including the Scottsboro Boys and the NAACP (table 5.1), a threshold was crossed on February 1, 1960, when the student lunch-counters sit-ins began in Greensboro, North Carolina.[4] The speed with which these protests spread across the South announced a new period of direct mass action whose symbolism, events, and ideologies deeply affected not only the jazz world but also American society as a whole. The image of four African American college students seated politely but insistently at a Woolworth's lunch counter portended an activism that was to permeate the entire decade.

Benefit concerts occurred in response to the major events in the civil rights movement, including the Greensboro sit-ins of 1960, the Freedom Rides of 1961, the Birmingham movement and the March on Washington in 1963, and the Mississippi voter registration projects of 1964. Although benefit concerts generated considerable amounts of money for civil rights organizations, their purpose and popularity cannot be fully explained by

TABLE 5.1. Some fund-raising concerts, 1933–1959

Date	*Location*	*Billed as*	*Benefit for/Sponsor*	*Participants*[1]
1933	Rockland Palace, 155th and 8th Ave., New York City		Scottsboro Boys, International Labor Defense (ILD)	Benny Carter Orchestra, Duke Ellington (solo piano), Tallulah Bankhead, Martha Raye[2]
12/23/38	Carnegie Hall	Spirituals to Swing	*New Masses* (Marxist periodical)	Count Basie, Jo Jones, Walter Page, Buck Clayton, Lester Young, Jimmy Rushing, Helen Humes, Hot Lips Page, Tommy Ladnier, Sidney Bechet, Dan Minor, Leonard Ware, Albert Ammons, Meade Lux Lewis, Pete Johnson, Big Joe Turner, Sister Rosetta Tharpe, Sonny Terry, Mitchell Christian Singers, Big Bill Broonzy, Ruby Smith, James P. Johnson[3]
12/24/39	Carnegie Hall	Spirituals to Swing	Theater Arts Committee	Golden Gate Quartet, Ida Cox, Benny Goodman Sextet, Buck Clayton, Count Basie, Lester Young, Charlie Christian[4]
1/23/43	Carnegie Hall	Black, Brown, and Beige	Russian war relief	Duke Ellington Orchestra[5]
1943?	Golden Gate Ballroom	All-victory Rally for Ben Davis Jr.		Teddy Wilson (organizer), Pearl Primus, Hazel Scott, Billie Holiday, Mary Lou Williams, Ella Fitzgerald[6]
4/16/44			birthday party for Paul Robeson	Mildred Bailey, Count Basie, Mary Lou Williams, Duke Ellington, Jimmy Durante[7]
1/21/51	Metropolitan Opera House		NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund	Duke Ellington orchestra[8]

(continued)

TABLE 5.1. (*continued*)

Date	*Location*	*Billed as*	*Benefit for/Sponsor*	*Participants*[1]
5/24/54	Renaissance Casino, New York		Salute to Paul Robeson	Thelonious Monk, Pete Seeger, Leon Bibb, Lorraine Hansberry, Alice Childress, Julian Mayfield, Karen Morely[9]
			Brooklyn NAACP	Ella Fitzgerald, Harry Belafonte, Steve Allen[10]
5/28/54	Eastern Parkway Arena		In Friendship	Harry Belafonte, Duke Ellington, Coretta King[11]
5/1956	Madison Square Garden		NAACP	not listed[12]
10/25/59	Birdland			

1. I provide several lists of benefit concerts in this chapter, but they are by no means comprehensive. The problem with lists of scattered events such as these is that they are never likely to be complete. I list them and my sources for each one for the benefit of other interested researchers. Another source of information about benefit concerts in this time period is Brian Ward, *Just My Soul Responding: Rhythm and Blues, Black Consciousness, and Race Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
2. John Hammond, *John Hammond on Record: An Autobiography* (New York: Penguin, 1981), p. 85.
3. Ibid., pp. 199–206.
4. Ibid., pp. 231–32.
5. Mark Tucker, *The Duke Ellington Reader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 153.
6. Martin Bauml Duberman, *Paul Robeson* (New York: Knopf, 1988), pp. 283–84.
7. Ibid., pp. 284–85.
8. "Point and Counterpoint: Duke at the Met, *Metronome* 67 (Feb. 1951), p. 8.
9. Duberman, *Paul Robeson*, p. 425.
10. "Belafonte Plays for NAACP Show," *Pittsburgh Courier* (May 19, 1954), p. 19.
11. Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–63*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), p. 209. In Friendship was an organization formed in the aftermath of the lynching of Emmett Till in 1955. It supported victims of racist vigilantes in Mississippi.
12. Executive board minutes, *Allegro* 34, no. 1 (Nov. 1959), p. 4.

the economic dimension alone. Many of these events offered a dramatic forum in which Northern audiences could hear directly from Southern activists about day-to-day life on the front lines of the movement. They also created social spaces in which musicians and audiences could feel as though they were *doing something* to aid the Southern struggle. Table 5.2 provides a detailed list of many such events.[5]

Participation in fund-raising events did not always indicate full endorsement of a particular organization's political ideology, however. As Clark Terry recalled, "All of the organizations—SNCC, CORE, NAACP—all of them were very very important organizations, as far as we were concerned. And we supported them all."[6] In the early 1960s Terry performed at benefits for CORE, SNCC, SCLC, and A. Philip Randolph's Negro American Labor Council (NALC). Many other musicians performed benefits for multiple political organizations, including Dizzy Gillespie (CORE, National Urban League [NUL], NALC, SCLC), Dave Brubeck (SCLC, NAACP, SNCC, CORE), and Max Roach and Abbey Lincoln (CORE, SNCC, NAACP, SCLC, Malcolm X). Musicians seemed to respond to particular events in the civil rights movement rather than show exclusive loyalty to particular organizations. This is not to suggest that musicians were without ideological preferences or were unprincipled in their activities, but rather to emphasize that practical political action often carried greater weight than ideological purity, especially in times of crisis.

After the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the number of events sponsored by mainstream civil rights organizations decreased, as politically related concerts shifted to cultural nationalist arts organizations, where the explicitly political and spiritual force of black music, dance, and art was celebrated. Among the best known of these organizations was Amiri Baraka's Black Arts Repertory/School (BARTS), whose regulars in 1965 included Sun Ra, Albert Ayler, Milford Graves, and Andrew Hill.[7]

To understand the significance of benefit concerts in these years, it is important to consider them in relationship to the most visible events of the civil rights movement, the aesthetic debates emerging in jazz, and the intensified attention paid to issues of race and economics in the music industry. The following two chapters describe the political events that took place between 1960 and 1967 in sufficient detail to provide a sense of the daily news to which musicians responded and establish that many of the

TABLE 5.2. Some fund-raising concerts, January 1960–May 1961

Date[1]	*Location*	*Billed as*	*Benefit for/Sponsor*	*Participants*
1/20/60 or 1/27/60	New York, Village Gate	Africa at the Gate	Africa Defense and Aid Fund	Leon James, Al Mims, Ellis Larkins, Leon Bibb, Josh White, Lorraine Hansberry[2]
6/2/60	Wheeler Hall, University of California–Berkeley	benefit concert for Southern Negro students	scholarship fund for students expelled from Southern schools for antidiscrimination activities	Oscar Peterson trio, Cannonball Adderley Quintet[3]
Summer 1960	Jackie Robinson's home, Stamford, CT	Afternoon of Jazz	student sit-ins (CORE, SCLC)	Ella Fitzgerald, Duke Ellington, Joe Williams, Sarah Vaughan, Carmen McRae[4]
8/7/60	New York, Village Gate	sit-in for CORE	CORE	Thelonious Monk, Jimmy Giuffre, Bill Henderson, Clark Terry[5]
8/27/60	Chicago, Comiskey Park	Second Annual Chicago Urban League Jazz Festival	Urban League	Maynard Ferguson Band, the Cannonball Adderley Quintet, Dizzy Gillespie Quintet, and Lambert-Hendricks-Ross, Sammy Davis Jr., Frank Sinatra[6]
8/28/60	New York, Village Gate		CORE	(names not available)[7]
Fall 1960, Sunday nights	New York, Village Gate	Cabaret for Freedom	Martin Luther King Jr.	Sidney Poitier, Sarah Vaughan, Zero Mostel, Jack Gilford, Lonnie Sattin, Abbey Lincoln, Max Roach[8]
1/15/61	New York, Village Gate	CORE Presents: *Freedom Now Suite*	CORE	Max Roach, Abbey Lincoln, Booker Little, Marcus Belgrave, Julian Priester, Eric Dolphy, Larry Ridgley, Maya Angelou, Ruby Dee, four conga players[9]
1/27/61	New York, Carnegie Hall	Tribute to Martin Luther King	CORE and SCLC	Frank Sinatra, Dean Martin, Sammy Davis Jr., Joey Bishop, Peter Lawford, Count Basie Orchestra, Carmen McRae, Tony Bennett, Mahalia Jackson[10]
4/1961	Detroit	Fight for Freedom	NAACP	Sammy Davis Jr.[11]
4/17/61	New York, Hunter College	Africa Freedom Day	Africa Defense and Aid Fund	Dizzy Gillespie, Miriam Makeba, Herbie Mann, Tom Mboya, Kenneth Kaunda, Billy Taylor, Dinizulu Dancers, Camilla Williams, Henrique Galvao, Sen. Hubert Humphrey[12]
4/17/61	New York, Tavern on the Green	dinner/dance	NALC (A. Philip Randolph)	Art Blakey and the Messengers, Dakota Staton, Coleman Hawkins, Randy Weston, Cecil Payne[13]
5/19/61	Carnegie Hall	African Research Foundation presents Miles Davis	African Research Foundation	Miles Davis and Gil Evans[14]

1. This list is not intended to be comprehensive.
2. Alvin Hall, " 'Africa at the Gate' Aided African Fund," *New York Amsterdam News* 50, no. 5 (Jan. 30, 1960), p. 13.
3. Marvin Rich to Ralph J. Gleason, June 2, 1960, CORE series 5, box 1, folder 8; "A Full Evening with Sinatra, Martin, Davis, Lawford, Bishop," *New York Amsterdam News* 51 (Jan. 14, 1961), p. 13.
4. David Falkner, *Great Time Coming: The Life of Jackie Robinson, from Baseball to Birmingham* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), p. 274.
5. Jimmy McDonald to George Haefer, July 25, 1960, Institute of Jazz Studies topics files: race problems.
6. Don DeMichael, "Urban League 'Festival,'" *Downbeat* 27 (Oct. 13, 1960), p. 20; "Sammy Davis Jr. Brought Friends to Chicago Jazz Bash," *Pittsburgh Courier* (Sept. 10, 1960), p. 23.
7. Executive board minutes, *Allegro* 34 (Aug. 1960), p. 15.
8. " 'Cabaret for Freedom' New Theatre Movement," *New York Amsterdam News* 50 (Nov. 19, 1960), p. 18. Maya Angelou recalls that all of these performances were held in the summer of 1960; the *Amsterdam News* coverage, however, indicates that they occurred later. See Maya Angelou, *The Heart of a Woman* (New York: Bantam, 1997), p. 81.
9. CORE presents *Freedom Now Suite* (poster), Jan. 15, 1961, series 5, box 28, folder 8; "Roach Suite," *New York Amsterdam News* 51 (Jan. 7, 1961), p. 11; Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters*, p. 574.
10. Harry Belafonte, solicitation letter, Jan. 27, 1961, CORE series 5, box 28, folder 2.
11. "Sammy Davis Jr. Sparks Record $60,000 Take for Detroit's NAACP," *Pittsburgh Courier* (Apr. 22, 1961), p. 2.
12. "Africa Freedom Day," *New York Amsterdam News* 51 (Mar. 25, 1961), p. 17.
13. "Art Blakey, Dakota at NALC Salute," *New York Amsterdam News* 51 (Apr. 15, 1961), p. 18.
14. Julian "Cannonball" Adderley, "Cannonball on the Jazz Scene," *New York Amsterdam News* 51 (May 27, 1961), p. 17; executive board minutes, *Allegro* 36 (June 1961), p. 16.

issues hotly debated in the context of the civil rights movement were largely the same kinds of issues that emerged in the jazz world.

Aesthetic issues also became highly politicized in this period. In the two and a half months prior to the Greensboro sit-ins, the jazz world buzzed over the New York debut of Ornette Coleman, whose gala opening at the Five Spot extended from the middle of November 1959 until the end of January 1960 (just days before the sit-ins began). In the United States, the debate over the value and meaning of avant-garde expression in jazz consequently began as the political drama of lunch-counter sit-ins unfolded on TV screens and radios and in newspapers. It was not until after the Freedom Rides that the debate became truly nasty.

Coleman initially enjoyed the support of many influential critics, including Martin Williams, Gunther Schuller, and John Wilson, and although there was much grumbling behind backs, few critics were initially willing to announce themselves as the new moldy figs. Over the next few years many avant-gardists claimed a direct relationship between a musical modernism free of chord changes, compulsory tonality, timbral orthodoxy, and the obligation to swing and a radical, assertive, political consciousness. An "outside" musical approach consequently came to signify for many a political critique of racial injustice.[8]

Part of the challenge of thinking through this history is to resist the temptation to rigidly map aesthetic positions and politics. Those who preferred their jazz more "inside" were not necessarily more politically conservative, although they could be. Conversely, those who championed the "New Thing" were not necessarily more activist in their orientation, although they could be. Avant-gardists ranged from the militant activism of Archie Shepp to the more spiritual consciousness of John Coltrane. Individual musicians made their way through the highly volatile landscape of the early 1960s amid deeply conflicting forces—those of the civil rights movement that demanded activism and those of the music, which demanded disciplined practicing and much hard work. Even the most artistically single-minded musicians were often not satisfied by standing on the sidelines. Participation in the movement or making music speak to the astonishing events taking place in the South were choices that some musicians felt added to the authenticity and gravitas of their music. As Abbey Lincoln explained, "I think that the artists joined the bandwagon because it makes your work valid. You have to perform, you have to sing or play about something."[9]

Background of the Sit-Ins

The Greensboro sit-ins have attained a mythical status in the accounts of the civil rights movement. On Monday, February 1, 1960, four students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical (A&T) College (Ezell Blair Jr., Franklin McCain, Joe McNeil, and David Richmond) sat down at the Woolworths lunch counter in Greensboro and demanded service equal to that accorded white patrons. They returned the next day with reinforcements, a phenomenon that spread like wildfire throughout the southeast. Within a two-month period the sit-in movement, as it came to be called, had spread to fifty-four cities in nine states and captured the imagination of racial progressives in the North and South. The sit-in movement, like jazz improvisation, was usually described as "spontaneous" and "contagious"—something that magically inspired the entry of black college students and youth into the civil rights movement. Their example, in turn, stimulated the participation of white students in direct-action protest, and these students later turned their protests against the war in Vietnam.

As Aldon Morris has carefully documented, however, the sudden ignition of direct-action protest in 1960 would not have been possible had the ground not been well prepared within Southern black communities by the organizational and educational efforts of various groups, including the SCLC, NAACP Youth Councils, CORE, the Highlander Folk School, the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), and the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF). Morris credits the SCLC, in particular, with developing the black organizational and tactical base capable of supporting expanded direct-action activities in the early 1960s.[10]

Between 1957 and 1960 members of the NAACP Youth Councils and CORE conducted sit-ins in approximately sixteen cities, including Saint Louis; East Saint Louis; Kansas City; Oklahoma City; Tulsa; Louisville, Kentucky; Miami; Durham, North Carolina; Nashville; and Atlanta. Despite the common image of the 1960s sit-ins arising spontaneously, a closer look at the historical record reveals that their rapid spread in 1960 occurred in cities and towns that had seen prior activity and where networks of formal and informal communication were already established. The swift expansion of sit-ins in the wake of Greensboro, in other words, mobilized preexisting organizational and personal networks. The Greensboro students had all been members of the NAACP Youth Council, headed by

attorney Floyd McKissick. McKissick, in turn, was a veteran of a series of sit-ins in parks, hotels, and bus waiting rooms in Durham in the late 1950s. Through George Simpkins, head of the NAACP chapter in Greensboro, the students from North Carolina A&T were well aware of the Durham demonstrations. They had also attended high school together in Greensboro, where in 1958 and 1959 the NAACP Legal Defense Fund systematically challenged local efforts to maintain school segregation.[11]

The four students had carefully prepared for their actions at the Woolworth store and had a network of adult supporters in place, including George Simpkins, Eula Hudgens (a veteran of CORE's Journey of Reconciliation in 1947), and Ralph Johns, a white clothing store owner sympathetic to the NAACP. On February 1, they bought school supplies, then sat down at the lunch counter and announced their intention to return every day until they were treated the same as the white patrons. On Saturday there was a bomb scare as four hundred demonstrators gathered at the Woolworths, along with Klansmen and Confederate-flag-waving white youths who harassed the protesters. A week after the Greensboro sit-ins, demonstrations began in Durham and Winston-Salem. Charlotte and Raleigh followed in quick succession. Protests then spread to South Carolina, Virginia, and Nashville, Tennessee. In March demonstrations took place in Montgomery, Birmingham, Baton Rouge, New Orleans, Memphis, Atlanta, and Savannah, all cities that had been centers of activity during the fifties.[12]

The Formation of SNCC

Nashville was particularly important in the subsequent development of the civil rights movement. Several leaders of the nascent SNCC emerged from Nashville, including John Lewis, Diane Nash, James Bevel, Cordell Reagon, Marion Barry, Matthew Jones, and Bernard Lafayette. In 1959, Reverend James Lawson, under the auspices of the Nashville Christian Leadership Council (NCLC), conducted workshops on nonviolence that were attended by many of the future leaders and other students in Nashville's black colleges. At the end of the year students conducted test sit-ins in Nashville's department stores; consequently, when the Greensboro sit-ins began, they were poised for action. By February 13, 1960, the student wing of the NCLC nudged their elders into beginning nonviolent

demonstrations that by early May had successfully integrated downtown Nashville's lunch counters.[13]

Ella Baker, acting director of the SCLC's national office in Atlanta, facilitated the founding of SNCC by organizing a "Southwide Student Leadership Conference on Nonviolent Resistance to Segregation" at her alma mater, Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina. Baker, whose advocacy of a decentralized, noncharismatic approach to leadership brought her into conflict with the predominantly male and ministerial leadership of the SCLC, felt that, in order to consolidate the student movement, various leaders needed to convene to share ideas. Over the weekend of April 15–17, three hundred students gathered in Raleigh and debated whether they should affiliate with one of the existing civil rights organizations or form an independent association. Many of the students were irritated with the SCLC (the organization they were most likely to consider joining) for capitalizing on the student sit-ins in its fund-raising activities without returning much of the income generated to the students. With Baker's encouragement, the students chose to form an independent, decentralized organization with far less bureaucracy than either the SCLC or the NAACP and began developing an ideology that stressed concern for all forms of racial domination, not simply lunch counters and department stores.[14]

The emergence of a student movement led by African American college students inspired an unprecedented level of interest among not only African Americans but also white college students in the North, where advocacy of racial justice generated fewer reprisals than in the South. During the sit-ins in 1960, activists from the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)—including Robert Haber and Tom Hayden—headed south to observe the meetings from which SNCC was organized. As Morris has emphasized, SNCC provided a tactical and organizational "protest model" for emerging white student organizations such as the SDS.[15]

Benefit Concerts

The Congress of Racial Equality was the first nonviolent direct-action organization to attain high visibility in the New York area in the wake of the Greensboro lunch-counter sit-ins. Its visibility on the national scene, as well as in New York, was due in part to the efforts of Marvin Rich, who, as community relations director, was charged with handling public

communications and special fund-raising projects. Rich had pioneered direct-mail fund-raising for CORE and sent out weekly press releases on CORE's activities and had overseen the organization of benefit concerts. He recalls that the fund-raising concerts arose in response to the public's indignation at the treatment of students at the sit-ins: "Benefits really began . . . with the huge increase in publicity after the sit-ins of 1960. . . . Then people would call us. . . . Something would happen in the newspaper. People would be indignant. They'd want to do something, and we'd do it."[16] Nat Hentoff concurred: "The atmosphere, especially in a place like New York, was very much, 'we've got to do something. We've got to have these benefits. And we've got to do whatever we can.' It was just part of the air."[17]

Among the first fund-raising events sponsored by CORE at the Village Gate was a "Sit-in for CORE" on August 7, 1960, featuring Thelonious Monk, Jimmy Giuffre, Bill Henderson, and Clark Terry.[18] "Sitting in," of course, had a long-standing meaning in the jazz world—going up on the bandstand to play a tune or two with the regular musicians, usually by invitation. The students' sit-ins offered an opportunity for a double entendre—linking the sitting in at the Village Gate to the larger moral struggle of the civil rights movement (and also to the sit-down strikes of the labor movement in the 1930s.)[19]

Union regulations required that many musicians be paid something for their performances. The American Federation of Musicians at first turned down CORE's request to allow musicians to donate their services to the benefit. Local 802 (New York) was extremely consistent in its policies regarding the approval of benefit concerts: As long as the minimum number of musicians mandated for the room were paid scale, the union would approve the use of additional musicians on a volunteer basis. If the minimum number of musicians for the room was not met, the union would deny permission. As Marvin Rich remembers, at first CORE was unaware of the procedures: "We never had any real problem, but we had to go through the rigmarole. We were beginners. We didn't know how to do it." Once the sponsors guaranteed that the required number of players would be paid minimum scale, approval was granted. In many cases, the individuals who were paid would kick back their pay to the sponsoring organization, as did the musicians who played for a SNCC fund-raising dinner in 1965.[20]

Many fund-raising events were held at the Village Gate during the latter half of 1960. Owned and run by Art and Bert D'Lugoff, the Gate had opened in 1958 as a venue primarily for folk and ethnic music. Among the artists who appeared there were Nina Simone, Odetta, Pete Seeger, and Leon Bibb, all of whom performed frequently for civil rights organizations in the early 1960s. Folksingers had long been associated with the leftist trade union movement of the thirties and forties. In the fifties, partly through the efforts of the Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee, folksingers became increasingly associated with the struggle for civil rights. The singing of folk songs from around the world became an integral part of the cultural environment at Highlander, as well as an approach to repertory that was quite popular in folk music circles in the late fifties. Art D'Lugoff's taste for folk and ethnic music thus drew upon a cultural legacy associated with the progressive trade union movement of the thirties and forties and the folk music scene of the 1950s. Before entering the music business in the midfifties D'Lugoff had, in fact, been an organizer and a public relations person for the United Electrical Workers (a union known for its overall progressive politics).[21]

D'Lugoff describes his interest in jazz as a natural extension of his interest in folk music. Since many people were aware of his history of leftist politics and appreciated the "coffee shop" atmosphere of the club, he was often approached about hosting fund-raising events at the Gate. In this context, then, it is not surprising that D'Lugoff once booked Odetta and John Coltrane on the same bill or that African artists such Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela were among the artists who performed at the club.[22]

In the fall of 1960 the Gate began having a "Cabaret for Freedom" on Sunday nights, organized by Maya Angelou and Godfrey Cambridge to benefit the SCLC. Actors, musicians, and comedians, including Sarah Vaughan, Max Roach, and Abbey Lincoln, would drop by to express their views about segregation, integration, and freedom. As a writer for the *Amsterdam News* reported, the shows included everything "from Langston Hughes' poetry to Nigeria's Liberation song" and was "as topical as today's headlines."[23]

A variety-show format, for better or worse, was often used for fund-raising concerts both big and small. In August 1960 the Chicago Urban League held a huge fund-raiser at Chicago's Comiskey Park that attracted some fifteen thousand people. The aesthetics of civil rights organizers and

the jazz world, not surprisingly, did not always match. Although the second annual "Chicago Urban League Festival" included four jazz acts—the Cannonball Adderley Quintet, the Dizzy Gillespie Quintet, the Maynard Ferguson Band, and Lambert, Hendricks, and Ross—Don DeMichael, reporting for *Down Beat*, lamented that "they were rushed on stage and pulled off as quickly as possible" since the main portion of this show was turned over to Sammy Davis Jr., Frank Sinatra, and Peter Lawford. "The jazz portion was cut short—way too short—for those who came to hear jazz." Nevertheless, the event raised $250,000, and Sammy Davis Jr. was presented the Urban League's Citation of Merit for his help.[24]

Civil rights organizers were guided more by their goal of maximizing the number of attendees than in presenting aesthetically unified performances. They were also inexperienced in sponsoring concerts and sometimes made major mistakes with sound systems, publicity, and other arrangements. Three hours before the Comiskey Park show, for example, the organizers decided to sell tickets in the right- and left-field stands and to place seats for large donors on the field, without giving the sound company advance warning. During Lambert, Hendricks, and Ross, audience members in the right and left fields shouted "Can't hear, can't hear," and the big donors seated on the field experienced bad sound throughout. Dizzy Gillespie performed three works, including "Swing Low, Sweet Cadillac," "The Mooche," and "A Night in Tunisia," while Cannonball Adderley left the stage after "Our Delight" and "This Here." DeMichael summed up his frustration by suggesting that, "if there is another festival, it is hoped that the social workers will consult those who know something about jazz."[25]

Sometimes celebrities overinterpreted the offer of civil rights organizations to cover their expenses. Such was the case with the "Tribute to Martin Luther King" held at Carnegie Hall on January 27, 1961, shortly after the inauguration of John F. Kennedy. The lineup included Sammy Davis Jr., Frank Sinatra, Dean Martin, Joey Bishop, and Peter Lawford, with the assistance of the Count Basie Orchestra, Carmen McRae, Tony Bennett, and Mahalia Jackson (figure 5.2). Tickets went for $25 a head (more than five times the average ticket price at the time), but, as Marvin Rich recalled about booking Frank Sinatra's entourage, "That was a disaster. We raised a lot of money and spent a fortune. These guys flew in from the West Coast first class with their entourage. They stayed in fancy hotels. They ate, they drank . . . we made a few bucks." Something similar

occurred when Josephine Baker did a benefit for CORE in September 1963. The poster advertised that "Miss Baker will appear in her fabulous, newly created $250,000.00 wardrobe" but did not mention that she sent the bill for importing the costumes to CORE. A dispute over the $581 bill resulted in CORE's paying $481 of the cost.

As Val Coleman, who set up the concert, recalls, "I remember that we ended up not making any money even though we were in Carnegie Hall and the place was packed. The place was absolutely packed." In situations such as these, the economic distance between the celebrities' lives and

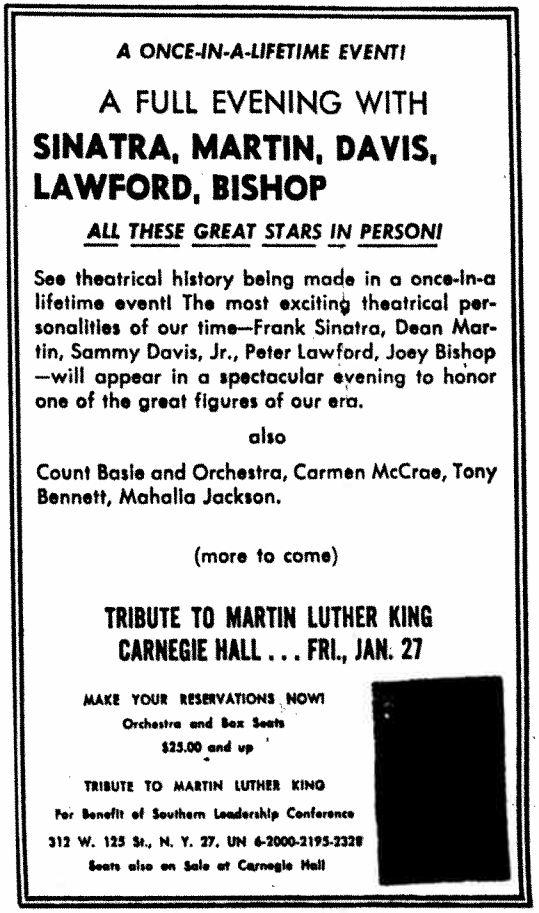

FIGURE 5.2. "Tribute to Martin Luther King." *New York Amsterdam News* 40, no. 2 (January 14, 1961), p. 13.

those of the civil rights organizers was particularly acute. At a time when SNCC field secretaries were paid between $10 and $45 per week, those who organized benefit concerts were constantly mediating between a world of frontline political action always in dire need of finances and a world of celebrity entertainers and moneyed donors who would part with their assets most readily at classy events that were costly to sponsor.[26]

Black Nationalism in Counterpoint

As Morris has noted, the wildfire ignition of student sit-ins in 1960 depended heavily upon a mass base developed by the SCLC, NAACP Youth Councils, and CORE in the late 1950s. The leadership that increased this base was predominantly black, and in the late 1950s the primary sources of SCLC funding were the memberships of black churches.[27] In 1960 the sudden influx of white interest and money into the movement set a number of tensions in play that ultimately led the civil rights movement (and jazz, too) in the direction of black nationalism, Black Power, and cultural nationalism. The term "black nationalism"—a broad concept whose central principle is self-determination—must be distinguished from "black national separation," a more specific political position that is associated most prominently with Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslims (Nation of Islam).

The Muslim Program, published regularly in *Muhammad Speaks*, explained "What the Muslims Want" and "What the Muslims Believe" through two lists of programmatic wants and beliefs. The number one demand was "We want freedom. We want full and complete freedom." Muhammad's view of integration and national separation is presented in the ninth point of belief:

> We believe that the offer of integration is hypocritical and is made by those who are trying to deceive the black peoples into believing that their 400-year-old open enemies of freedom, justice and equality are, all of a sudden their "friends." Furthermore, we believe that such deception is intended to prevent black people from realizing that the time in history has arrived for the separation from the whites of this nation. If the white people are truthful about their professed friendship toward the so-called Negroes, they can prove it by dividing up America with their slaves.

In the Muslim program, the demand for national separation was also a demand for reparations:

> We want our people in America whose parents or grandparents were descendants from slaves, to be allowed to establish a separate state or territory of their own—either on this continent or elsewhere. We believe that our former slave masters are obligated to provide such land and that the area must be fertile and minerally rich. We believe that our former slave masters are obligated to maintain and supply our needs in this separate territory for the next 20 to 25 years—until we are able to produce and supply our own needs. Since we cannot get along with them in peace and equality, after giving them 400 years of our sweat and blood and receiving in return some of the worst treatment human beings have ever experienced, we believe our contributions to this land and the suffering forced upon us by white America justifies our demand for complete separation in a state or territory of our own.[28]

When Malcolm X announced his defection from the Nation of Islam (NOI) and his formation of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., at a press conference on March 12, 1964, he defined his political philosophy of black nationalism more broadly: "We must control the politics and the politicians of our community. They must no longer take orders from outside forces. We will organize, and sweep out of office all Negro politicians who are puppets for the outside forces."[29] The central issues in this definition are self-determination and control of community institutions rather than state formation. Malcolm X also emphasized the importance of youth in political transformation and the limited role that whites could play: "Whites can help us but they can't join us. There can be no black-white unity until there is first some black unity. There can be no worker's solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity. We cannot think of uniting with others, until after we have first united among ourselves. We cannot think of being acceptable to others until we have first proven acceptable to ourselves."

Although relatively few African Americans advocated national separation as proposed by the NOI, increasing numbers of civil rights activists were drawn to those parts of the black nationalist message that emphasized self-determination—black leadership in the struggle for racial justice, black control of organizations setting policies affecting black communities,

economic self-help, and exercising the "power to define" historical and cultural representations of the African American experience.[30]

The desire to limit white participation in these organizations often grew out of the frustrations of African Americans, who had long coped with their status as a numerical minority. As Lani Guinier has observed, in a winner-takes-all form of electoral democracy, the outnumbered minority often has its policy preferences outvoted by the majority over and over again, which compromises the fundamental fairness of the system. As Michael Dawson has argued, one consistent African American response to their political, economic, and social exclusion in American society has been to emphasize black unity, autonomy, and communal obligation.[31]

The entry of white liberal and radical activists into the civil rights movement in large numbers, while critical for the eventual passage of civil rights legislation, posed a number of problems for the movement. The tendency of white leaders to take over in political organizations—practically, ideologically, or numerically—as well as the growing financial reliance of the civil rights movement on non-African American sources of income, exposed deep racial fault lines over which heated and emotional debates took place. The issue for many African American leaders was how to ensure that the vital needs and demands of black Americans were not restricted by dependence on multiracial financial support and the often different agendas of white liberals and radicals. By 1966 (in SNCC) and 1967 (in CORE) a combination of factors led to the exclusion of whites from these previously integrationist organizations: the centrality of self-determination in African American political thinking, the intensifying critique of white liberals and radicals in movement organizations, and the dissatisfaction with nonviolence as a tactic in the face of murderous white violence against the civil rights workers. With the exception of violence, to a large extent these issues were paralleled in the world of jazz.[32]

Music and Black Pride

The symbolic centrality of African American music and of jazz in particular in the celebration of cultural pride was tied to the fact that jazz was an interracially and internationally recognized arena of black excellence—a domain of cultural leadership in which African Americans were the reigning cultural heroes. In jazz the racial hierarchy was symbolically inverted, with black excellence setting the aesthetic standards by which non–African American musicians were evaluated rather than vice versa. As I argued in chapter 3, between 1950 and 1967 this was not simply a matter of racial loyalty since white critics and audiences increasingly embraced African American musical standards of excellence and evaluated white musicians with respect to them. In many ways the alternative modernism (see chapter 3) crafted through the musical agency of jazz musicians adopted a definition of universality that placed African American musical values at the center—swing, blues, and improvisation.

If racist discourse critical of the civil rights movement often cited the ways in which African Americans did not measure up to white educational and moral standards, jazz provided an arena in which the tables were turned. In the heat of polarized aesthetic debates it was white jazz musicians who were called upon to prove their musical equality and compensate for their "culturally disadvantaged" backgrounds. For many African Americans this must have been sweet revenge.

To disentangle the charges and countercharges made at this time in both politics and music, we must move beyond an either/or conception of the political struggles in the jazz world as integration versus separatism. The desire for self-determination cut across the political spectrum and affected organizations that struggled for integration, as well as those that advocated national separation. It was not uncommon for individuals, both black and white, in the early sixties to express support for aspects of both black nationalism and integration. Moreover, emphasis on one side or the other was often *situational,* with African Americans drawing lines of racial solidarity in response to white power plays or insensitivity and whites charging reverse racism in response to the racial boundaries erected in the interests of self-determination. The larger question that interests me here is not *whether* racially essentialist positions were taken in the jazz world at this time, for they certainly were, but under what circumstances individuals and groups drew the racial boundary firmly and under which other conditions the line was more porous.

The *Freedom Now Suite*

In many ways the story of Max Roach's *Freedom Now Suite* encapsulates the tensions between the discourses of black nationalism and the

mainstream civil rights movement.[33] The *Freedom Now Suite* is perhaps the best-known jazz work with explicitly political content from the civil rights years. Written by Max Roach and Oscar Brown Jr., the work is organized as a historical progression through African American history and reveals a narrative shape similar to the one chosen by Duke Ellington for *Black, Brown, and Beige.*[34] *We Insist! Max Roach's Freedom Now Suite,* as the Candid recording is titled, moves from slavery to emancipation to the contemporary civil rights struggle and African independence in five movements: "Driva' Man"; "Freedom Day"; "Triptych: Prayer, Protest, Peace"; "All Africa"; and "Johannesburg." The liner notes begin with a thunderous quotation from A. Philip Randolph: "A revolution is unfurling—America's unfinished revolution. It is unfurling in lunch counters, buses, libraries and schools—wherever the dignity and potential of men are denied. Youth and idealism are unfurling. Masses of Negroes are marching onto the stage of history and demanding their freedom now!"[35]

Although it is best known through the recording, the *Freedom Now Suite* was performed live as a benefit concert for CORE at the Village Gate on January 15, 1961.[36] The event had been set up by Jimmy McDonald, a folksinger from CORE, whom Abbey Lincoln and Max Roach knew through a group of socially aware musicians. Billed as the "world premier performance," the *Freedom Now Suite* was presented with an ensemble that included dancers (Maya Angelou among them) and a narrator (Ruby Dee). The band, led by Max Roach, included Booker Little, Marcus Belgrave, Julian Priester, Eric Dolphy, Walter Benton, Michael Olatunji, Larry Ridley, four conga drummers, and Abbey Lincoln—a lineup somewhat different from the one that appeared on the recording, which had included Coleman Hawkins. According to Dan Morgenstern, who reviewed the performance for *Metronome,* "interaction between music and dance was perhaps not as organic as it could be at the Savoy Ballroom, but strong enough to pinpoint the continuing relationship between the two forms." Dolphy played an extended solo on bass clarinet that was "refreshingly original and moving," and Roach's drumming "paced the performance with impeccable control and surging strength." Morgenstern concluded that *Freedom Now* "consciously employs jazz as a weapon in the good fight and proves it can be a potent one."[37]

Several more performances of *Freedom Now* took place in 1961. In April the work was performed at the Jazz Gallery to mixed reviews. A

reviewer for *Variety* found that the material had a "bitter mood" and described the works as "new-frontier club stuff and most likely a little too far out in uncut timber for most tastes." Reception, however, seemed to depend on the audience. During the summer of 1961 portions of the suite were performed to an enthusiastic audience at the fifty-second annual convention of the NAACP in Philadelphia. The performance took place in the grand ballroom of the Sheraton hotel and included Lincoln, Brown, and Roach. Indeed, the work was so successful at the convention that plans for a tour of the South were formulated in the fall of 1960, although Abbey Lincoln recalls that in the end the tour never actually took place.[38]

Nat Hentoff's liner notes to the recording explain that the *Freedom Now Suite* grew out of a collaboration between Max Roach and writer-singer Oscar Brown Jr. on a large choral work that was to have been performed on the hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1963), the date that since *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) had been the NAACP's goal for the attainment of complete desegregation. The rapidly developing political events of 1960 were offered as the reason for a change in direction that ultimately led to the recording of the work in late August and early September 1960.

Although Max Roach recalls an invitation from the NAACP to write a piece for the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation as key to the project, Brown remembers things differently.[39] According to Brown, the original plan was to write a long work titled *The Beat* that would "tell the story of the African drum from Africa up to contemporary times." "All Africa" was originally intended to begin the work, followed by "Driva' Man," depicting conditions under slavery, and "Freedom Day," celebrating the Emancipation Proclamation. Africa in this plan began rather than ended the work, suggesting a more evolutionary perspective on history than that in the *Freedom Now Suite.*[40]

Brown first met singer Abbey Lincoln when she was performing at the Black Orchid in Chicago in 1957. At her request he wrote the song "Strong Man" (recorded on October 28, 1957) for her then boyfriend, Max Roach. Lincoln introduced Brown to Roach, and the two regularly talked about music with one another. From these conversations the idea for *The Beat* gradually emerged. Brown recalls Roach using a melodica to compose. As Brown put it, "Max at the time had one of those little pianos, I forgot what you call them, but you blew in them. So he taught me those tunes,

and we composed with him playing that instrument." The two of them continually argued about politics during their collaboration and finally parted ways over differences about how the work should end. As Brown recalled:

> I wrote a sonnet, a Shakespearean sonnet:
>
> *The voice of love is lifted now in song*
> *That sends its echoes orbiting the earth*
> *Inviting all mankind to sing along*
> *In tribute to its kind for all its worth.*
>
> So I was preaching love. Max thought that Malcolm X had a better solution than Martin Luther King. That was the end of our dispute at the time, which was a very serious one. So that whole collaboration was aborted, and at that point it was never completed—although it was pretty near completion when we fell out.[41]

Max Roach, when asked about this in my interview with him, agreed: "Oh yeah, we fought. We never could finish it. It [still] isn't finished." The problem, he suggested, is that "we don't really understand what it *really* is to be free. The last song we did, 'Freedom Day,' ended with a question mark." The question occurs at the end in the middle of the first stanza of the piece:

Whisper listen whisper listen
Whisper say we're free
Rumors flying must be lyin'
Can it really be?

Brown was irritated that he did not know about the *Freedom Now Suite* recording until he received a post card from Nat Hentoff requesting biographical material to be included in the liner notes to the album. Brown was disappointed that the music from their collaboration had been rearranged without his knowledge to serve Max Roach's political vision. Like many contemporary reviewers, Brown disliked the screaming included in the "protest" section of "Triptych," the segment of the work that proved to be most controversial. Although their collaboration was stormy, Brown stressed that he and Roach were in basic agreement over the need to dedicate one's artistic work to social justice. Their differences of opinion were over issues Brown described as "vital to the times" and about which everyone around them was debating both inside and outside of the jazz world. As Brown put it, "In fact, during that whole period we were not estranged. We were together in a sense; we were arguing. We were arguing about the screaming. We were arguing about the image he wanted Abbey to have."[42]

Although Brown's and Roach's political differences were very real, they do not divide very easily into the common associations of leftist/nationalist/separatist and liberal/accommodationist/integrationist. Brown stressed that his model for politically committed art was Paul Robeson (decidedly a leftist) and that he was proud that Robeson had spoken on his behalf during his run on the Progressive Party ticket for the Illinois state legislature in 1948. Likewise, Roach's interest in black nationalism did not prevent him from doing the world premiere performance of the *Freedom Now Suite* as a benefit for CORE or from performing a scaled-down version of the suite for the 1961 annual convention of the NAACP, held in Philadelphia shortly after the Freedom Rides. Although Roach and Brown had many differences, like many other musicians and jazz fans engaged in similar debates during the heat of the civil rights movement and Black Power, they shared a commitment to activism that sometimes outweighed ideological disagreements.

The importance of activism is clearly expressed in Max Roach's decision to make the album available to political organizations. In 1963 an article in the *New York Amsterdam News* announced that copies of the album would be available free of charge to "any fund-raising organization requesting it." That the album could be perceived as politically dangerous across international boundaries is evident in South Africa's decision to ban the sale of the *Freedom Now Suite* in 1962—a response to "Tears for Johannesburg," the piece that Max Roach dedicated to the victims of the Sharpeville massacre, the infamous slaughter of demonstrators who were nonviolently protesting apartheid pass laws.[43]

The Music of the *Freedom Now Suite*

The politics of the *Freedom Now Suite* have received far more attention than the music. If 1960 was the year of the lunch-counter sit-ins, protests

against pass laws in South Africa, and the admission of sixteen African nations to the UN, it was also the year when the debate over Ornette Coleman and free jazz rippled through the jazz community. The *Freedom Now Suite* occupies a space somewhere between mainstream jazz modernism and the New Thing. It makes use of blues form and chorus structures in some of its movements and almost always defines tonal centers, although often through ambiguous harmonic means such as parallel whole tone or quartal voicings. Aspects of the work that take from more avant-garde stylistic trends in 1960s also include its use of a pianoless ensemble texture, moments of collective improvisation, such as occur at the end of "Tears from Johannesburg," and, of course, the screaming in "Protest."

Dealing with "the music" in jazz is often confused with simply providing a structural account of the music—its keys, harmonies, rhythmic patterns, melodic styles, textures, timbres, genres, and forms. The *Freedom Now Suite* offers an opportunity to think about how these musical dimensions also carry symbolic associations that are key to generating a deeper expressive power. The questions to ask are, what musical means did Max Roach and his band choose to convey the socially engaged message they desired, and how do the structural and symbolic aspects of the music combine?

The *Freedom Now Suite* draws on both long-standing musical symbols of African American cultural identity (the blues and the spiritual) and more immediate historical contexts, such as the civil rights movement, African independence, and the Sharpeville massacre, to weave a web of musical interconnectedness. Modernism is always present, too, as Roach and his musicians strive not only to make use of the African and African American legacy but also to do so in a modern way. I would like to highlight a few musical dimensions of the *Freedom Now Suite* that are key to its expressive power.

"Driva Man," which opens the suite, is a work song based on a transformation of the blues form. Abbey Lincoln starts out a cappella in C minor, accompanying herself on the tambourine and singing lyrics that describe the brutality of slavery:

Get to work and root that stump
Driva man'll make you jump
Better make your hammer ring
Driva man'll start to swing

Ain't but two things on my mind
Driva man and quittin' time

The blues, normally in 4/4, are performed here in 5/4, with the tambourine and later the rim shot evoking the crack of the driver man's whip on beat one of every measure. The full blues progression is completed in six bars rather than twelve. When the horns enter, Coleman Hawkins's tenor saxophone plays the melody, while trumpet, trombone, and a second tenor accompany in parallel, whole-tone voicings. Although Lincoln began in Cm, when the horns enter, the bass line is in Ab. Later (3:23), when the same horn voicings return (at the same pitch), the bass line is in Cm. Here Roach plays with the tonal ambiguity of symmetrically structured chords (figure 5.3).

The legacy of the spiritual is especially strong in "Triptych," a movement that is itself divided into three parts: "Prayer," "Protest," and "Peace." "Triptych" is a duet between Abbey Lincoln and Max Roach that moves from expressive interplay between wordless voice and percussion (on "Prayer") to an eruption of screaming (on "Protest") and back to "Peace." "Prayer" is perhaps best described as a wordless spiritual or moan centering on an E minor pentatonic scale. Abbey Lincoln is at her most

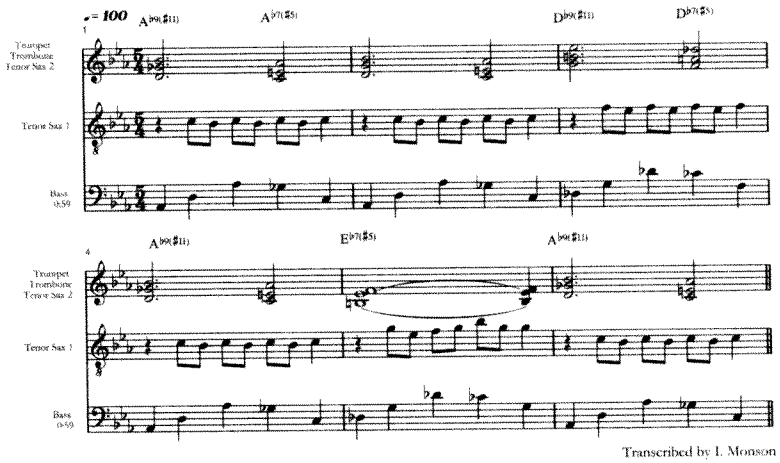

FIGURE 5.3. Max Roach, "Driva' Man," *We Insist! Freedom Now Suite*, head. *We Insist! Freedom Now Suite*, Candid CCD 9002. Used by permission of Milma Publishing.

haunting as she slowly builds from low to high in call and response with Roach's drums. A notable musical detail is Roach's tuning of the drum set to match the tonality of Lincoln's voice. Roach introduces Lincoln by playing a descending perfect fourth. Throughout the section Roach uses this interval to provide tonal support for Lincoln's singing.

"Protest," near the structural center of the suite, provides the most avant-garde moment in the work. Abbey Lincoln performs a minute and twenty seconds of stylized screaming accompanied by continuous rolling figures on the drums. Lincoln recalled that it was Max Roach's idea, not hers, to include the screaming: "It wasn't an approach to music that I would have chosen, but because I thought of him as a teacher—he preceded me—I did what I could to please him." Lincoln, whose voice throughout is the vibrant carrier of the message, took greater heat for political messages in the *Freedom Now Suite* than Roach, something that was to become apparent after the release of her album *Straight Ahead* in 1961.[44]

In comparison to the extended laments, wails, and shrieks played a few years later by artists such as Albert Ayler and John Coltrane, the avant-gardism of Lincoln's "Protest" is fairly mild. This segment of the performance nevertheless generated the most criticism, perhaps because of the explicit programmatic meaning ascribed to it. The liner notes state that " 'Protest' is a final uncontrollable unleashing of rage and anger that have been compressed in fear for so long that the only catharsis can be the extremely painful tearing out of all the accumulated fury and hurt and blinding bitterness. It is all forms of protest, certainly including violence." Here Roach and Lincoln explicitly reject the philosophy of nonviolence advocated by the Martin Luther King and the mainstream civil rights organizations despite the fact that they did not object to performing the work on behalf those very same groups. The association between sound and meaning forged here is more didactic, with the composer telling us what meaning we should take away. "Peace" also has an intended programmatic meaning—to represent the protester after she has done everything possible to assert herself. Lincoln's wordless spiritual, now more breathy and jagged, continues over a 5/4 meter played by Roach.

Appearing as it does at the beginning ("Driva' Man"), in the middle ("Peace"), and at the end ("Tears for Johannesburg"), 5/4 meter frames the large-scale shape of the *Freedom Now Suite*. Given the popularity of Dave Brubeck's "Take Five" from the *Time Out* album of 1959, it would be hard not to read Roach's metrical choice as a commentary on "Take Five."[45] Although experiments in different meters (including Roach's own "Jazz in 3/4 Time" from 1957) had long preceded Brubeck's album, the version of 5/4 time most under discussion in jazz at the time of the *Freedom Now Suite* was surely Brubeck's.

The amount of media attention devoted to Brubeck and other prominent white West Coast musicians was a sore point among African American musicians in the fifties and early sixties. The press, in their view, overlooked more deserving African American figures such as Thelonious Monk, Sonny Rollins, Art Blakey, and Max Roach. By framing the *Freedom Now Suite* in 5/4 Roach turned the meter associated with "Take Five" on its head, using it in a more ambitious way both musically and politically. If the 5/4 in the *Freedom Now Suite* is in part a commentary on "Take Five," it would not be the first time that Roach had showed an interest in interracial one-upsmanship. He had, after all, recorded *Rich versus Roach* with Buddy Rich in early 1959.[46] This is what I meant when I said in chapter 3 that a sense of interracial competition through music is an important subtext to this period of colossal achievement in jazz.

In "All Africa" and "Tears for Johannesburg," the *Freedom Now Suite* points to Africa though the use of a percussion ensemble, rhythmic ostinatos, and open-ended modal frameworks. "All Africa" begins with Oscar Brown's ode to the beat, sung by Abbey Lincoln. Lincoln then recites the names of dozens of African ethnic groups, including the Yoruba, Mandingo (Mande), and Masai. Olatunji accompanies Lincoln on a drum and responds to her in Yorùbá by interjecting, according to the liner notes, proverbs about freedom from each group. An African diasporic sensibility is musically enacted in the extended percussion solo that follows this recitation through the use of a well-known seven-stroke bell pattern (discussed in chapter 4) found not only in West Africa but also in the sacred music of the Caribbean and Brazil.

"All Africa" leads directly into "Tears for Johannesburg," a vehicle for open blowing organized by a 5/4 ostinato in B♭ minor. Lincoln begins by wordlessly intoning the pitches of a melody that will appear most clearly articulated only at the very end of the movement. After her sustained delivery, the horns enter, adding a bit more definition to the melody but still improvising substantially around it, with Booker Little's trumpet leading the way. Open-ended solos (by Booker Little, Walter Benton, and Julian Priester) over the vamp follow. At times the ostinato is momentarily transposed down a half step to A, which provides a feeling of leading tone

resolution to the otherwise stable B♭ minor tonality. When the horns return (after percussion solos), their clear projection of the harmonized melody (in fourths) reveals that "Tears for Johannesburg" has inverted the usual order of melody and embellishment by presenting paraphrased versions of the composition first and the most direct statement of the melody last (figure 5.4).

Open-ended modal frameworks in the late fifties and early sixties often expressed a non-Western aesthetic interest. This is apparent in John

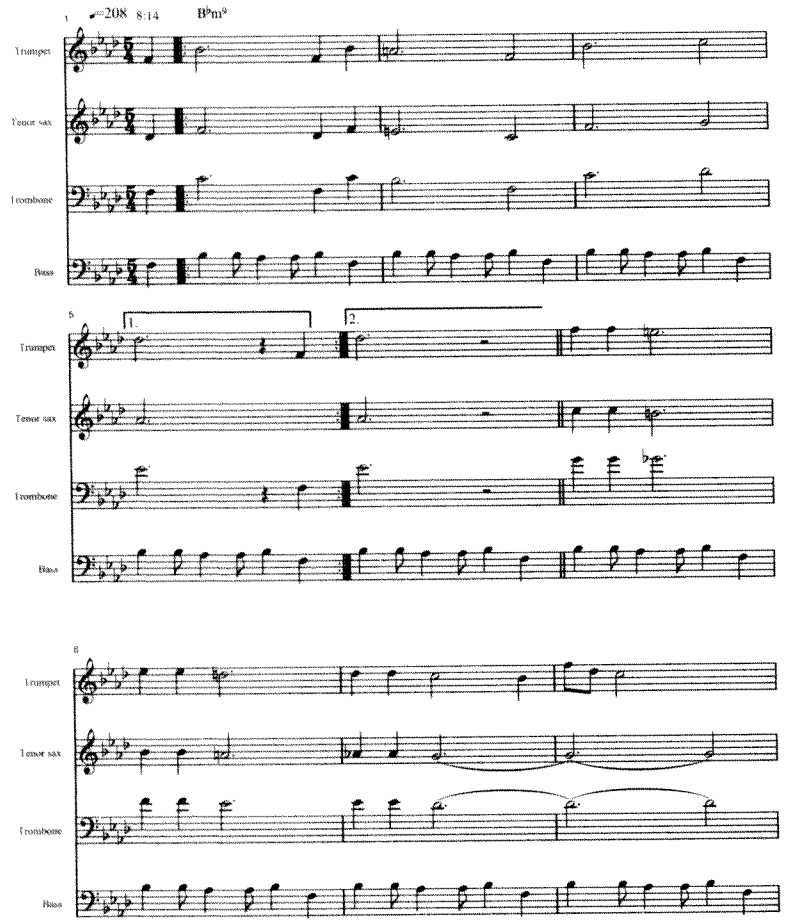

FIGURE 5.4. Max Roach, "Tears for Johannesburg," *We Insist! Freedom Now Suite,* Candid CCD 9002. Used by permission of Milma Publishing.

Coltrane's improvisations on "Africa" and "India" recorded in the year following the *Freedom Now Suite.* Although the Coltrane recordings are often cited as examples of a free-blowing modal approach, Max Roach's *Freedom Now Suite* (recorded before Coltrane's classic modal works) is not often credited with contributing to this emerging aesthetic. Indeed, one product of a close look at the *Freedom Now Suite* is the realization that Max Roach's contributions as a composer deserve much greater attention.

Sonny Rollins's *Freedom Suite*

Sonny Rollins's *Freedom Suite* (1958) (with Max Roach on drums) is the closest precedent to the impulse embodied in the *Freedom Now Suite* and likely a work that ignited Roach's interest in composing an extended work with social commentary. Rollins's work is purely instrumental and also pianoless, featuring a trio with bassist Oscar Pettiford, Max Roach, and Rollins, in a nineteen-minute work that is organized like a nightclub set. There are three main tunes in the set—medium tempo, ballad, and up tempo—linked by a transition melody in 6/8 between the principal pieces. In keeping with the tendency of musicians to respond to contemporary political events, Rollins recorded this work five months after the Little Rock, Arkansas, school desegregation crisis. Since the work was wordless, Rollins included an explicit political statement on the cover: "America is deeply rooted in Negro culture: its colloquialisms, its humor, its music. How ironic that the Negro, who more than any other people can claim America's culture as his own, is being persecuted and repressed, that the Negro, who has exemplified the humanities in his very existence, is being rewarded with inhumanity."[47]

Unlike the *Freedom Now Suite,* however, *Freedom Suite* did not emerge at just the historical moment when the civil rights movement greatly accelerated. Although the Little Rock crisis deeply affected the nation, the movement had not yet generated the momentum and audacity that it did three years later. Riverside also underplayed the political content of the album, at least in comparison to Nat Hentoff's liner notes on *We Insist!* Although Rollins's statement is set off in a box, Orrin Keepnews's liner notes preferred keeping the political connection ambiguous rather than overt: "It [Freedom Suite] is not a piece about Emmett Till, or Little Rock, or Harlem, or the peculiar local election laws of Georgia or

Louisiana, no more than it is about the artistic freedom of jazz. But it is concerned with all such things, as they are observed by this musician and as they react—emotionally and intellectually—upon him."[48] Riverside, in other words, chose to present the politics of the *Freedom Suite* with greater artistic distance than the more "in your face" approach of Candid Records.

Candid Records

On some of those occasions I think we really felt we were making history.
—Nat Hentoff

It is fortunate for the *Freedom Now Suite* that 1960 was not only the year of the Greensboro sit-ins but also of Nat Hentoff's brief career as a record producer for Candid Records. Several of the best-known "political" recordings of 1960 and 1961 (including *Freedom Now,* Mingus's *Original Faubus Fables,* and two albums organized by the Jazz Artists Guild) were released on Candid Records, a short-lived subsidiary of Cadence Records. During the summer of 1960 Archie Bleyer, chief A&R (artists and repertoire) man at Cadence (and conductor of the house band for Arthur Godfrey's radio show), decided that he would like to make a contribution to jazz by forming a new record label devoted solely to the genre. Since he knew little about the music, he approached Hentoff about heading up the label. Part of the deal was that Hentoff could record anyone—absolutely anyone he wanted. Hentoff named the label Candid and, during a year that seemed to him a "fantasy come to life," recorded some of the most adventurous music around.[49]

The *Freedom Now Suite* was the fruit of recording sessions that took place at Nola Penthouse studio on August 31 and September 6, 1960. Hentoff recalls having first heard portions of the suite at the Village Gate during the summer of 1960, well before the 1961 world premier benefit for CORE. Hentoff approached Max Roach about recording for Candid but expected to hear that the work was already under contract. Much to his surprise, Roach had no contract and was happy to record for the new label. Abbey Lincoln recalls Hentoff's support as crucial: "Nat came for Roach and for me. He knew we were having a hard time. And he thought the music was valid. One of our few allies at the time was Nat Hentoff."[50]

Few established recording companies would have had the nerve to issue an album like *We Insist! Max Roach's Freedom Now Suite,* especially with a cover photograph and liner notes emphasizing its political content. A year earlier Columbia Records had nixed the lyrics to Charles Mingus's "Fables of Faubus," which appeared on *Mingus Ah Um* as an instrumental. On October 20, 1960, Mingus recorded the piece with lyrics for Candid Records. The lively exchange between Mingus and drummer Dannie Richmond, which had been a part of live performances of the work since 1957, were made available to a larger public for the first time on this recording under the title "Original Faubus Fables":

Oh Lord, don't let them shoot us,
Oh Lord, don't let them stab us,
Oh Lord, don't let them tar and feather us
Oh Lord, no more swastikas

Oh Lord, no more Ku Klux Klan
Name me someone who's ridiculous, Dannie:
"Governor Faubus"
Why is he so sick and ridiculous?
"He won't permit us in his schools"
Then he's a fool.

Boo, Nazi Fascist supremists!
Boo, Ku Klux Klan, with your Jim Crow plan

Name me a handful that's ridiculous, Dannie Richmond
". . . [undecipherable] Thomas, Faubus, Russell, Rockefeller,
Byrd, Eisenhower"
Why are they so sick and ridiculous?
Two, four, six, eight—they brainwash and teach you hate.
H-E-L-L-O—Hello[51]

Candid was not yet in business when Mingus recorded "Prayer for Passive Resistance," a remarkable blues, in Antibes in July. By starting out in two, moving to four, then walking in triplets (tripling the time as in "Wednesday Night Prayer Meeting"), Mingus created a shape of increasing rhythmic density over which Booker Ervin plaintively wailed.[52]

With the *Freedom Now Suite* and *Charles Mingus Presents Charles Mingus* under his belt, it is no wonder that Hentoff felt that his tenure at Candid "was the most satisfying and exciting part of my whole career, not only in jazz." In November he organized two sessions featuring some of the veterans of the previous summer's Newport Rebel Festival, which Mingus and Max Roach had organized. Mingus had been furious with the regular Newport Festival for its conservative programming and for grossly underpaying him in previous festivals. After rejecting George Wein's offer of $700 for the 1960 festival (to which he replied that he would not play for less then $5,000), Mingus explored the possibility of staging an alternative festival at the same time as the regular one.

Hentoff introduced Mingus to Elaine Lorillard, the wife of Louis Lorillard, a key figure in the Newport Jazz Festival. Elaine, who was going through a nasty divorce from Louis, was quite happy to aid Mingus in causing grief for her ex-husband. She contacted the owner of the Cliff Walk Manor, who agreed to allow the musicians to organize a festival on the grounds of his beachfront resort hotel. The musicians would keep all of the proceeds from the entrance fees since the owner, Nick Cannarozzi, expected to make extra profits on the bar and hotel rooms. An extraordinary lineup of musicians was assembled for the festival, including the bands of Charles Mingus, Max Roach, Ornette Coleman, Randy Weston, and Kenny Dorham. A meeting of the generations was also a by-product of the Newport Rebel Festival, as older veterans, including Coleman Hawkins, Roy Eldridge, Jo Jones, and Duke Jordan, performed there as well.[53]

There were only fifty people on hand to hear the first afternoon of the festival, but those present were treated to Charles Mingus and Ornette Coleman in alternating sets. Some of the musicians stayed in the Lorillard mansion, while others camped on its grounds. By the end of the weekend the music had succeeded in attracting crowds of up to five hundred. Meanwhile, the regular festival had been forced to close after some of its drunken guests turned violent on Saturday night.

On Sunday the Newport Rebels decided to organize the Jazz Artists Guild (JAG), whose mission was to book concerts and sponsor projects over which musicians would have both economic and artistic control. Although short lived, the JAG demonstrated that it was possible for jazz musicians to form collectives to advocate on their behalf both artistically and economically.[54] In November the JAG put together two recording sessions for Candid Records, released as *The Newport Rebels* and *The Jazz Life*, which included ensembles that comprised primarily people who had appeared at the Newport Rebel Festival. The first included Max Roach, Jo Jones, Abbey Lincoln, Eric Dolphy, Walter Benton, Cecil Payne, Booker Little, Benny Bailey, Kenny Dorham, Julian Priester, and Peck Morrison. The second featured Roy Eldridge, Jo Jones, Jimmy Knepper, Eric Dolphy, Tommy Flanagan, and Charles Mingus. The JAG also sponsored concerts drawn from Newport Rebel personnel, including a weeklong engagement at the Seventy-fourth Street Theater that was advertised in the *Amsterdam News*.[55]

Speaking Out

In addition to benefit concerts, the Newport Rebel Festival, and the musical projects of Candid Records, the activism of the student sit-ins also inspired many musicians to speak out publicly. Just as the Montgomery bus boycott seemed to up the level of activism among musicians in its wake, so did the lunch-counter sit-ins. The pages of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, in particular, devoted much attention to musicians' reactions to the sit-ins and issues of racial equality. In April 1960 Count Basie described the lunch-counter sit-ins as a "beautiful movement" that he supported completely. "They're trying to knock us down but we get right up again."[56]

In May, Cannonball Adderley publicly criticized classical music impresario Sol Hurok for describing jazz as amoral and a curse (on British TV): "I'm sure I would have found strength to defeat each argument, categorically—especially in light of the fact that Hurok . . . has never shown any tendencies toward integration."[57] In July Duke Ellington protested the standard practice of white acts taking first billing on interracial shows when he refused to take second billing on an engagement in Los Angeles with comedian Mort Sahl. When negotiations with Sahl went nowhere, Ellington refused to appear on stage with his orchestra.[58]

In August Harry Belafonte blasted "parlor liberals" who professed support for the student sit-in movement but were too fearful to make donations or speak out publicly on their behalf: "A lot of artists I know will invite Sidney Poitier and myself to dinner, tell us of their love for their Negro maids, chauffeurs, and hairdressers. They sound off. We go home and maybe in a year or six months or a week, we call on them saying there are courageous students who need money for bail or scholarships in case they cannot return to their schools. We say that we only need $100 and

that we read where they made $1,500,000 last year. They tell us they have to hear from their accountants."[59]

One of the more remarkable incidents reported by the *Courier* occurred in February 1960, not long after the sit-ins began. Lena Horne was dining at the Luau in Los Angeles when she overheard a man cursing at her after having been informed she was there. The man, one Harvey Vincent, had said, "That lousy n—. I do not like n—s. I don't care who they are. That n— b— shouldn't be here." After she requested that the man stop his insults to no avail, she threw three ashtrays at him. "I prefer fighting my battles with the NAACP and in a place like Little Rock, but when that man insulted my race, I just got boiling mad and popped him. And I have no intention of apologizing to him."[60] This is the same Lena Horne who nine years previously had counseled Roy Eldridge that putting up with some indignities was the price of racial advancement (see chapter 2).

Ray Charles appeared in the pages of the *Courier* in the spring of 1961 after students at the historically black Paine College in Augusta, Georgia, had requested that he cancel a concert that was scheduled to take place in a segregated auditorium. Although he had already arrived in Augusta before the students succeeded in contacting him, he promptly cancelled the concert and said, "I feel that it is the least that I can do to stand behind my principles and help the students in their fight for their principles."[62] Just as the Montgomery bus boycott was followed by a boost in activism among musicians, so, too, did the student lunch-counter sit-ins of the 1960s increase the willingness of musicians to speak out.

Miles Davis

Musicians were stimulated to speak out, not only by the civil rights movement but also by the racially unjust treatment they received while working as professional musicians.[62] Miles Davis's experience at Birdland on August 26, 1959, offers an example:

> "I had just finished doing an Armed Forces Day, you know, Voice of America and all that bullshit. I had just walked this pretty white girl named Judy out to get a cab. She got in the cab, and I'm standing there in front of Birdland wringing wet because it's a hot, steaming, muggy night in August. This white policeman comes up to me and tells me to move on. At the time I was doing a lot of boxing and so I thought to myself, I ought to hit this motherfucker because I knew what he was doing. But instead I said, 'Move on, for what? I'm working downstairs. That's my name up there, Miles Davis,' and I pointed up to my name on the marquee all up in lights. He said, 'I don't care where you work, I said move on! If you don't move on I'm going to arrest you.' I just looked at his face real straight and hard, and I didn't move. Then he said, 'You're under arrest!' "[63]

When Davis refused to allow Officer Gerald Kilduff to arrest him, a struggle ensued during which Miles was beaten about the head with a billy club by a detective named Donald Rolker, who had rushed to the scene to assist Kilduff. Davis was arrested, his cabaret card was confiscated, and—depending upon which newspaper account is heeded—he required between two and five stitches in his head.[64] The struggle was so noisy that members of the Hodges-Robbins Orchestra who were rehearsing across the street put their mike booms out of the window and captured on tape New York City's finest calling Miles Davis the n-word. Although *Down Beat* received a letter suggesting that Davis's attitude was to blame for the incident, in general, the jazz community, both domestic and international, was indignant.[65]

In October 1959 after a two-day trial Davis was acquitted of the disorderly conduct charge he had received. Judge Kenneth Phipps noted that taking a breath of fresh air between sets was perfectly normal behavior for musicians at nightclub engagements.[66] Davis was tried a second time on the charge of third-degree assault and was acquitted in January 1960. Although a suit against the New York City Police Department was announced, the attorney who had been retained to file the claim missed the deadline and Davis consequently lost the $500,000 in damages.[67] As Davis recounts in his *Autobiography*, "that changed my whole life and whole attitude again, made me bitter and cynical again when I was starting to feel good about the things that had changed in this country."[68]

Benefit for the African Research Foundation

Miles Davis's activism at this stage of the Movement, however, did not take the form of a benefit for a civil rights organization. Rather, his

attention turned to Africa. On May 19, 1961, Davis performed a benefit concert for the African Research Foundation at Carnegie Hall.[69] Featuring Gil Evans's orchestra and Davis's quintet with Wynton Kelly, Hank Mobley, Paul Chambers, and Jimmy Cobb, the concert is better known by its recording, *Miles Davis at Carnegie Hall*.[70]

The African Research Foundation (ARF), (now the African Medical and Research Foundation) was founded in 1957 by a group of three white doctors who were concerned about making health care services available in post-independence Africa. Known as the "flying doctors," they developed mobile units (first on trucks, then on planes) that took primary health care services to remote regions of sub-Saharan Africa.[71] By 1961 they were a multiracial organization committed to the goal of leaving black Africans in charge wherever they operated. Julius Nyerere, head of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and soon to be the first president of independent Tanganyika (now Tanzania), was a frequent visitor to the African Research Foundation (ARF) office in New York, something that may have interested Miles. Nyerere supported a version of African socialism that stressed self-reliance and communalism and later influenced the cultural nationalism of Maulana Karenga.[72]

Davis became aware of the ARF through Jean Bach, a friend of founder Thomas Rees and someone who Miles dated briefly.[73] According to Ronald Moss, those most heavily involved with the organization were "all jazz nuts," regularly attending concerts and performances in New York. Davis had been reluctant to accept a concert hall engagement in New York, but his interest in the ARF apparently tipped the balance. Carnegie Hall was booked, Gil Evans' orchestra engaged and plans were made to record the concert. Joe Eula's poster for the concert (from which the album cover was taken) featured Davis's signature 'S' posture emanating from the mouth of an elephant. The concert was heavily attended (a sell-out) and raised $25,000 toward a mobile medical unit.[74]

The concert was nevertheless picketed by Max Roach and several demonstrators, who questioned the politics of the African Research Foundation. During Davis's performance of "Someday My Prince Will Come" (the opener for the second half), Roach and a companion emerged, sat down on stage, and held up placards reading "Africa or the Africans," "Freedom Now," and "Medicine without Murrow Please." Davis left the stage angered and returned only after guards had removed Roach from the stage. According to George Simon who reviewed the concert for the

Herald Tribune, "Davis, who till then had been playing his usual fine, cool trumpet, returned and began blowing some of the wildest, free-swinging jazz this reviewer has heard from his horn in many a moon."[75] Roach's protest, it seemed, had a beneficial effect on Davis's performance. Afterward Roach apologized for interrupting after the concert.[76]

The demonstrators accused the liberal, predominantly white ARF of having connections with CIA front groups and, consequently, of playing into the hands of colonialism. According to Ronald Moss, Roach had been misled into thinking that the ARF was a "white supremacist organization in league with South Africa" when, in fact, the organization had no contact with South Africa until after Mandela became president. Nevertheless, the ARF was a liberal rather than revolutionary organization.[77]

African nationalist sentiment, it should be remembered, was at a fever pitch in the spring of 1961 in the wake of the assassination of the Congo's Patrice Lumumba. Max Roach and Abbey Lincoln had been involved in the demonstrations at the UN that included members of the United African Nationalist Movement, the Liberation Committee for Africa, and On Guard. Other musicians, such as Dizzy Gillespie, were also interested in events in Africa. On March 3, 1961, at Carnegie Hall, Gillespie premiered a work that was dedicated to the newly independent African nations, and he participated in a celebration of African Freedom day in April of that year.[78]

The demonstration at Davis's May 19 concert was not the only source of conflict that evening. Earlier in the day Davis had angered Teo Macero by canceling the scheduled recording of the concert, despite the fact that arrangements for moving Columbia's recording equipment had already been made. Nonetheless, when Macero arrived at the hall, he asked a hall employee whether any recording equipment were available. A small monaural 1/4 track deck (a Webcor) that recorded at 7-1/2 rps, a mixing pot, and four microphones were found; Macero recorded surreptitiously and illegally from the front left of the house. After the concert Macero threw the tape at Davis, exclaiming "This could have been a great record!" A few hours later, in the middle of the night, Davis called Macero and asked him to arrange for the release of the tape. In order to secure permission from Carnegie Hall, Macero talked the shop steward into helping him comply retroactively with union rules.[79]

What should have been a stereo recording, consequently, is a mono recording made under technically challenging circumstances. The

selections with the Gil Evans orchestra suffer most from the inadequate recording equipment. In addition, the subsequent deletion of several small group tunes from the original release has further obscured the strength of the quintet's performance that evening.[80] Yet, on *Walkin'*, *Teo*, *Oleo*, *No Blues*, and *I Thought About You*, the rhythm section of Wynton Kelly, Paul Chambers, and Jimmy Cobb is truly impressive, anticipating aspects of the open, adventurous accompanimental style that Ron Carter, Herbie Hancock, and Tony Williams would perfect a few years later. Miles scoops, slides, and soars over the top.

The Freedom Rides

The Freedom Rides, which riveted the attention of the nation from May 14 through May 25, 1961, provided the next major impetus for civil rights fund-raising events that included jazz musicians. Louis Armstrong, Cannonball Adderley, Gerry Mulligan, Oscar Brown Jr., Dizzy Gillespie, Billy Taylor, Horace Silver, and Art Blakey were among the musicians who performed for fund-raising events that took place from the end of June 1961 through early 1962 (table 5.3).

The brutality of the white resistance that this nonviolent direct-action campaign provoked distinguishes it from the comparatively peaceful lunch-counter sit-ins of 1960. Capsule summaries of the Freedom Rides, which frequently passed quickly from bus ride to beating to triumph, fail to communicate the magnitude of the danger the Freedom Riders faced, the warlike conditions that organized violence produced in Alabama, and the radicalizing effect it had on the movement. The Kennedy administration's reluctance to send federal troops to Alabama for political reasons (both domestic and international) prolonged the crisis.[81]

The Freedom Rides, a project organized by CORE, was designed to determine whether the Southern states were complying with the Supreme Court's ruling in *Boynton v. Virginia* (1960), a decision that extended the prohibition against segregation in interstate transportation to waiting rooms and other terminal services. Thirteen Freedom Riders (seven black men, three white women, and three white men) in two groups (one on Greyhound, one on Trailways) departed from Washington, D.C., on Thursday, May 4, traveling by day and participating in mass meetings in the evenings. Although three riders had been beaten at the terminal in

TABLE 5.3 Some fund-raising concerts, June 1961–1962

Date	*Location*	*Billed as*	*Benefit for/Sponsor*	*Participants*
6/28/61	New York, Randall's Island		CORE Freedom Riders	Louis Armstrong, Gerry Mulligan, Cannonball Adderley[1]
7/7/61	New York, Channel 13 WNTA	telethon	CORE Freedom Riders	Oscar Brown Jr., Nina Simone, Theodore Bikel, Horace Silver, Art Blakey, Orson Bean, Joey Bishop, Billy Taylor, Lena Horne, Theodore Bikel, Cal Tjader, Hi Fi's, Leon Bibb, Tarriers, Ronnie Chapman[2]
7/14/61	Philadelphia		NAACP annual convention	*Freedom Now Suite*, Max Roach, Abbey Lincoln, Michael Olatunji, Sarah Vaughan, Oscar Brown Jr.
8/6/61	New York, St. Albans, home of Count Basie		NCCJ (National Council of Churches)	Olatunji, Count Basie, and others[3]
1961	Benefit for CORE at Mrs. Wexler's residence			Count Basie Orchestra[4]
Sept. 1961	Nashville	Salute to Freedom Riders	SCLC	Harry Belafonte, Chad Mitchell, Miriam Makeba[5]
Fall 1961	San Francisco Opera House		NAACP	Miles Davis[6]
12/1/61	New York, McMillan Theater, Columbia University		SNCC	Maynard Ferguson and other jazz and folk artists[7]
1/26/62	Apollo Theater		Negro American Labor Council (NALC)	Dizzy Gillespie, Modern Jazz Quartet, Jerome Richardson, Hank Mobley, Sonny Clark, Clark Terry, Oscar Brown Jr., Nina Simone. Appearances Johnny Hartman, Ruby Dee, Ossie Davis[8]

(*continued*)

TABLE 5.3 (*continued*)

Date	*Location*	*Billed as*	*Benefit for/Sponsor*	*Participants*
2/4/62	Village Gate		CORE	(names not available)[9]
3/62	New York	cocktail party	SNCC	Harry Belafonte, Martin Luther King, Bob Moses Charles McDew[10]
3/26/1962	Studio of Jan Yoors, 329 E. 47th Street, champagne party	You Are Cordially Invited to Attend a Ruckus with Dizzy Gillespie (cocktail party)	CORE, Freedom Riders	Dizzy Gillespie[11]
6/6/1962	Atlanta		CORE	Harry Belafonte Miriam Makeba[12] Dizzy Gillespie[13]
1962	Seattle			

1. "Jazz Supports the Freedom Riders," *New York Amsterdam News* 51 (June 24, 1961), p. 17.
2. "Big Telethon Set to Aid Freedom Riders," *New York Amsterdam News* 51 (June 24, 1961), p. 17; Jesse H. Walker, "CORE Telethon 4½-Hour Success," *New York Amsterdam News* 51 (July 15, 1961), p. 16.
3. "Rhythm at the Pool," *New York Amsterdam News* 51 (Aug. 12, 1961), p. 14.
4. Val Coleman, interview with author, July 23, 1997. Coleman does not recall the date. Mrs. Wexler was connected to the Wexler coffee fortune.
5. Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters*, p. 515. Belafonte fell ill and had to cancel. The SCLC lost money on the venture.
6. "Miles Davis 'Approved' for Bay Concert," *Down Beat* 28 (July 20, 1961), pp. 13–14.
7. "Jazz Show at Columbia," *New York Amsterdam News* 51 (Dec. 2, 1961), p. 18.
8. Jesse H. Walker, "Modern Jazz Show Held for Labor," *New York Amsterdam News* 41 (Feb. 3, 1962), p. 16.
9. *CORE-Respondent*, vol. 1 (Feb. 4, 1962), CORE series 5, box 17, folder 1.
10. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, pp. 578–79.
11. "You Are Cordially Invited to Attend a Ruckus with Dizzy Gillespie" (invitation), Mar. 26, 1962, Institute for Jazz Studies, topics files: race problems.
12. "Belafonte Heads Deep South," *Pittsburgh Courier* (May 26, 1962), p. 13.
13. Telegram to Marvin Rich, June 22, 1962, CORE series 5, box 28, folder 5.

Rock Hill, South Carolina, on May 9, things were relatively peaceful until they crossed into Alabama on Mother's Day, May 14.[82]

When the Greyhound bus pulled into Anniston, a white mob armed with clubs, knives, iron pipes, and bricks tried to force the Freedom Riders from the bus as two Alabama state investigators traveling undercover desperately held the bus door shut. The mob, undeterred by the police along its edge, pounded on the bus and slashed its tires. The driver backed up and drove off, chased by dozens of cars, but when the tires soon flattened, the bus was disabled outside of town. The mob smashed the bus windows and threw a firebomb into the vehicle from the rear. The bus filled with smoke and flames as the mob now tried to seal in the Freedom Riders by barricading the door. At this point, one of the undercover investigators brandished his pistol, causing the attackers to retreat and providing a window of opportunity needed to open the door. As they exited, the Freedom Riders were beaten by the mob as the bus went up in flames.[83]

When the driver of the second bus (which pulled into Anniston an hour later) heard of the attack on the Greyhound bus, he incited the white passengers to forcibly move two black students from the front seats to the back of the bus so they would be allowed to proceed. In the process the students and two of their white group members resisted and were beaten, one unconscious. The bus continued on to Birmingham, where police commissioner "Bull" Connor had made an advance agreement with the Ku Klux Klan: The police would wait fifteen minutes before interfering with their planned "welcome" for the Freedom Riders, something the FBI had known about since May 5. In that fifteen minutes there was a bloody thrashing that included not only the Freedom Riders but also members of the press. Jim Peck, a white group member, suffered head wounds that required fifty-three stitches to close, and he was turned away from the first hospital at which he sought treatment. The group scattered but reconvened at the home of Fred Shuttlesworth, head of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR).[84]

On the following day, after a night of negotiations between Shuttlesworth, Robert Kennedy, Governor John Patterson, and Bull Connor, this first group of Freedom Riders attempted to continue the ride to Montgomery, but Greyhound could not find a driver willing to undertake the mission. They then aborted the project, decided to fly to New Orleans, and were followed by an angry mob to the airport.[85]

At this point SNCC stepped in. On May 17 Diane Nash sent a new contingent of Freedom Riders to Birmingham, but they were soon arrested by "Bull" Connor after another long scene of mob intimidation. Over the next two days a complicated series of negotiations between the Justice Department, the Alabama state government, and Shuttlesworth took place, which resulted in the Freedom Riders continuing on to Montgomery on Saturday, May 20. Although state troopers protected the bus to the city line, the Montgomery police abandoned the streets to a mob, which resulted in another brutal set of beatings, capped by a bonfire lit from the contents of the Freedom Riders' suitcases.[86]

The following day Martin Luther King Jr. and James Farmer arrived in Montgomery, and a mass meeting was held at Ralph Abernathy's "Brick-a-Day" Church. When an angry white mob surrounded the church, an all-night siege began. In the midst of the crisis, Robert Kennedy ordered six hundred federal marshals into Montgomery, but they were unable to contain the mob. Alabama's Governor Patterson declared martial law and sent in the National Guard to disperse the white segregationists, but the militia also intimidated the fifteen hundred African Americans inside the church by refusing to allow them to leave until 4:30 A.M.[87]

The Kennedy administration ultimately made a deal with the states of Alabama and Mississippi. The local authorities would be allowed to arrest the Freedom Riders in Jackson, Mississippi, provided they ensured safe passage of the bus to Jackson, Mississippi. There the Freedom Riders refused bail and elected to serve jail time rather than pay fines. The drama of these first Freedom Rides inspired a continuing flow of riders to Mississippi throughout the summer and fall of 1961. Coordinated by the Freedom Ride Coordinating Committee, these riders included members of CORE, SNCC, SCLC, and the NAACP.[88] These actions resulted in the arrests of an additional 328 people. The Freedom Rides not only succeeded in eliminating segregation in interstate transportation in a matter of months (the Kennedy administration pressed for an expedited Interstate Commerce Commission ruling, which went into effect on November 1, 1961) but also inspired many people to drop what they were doing and work full time for movement organizations.[89]

Art Blakey had been following the news. A few days after the imprisonment of the first Freedom Riders in Jackson, Blakey took time out of a recording session with his fabled quintet (with Wayne Shorter, Lee Morgan, Bobby Timmons, and Jymie Merritt) to record a drum solo he called "The Freedom Rider," which also became the title of the album on which it was released. Blakey's seven-and-a-half-minute solo makes use of many of the gestures heard in his African-diasporic-tinged drum solos of the 1950s (discussed in chapter 4). The Afro-Cuban time-keeping pattern from "Message from Kenya" (1953), the drum rolls and playing of conga patterns on the tom toms heard on "Ritual" (1957), and the use of pitch bending on the toms to give a talking-drum effect can all be heard. The new gestures here are the bashing sounds on the ride cymbal at regular intervals, which are difficult not to hear as the crashing of billy clubs on the Freedom Riders' heads, and a knocking idea followed by a descending shape on the toms. This gesture, which is prominently repeated at the beginning of the solo and alluded to later (6:16–6:27), is insistent, as if to say, "We're knocking at the door" and are not going away.

Nat Hentoff's liner notes describe the atmosphere at the time of the recording:

> At the time of this recording . . . the battle of the bus terminals had not been won, and there was a feeling of impregnable determination among civil rights actionists to send Freedom Riders into the South until all the jails were filled—if that were necessary to end segregation of interstate travelers. In his absorbing, deeply personal solo, Art Blakey conjures up the whirlpool of emotions at that time—the winds of change sweeping the country, the resistance to that change, and the pervasive conviction of the Freedom Riders that "We Shall Not Be Moved."[90]

Donations began flowing into CORE headquarters in New York soon after the initial Freedom Rides. During the summer of 1961 alone CORE raised more than $228,000, as much as during the entire previous fiscal year. Even so, the organization was overwhelmed by legal and bail expenses related to the imprisonment of Freedom Riders in Mississippi. State officials doubled jail terms and tripled fines, which added to the expenses that CORE and the other movement organizations incurred. Because it frequently owed tens of thousands of dollars more than it could pay out, CORE expanded its fund-raising efforts in New York (and elsewhere) in 1961 and 1962 and increased the number of its chapters in the metropolitan area from three to nine.[91]

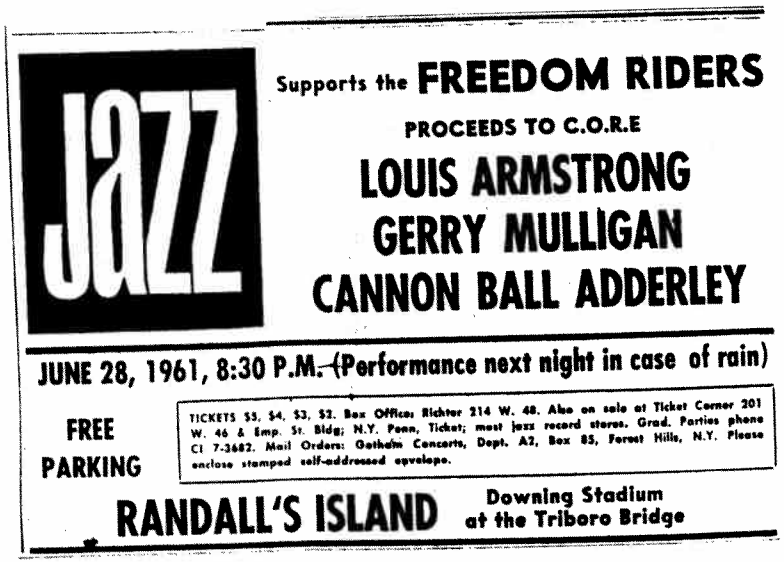

FIGURE 5.5. "Jazz Supports the Freedom Riders." *New York Amsterdam News* 40, no. 25 (June 24, 1961), p. 17. Used by permission.

On June 28 CORE sponsored a major fund-raising concert on New York's Randall's Island, at which the bands of Louis Armstrong, Gerry Mulligan, and Cannonball Adderley performed. Billed as "Jazz Supports the Freedom Riders," it was a strictly jazz event, unlike the joint tribute to Martin Luther King at Carnegie Hall in January (figure 5.5). A few weeks later CORE organized a four-and-a-half-hour telethon for the Freedom Riders that was broadcast on New York's WNTA, channel 13. Writer Louis Lomax and Betty Frank, a radio personality, hosted the show, which featured appearances by Billy Taylor, Lena Horne, Cal Tjader, Art Blakey, Oscar Brown Jr., and Horace Silver. James Farmer, who had been released from jail that very day, was interviewed by Mike Wallace toward the end of the telethon, adding the vividness and authenticity of a firsthand voice. The event generated $36,000 in pledges and nearly $30,000 in actual revenues.[92]

On a smaller scale, many people sponsored fund-raising parties in their homes, at which an entrance fee was charged and donated to CORE. On Monday, March 26,1962, Dizzy Gillespie played at an upscale version held

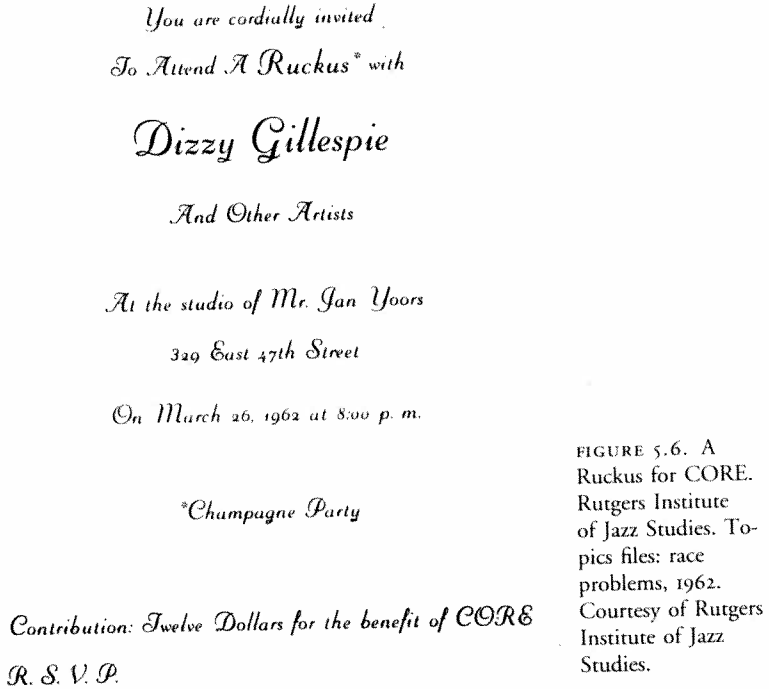

FIGURE 5.6. A Ruckus for CORE. Rutgers Institute of Jazz Studies. Topics files: race problems, 1962. Courtesy of Rutgers Institute of Jazz Studies.

at the midtown studio of Jan Yoors. An engraved invitation advertising "A Ruckus with Dizzy Gillespie and Other Artists" was geared to an elite audience (figure 5.6). The $12 admission was nearly five times the $2.50 donation that was expected a year earlier at the benefit performance of the *Freedom Now Suite*. Virtually all of the civil rights organizations cultivated wealthy donors by holding "class appropriate" fund-raising events with elite appeal, often catering to bourgeois tastes that were disdained by activists on the front lines of the movement. Because jazz was popular with the liberal moneyed intelligentsia, name attractions in jazz such as Dizzy Gillespie, Count Basie, Miles Davis, Thelonious Monk, and Dave Brubeck helped draw them to these events.

The fundraising events in 1960 and 1961 responded to an intensification of the civil rights movement in the wake of the Student Sit-Ins and reveal a strong interest among jazz musicians in the civil rights struggle. For the most part, these performances benefited mainstream civil rights organiza-

tions, although the black nationalist issues raised by Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam (such as economic and political self-determination) simmered in the background. During the next few years, as the violent suppression of the civil rights movement continued, these background issues came to the foreground.

6

Activism and Fund-Raising from Birmingham to Black Power

In the summer of 1962, when SNCC was facing enormous expenses from the conduct of mass protests against segregation in Albany, Georgia, the organization decided to develop an independent network of financial support by opening offices in Chicago, Detroit, New York, Washington, Philadelphia, and Cleveland. James Forman and other members of SNCC's leadership encouraged Northern supporters to create "Friends of SNCC" groups to organize fund-raising parties, rallies, and concerts at which SNCC workers in the South would speak to audiences and inspire them to donate much-needed money to the organization. Between June 1962 and December 1963, combined Friends of SNCC activities raised some $359,000, which enabled SNCC to establish new voter registration projects in a dozen Mississippi communities, as well as some in Georgia, Alabama, and Virginia.[1] New York Friends of SNCC reported raising $34,000 in 1963, and in 1964 and 1965 New York was consistently the largest single contributor to SNCC's national effort, averaging $16,000/month in 1965.

Thelonious Monk

To celebrate the third anniversary of the Greensboro lunch-counter sit-ins, SNCC sponsored "A Salute to Southern Students" at Carnegie Hall on February 1, 1963.[2] Several jazz artists appeared on the bill, including

103. Helen Bannerman, *The Story of Little Black Sambo* (London: Grant Richards, 1899).

104. The mid-1960s witnessed a movement to establish Kiswahili as a lingua franca throughout the African continent. See Scot Brown, *Fighting for US: Maulana Karenga, the US Organization, and Black Cultural Nationalism* (New York: New York University Press, 2003), pp. 10–11.

105. Randy Weston, *Uhuru Afrika,* New York, Nov. 1960, Roulette CDP 7945102. All twelve pitches of the chromatic scale are presented in these four bars as well. Shortly after this passage the phrase is completed with "Afrika" articulated in the horns.

106. I thank John Mugane for his help on the Kiswahili language.

CHAPTER 5

1. The full title of the recording is *We Insist! Max Roach's Freedom Now Suite.* Nevertheless, I refer to the piece as the *Freedom Now Suite,* as is usual among jazz musicians.

2. "CORE presents: Freedom Now," Jan. 15, 1961, poster, CORE series 5, box 28, folder 8; Collection of Art D'Lugoff, Max Roach, *We Insist! Max Roach's Freedom Now Suite,* New York, Aug. 31 and Sept. 6, 1960, Candid CCD 9002. The album photo was adapted from widely distributed photos of the lunch-counter sit-ins in early 1960. One example can be found in William H. Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 84.

3. Amiri Baraka, *Blues People: Negro Music in White America* (New York: William and Morrow, 1963); Frank Kofsky, *Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music* (New York: Pathfinder, 1970).

4. Stanley Dance, *The World of Duke Ellington* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), p. 21.

5. This list includes information from a detailed search of jazz magazines (among them *Down Beat* and *Metronome*), mainstream newspapers (such as the *New York Times*), African American newspapers *(New York Amsterdam News, Pittsburgh Courier, Chicago Defender),* and handbills from the Marshall Stearns files at the Institute for Jazz Studies in Newark, NJ. The list is, nevertheless, not intended to be comprehensive.

6. Clark Terry, interview with author, Mar. 27, 1997, St. Louis, MO.

7. Amiri Baraka, *The Autobiography of LeRoi Jones* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill, 1997), pp. 298–99. Although I do not have equally detailed documentation of the benefit concerts and politically related events at which avant-garde artists played, many musicians have stated that they played regularly at such events; Roswell Rudd, interview with author, June 28, 1998.

8. Baraka, *Blues People;* John Litweiler, *The Freedom Principle: Jazz after 1958* (New York: Da Capo, 1984); Kofsky, *Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music.*

9. Abbey Lincoln, interview with author, June 13, 1995, New York.

10. My perspective on the development of the sit-in movement is indebted to Aldon D. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: Free Press, 1984), especially pp. 187–228. Additional information on the sit-ins can be found in Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 1–18; William H. Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 71–101; Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–1963* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), pp. 271–73; and August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, *CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), pp. 101–106.

11. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE,* pp. 188–94, 197–99; Chase, *Civilities and Civil Rights,* pp. 76–77, 80–81.

12. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE,* pp. 199–205.

13. Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement,* pp. 174–78; Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights,* p. 86.

14. Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement,* pp. 214–20.

15. Ibid., pp. 221–23.

16. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE,* p. 81; "Southern Boycott Spreading North," *New York Amsterdam News* 50, no. 7 (Feb. 13, 1960), p. 11; Marvin Rich, interview with author, Jan. 3, 1997, New York.

17. Nat Hentoff, interview with author, Jan. 2, 1997, New York.

18. Jimmy McDonald to George Haefer, July 25, 1960, IJS topics files: race problems; "Executive Board Minutes," *Allegro* 34 (Aug. 1960), pp. 14–15.

19. Initial coverage in the *New York Amsterdam News* referred to the lunch-counter sit-ins as "sit downs." "The Sit Downs," *New York Amsterdam News* 50, no. 10 (Mar. 5, 1960), p. 8. The sit-down strike was a tactic used by the United Auto Workers in organizing the auto industry in the 1930s. The most famous example is the strike in Flint, Michigan, from 1936 to 1937. See "The Flint Sit-Down Strike," http://www.historicalvoices.org/flint/ (accessed Mar. 4, 2007).

20. Marvin Rich, interview with author; "April 25th Dinner, Financial Report" (May 11, 1965), SNCC subgroup B, series 1, reel 46, frame 1234. In 1960 union scale for a five-piece band for one night at a class A nightclub in New York was $121.64 (three hours); see *Allegro* 34 (Feb. 1960), p. 23.

21. Art D'Lugoff, interview with author, Jan. 5, 1997, New York; Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement,* pp. 141–55.

22. D'Lugoff, interview.

23. " 'Cabaret for Freedom' New Theatre Movement," *New York Amsterdam News* 50 (Nov. 19, 1960), p. 18; Maya Angelou recalls that all of these performances were held in the summer of 1960. The *Amsterdam News* coverage, however, indicates that they occurred later. See Maya Angelou, *The Heart of a Woman* (New York: Bantam, 1997), pp. 65–81.

24. Don DeMichael, "Urban League 'Festival,' " *Down Beat* 27 (Oct. 13, 1960), p. 20; "Sammy Davis Jr. Brought Friends to Chicago Jazz Bash," *Pittsburgh Courier* (Sept. 10, 1960), p. 23.

25. DeMichael, "Urban League Festival."

26. Harry Belafonte, appeal letter, n.d., check CORE subseries 5, box 28, folder 2; "A Full Evening with Sinatra, Martin, Davis, Lawford, Bishop," *New York Amsterdam News* 51, no. 2 (Jan. 14, 1961), p. 13; Rich, interview; "Joséphine Baker," Oct. 12, 1963 (poster), CORE subseries 5, box 28, folder 8; Howard C. Burney to Val Coleman, Nov. 15, 1963, CORE subseries 5, box 28, folder 8; Val Coleman, interview with author, July 23, 1997. For information on SNCC field secretary wages see "Broadway Comes to Arthur," May 23, 1966, SNCC B, I, reel 46, folder 1257–58; Ella Baker, appeal letter, Jan. 22, 1963, SNCC B, I, reel 45, folder 1086.

27. On funding see Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, pp. 116–19.

28. Both quotes are from "The Messenger of Allah Presents the Muslim Program," *Muhammad Speaks* 2, no. 25 (Aug. 30, 1963), p. 24.

29. All of the quotes from Malcolm X in the next few paragraphs are from George Breitman, ed., *Malcolm X Speaks* (New York: Grove, 1965), pp. 21–22. The Muslim Mosque, Inc., preceded the formation of Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American Unity.

30. Clayborne Carson, *Malcolm X: The FBI File* (New York: Carroll and Graf, 1991), p. 32.

31. Lani Guinier, *The Tyranny of the Majority: Fundamental Fairness in Representative Democracy* (New York: Free Press, 1994); Michael C. Dawson, *Black Visions: The Roots of Contemporary African-American Political Ideologies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

32. On racial separatism in SNCC and CORE see Carson, *In Struggle*, pp. 191–211; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, pp. 374–408.

33. Some passages of this section were published in Ingrid Monson, "Revisited! Freedom Now Suite," *Jazz Times* 31 (Sept. 2001), pp. 54–59.

34. Many African American composers have chosen to present a historical narrative of African American experience in their works, including Billy McClain's *Darkest America*, a musical theater production from 1896, and Wynton Marsalis's *Blood on the Fields*. See Thomas L. Riis, *More than Just Minstrel Shows: The Rise of Black Musical Theatre at the Turn of the Century*, ISAM Monographs, No. 33 (Brooklyn, NY: Institute for Studies in American Music, Conservatory of Music, Brooklyn College of the City University of New York, 1992), p. 6; Wynton Marsalis, *Blood on the Fields* (sound recording), New York, Jan. 22–25, 1995, Columbia CXK 57694.

35. Nat Hentoff, liner notes to *We Insist! Max Roach's Freedom Now Suite*, New York, Aug. 31 and Sept. 6, 1960, Candid CCD 9002. Personnel on the recording include Booker Little, trumpet; Coleman Hawkins and Walter Benton Jr., tenor saxophone; Julian Priester, trombone; Michael (Babatunde) Olatunji and James Schenck, bass; Mantillo Du Vall, percussion, Max Roach, drums; and Abbey Lincoln, vocal.

36. *We Insist! Max Roach's Freedom Now Suite;* "CORE presents: Freedom Now," (poster), subseries 5, box 28, folder 8; collection of Art D'Lugoff. It is possible that portions of the suite were actually performed at the Village Gate sometime during the summer of 1960; see the later section on Candid Records.

37. Dan Morgenstern, "Freedom Now," *Metronome* 78 (Mar. 1961), p. 51.

38. "Jazz Gallery, N.Y.," *Variety* 222, no. 7 (Apr. 12, 1961), p. 53. Gloster Current reported that Sarah Vaughan also appeared with Lincoln and Roach at the NAACP convention. Oscar Brown Jr. reports that this is incorrect; interview with author, June 29, 1998. See Gloster Current, "Fifty-second Annual Convention Promises a Stepped-up Crusade," *Crisis* 68, no. 7 (Aug.–Sept. 1961), p. 410; "Freedom Now Suite May Go on Tour," *Down Beat* 28, no. 21 (Oct. 12, 1961), p. 13. Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee report that there was also a plan to make a film entitled *Uhuru!* (Freedom!) that used the *Freedom Now Suite* as a soundtrack. The project ran out of money. Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee, *With Ossie and Ruby: In This Life Together* (New York: William Morrow, 1998), pp. 288–289.

39. Brown's father had been an active organizer for the Chicago NAACP's campaign against restrictive covenants.

40. Max Roach, interview with author, Apr. 3, 1999, Cambridge, MA; Oscar Brown Jr., interview with author by telephone, June 20, 1998.

41. Brown Jr., interview.

42. Ibid.

43. "Freedom Album May Be Loaned," *New York Amsterdam News* 42, no. 34 (Aug. 24, 1963), p. 14; "No 'Freedom Now' in South Africa," *Down Beat* 29, no. 13 (June 21, 1962), p. 11; Robert W. July, *A History of the African People* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), p. 500. The *Freedom Now Suite* was performed at a benefit for SNCC in 1965 and on tour in Europe in 1964.

44. Abbey Lincoln, interview with author, June 13, 1995.

45. Dave Brubeck, "Take Five," *Time Out*, New York, July 1, 1959, Columbia CK 65122.

46. Buddy Rich and Max Roach, *Rich versus Roach*, New York, Spring 1959, Mercury 826 987-2.

47. Frank Kofsky accused Orrin Keepnews of suppressing the statement for political reasons on a later reissue. Keepnews found this charge highly ironic since he had written a good portion of the statement to begin with. Keepnews related this information at "Miles Davis, the Civil Rights Movement, and Jazz," a conference held at Washington University, May 3–4, 1997; Kofsky's charges are made in Kofsky, *Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music*, pp. 50–51.

48. Orrin Keepnews, liner notes to *Freedom Suite*, Riverside OJCCD-067-2 (RLP-258).

49. Nat Hentoff, *Speaking Freely* (New York: Knopf, 1997), pp. 46–53. Hentoff had had some experience organizing sessions for Lester Koenig's Contemporary Records. Among the Candid releases were albums by Don Ellis, Booker Ervin, Lightnin' Hopkins, Steve Lacy, Abbey Lincoln, Booker Little, Charles Mingus, Otis Spann, Clark Terry, Cecil Taylor, and Phil Woods.

50. Lincoln, interview.

51. Charles Mingus, "Original Faubus Fables," *Charles Mingus Presents Charles Mingus,* New York, Oct. 20, 1960, Candid BR-5012. Due to contractual issues with Columbia, Candid could not use "Fables of Faubus" as the title. Russell is probably Senator Richard Russell. The names of the political figures changed in live performance to fit the circumstances of the day. See Sy Johnson, liner notes, *The Complete 1959 CBS Charles Mingus Sessions,* New York, 1959, Mosaic MQ4-143.

52. "Prayer for Passive Resistance," *Mingus at Antibes,* Juan-les-Pins, France, July 13, 1960, Atlantic SD 2-3001. The piece was first recorded on *Pre-Bird,* New York, May 25, 1960, Mercury SR-60627.

53. Hentoff, interview; Gene Lees, "Newport: The Real Trouble," *Down Beat* 27, no. 17 (Aug. 18, 1960), pp. 20–23, 44; Michael Cuscuna, liner notes, *The Complete Candid Recordings of Charles Mingus,* New York, Oct. 20, 1960, and Nov. 11, 1960, Mosaic 111.

54. Lees in "Newport: The Real Trouble" reports that Mingus accused George Wein and the Newport Festival of practicing Jim Crow and chastised Nat Adderley for electing to play the regular festival rather than the one at Cliff Walk Manor.

55. Michael Cuscuna, liner notes, *Complete Candid Recordings of Charles Mingus; Newport Rebels: Jazz Artists Guild,* New York, Nov. 1 and Nov. 11, 1960, Candid 9022; *The Jazz Life,* New York, Nov. 1 and Nov. 11, 1960, Candid 9019. The musicians who appeared on the recording who did not perform at the rebel festival were Benny Bailey, Tommy Flanagan, and Peck Morrison. "Jazz Artists Guild" (advertisement), *New York Amsterdam News* 50, no. 34 (Aug. 20, 1960), p. 13. The personnel listed were Coleman Hawkins, Jo Jones, Max Roach, Charles Mingus, Kenny Dorham, Allen Eager, and Abbey Lincoln. Although no dates are listed in the ad, the "Nightly 8 & 11:30 Mats. Sat. Sun. 2:30" probably refers to Tuesday through Sunday of the following week, August 23–28.

56. Alice A. Dunnigan, "Count Basie Speaks Out, Supports Student 'Sit-ins,'" *Pittsburgh Courier* (Apr. 2, 1960), p. 34.

57. George E. Pitts, "'Cannonball' Blasts Hurok Who Attacked Jazz," *Pittsburgh Courier* (May 28, 1960), p. 33.

58. "The Duke Refuses to 'Second Fiddle,'" *Pittsburgh Courier* (July 16, 1960), p. 23.

59. George E. Pitts, "Belafonte Blasts 'Parlor Liberals,'" *Pittsburgh Courier* (Aug. 20, 1960), p. 23.

60. Chester L. Washington, "'No Intention of Apologizing,' Lena Horne Says," *Pittsburgh Courier* (Feb. 27, 1960), p. 2.

61. "Ray Charles Bucks Bias; Cancels Georgia Concert," *Pittsburgh Courier* (Apr. 1, 1961), p. 23.

62. Portions of the following two sections were previously published in Ingrid Monson, "Miles, Politics, and Image," in *Miles Davis and American Culture,* ed. Gerald Early, pp. 86–97 (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 2001).

63. Miles Davis with Quincy Troupe, *Miles: The Autobiography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989), p. 238.

64. The incident was extensively covered in New York newspapers as well as in the jazz and African American presses. See, Martin Burden and Ernest Tidyman, "Jazzman Miles Davis Battles Two Cops Outside Birdland," *NewYork Post* (Aug. 26, 1959); "Jazz Man Free on Bail," *New York Times* (Aug. 27, 1959); "Police Club Miles Davis for 'Chivalry'," *Pittsburgh Courier* 51, no. 36 (Sept. 5, 1959), p. 2; "This Is What They Did to Miles," *Melody Maker* (Sept. 12, 1959), p. 1; "The Slugging of Miles Davis," *Down Beat* 26, no. 20 (Oct. 1,1959), p. 11.

65. Irving Kolodin, "'Miles Ahead', or Miles' Head?" *Saturday Review,* no. 12 (Sept. 1959); "Of Men and Miles," *Down Beat* 26, no. 24 (Nov. 26, 1959), p. 6.

66. Les Matthews, "Free Miles, Davis of Cop's Charge," *New York Amsterdam News* (Oct. 17, 1959), p. 1; "Charge Dismissed," *Down Beat* 26, no. 3: (Nov. 12,1959), p. 11; "Aftermath of Miles," *Down Beat* 26, no. 22 (Oct. 29,1959), p. 11.

67. "Judges Dig Baker the Most: Free Miles Davis with Some Cool Sounds!" *New York Amsterdam News* 50, no. 3 (Jan. 16,1960), p. 1, 15; "Miles Files," *Down Beat* 27, no. 7 (Mar. 31, 1960), p. 13; "Miles Exonerated," *Down Beat* 27, no. 4 (Feb. 18, 1960), p. 12; "To Sue NYC, for $1 Million," *Baltimore Afro-American* (Dec. 15, 1959), p. 15.

68. Davis and Troupe, *Miles,* p. 238.

69. The name of the organization has been incorrectly reported as the African Relief Foundation in both Davis and Troupe, *Miles,* p. 253; and Jack Chambers, *Milestones II: The Music and Times of Miles Davis since 1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), p. 36.

70. Miles Davis, *Miles Davis at Carnegie Hall,* New York, May 19, 1961, Columbia CL 1812. The original LP included only part of the concert. The complete performance was released in 1998 as *Miles Davis at Carnegie Hall—The Complete Concert,* New York, May 19, 1961, Columbia C2K 65027.

71. The African Medical and Research Foundation headquarters is located in Nairobi. See http://www.amref.org

72. Julius Nyerere, *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977); Scot Brown, *Fighting for US : Maulana Karenga, the US Organization, and Black Cultural Nationalism* (New York: New York University Press, 2003), p. 14-15. See chapter 7 for a fuller description of cultural nationalism.

73. Ronald Moss, interview with author by telephone, Apr. 21, 1995. Moss helped co-found the organzation with Thomas Rees. Davis and Troupe, *Miles,* p. 238, reports the name as "Jean Bock." Jean Bach later directed the film *A Great Day in Harlem,* Image Entertainment, 1995.

74. The mobile unit may have been named for Davis. Ronald Moss, interview with author, April 21, 1995.

75. "Roach Interrupts Davis Concert," *New York Amsterdam News* (May 27, 1961), p. 17; George T. Simon, "Miles Davis Plays Trumpet in Carnegie Hall Concert." *New York Herald Tribune* (May 20, 1961); Institute for Jazz Studies, Clippings Files, "Miles Davis,"

Someday My Prince Will Come was cut short. When Miles returned he began with *Oleo*, not *No Blues* as Chambers reports. See Chambers, *Milestones II*, p. 36.

76. Ian Carr, *Miles Davis: A Biography* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1982), p. 128.

77. Ronals Moss, interview with author, April 21, 1995; Carr, *Miles Davis*, p. 127–28. Carr reports that African nationalist groups accused the ARF of being in league with South African diamond interests.

78. "Riot in Gallery Halts U.N. Debate," *New York Times* (Feb. 16,1961), Sect. 1, pp. 1, 10; "Dizzy to Present New African Work," *New York Amsterdam News* (Feb. 18, 1961), p. 13; "Africa Freedom Day," *New York Amsterdam News* (Mar. 25, 1961), p. 17.

79. Teo Macero, interview with author, May 15, 1995, New York.

80. The LP (Columbia 1812) deleted *Teo*, *Walkin'*, *I Thought About You*, and *Concierto de Aranjuez*. These selections were released on a separate issue, *Live Miles: More Music from the Legendary Carnegie Hall Concert*, CS 8612 (LP); Columbia CK 40609.

81. My account of the Freedom Rides is drawn primarily from Branch, *Parting the Waters*, pp. 412–85. See also Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, pp. 135–58; Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, pp. 231–36.

82. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, pp. 413, 415–16.

83. Ibid., pp. 417–18.

84. Ibid., pp. 419, 421–24.

85. Ibid., pp. 427–29.

86. Ibid., pp. 430–31.

87. Ibid., pp. 454–65.

88. Trombonist Roswell Rudd participated in these rides. Roswell Rudd, telephone interview with author, June 28, 1998.

89. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, pp. 469–77, 482–85. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, pp. 139–43. The ICC ruling prohibiting segregated facilities in interstate travel was passed on Sept. 1, 1961.

90. Nat Hentoff, liner notes, Art Blakey, *The Freedom Rider*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Feb. 12, 18, and May 27, 1961, Blue Note CDP 7243 8 21287 2 4; originally issued as BST 84156.

91. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, pp. 142–44, 148–49. Most of the Freedom Riders served thirty-nine days before bailing out and appealing. This was the maximum time one could serve and still appeal. At the request of the CORE's leadership, some people pleaded nolo contendere, thereby reducing the costs to a $200 fine. In November the NAACP Legal Defense Fund agreed to undertake the actual trial costs and advanced bail money to CORE. Despite tremendous fund-raising efforts, by mid-1963 CORE was $120,000 in debt.

92. Jesse H. Walker, "CORE Telethon 4½-Hour Success," *New York Amsterdam News* 51, no. 28 (July 15, 1961), p. 16; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, p. 149. Following the event Walker reports appearances by Billy Taylor, Lena Horne, and Cal Tjader, as well as some folk singers (Leon Bibb). The article advertising the telethon mentions Art Blakey, Horace Silver, and Oscar Brown as well. It is possible that they were advertised but did not appear. It is just as possible that Walker watched only part of the show. "Big Telethon Set to Aid Freedom Riders," *New York Amsterdam News* 51, no. 25 (June 24, 1961), p. 17. Louis Lomax, journalist and author of *The Reluctant African* (New York: Harper, 1960), was a widely admired writer in the African American community at the time.

CHAPTER 6

Some portions of chapter 6 were previously published in Ingrid Monson, "Monk Meets SNCC." *Black Music Research Journal* 19, no. 2, pp. 187-200.

1. Despite the fact that the movement in Albany, Georgia, was much in the news in December 1961, it does not appear to have affected New York fund-raising events as directly. In addition, since it failed to desegregate public facilities (despite hundreds of people going to jail, continuous demonstrations, and Martin Luther King's presence), it was not a model of victory. Morris ascribes the failure to organizational rivalries between SNCC and SCLC and tactical maneuvers on the part of the white power structure. See Aldon D. Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Free Press,1984), pp. 239–50. Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 70–71.

2. A Salute to Southern Students (invitation), Feb. 1, 1963. SNCC Papers, 1959–1972 (microfilm), subgroup B, part I, reel 45, frame 1097.

3. Minutes of the Steering Committee, New York Friends of SNCC, Dec. 4, 1963, SNCC Papers, subgroup B, part I, reel 46, frames 818–19.

4. Harold Leventhal to William Mahoney, Dec. 6, 1962, SNCC Papers, subgroup A, part IX, reel 27, frame 815; Charles McDew to Max Roach and Abbey Lincoln, Dec. 22, 1962, SNCC Papers, subgroup A, part IX, reel 27, frame 816; "Sponsors of Carnegie Hall, Feb. 1st Benefit for SNCC," n.d. SNCC, subgroup B, part I, reel 45, frame 1094; "Entertainers contacted," n.d., SNCC Papers, subgroup A, part IX, reel 27, frames 856–57, 1163; Ella J. Baker to Harold Lovette, Jan. 7, 1963, SNCC Papers, subgroup A, part IX, reel 27, frames 818–19.

5. Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–1963* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1988), p. 713.

6. Bernice Reagon, "Miles Davis, the Civil Rights Movement, and Jazz," conference held at Washington University, St. Louis, MO, May 3–4, 1997, video recording.

7. Leslie Gourse's biography includes a few observations on Monk's views of the "race question." See Leslie Gourse, *Straight, No Chaser: The Life and Genius of Thelonious Monk* (New York: Schirmer, 1997), pp. 220–21.

8. Valerie Wilmer, "Monk on Monk," *Down Beat* 32, no. 12 (June 1, 1965), p. 22.

9. Frank London Brown, "Thelonious Monk: More Man than Myth, Monk Has Emerged from the Shadows," *Down Beat* 25, no. 22 (Oct. 30, 1958), p. 46. Monk later denied ever having made this comment.

10. Duberman, *Paul Robeson*, p. 388.