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Jazz reception and rejection in India 1935 to 1947

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Jazz reception and rejection in India 1935 to 1947

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Abstract

Jazz reception and rejection in India 1935 to 1947

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This report explores the reception and rejection of jazz in India from 1935 to partition in 1947. Of central focus is the impact of the global political environment leading up to and during World War Two as well as the possible impact of British control of mass media during the 1930s and 1940s. Western media projected racialized Others through media that justified colonial hegemonic structures and Eurocentric racial superiority. I assert that this imagery and constant colonial subtext present in British controlled media impacted Indian acceptance of jazz music. Those that associated jazz with Western colonialism and were opposed to British rule would tend to reject the music and those that recognized the struggle of African Americans as being similar to the struggle of the colonized people of India would be more receptive to the music. I also explore how the mechanical reproduction of sound through recording and broadcast technology was fundamentally at odds with widely held Indian musical values. The report then touches on scene and anthropology of place in the context of live performance at the Taj Mahal Hotel and the music of jazz pianist Teddy Weatherford.

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INTRODUCTION

This report is an exploration of the reception and rejection of jazz in India from 1935 until 1947. I will focus on geopolitics, technology, and economics as contributing factors to what jazz meant in colonial India, with special emphasis on the jazz performed within the very cosmopolitan Taj Mahal Palace Hotel in Bombay, as well as the technological reproduction of jazz in film, recordings and radio broadcasts.

As a precarious colonial subject of the British Empire, India occupied a unique place during the years immediately preceding and during World War Two. While the Indian National Congress fought for national independence, Indian soldiers were fighting in support of the Allies in Malaya and Burma (Prasad 2012: 54). It is my assertion that jazz embodied this contradiction. Jazz performed in the confines of the Taj Mahal Palace Hotel during these years was a reflection of economic and political support of Allied Forces by India's elite. The Taj Mahal Hotel is a national symbol of strength and modernity in the face of colonialism. It was, and continues to be a cosmopolitan place of reception and exchange. In this context, The Taj Mahal Palace Hotel was home to some of the finest jazz in India.

A primary source for my research was a book titled *Taj Mahal Foxtrot* by Naresh Fernandes published in 2012 by Roli Books. In addition to his book, I examined Mr. Fernandes's notes shortly after they were donated to the Archive and Research Center for Ethnomusicology (ARCE) of the American Institute of Indian Studies in Gurgaon. I spent approximately three weeks in the summer of 2014 reviewing and preparing articles,

photos, and personal correspondence to be archived. While this report is, in part, a critical reading of the book, I also celebrate it as an entertaining and well-written introduction to the history of jazz in Bombay. Mr. Fernandes's book successfully generated a lot of public interest in the topic of jazz in India and shed new light on jazz as a global phenomenon expressed in a local environment.

Jazz reached much of its Indian listening audience during the first decades of the twentieth century through reproduction technology that was largely introduced and controlled by the British. I propose that jazz's association with recording technology impacted its reception with some segments of the population that placed high cultural value on the live performance, or transmission of music.

During the 1930's and 1940's jazz was often presented in Hollywood movies and radio broadcasts. There was also a thriving Indian market for jazz records. Cosmopolitan cities like Bombay, Calcutta, and Karachi not only featured touring jazz artists, but they also had their own local performing musicians. While jazz was gaining in popularity in India in the decades leading up to independence, jazz began to fall out of favor with the rise of the Quit India Movement and, more dramatically, following World War Two. Up until the mid to late 1950's India was aggressively seeking to develop its national identity and separate itself from the British. Most people in India during these years did not feel jazz contributed to local or National identity, instead it more represented a Western or colonial influence. Essentially, in the years prior to independence, jazz failed to develop a strong enough local identity to distinguish itself from the jazz that was presented by media outlets associated with the West.

The primary goals of this paper are to explore the development of colonialism globally and then examine the effect of becoming industrialized under British rule for the Indian people and show the effects of this on jazz reception in India. I will then explore the effects of the presentation of jazz through mechanical recordings and radio broadcasts on the reception of jazz and then, in a study of live performance at the Taj Mahal, I will write about the importance of scene.

Westernization

SHIPPING AND COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY

Industrial technology beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, as well as advancements in communication and transportation in the nineteenth century, made it virtually impossible for any non-Western society to resist Westernization in matters relating to economics (Curtin, 1984: 251). World trade at this time was largely dependent on ocean shipping.

Europeans had long been world leaders in maritime technology and by the outbreak of World War One, iron hulls, high-pressure steam engines, abundance of coal, and screw propellers guaranteed the dominance of steam over sail on the majority of all long-distance ocean routes. Over the course of the nineteenth century, ocean freight rates dropped by 80 percent. But the new technologically advanced ships required more capital than most non-Western economies of the time could provide. By 1900, anyone who wanted to ship competitively by sea had to do so in European ships. The use of European shipping required a level of acceptance of a broader culture of Western shipping-from

bills of lading to charges for demurrage. During this time Western technological dominance also greatly impacted the world of commerce in fields of banking, insurance, international money exchange, and communication (Curtin, 1984: 252). The economic advantages created by Western technological advancements in transportation and communication technology created incentive for local populations to adopt Western tools of commerce and economic models.

Up to the 1830's a letter from Europe to India took five months to round the Cape on a sailing ship. To receive an answer might take as long as two years. By the 1850s, the combination of train and steamer could bring a letter from London to Calcutta in thirty to forty-five days. By the 1870s, submarine cable had been laid and a message from Britain to India could be answered in the same day. It was not just that Europeans had the tools; they controlled access to them. Anyone who wanted to communicate at that speed had to follow the bureaucratic rules of the cable office. These were, needless to say, the rules of Western commerce. For a non-Western country, the international postal service was open only to those who conformed to the practices of the universal Postal Union, founded in 1874 (Curtin 1984: 252).

The Price of Industrialization

After the 1850s, the distance between the center of the British Empire and its most profitable colonial possession began to close. London and Calcutta were connected by telegraph in 1870 and the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869 reduced the journey between Europe and India by approximately 4000 miles. With telegraph and faster, more direct means of travel, London gained closer policy control upon Calcutta and eventually New Delhi. By 1910, India had the fourth largest railway system in the world. The new railway system made it possible to transport soldiers quickly wherever in India they were needed (Stein 2001: 259).

These developments made India increasingly more profitable for the colonizers. Private companies constructed railways and transport canals in India as they did in Britain, while the risks of such enterprises in Britain were born by British investors, in India it was the principle taxpayers who carried the risks, though they garnered no gains. Apart from employment as unskilled laborers, Indians gained neither money nor experience in modern engineering from the building of locomotives (Stein 2001: 258-259).

Beginning in 1866, India suffered a widespread breakout of disease and famine due to rapid commercialization of the agrarian economy at the hands of the British. Expansion of transportation infrastructure made possible the export of food from areas of high yield. This practice continued even when food shortages occurred, resulting in widespread starvation. Charges made by W.W. Hunter in 1881 that 40 million, a fifth of the population of British India, lacked sufficient food were never refuted (Stein 2001: 272). In addition to transporting commercial goods, the railways also transported disease.

That most deaths were not directly from starvation, but from disease swept along by the transport improvements to become the pandemics of the later nineteenth century, merely deepened the embarrassment of the imperial regime before its critics at home, and, as the century closed, in India. The consequence for the Indian Countryside of several decades of mounting commercialization was the weakening and in some cases the destruction of older structures of social insurance and entitlement with out any alternative protection until after the onset of the twentieth century (Stein 2001: 262-263).

Social Reform

The most significant and lasting changes the British made to Indian society were the reform of education and the restructuring of the ruling elite. The following sub-

chapter will outline how the British inserted themselves at the top of the caste system and re-structured the education system to support industrialization and their position at the top of the social hierarchy.

The Indian warlord aristocracy was replaced with a bureaucratic-military establishment, streamlined for efficiency. The greater efficiency of government permitted a substantial reduction in the fiscal burden, and a larger share of the national product was available for the British, landlords, capitalists and the new professional classes. The new British elite established a Western life-style in the English language with English schools for their children in segregated suburbs and established themselves as a separate ruling caste. Much like other Indian castes, they did not intermarry with the lower castes. All Indians who aspired for college degrees were required to thoroughly learn a foreign language prior to embarking upon a career in higher education because all college education was in English. Indian students that were able to overcome this obstacle of language and earn a college degree received the further recognition with the title "learned native" (Cutts 1953: 824). Education could have played a major role in encouraging social mobility and promoting positive change but more immediate economic goals took precedence. The new professional elite of lawyers, doctors, teachers, journalists and businessmen copied British habits. Within this group, old caste barriers were eased and social mobility increased while caste systems became more rigid for the majority of Indians (Maddison 1971:4). They developed their own brand of self-righteous arrogance, considering themselves purveyors not of popular but of good government. For them the

word 'British' lost its geographic connotation and became an epithet signifying moral rectitude (Maddison 1971:6).

From the 1820s to the 1850s the British demonstrated a strong urge to change Indian social institutions, and to Westernize India. They stamped out infanticide and ritual burning of widows (sati). They abolished slavery and eliminated dacoits (religious thugs) from the highways. They legalized the remarriage of widows and allowed Hindu converts to Christianity to lay claim to their share of joint family property. They took steps to introduce a penal code (the code was actually introduced in 1861) based on British law, which helped inculcate some ideas of equality. 'Under his old Hindu law, a Brahmin murderer might not be put to death, while a Sudra who cohabited with a high-caste woman would automatically suffer execution. Under the new law, Brahmin and Sudra were liable to the same punishment for the same offence (6) (Maddison (1971: 4).

The educational approach of Thomas Macaulay and his Minute on Indian Education had a decisive impact on the English Education Act of 1835 and British educational policy concerning India. The policy of substitution of indigenous culture through the planned substitution of the alien culture of a colonizing power via the education system has since come to be known as Macaulayism. "Lord Melbourne put it best when he said, 'I wish, I was cocksure of anything as Tom Macaulay is of everything'" (Caton 2011: 43). James Mill, author of the highly influential History of British India, written in 1817, maintained that the primary objective of government supported college instruction should always be "useful knowledge" as opposed to "Hindu knowledge." Macaulay insisted that the required use of the English language in all Indian higher education would inevitably promote Indian loyalty to British rule. (Cutts 1953: 824). To give context to these ideas I feel it is worth mentioning that E.B. Tyler did not publish his book *Primitive Culture* until 1871.

For these reasons Macaulay had no hesitation in deciding in favor of English education, but it was not to be for the masses: "It is impossible for us, with our

limited means to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population” (10). Quoted from the text as given in M. Edwardes, *British India 1772-1947*, Sidgwick and Jackson, London, 1967 (Maddison 1971:5).

What I hope to illustrate from this portion of the report is that is the difficulty of Western art appreciation in India during the years of focus here for esthetic beauty removed from the cultural context of Macaulay and his legacy.

Global political Climate

Leading up to World War Two

At the dawn of the twentieth century, there was a growing feeling that imperialism was the prime cause of war and there was a moving sentiment against imperial power and colonialism. The 1917 Revolution in Russia preached unity of the workers of the world and ideologically raised a fist against inequality, colonialism, and exploitation. Anti-imperialist national movements of Asia and Africa were on the rise. Southeast Asia had a growing hatred for the colonial empires of France, the Netherlands, Great Britain; which kept those lands in their strict dominion (Prasad 2012: 3). Japan was aggressively expanding its colonial influence controlling Korea, Manchuria, and briefly Formosa (Taiwan).

At the close of World War One in 1918, little was resolved in a way that stabilized global relations. In 1919, the Treaty of Versailles was drafted with the intention of punishing Germany in such a way that economic recovery following the war became impossible, effectively reducing Germany to the position of a minor world power. Allies blamed Germany for the cost of the war and taxed them so severely that it eventually led to runaway inflation and political instability. (Prasad 2012: 2).

The League of Nations formed in 1920 with the intention of preventing a recurrence of another global war, but the organization proved to be too weak due to a tendency of many countries toward isolationism. The United States rejection of League membership contributed to the League's impetus. As tensions rose in Europe over Nazi Germany's aggressive maneuvers, The American Congress pushed through a series of Neutrality Acts, which prevented American ships and citizens from becoming entangled in the growing conflicts in Europe and Asia. Roosevelt deplored the restrictive nature of the acts, but he required Congressional support for his domestic New Deal policies.

There was a post-war economic boom for the Allies and economic depression for the axis that lasted throughout the 1920's. The stock market crash of the United States in 1929 marked the beginning of a global economic depression that lasted for most countries throughout the 1930s (Prasad 2012: 4-5). From 1935 to 1939 global tensions were on the rise and many nations began to write policies that took a more isolationist position. The global economic downturn and the memory of World War One fueled fear and many countries sought to disentangle themselves from world affairs. Isolationists believed that limiting international involvement and international trade agreements would

keep their country from being drawn into the growing hostilities. The United States took measures to avoid political and military conflicts across the oceans, but it continued to expand economically and protect its interests in Latin America.

America's Relationship to Britain During the War

In 1942, many American liberals still identified colonial Britain as an obstacle to global socioeconomic equality and national self-determination (Bennett 2012:143). Colonialism was seen as being fundamentally at odds with the Four Freedoms articulated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1941 state of the Union address: Freedom of speech, Freedom of worship, Freedom from want, and Freedom from fear.

A policy of reduced tariffs and free trade agreements known as Imperial Preference promoted unity within the British Empire and sustained Britain's position as a global power. *The preference system* was a commercial arrangement in which preferential tariff rates and/or free trade were granted to colonies of the British Empire. In the early years of the 20th century Germany and United States were becoming increasingly competitive in global trade and progressively controlling larger portions of the market. With the global depression of the 1930s, protectionist ideologies became increasingly popular with many countries. Britain responded to this with increased implementation of imperial preference in an attempt to secure their economic interests. U.S. leaders exercised their wartime leverage by demanding the imperial preferences demise as payment in kind for the billions given to Britain and the Allies in lend-lease during the Second World War. This was a hard bargain that drove a wedge between the two

countries' diplomats (Bennett 2012:145). The influence of British colonial power in India's media can be seen in the absence of any discussion of imperial preference in *The Times of India* until 1945 near the end of the war.

India's War

Indians fought with distinction throughout the world in the European theaters. At the height of the World War, more than 2.5 million Indian troops were fighting Axis forces around the globe. June 10th 1944, *The Times of India* wrote that India was investing 2.25 million pounds annually in the war. India emerged from World War II as one of the world's leading industrial powers. Its increased political, economic and military influence paved the way for independence in 1947.

In short, Westernization was the result of technological development that enabled European powers to corner global shipping and trade. The domination of trade through advancements in transportation and communication technology by Western countries led to acceptance of Western business models and ultimately colonialism. The relationship between the British and India was based on economic exploitation made possible by Western technology. In order for The British Empire to cast itself as modern and justify its occupation, it needs an Other in opposition. India was cast as a traditional primitive society.

Following World War One, the economies of the Allies flourished while the economies of the Central Powers were decimated. Imperialism, colonialism, isolationism, and the Allies demand for war reparations ultimately lead to World War Two. During the

1920's up through Indian Independence, jazz was often featured in movies, heard on records, and through radio broadcasts. In this context, jazz represented modernity, globalization, European domination, alienation, race Othering, and the machine age.

Domestic Economics

With the beginning of the twentieth century, Indian's began to achieve more favorable economic standing. By 1906 Indian entrepreneurs began to control a larger portion of the market in textiles. There was a significant decrease in imported cotton while sales of handloom products increased (Stein 2001: 291). The Swadeshi movement advocated boycotting British products and increasing domestic products and production in order to improve economic conditions for Indians and remove the British Empire from power.

Further opportunities for Indian capitalists were provided by the shifts in global economies that resulted from World War One. Indian manufacturers gained market shares and profits from the wartime interruptions of imports. Indian textile manufacturers supplied uniforms and engineering firms supplying machined parts for the production of small arms and ammunitions (Stein 2001: 304).

Economic growth and industrialization contributed to a growing National self-confidence. For India to increase its capacity to be profitable for the British, it needed to industrialize. With industrialization, India became increasingly better positioned to reject

British rule. Essentially Indians needed to master the economic arena that had been used to exploit them by the British.

The report up to this point has focused on the economics relating to British occupation of India. What I hope has been made clear is that India paid a heavy price for its industrialization. Its forced march into a Eurocentric modernity caused suffering and death that is not easily forgotten. With this forced march, a degree of resentment against Western associated symbols and culture should be expected.

Developments in commercial media technology such as gramophone records, radio, and film were closely associated with communication technology and the British colonizers that profited the most from them. During the 1920's jazz gained global popularity and was often presented through commercial media. The commercial media contributed to the global spread of jazz but I assert in this report that this association with mass media and reproduction technology also contributed to the rejection of jazz in India following Independence in 1947.

Defining Jazz

An eclectic, expanding collection of 20th-century styles, principally instrumental and of black American creation... only an emphasis on characteristic timbres spans all musics called jazz, whether functional or artistic, popular or esoteric, instrumental or vocal, improvised or composed. "hot" or "cool." (Randel 1986: 413).

What makes this definition effective is that it is deliberately broad and more inclusive than exclusive. The absence of minute specificity and a glaring lack of clear limiting musical parameters reveals more about the interpretation, reception and meaning

of jazz music than the musical specifics presented in the definition. The expansive reach of Randel's definition speaks to the complexity of clearly identifying what can be called jazz music and puts more defining weight on the situational context surrounding the music than the music itself. The definition beckons the reader to look to the context that situates the music and encourages them to call upon their own experience to make an interpretation. The broad scope of Randel's definition is perhaps more to the point than anything musically specific he could have written. The need for musical interpretation in his writing extends into jazz beyond academic analysis and into the core of musical performance. The global success of jazz music can be attributed in part to the flexibility that comes from the demands of individuals to make an ever-evolving musical statement.

Legendary jazz piano player Bill Evans defines jazz by re-contextualizing the discussion and looking beyond the performance of stylized music. Evans defines jazz as an innovative process making the possibility of stagnation impossible.

“Jazz is not a what, it is a how. If it were a what, it would be static, never growing. The how is that the music comes from the moment, it is spontaneous, it exists at the time it is created. And anyone who makes music according to this method conveys to me an element that makes his music jazz.”—Bill Evans (Gottlieb 1996:426).

During improvised jazz performance when a state of flow is achieved, there is a truth or that is revealed of the performer that is a culmination of their life experiences that exists only in the moment. The performer reaches a mental state in which a performer is fully immersed in a feeling of energized focus and engaged with the music, the listener experiences this energy with the performer. In this regard, jazz has much in common with South Asian classical music and many in India who were in a economically privileged

and cosmopolitan setting who were able to attend live jazz would have been quick to see this shared value.

In the interwar period, jazz took on a life beyond music and became a pop culture buzzword. The fashion industry jumped on the jazz bandwagon and used it to market clothing. Articles in the *Times of India* from this era describe fashion designs displaying jazz stripes and jazz patterns and even a new color called *Rhapsody Blue*.

Language associated with jazz became part of a global lexicon. Chicago clarinetist Mezz Mezzrow said that Louis Armstrong's 1926 recording of *Heebie Geebies* was so popular that people would greet each other in the streets with Armstrong's riffs from the song (Burns, "Jazz" Episode 3 Chapter 9, 2001). H. Brook Webb went so far as to write an article in 1937 outlining slang definitions used by musicians and others involved in jazz culture.

In short, I define jazz here as a process that represents ideas and identity that manifest as part of a cultural movement that includes music, fashion, art, vernacular, technology, economic and political positions. Jazz is the outcome of a process of hybridity. Jazz music is best understood in a live context where the audience can interact with the performer, but the truth is that far more Indians were exposed to jazz through broadcasts, recordings, and film. Of central interest to this report is jazz as experienced both through musical performance and through its commodified form in media such as such as records and movies.

A database search through *The Times of India* from the 1920's to the early 1940's, as well as photos and scholarly writings, reveal a healthy economic community in

cosmopolitan cities of India centered on jazz performance including advertisements for event tickets, records, and dance lessons; as well as record reviews and social critiques. In addition to live performance, jazz found its way into India through gramophone records, V-disks, radio broadcast, and movies.

As World War Two came to a close and India separated themselves from the British, there is a sharp drop in documentation of jazz and its performance. Poor economics, civil war, and resentment of colonial exploitation all contributed to a decrease of interest in jazz music. In the first years of independence, India focused on the construction of a national identity through tradition.

As local economies and industry grew stronger, many in India sought to abandon isolationism and develop a modern Indian identity in dialog with Western media and commerce. As isolationism softened, Western musical influences found their way into pop culture as Indian musicians increasingly found ways to appropriate aspects of Western music into original local music. Bollywood made great use of Western trained musicians, particularly from Goa, in the production of film soundtracks, and, in turn, helped to construct a contemporary Indian identity in dialog with its colonial past.

MECHANICAL REPRODUCTION

During the early years of the twentieth century technology fundamentally transformed the nature, meaning, and capacity for the reproduction of sound. As Walter Benjamin wrote, mechanical reproduction emancipates the work of art from its dependence on ritual. With the reproduction, understanding of art shifts from a singular expression to social expression.

Jazz was incredibly popular during the years that radio, records, and films were first becoming commercially widespread. The following portion of this report pivots around technological determinism and outlines how a tradition of regarding oral transmission of knowledge values, coupled with negative associations of technology with the colonial occupiers, contributed to a lack of local identification with broadcasted and recorded representations of jazz.

Radio allowed the listener to experience musical events separate from the place of the musical performance. Early radio almost exclusively used live musicians in their studio for broadcasts. In this scenario, the listener is separated from the performance space and experienced the music through the mechanical vibrations of a speaker. Because the music is live, and not pre-recorded, the listener still experiences the performance in essentially real time.

Radio stations eventually began playing phonograph records. With this, an additional layer of separation from the musician's performance and the listener was created. A mechanical version of music might be experienced months or years after the initial recorded performance and as many times as desired. In this scenario, the listener

experiences jazz through the speaker of a radio, that received a broadcast of a mechanical playback of a previously recorded performance.

Recordings, radio broadcasts, and film greatly expanded the extent to which music could be commodified as an object. During the first half of the twentieth century the artistic value of reproduction of image and sound became a topic of discourse. Walter Benjamin argues that with this reproduction, the magic of the music that exists in the original performance diminishes and with the emancipation of the music from its original happening, while the music becomes more accessible for exhibition on public display as a means for profit and economy.

It might be stated as a general formula that the technology of reproduction detaches the reproduced object from the sphere of tradition. By replicating the work many times over, it substitutes a mass existence for a unique existence. And in permitting the reproduction to reach the recipient in his or her own situation, it actualizes what which is reproduced (Benjamin 1936/2008: 22).

Bill Evans's definition of jazz presented earlier in the report as a process of innovation can be interpreted in a way that puts it at odds with recorded representations of music. Recorded and rebroadcast media understood as a reproduction of a musical happening does not have the value of a live musician's performance, if that reproduction is understood only as a copy. A recording understood as a reproduced, codified object of some other previous musical event lacks the authenticity of the original live performance.

The 1935 August 13th edition of The Times of India ran an article conveying the sentiment of Dr. Bernard Heinze, a professor of music at of Melbourne University. The article reported that Dr. Heinze recently made a public statement objecting to the fashion of sneering at jazz music and crooning. He went on to say that he considered it quite

possible for a musician to appreciate dance music as much as he enjoyed real music. The article included an extensive quote from Heinze's statement: "*the cry that 'canned' music has been the death of real music is equally untrue. What it has done is to drive out music that formerly was played badly. I have no war with mechanized music, because I believe that the gramophone and the radio have been an extraordinary educational medium in bringing musical enlightenment to the people,*" ("Article 9" Times of India, August 13th, 1935). The statement by Dr. Heinze shows that jazz and mechanized music were not universally condemned, but the fact that his acceptance of this music and the associated technology was considered worthy news in a major paper also says a lot about general attitudes of the time. While he openly embraces jazz and technology, it is interesting that *Dr. Heinze* distinguishes what he calls real music from jazz and canned music.

Translation of Mechanical Meaning

In order for a recording to be understood as having the authenticity or value of a live performance, there must be a translation of expectations in the mind of the listener as well as a transformation in the performance methods of the musician. Live music has a completely different relationship to place and audience than radio broadcast or a gramophone recording has to place and audience. Music that is intended to be mechanically translated will resist being translated unless the music performance is constructed with the intent of being translated and the listener translates their expectations.

The necessity for a translation of live performance of music for the purpose of recording became apparent to artists and recording engineers very early on. One form of translating live performance for recording can be seen in any old photo of a band strategically gathered around a horn poised to funnel their music into the receptacle to be preserved on a wax cylinder. The very deliberate situating of the group around the horn intended to achieve the most perfect recording would not be an ideal stage arrangement for a live performance. Another example of translation by musicians for recording can be heard on Louis Armstrong's 1928 recording of *West End Blues*. At the beginning of the second chorus, teacups are used as percussion to accompany Fred Robinson's trombone solo. The cups were found to be a more effective percussion instrument in the context of the recording because of the limitations of recording technology.

If the act of listening to music is understood as a process, the burden of attachment to place required for authenticity shifts, at least partially, from the room of performance to the mind of the listener. The recording does not necessarily have to be understood as a reproduction of the live performance if the expectations of the listening experience are translated in the mind of the listener. The playback of a recording has the potential to be a musical happening every bit as valid as the live event if a recording is understood as having its own identity and value separate from the live performance. As long as the recording is understood as a reproduction, its value is diminished.

The translation of expectations within the listener is much harder to identify than the translation of performance by the musicians. Popularity of radio programs and record sales are perhaps the best indicator of translation and popular acceptance.

Mechanical Translation in India

I assert here that many of this first generation of Indians to experience mechanical music were reluctant to accept these representations as music because mechanized music did not meet their musical expectations. Western media and reproduction technology did not conform to the musical values of many people who saw a disconnect of musical performance from the time and place of the listener as being a corruption of the essence of musical meaning, or the music's aura. In India, there is a long history of highly valuing oral transmission of knowledge, especially as it relates to music. For example, the Vedas were transmitted aurally for centuries and great care was taken by priests to ensure accuracy.

Young trainees were put through memory-building routines that boggle the mind: recitation of the text both with and without consciousness of its meaning, recitation both forward and backward, recitation both with phonetic junctures (sandhi) between words and with separations between words, metrical recitation and recitation in a continuous flow (except for the obligatory caesuras), and recitation of pairs of syllables in disordered (vikriti) sequences and complex designs, with and without sandhi, accents, and pauses. The aim was to instill an automatic and total command of the text that would rule out even the slightest possibility of error (Rowell 1992: 65).

Lala Lajpat Rai, one of the leading lights of Indian National Movement had written a tract entitled *Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College Mein Talim: Sanskrit Par Ek Mukhtasar Nazar* in 1893 (A Historical Glance at Sanskrit Education in the Vedic Dayanand Anglo- College). He unhesitatingly argued here that religion and theology are integral parts of learning and justified it by saying that "according to the teachings of the Vedic rishis the spiritual and mundane subjects should not be treated separately Religion leads one to higher levels in life..." We have argued above that the non-brahmanical educational establishment while not being oblivious of ecclesiastical requirements, betrayed a considerable scientific temper towards the transmission of the sastra-based learning process (Shrimali 17: 2011).

Radio

In the early 1920's, Radio's practical and commercial application was still being explored. While radio had been used as a wireless telegraph for many years, transmission of the human voice and various kinds of entertainment, as well as commercial use of radio broadcasting, was still relatively new outside the United States. For example, the May 19th 1922 edition of the *Times of India* reported that the movie industry was experimenting with the possibility of having live actors lip-sinking to film while using radio technology to broadcast the sound of their voices to multiple projections of the film.

By 1923, manufacturers of broadcasting equipment were working to monopolize India's fledgling broadcasting industry. These British entrepreneurs found support from the British government in their proposal that broadcasting in India must be controlled by a single licensed agency, much like a single licensed company was in charge of all of radio in the United Kingdom. March 8th 1923, the Times of India reported that government officials had held a conference to discuss how best to implement and control radio broadcasting in India. August 28th 1923, Times of India reported that the government had reached a conclusion and had decided to move forward with establishing two government controlled broadcasting radio stations, one in Bombay and one in Karachi. In July 1927, the Bombay station on Apollo Bunder Road was operational and India's first regular radio broadcast of programs of dance music was performed by Ken Mac's band (Fernandes 2012:37). By the end of August a station was broadcasting in Calcutta.

In 1943 the BBC in London began the broadcast of an English only Forces Radio program for the benefit of British servicemen on duty in India, this soon became *All India Radio in Delhi*. In January of 1944, Radio SEAC took over the operations of Colombo Radio. Radio programs intended for Allied forces reached from Aden in modern day Yemen, across Asia, to Japan and Australia. (www.ontheshortwaves.com). Programing consisting of news, radio plays and all kinds of music continued until April of 1949 (Fernandes 2012:37).

Like many Indians, Sorabjee was getting his fix of tunes by Count Basie, Harry James and Benny Goodman on radio SEAC- the wartime station established in 1944 when the South-East Asia Command of Allied Forces took over radio Colombo. The stations somewhat-disproportionate affinity for jazz reflected the tastes of its chief producer, Charles Chilton, who had joined the BBC as a messenger boy at 15 before eventually hosting his own show, *Swing Time* (Fernandes 2012:37).

The Gramophone and Records

In addition to live performance and radio, jazz appeared in India in the form of gramophone records. To own a radio or a record player required a degree of disposable income that many Indians did not have. That said, these things were commercially available and they did find their way into the country. *The Times of India* reported on November 18th, 1932, that between 50,000 and 60,000 gramophones were sold per year. Approximately 30,000 records were selling each month in Bombay alone. For those in Bombay who could afford new records, there was *Rhythm House* in Kalaghoda, and *James and Company* on Hornby Road. People who had the means to purchase records abroad accumulated the largest collections. The Maharaja of Cooch Behar was said to

have possessed the biggest collection of Ellington records in the world, stockpiling approximately 1500 discs cut by the Duke (Fernandes 2012: 90).

Gramophones were for sale in India as early as 1898. A classified ad listed in the May 30th edition of *The Times of India* that year advertise that a gramophone and twelve records could be purchased for 200 Rupees. By 1922, elaborate high-end models were selling for as much as 1200 Rupees. Farrell in his book, *Music and the West*, wrote of gramophone records; “The acme of Western inventiveness, the almost miraculous purveyor of sound on small black disks, a commodity loaded with potent technological and cultural power” (Farrell 1997: 110). Farrell, in this statement, outlines all the freedom and gifts promised by the new technology as well as the colonial hegemonic structures it helps to reinforce.

It is true that gramophones made available from the Americas the latest popular music and dance styles including tangos, maxixes, Sambas, Gaucho dances, ragtimes, and early jazz as early as the 1910’s, But consumers of gramophone discs and other media were not exclusively associating these products with colonial Britain and other Western powers. *The Gramophone and Typewriter Company (GTC)* opened its Indian branch in 1901 and by 1908 had opened India’s first record pressing plant in Calcutta. Records were made at this plant with the help of local musicians to meet local musical interests. India proved to be a vibrant market for both locally-produced and imported gramophone disks (Shope 2014: 203).

Before the emergence of film songs as the most popular recordings from the late 1930’s the initial success of the South Indian gramophone trade was founded upon

religious music (Hughes 2014: 115). Through exploiting of religiously oriented music international music recording companies were able to create a foothold in the emerging market for gramophone recordings in South India during the first decade of the 20th century. Yet, these foreign companies never developed an understanding of the religious content enabling them to fully meet local needs and interests. Gramophone companies combined the four overlapping musical traditions in South India under one category. Devotional Karnatik (Karnataka) music, instrumental music associated with temple rituals and festivals, music accompanying dance performances, and songs from popular musical dramas were all under the category of “native recordings.” Each tradition had its own recognized musical forms, community of performers, appropriate settings, and patrons that sustained it (Hughes 2014: 117).

This compression of different Indian musics into one category left a void that South Indian companies were able to step into and they reshaped the market in the 1930’s (Hughes 116). Drawing upon a broad range of scholarship covering a wide range of media relating to diverse religious practices, Lawrence Babb and Susan Wadley argue that media has dramatically increased the spatial and social mobility of South Asian religious traditions. Media technology has socially dis-embedded religious practice from its contexts within the family, lineage, clan, caste, village, and neighborhood, making it possible for people to share social, national, and spiritual identities in new ways (Babb and Wadley 1995, Hughes 2014: 116). I would argue that this shift in religious practice is an example of translation of expectations written about earlier in this report.

Reception of the new technology was not altogether positive. Some felt the power of the gramophone to commodify Indian music was another form of colonial oppression through capitalism. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy (1909) denounced the use of the gramophone to record South Indian music, warning that the machine would eventually lead to the destruction of music. He saw that the new technology had the potential to reorganize the performance, patronage, appreciation, education, and circulation of Indian music. Coomaraswamy's argument posed cultural and political dichotomies, pitting the spiritual against the material, the authentic indigenous against the foreign colonial, and the artistic performance against the mechanical industrial (Hughes 2014: 121).

Early criticism of mass media culture can be found in the writings of the British social critic Mathew Arnold (1822-83), who saw mass culture as being "tasteless and homogenized." Arnold saw popular culture as being in opposition to civilization and warned that mass culture was a threat to civilized society. Frank R. Leavis, who argued that the spread of American pop culture through mass communications technologies was evidence of the decline of civilization, took up this position in the 1930's and 1940's. Today these arguments are recognized as elitist critiques but they are still reference points in the media effects debate (Danesi 2013: 429-430).

V-Disk

V-disks were a noncommercial 12-inch 78-rpm records produced in New York by the U.S. War Department from 1943 to 1949 for military personnel (Randel 1986: 907). They weren't actually supposed to be sold, but many found their way into the hands of

Indian Jazz fans. The Chor Bazaar flea market invariably yielded treasures as did Bachoo Miya, who owned a second-handstore on Gogha Street in the Fort, and Ibrahim Miya (Fernandes 2012:90). More than eight million records were distributed globally for the duration of the program. V-Discs were not only a form of entertainment for overseas military personnel, but they also served as links to home (Sears 1980: xxii). These links were effective ways to evoke emotional responses in service men and remind them of the people and places they were fighting for. The selection of records included classical, jazz, and popular music. These records were also a way to encouraging collective acceptance of ally ideas, values, and social order though broadcasting music and public personalities to the local populations able to receive the radio broadcasts of the V-disks. Duke Ellington released at least 59 sides for the V-Disk project and V-Disc 001 featuring Bea Wain featured a sweet up-tempo big band arrangement of “Put Your Arms Around Me, Honey” and “Comin’ in on a Wing and a Prayer”.

Propaganda

Warfare is waged on three fronts, the military front, the economic front, and the propaganda front: The main task of propaganda is to influence foreign powers either to stay or to become allies; to strengthen the home front and to diminish the enemy’s will to fight by intensifying depression, disillusionment and disagreement. The press’s desire for sensation to promote sales joins with the government's aim of mobilizing the home front, influencing neutral countries, and demoralizing the enemy.

Images of oneself and the enemy play a decisive role in creating coherence in a society at war. The image of the enemy represents the antagonist, against which a group reassures itself, thus becoming a central component of one's own identity. The impact of commercial propaganda is high since atrocity stories sell well in wartime. Propaganda not only works top-down from government administration, but it is also bottom-up from the people. Othering in World War Two propaganda occurred on a National basis as well as a racial basis. I hope to show that propaganda from the Axis, Allies, and the Indian Ministry of Information all Othered Africans and African-Americans in an attempt to claim racial superiority. Propaganda must be kept simple in order to maintain its effectiveness. By the 1920's jazz was recognized as having African American origins, but it was very popular as dance music in segregated white dance halls. However, the incorporation of jazz in racial and nationalist propaganda media complicated the message.

Film

November 26th, 2013 President Barack Obama stated at the DreamWorks Animation facility in Glendale, California, “entertainment is part of our American diplomacy.”¹. By the time the President made this statement, moving pictures technology had been a tool for spreading political, cultural and national propaganda for more than a century.

¹ [america.aljazeera.com/Dec 12th 2013 hollywoodasimpactinwashingtongoesbeyondsocialissues.html](http://america.aljazeera.com/Dec%2012%202013%20hollywoodasimpactinwashingtongoesbeyondsocialissues.html)

² **Diegetic sound** is any sound that the character or characters on screen can hear. **Non-diegetic sound** is

Early in 1940, F. Bartley, the British Chief Press Censor, was put in charge of film publicity within India, and in February he presented his report on ‘Publicity through the cinema in India.’ The report stated that Bartley considered the domestic film field in India neither ‘wide nor inviting’ but by then there were in fact 1200 cinemas in urban locations in India. While the film industry in India may have been underdeveloped by British standards, there was a healthy consumer market (Woods 2001: 296).

The following section will explore film as a contributing factor to public reception and interpretation of jazz. While evoking Stewart Hall’s Reception Theory, I propose that the reception of imbedded cultural and nationalist messages in the American and British films were interpreted by Indian audiences in a variety of ways depending on, but not limited to, economics, relationship to colonial empire, musical interest, and social values.

Almost as soon as films became publically viewed, the technology was recognized as an effective means of shaping public opinion. British colonizers and American filmmakers effectively used film to project national policies, political agendas and race relations.

Science has, in fact, converted the civilized world into one vast amphitheater, and endowed many millions of its inhabitants with the privilege once confined to a few hundred thousands of citizens and colonists of Imperial Rome. In the days, indeed, in which games filled so important a place in the policy of the reigning Caesar, the cinematograph would have become an invaluable instrument of statecraft, by means of which it would have been possible to keep the fickle populace in good humor on strictly economical terms. A costly gladiatorial show, for instance, might have been represented many times over at a slight additional expense, and might then have been sent on tour round the “provinces” for exhibition under, the management of their respective proconsuls (The Times of India; April 14, 1897).

By the onset of World War Two, both government and private organizations were well practiced in using film to shape public opinion. I have researched presentations of jazz as it pertains directly to national identity and racial identity and I have found that organizations promoting the interests of the Allies and the Axis used jazz as a means of a national marker while simultaneously making racial distinctions. When jazz is portrayed in film as dance music for evening entertainment, it is often as black entertainment. When jazz is used as a means to facilitate national identity it is white music.

British Film Propaganda in India

With the onset of World War Two the British government created the Ministry of Information for the purpose of promoting the British national position to the public at home as well as abroad by issuing ‘National Propaganda’ and controlling news and information. The British and the Indian government were in competition over control of propaganda concerning India, but ultimately in most cases the British were better positioned to control funding and therefore the message. This section will briefly explore the complexity the British faced constructing propaganda for the Indian sub-continent.

British propaganda concerning India targeted four main audiences: the British Empire and the United States, Indians who attended English cinema, urban working classes Indians who patronized Indian language cinemas situated in the towns, and rural audiences (Woods 2015: 298). The British produced and controlled most propaganda targeting audiences outside of India. In attempts to save money, they tried several

partnerships with Indian filmmakers hoping to reach domestic Indian audiences, but these partnerships yielded products that the British generally deemed unsuitable for most target audiences. Indian made films were generally not of high enough quality for showing in British or American commercial cinemas. Urban Indian audiences generally found these films lacked entertainment (Woods 2015: 304).

Britain's underlying desire to present itself as the benevolent ruler put it at odds with the Indian nationalist movement. Throughout the war, the British struggled to craft a message that projected the legitimacy of their rule and while simultaneously appealing to Indian audiences. For example, Indians viewed political symbols differently from the British. "The image of a rotund Churchill with a cigar in his mouth was not well received in India: 'the Indians' conception of a leader involves the spiritual and the symbolic, not the prosaic and ordinary" (Woods 2015: 298).

In May 1940 in the Ministry of Information came to the conclusion that it was undesirable for films to attempt a direct defense of British rule in India. It was determined that the British case must be left to stand for itself from an understanding of three factors: the great complexity of the Indian problem, India's difficulties arising from backwardness, ignorance and superstition of great masses of the people, and the progress that has been achieved under British rule, both economically and politically (Woods 2015: 299). In 1942 the MOI monthly intelligence summary included a section on propaganda directed primarily at the Middle East but it was also thought to be appropriate for India. The summary argued that people of the Middle East were not won over by images of British decency (Woods 2015: 298). "True to dominant ideas of racial

hierarchy, even the Indian cinema novice was assumed to be much more capable of understanding film than the African native. Thus the Colonial Film Unit's African films were not thought suitable for India" (Woods 2015: 229).

The Indian government needed to recruit and sustain the largest volunteer army in the world without contributing to its own political instability and it (the Indian government) was adamant that they were the only ones who understood the peculiarities of the Indian situation and that it was imperative that they keep complete control over all forms of propaganda relating directly to India. Communicating the desired message(s) to target audiences was further complicated by the range of Indian people's education and exposure to Western technology. The goal was to reach everyone from the highly sophisticated Indian moviegoer to the Indian peasant who had never seen a film. There was a general assumption that films for Indian rural audiences would have to be slower in tempo and would have to take care to explain things such as modern weaponry. Unfortunately for the government of India, it could not raise enough money to carry out an independent propaganda policy and thus ultimately needed to depend upon the Ministry of Information for partial funding, and this inevitably meant losing complete control of the propaganda.

Indian produced films that had been initially dismissed by the British were often shown to large audiences in rural areas with mobile film projectors as part of a larger program that included song, dance, speeches and entertainment films. Whether the audiences accepted the intended messages of the films is impossible to tell in the absence of data (Woods 2015: 304). *British Movietone News* was dubbed into Indian languages

and added to this circuit. This rural audience came to be more highly valued when the Japanese threatened to invade India in 1943. Just as in Britain, the civilian production of food was vital to the war effort (Woods 2015: 298).

What I hope to have demonstrated in this section is the overwhelming problem that faced the British in constructing a clear message that justified their rule and promoted their wartime agendas to the Indian people. India's linguistic, cultural and educational diversity ensured that it was impossible to construct a single message that could reach the entire sub-continent. During the war, the MOI was operating under the assumption of British racial and cultural superiority and this would likely cause a strong reaction against Western culture and technology by many that were able to understand the racist subtext. In addition, my readings have suggested that many Indians in rural populations likely found British and Western media new, exotic and alien with limited appeal. Jazz was the new mechanical music of popular Western media.

Film and War

The Spanish-American War was the first U.S. war in which the motion picture camera played a role. In 1898, the same year as the war, short films were released showing troops, ships, and reenactments of battles. Battle reenactments were mixed in with footage of ships and real military activity. Many people that viewed the film were not able to distinguish between the news footage and the reenactments (<http://www.loc.gov/collection/March 12th 2015>).

Following the Russian October Revolution of 1917, Lenin developed a propaganda campaign using the new film technology. Much of the Russian peasantry was illiterate, but Lenin found that they all understood the message of the moving pictures (Fyne 1994: 4).

By the end of World War I in November 1918, both the German and American filmmakers were also well practiced in the development of silent propaganda pictures. Charlie Chaplin produced one of the most noteworthy and successful propaganda films of the First World War called *The Bond*. With this film, Chapin acted out a series of short comedy sketches intended to help the United States sell war bonds.

When the OWI (United States Office of War Information) took over as head of the U.S. propaganda ministry in June 1942, it led a pro-British information campaign for the duration of the Second World War. During this time the U.S. worked so closely with the British on all media fronts that distinguishing between U.K. and U.S. wartime propaganda is almost impossible. For example, British advisors often instructed Hollywood studios to produce newsreels, shorts, and features that cast Britain and its relationship with the United States on equal terms and in a flattering light. Films that appeared on the surface to be British-made, were often backed by Hollywood production companies (Bennett 2012:146-148).

“By 1943 the motion picture industry was supplying free of charge all its newest and best feature films to the U.S. war department overseas film division for shipment to every U.S. base and camp abroad” (Show Business at War. 1943. Film.). Some films such as *The Flying Tigers* starring John Wayne (1942) were blatant in their propaganda

message with dialog like, “We are not fighting men, we are fighting animals.” The opening credits of this film begin with an eagle perched with wings raised above the text “A Republic Production.” Other films offered a more subtle approach by offering more of a cultural propaganda. These examples of the state using film as a means of influencing public opinion show a clear pattern of use that were well developed during the period of study in this report.

War propaganda appeared in four different formats: combat action films, personal stories of individuals facing life and death situations, documentaries, and cartoons. Films such as *Flying Tigers*, *Guadalcanal Diary*, *Objective, Burma!* were popular combat films while *Casablanca* is perhaps the best-known example of the personal story genre.

Casablanca follows a nightclub owner in Morocco struggling unsuccessfully to stay out of the war while in the middle of a love triangle. Documentaries were also produced by some of Hollywood's best talents. Frank Capra's *Why We Fight* series is perhaps the best of this genre. Cartoon characters sold war bonds, flew planes, built bombs and even warned recruits about the dangers they were going to be facing.

The general message presented by Hollywood during World War Two regarding Nazi Germany was the righteousness of the Allied cause and the wickedness of the Nazis and the Axis. The Nazi villain in film often appeared as a buffoon, a gangster, or a heel-clicking puppet. The goal of filmmakers being to dehumanize German soldiers. Both domestic and foreign media also dehumanized African Americans. As propaganda, jazz was sometimes used as a means of contributing to a media image of a racial Other.

Despite decades of global popularity, jazz was not typically used in overt Allied propaganda soundtracks as non-diegetic sound tracks but it did occasionally appear as diegetic music such as *Dudley Wilson's* character Sam playing piano and singing in the 1942 film *Casablanca*.² Any appearance of background music that the characters in the movie cannot hear is a prime example of non-diegetic sound.

Curtis examines in his book *Music Makes the Nation* (2008) what people, and particularly national artists, of the nineteenth century thought about music and nationalism. Curtis writes that the common understanding of “nation” is that nations such as the United States, France, or Brazil has had a distinct identity throughout its entire history, and that nations are real things that exist independently of what people think of them is demonstrably deficient (Curtis 2008: 20). He goes on to explore the construction and reception of nationalism through five factors. Primordialism, a fixation on folk tunes, obsession with stylistics, the role of national composers, and the reception of music. Most World War Two propaganda filmmakers of the United States appear to be primarily interested in evoking the idea that there is some kind of eternal, innate national spirit of a people that is a natural part of national populations DNA (Primordialism) through a use of scoring of American folk songs scored in a way that evokes a military brass band.

By the onset of World War Two, the music industry had already effectively marketed jazz as race music for decades. What is interesting is that jazz was not used in films that were made with obvious nationalistic propaganda overtones, but eventually due

² **Diegetic sound** is any sound that the character or characters on screen can hear. **Non-diegetic sound** is any sound that the audience can hear but the characters on screen cannot.

to popular demand, jazz appeared on many V-disks that were pressed by the U.S. government. As stated earlier, Duke Ellington released at least 59 sides for the V-Disk project and V-Disc 001 featuring Bea Wain was a sweet up-tempo big band arrangement of “Put Your Arms Around Me, Honey.” What this demonstrates is that the music industry associated with the armed forces appreciated the value of jazz as a means of entertaining as well as contributing to a sense of National unity.

One obvious distinction is that the V-disk lacks the visual component of film. It could be argued that jazz does not project dramatic effects or military strength desired by filmmakers. In this scenario, the Hollywood film studios appear to be generally approaching its propaganda film production from a top down perspective by evoking unity through a shared memory of a national military victory. I found very limited use of jazz in propaganda films.

Another aspect to consider is that black voices and jazz had been appearing on record and in the home for decades. The appearance of black voices in a white home during the early part of the twentieth century can be thought of as a form of sonic integration. The appearance of black music on film adds a visual component and another form of integration. The use of black musicians in film may actually remind the audiences the United States was still legally sanctioned racial suppression under the Jim Crow laws and further complicate the intended message of the propaganda. The United States was fighting the Fascism and totalitarianism while trying to pretend it was not supporting British colonialism and its own segregation.

Film and Race

The 1942 May 1st edition of the *Times of India* devoted half of page eight to summaries and reviews of Hollywood movies that were playing in Indian theaters. Looking at different editions of the newspaper from this era, I found that dedication of this amount of space to movie advertisements was a typical occurrence. I intend to illustrate that there is a persistent narrative in the films of European racial superiority, African primitivism, and atavism. Jazz is paired with these images and the racialized images become imprinted on the music.

Effective propaganda films offer simplicity. The villains are bad and often buffoonish or stupid. The simplicity offers clear Othering to ensure that the audience understands the intended message. *Jungle Jitters* is a 1938 a one-reel animated cartoon short released as part of the Merrie Melodies series has since become known as one of the Censored Eleven. This is a group of Looney Tunes and Merrie Melodies cartoons that were withheld from syndication by United Artists (UA) in 1968 for their offensive racist content.

Animators began using jazz in cartoon shorts around the same time as film with sound gained public acceptance. The animation *Swing Monkey Swing* was advertised in May of 1938 in the *Times of India*. The cartoon short takes place in a bamboo village with no discernable plot. Monkeys scat sing and perform Cab Callaway style call and response while wearing bowties and derby hats and dancing in a comic manner. Some of the monkeys play jazz instruments like clarinet, trumpet, trombone, saxophone and

upright bass while others appear to represent, and may actually have voice of famous jazz personalities. Cab Calloway was featured in several *Betty Boop* cartoons that were shown in India in the early 1930s.

The cartoon takes place in a jungle, the dark skinned natives with faces that look like something akin to minstrel makeup are going about their day misusing Western technology; for example, one person straps toilet plungers to his feet and uses them to climb a tree. A traveling salesman then comes by to offer them the latest in "assorted useful, useless, utensils." I could not help but think of The East India Company while watching this scene. This cartoon was not advertised: the natives capture him, throw him into a pot of boiling water, and misuse his goods. When the salesman is introduced to the unattractive white village queen as a potential mate, the salesman finds himself with the choice between a forced marriage with the homely queen, or the boiling pot of water. He chooses the pot.

This cartoon shows the modern society in opposition to the traditional society. A traditional society refers to a society characterized by an orientation to the past and the local.

Modernity can be loosely defined as a set of ideas and practices about the new, innovation, progress and individualism. "A society will be considered more or less modernized to the extent that its members use inanimate sources of power and/or use tools to multiply the effects of their efforts" (Levy 1966: 11). British ideologies of

superiority and dominance were justified, in part, by European technology. Machines became the measure of a society.

A much more subtle example can be seen in *Casablanca*. This film was released in the United States in November of 1942 and by June 1943 was being shown in India. This film in many ways adheres to classic stereotypes of the movies villains but as the setting of the film reveals its complexity, the characters also develop complexity. *Casablanca* is set in a nightclub where the French, German's, and Americans all interact in a quasi-friendly manor, the real enemy becomes obfuscated. In order to closely follow the film the viewer is required to understand references to world affairs such as the war between Spain and Ethiopia. One of films chief antagonists is a Nazi named Major Strasser (Conrad Veidt). Strasser is menacing and ruthless but he is also incompetent. Nazi authority was undermined in one point of the film by Humphrey Bogart's character Rick during informal interrogations by Major Strasser while in other scenes he was portrayed as being very dangerous. In a final meeting between the two men Rick kills the German officer. Entering the café Ilsa (Ingrid Bergman), notices the piano player, Sam (Dudley Wilson), and inquired about the name of the "boy" playing piano. Throughout the film, Sam was the loyal servant/musician for Bogart, and on every occasion referred to him as "Boss."

Paramount Pictures released "*Birth of the Blues*," starring Bing Crosby, Mary Martin and Brian Donlevy, in November 1941. The opening of the movie is set in the 1890's, when Bing Crosby's character is a clarinet player who "discovers/invents" jazz as a child of ten to twelve years old while mingling with black musicians on the docks in

New Orleans. The African-Americans in this scene are depicted in a way that can only be described as minstrel caricature. The movie begins with an all black band playing proto-jazz while a white child plays clarinet with them just out of sight. When the slow-witted musicians discover the boy, he is invited to join the group so he can teach the senior musicians how to play. Crosby's character goes on as an adult to lead a band called the Basin Street Hot Shots. In addition to Bing Crosby, the movie also features trombonist and vocalist Jack Teagarden. May 1st, 1942, *The Times of India* dedicated a substantial amount of space to a review of the movie.

The storyline of the movie is similar to a narrative put forth by the bandleader of The Original Dixieland *Jass* Band (ODJB), Nick LaRocca. The ODJB was an all white group from New Orleans that is credited for having made the first jazz recording in 1917. More copies of their jazz hit "Livery Stable Blues" were sold than any other record preceding it.

For a short time, many people, including African-Americans, believed jazz originated as white dance music. As a result of the success of ODJB, most of the jazz bands that recorded for major labels with effective distribution between the years 1917 to 1923 were white. LaRocca also secured copyright and authorship to many songs that were established as traditional part of New Orleans repertoire before ODJB recorded them. Throughout his life, LaRocca stated that African-Americans had nothing to do with the creation of jazz. By the mid-nineteen twenties the contributions of African-Americans to jazz were more widely appreciated (Gerard 1998: 17-18).

The media examples that pertain to race that I have described dehumanize African-Americans and the animation in particular projects a form of atavism while seeking to reinforce ideas of racial superiority and justify colonialism and economic exploitation. Many of the first encounters of Europeans with the peoples of Africa, Americas, and Oceania occurred in the context of voyages of exploration and cartography. The bodies of the peoples living there were subjected to measurement and mapping in order to take their place within the European *mappus mundi*, or mapping of the world. In the very act of measuring the body parts and registering the sensory acuity of “primitive” people, anthropologists constituted themselves as rational Europeans and their subjects as sensuous savages (Howes 2003: 4). It could be argued that by working primarily or only with sensory phenomena that could be recorded, anthropologists were seeking to control and contain the subjects they studied, to reify them and turn them into museum or laboratory specimens (Howes 2003: 7).

What I hope all this illustrates is a long history of Western media being used to project Western racial superiority. This constant bombardment of racist propaganda through film and radio coupled with jazz would imprint these layers of meaning onto the music.

Technology and its Impacts

“Popular culture is a realm of contestation and negotiation, where producers and consumers, artists and audiences confer and dispute identities, aesthetics, and social

mores” (Atkins 2001; 10). The following outlines my conclusions regarding the role of technology in affecting the perception of jazz in India. I will be looking through the lenses of modernity, nationalism, propaganda, race, and reception.

Modernity can be loosely defined as a set of ideas and practices about the new, innovation, progress and individualism. A society will be considered more or less modernized to the extent that its members use inanimate sources of power and/or use tools to multiply the effects of their efforts (Levy 1966: 11). With this statement Levy makes it clear that it is impossible to untangle technology from modernity. Daniel Lerner viewed advanced communications as the key to making societies modern. Media such as newspapers and radio increases the access to knowledge beyond family and community (Adas 1989: 414). British ideologies of superiority and dominance were justified, in part, by European technology. Machines became the measure of men, and the worth of each people determined by their technology.

Jazz in the first half of the twentieth century came to represent the technological machine age and an increased state of dehumanization. It embodied the technological marvel of industrialization and the mind-numbing repetition of the assembly line. Jazz embodied mechanized modern warfare and the primitive brutality of the machine gun. Jeremy Lane describes this contradiction as techno-primitivism. These interrelated tropes had been gradually put in place in France when jazz first arrived with the American army in 1918. In his *Musicques d’aujourd’hui* (Musics of Today) of 1923, the musicologist Emile Vuillermos claimed to hear in jazz the sounds of spinning propellers, electric

generators, and humming turbines as well as of “cavemen,” of “whirling dervishes,” and Nature itself, a synthesis, then, of the primitive and the modern... (Lane 2014:3, Vuillermoz 1923: 212).

In Duhamel’s despairing account, then, jazz became a peculiarly over determined figure for the evils of an American machine age, for the destructive force of total mechanized war, for the senseless, repetitive tasks demanded of workers on the newly mechanized assembly lines, for the troubling new social sexual mores of the urban nightclub. Yet Duhamel also implied that these most modern of social and cultural evils somehow corresponded to a return to a more primitive state. The mechanized factory, the modern battlefield, the elevated railway, and the nightclub were all figured as sites of primitive barbarity, locations for a black mass or negre sacrifice (Lane 2014: 3).

Modernity also came to represent Individual subjectivity and alienation. The jazz soloist playing among the perceived chaos of the ensemble seemed to also project this.

In other words, modernity represented a profoundly paradoxical historical experience, one in which, as Marx famously put it, “everything seems to be pregnant with its contrary.” Or, as Nietzsche registered with an even sharper sense for jarring paradox, the nineteenth century was an era in which there was a “fateful simultaneity of spring and autumn” and in which, in fact, man himself was a kind of chaos.” (Erlmann 1999:17, Giddens 1991: 32).

McLuhan proposes that both Nationalism and the industrial revolution were the result of print technology in the sixteenth century. Nationalism didn’t exist in Europe until the Renaissance, when typography enabled every literate man to see his mother tongue analytically as a uniform entity (Playboy March 1969, 1995: 243). With this, he states that mass media was responsible for creating a visual closed system that linguistically linked communities that eventually led to the concept of nationalism. The linguistic diversity of South Asia would render print media less effective as a means to unify. “Print tore man from the traditional society” (Playboy March 1969, McLuhan 1995:

244).

McLuhan goes on to explain that electronic media, the telegraph, radio, films, telephone, computer, and television, (I would also include gramophone), are also forms of mass media and a further extension of print technology. The difference is that visual print technology (text) is centralizing while the *intense depth participation* created by electronic media is decentralizing. The clash of the visual with the intense depth participation of electronic media creates a crisis of identity. “The use of the electronic media constitutes a break boundary between fragmented Gutenberg man and integral man, just as phonetic literacy was a break boundary between oral-tribal man and visual man” (Playboy March 1969, McLuhan 1995: 245). Print media at once contributes to a closed system while electronic media alienates the individual within society.

I propose that the British control of the electronic media further contributed to the violence and alienation described by McLuhan. But because the electronic media was British controlled, the feelings of alienation were directed back at the British and ultimately contributed to an alienation from the British. In this scenario, the broadcast of British interests perpetuated a constant Othering of the Indian in Indian society. As demonstrated by the criticism of the production of records with local musicians to satisfy local musical taste, some critics in India saw the British records manufactured with the intent to meet Indian interests as another way the British were trying to exert control. The Jazz community’s presumed marginality can be used to obscure its involvement in the construction and diffusion of nationalistic ideologies (Atkins 2001; 7).

Here I would like to evoke propaganda theory as proposed by Noam Chomsky.

The media in these examples serves the interests of those in power by manufacturing consent on important issues. Those in charge of the media determine what is presented and how to present it, making the media nothing more than a propaganda arm of the government in power. During the years discussed in this report, what was in the best interest of the British colonial authority was the preservation of the governing system they were using to economically exploit India. In order for the British to maintain their position of colonial power it was necessary to use propaganda to convince Indians that support of the colonial empire equated to support of higher quality. The constant beat of war drums in film and on radio perpetuated a heightened state of alarm and fear of a British/Indian mutual enemy. I argue that one subtext of the war propaganda media examples I have presented is that the Indian people were better cared for by the technologically superior British occupiers than the alternative, which was Nazi/axis occupation. This would feed into insecurities of separation anxiety of leaving the British. Nazi occupation and labor camp propaganda began to appear in the *Times of India* in January 1940.

Reception

Since the popular emerges at the intersection of received symbolic forms, audiences' experiences of authority and subordination in the workplace, home, and social ritual, and new articulations by various producers of symbolic forms- local teachers and labor organizers, storytellers and journalists, theater managers and actors- it is itself a crucial place of contestation, with moments of resistance to the dominate culture as well as moments of suppression (Lott 1993:18).

Reception theory, promoted by Stuart Hall, suggests that people do not absorb media passively but rather read into it in one of three ways; the preferred reading, in the

negotiated form, and in an oppositional reading (Danesi 2013: 431). The audience does not simply passively accept the text, or media; it's meaning is interpreted by the audience based on their life experiences.

The separation of the mediated audience from the time and circumstance of a delivered message makes understanding that audiences reception challenging. Much of the media discussed so far in this report was targeted primarily at Western audiences, the Indian public who viewed and listened to the imbedded messages were diverse and perhaps very different from an ideal audience imagined by the media producers.

Paul Lazarsfeld and Elihu Katz write that reception is positive or negative depending in part on the views already held by the individual. People are more likely to find that media reinforces existing opinion than to convert (Katz 99:271). Selective perception theory claims that opinion leaders of the communities pass on their own interpretations in addition to the actual media content (Danesi 2013: 431). People's reception of media content also tends to be consistent with values of the social class or group to which they belong.

The reception of jazz was influenced by the reception of technology that was used to present and disseminate it. Jazz carried with it the subtext of American ideals of individual freedom and resistance to unjust hegemonic structures. Fernandes writes repeatedly about the freedom found in the performance of jazz by the musicians in his book. This internalization of this meaning of jazz can easily be lost if the listener

associates the foreign technology broadcasting the music with British occupation. One example of how drastically the meaning of music can change with appropriation is the U.S. interrogators at Guantanamo use of “I Love You,” the theme from, *Barney the Purple Dinosaur*, as a means of torture.

JAZZ IN A LIVE CONTEXT

This portion of the report will focus on the presentation of jazz in a live context. I have chosen to limit my research relating to jazz performance to the confines of the Taj Mahal Palace Hotel in Bombay due to the availability of material. I will be looking into scene, place and fashion.

As stated above, in 2012 Naresh Fernandez wrote a book titled *Taj Mahal Foxtrot* that focused on the jazz musicians of Bombay who performed at the Taj Mahal Hotel. After reading the book I was encouraged by Professor Stephen Slawek to visit the archives at the American Institute of Indian Studies (A.I.I.S.) in Gurgaon India. Shortly before my arrival the Associate Director General, Dr. Shubha Chaudhuri, had just received Naresh Fernandez's notes from the book and she graciously invited me to sort through them.

Scene

I use the concept of scene to bring together many of the ideas I have presented regarding live performance and even radio and recordings. A scene is a form of collective association through which individuals with different relationships to a specific activity or idea in a specific space create a shared identity through a broad range of activities including music making, dancing, listening, production, and promotion, as well as physical spaces such as venues, clubs, recording studios, and retail music shops:

“...scenes often transcend particular localities ‘reflect and actualize a particular state of

relations between various populations and social groups, as these coalesce around particular coalitions of musical style” (Straw 1991: 379, Driver and Bennett 2014:101).

....the notion of music scene becomes a form of collective association and a means through which individuals with different relationships to a specific genre of music produced in a particular space articulate a sense of collective identity and belonging. As Peterson and Bennett observe, scene in this sense denotes ‘contexts in which clusters of producers, musicians, and fans collectively share their common musical tastes and collectively distinguish themselves from others’ (Peterson RA and Bennett A 2004: 1, Driver and Bennett 2014:100).

Scene can be theorized as both a local and trans-local phenomenon (Driver and Bennett 2014, Peterson and Bennett 2004). The term trans-local is used to describe socio-spatial dynamics and processes of identity formation that transcend physical boundaries. I am looking at the Taj Hotel as a scene that is local and trans-local as a point of intersection of cultural production and consumption.

This two-part model is expanded on by Peterson and Bennett (2004), who introduce a third tier to the model of music scenes. In addition to the labels of local and trans-local, a new category “virtual” is added to the scene model. Peterson and Bennett state that virtual scenes utilize Internet communication technology, thus allowing geographically dispersed fans to interact online.

Whereas a conventional local scene is kept in motion by a series of gigs, club nights, fairs, and similar events, where fans converge, communicate and reinforce their sense of belonging to a particular scene, the virtual scene involves direct net-mediated person-to-person communication between fans ... This may involve, for example, the creation of chat-rooms or list-serves dedicated to the scene and may involve the trading of music and images on-line (Peterson and Bennett 2004: 11, Driver and Bennett 2014: 102).

I believe this limitation of the third tier of virtual to the Internet is short sighted. I argue that this concept can also be applied to the relationship of the listener and radio

broadcaster. None of the readings discussed so far have addressed the impact of the local DJ and radio stations in the development and maintenance of a local music scene. In relation to the jazz scene of pre-war Bombay, SEAC and BBC radio broadcasts in disseminated jazz to all those with access to a radio.

Taj Mahal Hotel as Place

The surest place to seek out these short-haired sophisticates-and indeed, all that was considered chic in Bombay-was the Taj. The hotel was something of a paradox. Unlike the modern Regal cinema down the road, the Italianate dome and solid stone walls of the Taj harkened back to a bygone age. But ever since it had opened with 17 guests in 1903, it had been the place where Bombay society could savor the latest trends from around the world. The hotel had imported the newest technology from Europe: washing and polishing equipment, a soda and ice factory, laundry, lifts and a generator. Its menus reflected the current culinary fashions and the hotel had taken it upon itself to showcase the latest cultural trends. It had established a permanent Taj Mahal Orchestra in 1907. In 1925, it hired its first foreign dance band: the Harold Elmes outfit from Odenino's in London. As hot music became the rage, it seemed only fitting that the Taj would be the first establishment in Bombay to welcome it in (Fernandes 2012;27).

The Taj Mahal Hotel in WW II

The hotel guest population is by its nature transitory. Of the hotel ballroom one thing that can be said for sure is that those who attended musical events within the Taj Hotel mixed both with a local population and with a transient international population, both of whom possessed disposable income. There was also likely a degree of middle class jazz/dance fans and those who aspired for economic mobility. The hotel was a symbol of national pride but it was also a place of Western exchange and cosmopolitanism.

The Taj Mahal Palace Hotel, from the time it was built in 1903, has been a place of meeting, exchange, and reception. Through colonial rule, two world wars, famine and the birth of a nation, it has been a destination of domestic and foreign dignitaries. I argue that the jazz performed in the space of the Taj Mahal Hotel during the years of focus in my report represented an interest of India's cosmopolitan elite in a modern Indian identity in dialog with Western powers. I also suggest that during World War Two, the performance of jazz within the hotel reflected India's geopolitical position as being in support of the Allies.

November 1st 1937 Axel Wenner-Gren's yacht flying the Swedish flag dropped anchor in Bombay Harbor near the Taj Hotel. In addition to being one of the wealthiest people in the world at this time, he is also remembered for his efforts to work as an intermediary between the British, Americans, and the Nazis. Sweden at this time was claiming neutrality and was attempting to maintain positive economic trade relations with both Great Britain and Germany. Germany was in need of Swedish iron ore and Sweden was in need of British coal. The *Times of India* stated that the reason for his visit was economic instability resulting from uncertainty in Europe and the Sino-Japanese war

While the Taj Mahal Hotel was built as a representation of Indian's prosperity and a statement of resistance against colonial rule, this does not mean that it is a space of unified Indian interests. While The Muslim League supported the British war effort, the Indian National Congress demanded independence before joining Britain in the war effort. Representatives of each group met at the Taj Hotel March 14th and 15th in 1941 in

an attempt to end the deadlock over India's involvement in the war. Just a few weeks later on April 1,st 1941, The Taj Mahal Hotel hosted an 8-flag ball to aid The Royal Air Force. The Indian National Congress announced its "Quit India" campaign in August 1942. During 1942 there is no further mention of The Hotel and the congress in the same article. Many members of the congress were imprisoned following the passing of the resolution.

Jazz attire

My research here relies on a few historical photos, mostly of musicians, provided by Naresh Fernandes in his book *Taj Mahal Foxtrot (2012)*. I propose that the clothing worn by patrons and musicians in the photos of the music events at the Taj Hotel reflect an individual's complex relationship with authenticity, economics, pop culture, counterculture, Westernization, colonization and traditional values with theories originally presented by Dick Hebdige, Micheal Taussig, Richard Taruskin John Russell, and Martin Heidegger. Photos of the time period show that those that attended the dance events at the Taj Mahal Palace Hotel were often wearing Western formal attire. I propose that to wear jazz is to simultaneously wear the garb of the colonizer and the colonized.

In an examination of the attire of 529 people in seventy-one photos printed in the first half of Fernandez's *Taj Mahal Foxtrot*, approximately 80% of the people pictured were wearing either Western formal wear or Western business formal wear. A total of six people pictured were in some kind of traditional South Asian attire.

The ability to afford to attend the dances and buy expensive Western clothes requires a degree of disposable income. One reading of the clothing choice could be as a way of visually marking themselves as in alignment with Western colonial or economic interests. This self-presentation of identity might be attractive because of its alignment with power.

Taussig is convinced that many colonized peoples resorted to a selective imitation of the Western colonizer to protect themselves from their unwelcomed interference on the one hand, and to make themselves master of some aspect of their power on the other. Where the Westerner went in search of the essence of the 'Primitive Other', the 'Other' attempted, in a similar way, to penetrate to the essence of Western potency (Baud 1997: 105)

Hebdige (1979) argues that the styles of youth subcultures can function as a challenge to dominant ideology, hegemony, and social normalization through symbolic forms of resistance. He emphasizes the historical, socioeconomic, class, race, and mass media contexts of each subculture. A person's wearing of Western clothing style in the context of a live dance might represent a rejection of British national symbolism or a rejection of Indian tradition.

Authenticity

Another reason for wearing western attire would be to claim authenticity as it pertains to jazz. This reading is particularly relevant for musicians. During this era, the jazz musicians and the stage are presented in such a way that makes it difficult to identify where exactly the performance is taking place. Based on attire and stage design, the photos could easily have been taken somewhere in the United States.

Richard Taruskin believes that authenticity suggests a form of cultural elitism. Once authenticity is claimed, it is implied that the “Other” is inauthentic, deceitful or a forgery. Taruskin argues that that historical performance is authentic and is a true indication of modernist thought. Historically, most jazz aficionados reside in its major cities and are typically well educated with the means to purchase records, record players and concert tickets. Although these jazz fans represent the more affluent stratum of society, members of the jazz community delight in their own (real or imagined) marginality.

Heidegger also suggests that alienation is necessary for authenticity. When we have achieved a sense of authenticity, we reinsert ourselves into historical and cultural context, this will result in inauthenticity and alienation. The claim to authenticity is ultimately flawed; in that once the claim is made, the influence of the outside world becomes a corrupting factor. However much we may feel that a particular sound represents the musical style, we are still likely to make it sound how we want it to sound, even if this directly opposes existing practices. Differences in cultural perspective looking back historically in time are probably as great as, if not greater than, those between different cultures today.

This marginalization by this attire is entirely by choice, and contributes to notions of authenticity. Musicians for example dress in the manner that they believe best represents their musical ideals. They may enjoy the marginality they feel by their appropriating and claiming the dress seen by the majority of the population as foreign

attire and attending a dance event associated with an Other. Taylor Akins writes this about extensively in his book *Blue Nippon* (2001).

Based on racialist conceptualizations of authenticity, this ambivalence motivated some prominent jazz artists to develop what I call “strategies of authentication” to legitimate jazz performance by Japanese. This includes the interpreting and attempting to replicate the exact sounds of American jazz as well as the social and cultural context (e.g., the “hipster scene”) in which jazz is produced; asserting the basic affinity of the “colored races” (the Japanese as “yello negro”); sojourning in America or in interwar Shanghai as a rite of authentication; and efforts to “indigenize” or “nationalize” jazz by incorporating textures, instruments, or aesthetic principles from traditional musics, thereby creating what some believed to be a national style of jazz, “which foreigners cannot imitate.”(Atkins 2001; 11-12).

I think the feeling of being outside the society is the ultimate inspiration...I just think the feeling of being conscious of yourself as part of a people that are both totally reeling from it is the ultimate inspiration for doing something totally different *Don Byron 1989* (Monson 1996: 202).

Akins goes on to discuss the ideas of John G. Russell (1998). Akins sites Russell stating that in Japan, displays of commodified blackness represent “a site of resistance against Japanese social and behavioral norms and white cultural hegemony, [but] lack any clear subversive direction or intent.” Commodified and consumed blackness, Russell contends, supposedly enables Japanese to transform and liberate themselves expressively and sexually” (Akins 2001; 278). Akins goes on to discuss Alan Merriam’s description of a cross-cultural “pattern of low status and high importance, coupled with deviant behavior allowed by the society and capitalized upon by the musician.” But if “the musician is distinguished by certain kinds of social behavior, so is his audience”(Atkins 2001:9). The devoted jazz fan might try to pass in the straight world, or may publicize membership in the jazz community with Western attire, facial hair, or some other form of advertisement challenging social compulsions toward conformism.

Teddy Weatherford and Authentic Performance

The way the distinction between authentic and inauthentic sorts out is highly context-dependent. In discussing authenticity here I would like to evoke nominal authenticity as well as expressive authenticity as written of by Denis Dutton. Nominal authenticity is the opposite of a forgery, plagiarism, or misidentification. Dutton's concept of expressive authenticity is based on possessing original or inherent authority. Expressive authenticity is a measure of the degree to which the artist's work is a committed, personal expression rather than derived from other work. It includes concepts of originality, honesty and integrity (Dutton 2010). The following will discuss the work of Teddy Weatherford as musician in the context of the Taj Mahal Hotel. I intend to argue that his musical expertise, musical training, stage presentation, national identity and racial identity all contributed to notions of authenticity for his audience at the hotel.

When Langston Hughes visited Shanghai in July 1933, He noted that the city seemed to have “a weakness for American Negro performers’. One of the best-loved African-American musicians in the city was Teddy Weatherford. By then, the pianist was the star attraction at the Canidrome Ballroom, which advertised itself as “the rendezvous of Shanghai’s elite” (Fernandes 2012: 71).

If one is hoping to argue that an individual is capable or representing authentic jazz it would be difficult to find a better candidate than Teddy Weatherford. Weatherford moved to New Orleans in 1915 at the age of twelve and stayed there until 1920. At this time, New Orleans was the center of the Jazz universe. King Oliver, Sidney Bachet, Louis Armstrong, as well as many other influential musicians called the city home and

were playing in bars, brothels, hotels, and on riverboats. It was here Weatherford learned to play jazz piano.

Pioneers like Kid Ory, Tate Erskine and King Oliver move to Chicago during the teens and early 1920's and it was here and during this time the most influential early jazz recordings were being made. In 1922, at the beginning of the jazz age, Weatherford moved to Chicago and soon joined the trumpeter Jimmy Wade's band. In 1925 he began working with Erskine Tate's orchestra and it was with this group he made recording with trumpeter Louis Armstrong in May 1926. Beginning in 1928, while in Chicago, Louis Armstrong made a series of recordings with his groups the Hot Five and Hot Seven that would become some of the most historically significant and influential recordings in jazz for the next thirty years. Weatherford was in the right place at the right time to absorb directly from musicians that were the first to record and write jazz down on paper. The musical vocabulary of King Oliver and Louis Armstrong is the foundational essence of jazz language.

Some in India may have understood Weatherford's early training in New Orleans, and his Work in Chicago, with such prominent musicians as Johnny Dodds and Louis Armstrong as being an American equivalent to the Gharana system. This would have likely have added to his prestige with local audiences.

In 1926 Weatherford began his career abroad when he sailed East with an orchestra led by the drummer Jack Carter. Weatherford led his own bands in Singapore, Manila, and Shanghai. By the time he reached Bombay and Calcutta, he was a seasoned

professional who had traveled and performed with some of the most elite jazz musicians in the world.

Racial identity also contributed to authentic musical representation. By the 1940's it was widely understood that jazz was born in predominantly African-American communities. This was known despite narratives from Hollywood and the record companies that sought to marginalize African-American contribution to jazz for the sake of profit. Teddy Weatherford's blackness visually marked him as a representative of the authentic jazz experience. He would be expected to have insight into the unique American experience at the heart of jazz that can only be expressed and fully understood by African-Americans. "There was no higher praise among the white Chicago jazz musicians of the 1920's than to say that a group of musicians '*played like niggers*'" (Kenny 1993: 99, Gerard 1998: 105).

In the American version of the Brahmin-Untouchable relationship, the white contempt for the African-American is influenced by a contradictory phenomenon: The African-American is idealized as the incarnation of the free soul, the pre-social being untethered by the constraints of civilization, possessing both innocence and powerful emotions that whites, because of the pressures of modern civilization, no longer possess (Rhodes 1994: 192, Gerard 1998: 100).

The most popular and financially successful jazz artists of the 1930's and 1940's were white. The sound of white jazz is typically described as being sweet, highly orchestrated, with an emphasis on smooth execution over passion. Teddy Weatherford's vocal performance of Basin Street Blues was based the performance of Jack Teagarden, a white trombone player. His piano performance reflects the influence of black artists James P. Johnson and Willie "the Lion" Smith, but the arrangement of Basin Street Blues

he is working from is based on an arrangement by Glenn Miller, another white trombone player.

My conclusion is that Teddy Weatherford represented jazz authenticity in India to his employers and much of his listening audience through several factors. His racial identity represented an assumed social experience central to the jazz experience. His affiliation to jazz royalty in the cities of New Orleans and Chicago allowed him to claim first person knowledge of the jazz language. He was able to convincingly reproduce stylistically popular music produced from the predominantly white artists at major record labels and Hollywood. In addition to all this, the man was a fine musician. Teddy Weatherford also represented authenticity of jazz performance through instrumentation, attire, performing techniques, and attempts to re-create the musical experience of an American audience. Photos of Teddy Weatherford performing in India show him in Western formal attire leading jazz bands, occupying the stage in a conventional big band formation.

Conclusions

Industrial technology beginning in the mid-eighteen century, as well as advancements in communication and transportation in the nineteenth century made it virtually impossible for any non-Western society to resist Westernization in matters relating to economics. At the dawn of the twentieth century, there was a growing feeling that imperialism was the prime cause of war and there was a moving sentiment against imperial power and colonialism.

What I hope to have demonstrated is the overwhelming difficulties the British faced in constructing a clear message that justified their rule and promoted their wartime agendas to the Indian people. India's linguistic, cultural and educational diversity ensured that it was impossible to construct a single message that could reach the entire subcontinent. During the war, the MOI was operating under the assumption of British racial and cultural superiority and this would likely cause a knee jerk rejection of Western culture and technology by many that were able to understand the racist subtext. Within the predominantly British controlled media that contained all of these layers jazz was presented. Many Indians in rural populations likely found British and Western media new, exotic and alien with limited appeal. Jazz was the new mechanical music of popular Western media.

The very nature of the colonial relationship had dictated that the European colonizers consider their leadership essential for the task of civilizing savages and barbaric societies. The underlying aim of educating and civilizing was to reshape the local economies in ways that would make them more efficient and productive for the colonizers.

In this report I have defined Jazz in two ways. The first is as an eclectic, expanding collection of 20th-century musical styles of predominantly of African American origin. Within this context jazz is the music of both the colonizer and the colonized. As an American music jazz in India was closely associated with the British colonizers. As a music with African American origins the music is associated with a

people who were oppressed in a way that many Indians could relate to. Jazz as defined in the manner suggested by Bill Evans as an innovative process highlights the similarities that jazz had to the improvised classical music of India. Unfortunately, in colonial India few Indians were privileged enough to experience live improvised jazz.

“Popular culture is a realm of contestation and negotiation, where producers and consumers, artists and audiences confer and dispute identities, aesthetics, and social mores” (Atkins 2001; 10). Ultimately the meaning of jazz is dependent on the context. It can take completely contradictory meanings depending on the interpretation of the listener, intentions of the performer, and the context of the performance. One listener might define jazz as music of the corrupt bourgeois colonial elite and another listener might find the same music represents a desire for freedom from the common people. In some cases, the listener is determining meaning but the listener is also subject to the influences of meaning imposed by society. Sociological information from the environment is incorporated into the developing meanings of the individual according to social pressures.

Music and dance have the ability to create heightened physical and emotional states that make individuals more susceptible to the intended messages of the artists, music entrepreneurs, and media producers. The meaning of the music changes depending on the needs of the listener, intent of the musicians, and collective acceptance.

Manifestations of collective acceptance of jazz appear in many forms. Not the least of which is the performance of jazz by Indian musicians in the Taj Mahal Hotel. Many Indian musicians taking the hours and years necessary to master jazz is a clear indication

of their acceptance. The Taj Mahal Hotel was erected as a statement of Indian pride and independence in the face of racism. For jazz to be featured so prominently in the hotel and to have so many Indians attending its performance is an indication that the music had transcended, at least for some, the idea that this was a music of an Other. Stewart Hall has suggested that popular culture is a sphere characterized by cultural formations of social and political conflict not entirely under the control of the ruling classes, nor an expression of the dominated. The popular does not passively reflect political domination, nor does it spring up in some immediate way from collective popular desires.

Universalities and ethnically assertive points of view often coexist in the same person and are conceived as discourses upon which musicians draw in particular interactive contexts. An individual speaking to an interlocker who underplays the role of African American culture in the music, for example, might choose to respond with ethnically assertive comments. In a context in which something closer to racial harmony prevails, a musician might choose to invoke a more universalistic rhetoric. These are two sides of tension between universality and culture particularity that perhaps explains the wide range of apparently contradictory opinions that can be expressed about these issues in the jazz world. On the one hand, performers are proud to play music that inspires musicians and audiences beyond its culture and country of origin; on the other, many object to the attempts of non-African Americans to gloss over the African American cultural origins and leadership in the music through the language of equality (Monson 1996: 202).

McLuhan claimed that there existed an unconscious synergy between technology, media, and cultural evolution. Each major period in history takes its character from the medium used most widely at the time. If we accept this as a truth, and we accept that the British had widely accepted radio and movies by the 1930s as common media, then we can recognize that these media had fundamentally changed the way the British viewed and knew the world. These same media outlets, as well as the newspapers, in India were predominantly under the control of the British. In this scenario the British controlled the

India sensory and knowing prowess and also controlled the rate and nature of sociocultural change in India during their rule. I would argue that these media outlets did not reach far enough into rural populations to be widely effective as a means of control and were only partially effective within urban populations due to a general resentment of colonial rule. It must be taken into account that much of what we sense and experience is mediated by social consciousness. As humans are biologically social organisms, relations with others always mediate the process of making meaning. British control of the media would ultimately have limited reach.

The Taj Mahal hotel was a shared space for business and international reception that was built with the intention of being a representation of Indian pride. Embracing jazz and Western clothes in the context of the hotel at a jazz performance did not mean necessarily embracing colonialism and a non-Indian identity. There is an Indian identity in the taking control of the business market from colonial power. India's cotton and Bombay's iron industry are both great examples of industries that were predominantly Indian owned. The economic influence of these industries contributed to a national sense of self-confidence and helped remove the British. Within the hotel, patrons with colonial interests could mingle with those with national interest effortlessly because of a shared love of music and business interests.

It is clear that some within the music and entertainment industry identified jazz as part of a local identity. The absence of documented jazz performance in the years

immediately following independence suggest that jazz was still seen as a foreign music at a national level.

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