


2005

Blue Notes and Brown Skin: Five African-American Jazzmen and the Music They Produced in Regard to the American Civil Rights Movement

Benjamin Park anderson
College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd>

 Part of the [African American Studies Commons](#), [American Studies Commons](#), [History Commons](#), and the [Music Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

anderson, Benjamin Park, "Blue Notes and Brown Skin: Five African-American Jazzmen and the Music They Produced in Regard to the American Civil Rights Movement" (2005). *Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects*. Paper 1539626478.

<https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-9ab3-4z88>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@wm.edu.

BLUE NOTES AND BROWN SKIN

Five African-American Jazzmen and the Music they Produced in Regard to the American
Civil Rights Movement.

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the American Studies Program

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

By

Benjamin Park Anderson

2005

APPROVAL SHEET

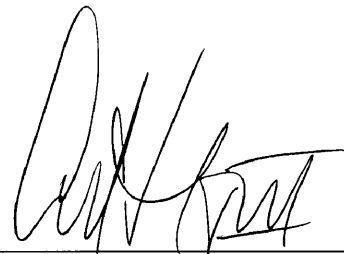
This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts




Benjamin Park Anderson


Approved by the Committee, May 2005



Dr. Arthur Knight, Chair



Dr. Charles McGovern



Dr. Lewis Porter, Rutgers University, outside reader

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Acknowledgements	iv
List of Illustrations	v
List of Musical Examples	vi
Abstract	vii
Introduction	2
Chapter I. Blue Notes and Brown Skin	8
Chapter II. Civil Rights Benefit Concerts	13
Chapter III. Soul, Freedom Songs, and Jazz	20
Chapter IV. Sonny Rollins's "The Freedom Suite"	29
Chapter V. Charles Mingus's "Fables of Faubus"	45
Chapter VI. Max Roach's <i>We Insist! Freedom Now Suite</i>	59
Chapter VII. Art Blakey's "The Freedom Rider"	72
Chapter VIII. Jazz and Race	80
Chapter IX. John Coltrane's "Alabama"	86
Chapter X. Charles Mingus's "It Was a Lonely Day in Selma, Alabama"	95
Conclusion	99
Appendix: Civil Rights Benefit Concerts	104
Bibliography	113
Vita	123

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to express his appreciation to Professor Arthur Knight, under whose guidance this investigation was conducted, for his patient guidance and criticism throughout the investigation. The author is also indebted to Professors Charles McGovern and Lewis Porter for their careful reading and criticism of the manuscript.

The author would also like to thank the following for their similar guidance, patience and criticism: Gene Anderson, Barbara Anderson, Dean Knight, Ashlyn Howell.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
4.1 Album cover of Sonny Rollins's <i>Freedom Suite</i>	41
5.1 Album cover of Charles Mingus's <i>Mingus Ah Um</i>	52
5.2 Album cover of Charles Mingus's <i>Charles Mingus Presents Charles Mingus</i>	52
6.1 Album cover of Max Roach's <i>We Insist! Freedom Now Suite</i>	67
7.1 Album cover of Art Blakey's <i>Freedom Rider</i>	78

LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Example		Page
4.1	First eight measures of Sonny Rollins's "The Freedom Suite"	37
4.2	Sonny Rollins's saxophone melody during the B-section of "The Freedom Suite"	38
4.3	Sonny Rollins's saxophone melody and bass line during the Interlude of "The Freedom Suite"	39
4.4	First eight measures of Sonny Rollins's saxophone melody during the C-section of "The Freedom Suite"	40
5.1	Opening melody of Charles Mingus's "Fables of Faubus" (1959)	55
9.1	John Coltrane's saxophone melody for "Alabama"	88

ABSTRACT

This paper explores jazz music's multifaceted involvement with the American civil rights movement. Focusing on the years 1955-1965, this work focuses especially on five prominent African-American jazz musicians and the music they wrote, recorded and/or performed in regards to the civil rights movement.

The pieces begin with Sonny Rollins's "The Freedom Suite" (February, 1958), then move on to Charles Mingus's "Fables of Faubus" (both the May, 1959 and October, 1960 versions), Max Roach and Oscar Brown Jr.'s *We Insist! Freedom Now Suite* (August and September, 1960), Art Blakey's "Freedom Rider" (May, 1961), John Coltrane's "Alabama" (November, 1963), and end with Charles Mingus's "It Was a Lonely Day in Selma, Alabama" (May, 1965). With the overarching assumption that jazz, as music, communicates valuable information about both the society in which it is produced and the artists themselves, the goal of each discussion is to better understand both the music through analysis and contextualization and the artist through a look at the circumstances surrounding each recording, how they treated the piece(s) in terms of its recording and subsequent performances, and any statements that have been made by the artist, sideman, other jazzman and/or any jazz journalist concerning the piece.

Of course, this focus constitutes the heart of the paper but would not be as useful or interesting without adequate musical and historical context. To this end, I have provided information regarding a brief historical account on the politicization of jazz music (in terms of race) prior to the movement, a look into the most common means by which jazz musicians involved themselves with the movement: benefit concerts for civil rights organizations, the most prominent forms of African-American folk and popular music at the time, a look at the effects of race on jazz, and a running history of the movement itself whenever it is relevant to understanding the musicians' actions.

BLUE NOTES AND BROWN SKIN

Introduction

“The civil rights movement without music would’ve been like a bird without wings.” This is what U.S. congressman John Lewis (D-Georgia), former head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), told me after a recent speaking engagement at the College of William and Mary (April 6, 2004). “Music was a bridge,” he said with conviction while looming over my recently purchased copy of his own work, *Walking With the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement*, ready to inscribe it with his signature. Thankful for his time and eager to read his work, I quickly exited the main entrance of the college’s University Center and headed right, towards the Crim Dell Bridge. While passing behind The Daily Grind coffee shop, I heard a familiar pairing of notes coming from its sound system. Stopping to listen, I soon discovered them to be the tri-tone interval (an augmented fourth or, in this case, G – C#) that so ominously begins John Coltrane’s saxophone solo in his November 1963 jazz-recording of “Alabama,” a song he wrote in memorial of the four little girls who had, just two months earlier, been killed as a result of a church bombing in Birmingham, Alabama. Considered by some to be “the nadir of the civil rights movement” and “perhaps the darkest day in Birmingham history,”¹ that bombing sent shockwaves throughout the nation. After eight long years of

¹ <http://www.useekufind.com/peace/summary.htm>. The home site is a general search engine which provides a link to a site entitled “in the memory of the four little girls,” entirely dedicated to the bombing

epic struggle, resistance to the movement seemed only to have intensified. Yet, that intensity was only to be paralleled by the African-American community in its desire for social freedom and justice. In addition to marches, sit-ins, boycotts and speeches, such a desire also found a unique voice in the much of the period's music, including soul/rhythm and blues, freedom songs and jazz.

In December 1955, Martin Luther King Jr. helped organize a systematic boycotting of the public bus system in Montgomery, Alabama. Sparked by Rosa Parks's controversial refusal to leave her seat in the black section of the bus at the demand of a white passenger and her subsequent arrest, the boycott would last almost an entire year and was successful in racially integrating the seating areas on Montgomery's public buses. However, it was but a single victory in the name of civil rights and failed to put an end to such racist policies throughout the entire South. Over the next ten years, civil rights battles would flare up in various parts of the region including Little Rock, Arkansas; Selma, Alabama; Greensboro, North Carolina, and of course Birmingham, Alabama, which involved stunning displays of resistance on behalf of African-Americans in the face of inscrutable violence and institutionalized racism. By the mid-1950s, African-Americans who had fought as U.S. soldiers during World War II had returned home victorious only to be treated as second-class citizens. First-hand memories of the cruelties of American slavery were also but a few generations removed. Brought to national attention by the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955-56, the civil rights movement would go on to span an entire decade, bring the nation face to face with the ugly realities of racism in America and prove that much of the country's African-American population

and its victims. It provides links to articles about the event, lesson plans for teachers and even a bookstore for interested researchers.

stood ready to battle such an indeterminable and elusive foe using seemingly any available tactic.

By the time the Montgomery Bus Boycott got underway, jazz music, long identified with African-Americans, had evolved in the United States significantly from its roots in early twentieth century New Orleans. Having started out as a lively chamber music for dancing, it soon developed into an even more popular “swing” style during the big-band era of the 1930s and 1940s. With the inception of bebop in the early 1940s, however, jazz would never again be the same. Complex rhythms and harmonic chord progressions, fast tempos, virtuosic solos and a return to smaller ensembles became the order of the day, redefining the term swing and making jazz less susceptible to dancing and, thus, appealing to a mass-audience. During the civil rights movement, however, the word jazz had come to mean a wealth of styles that represented a wide range of sounds including light-hearted emotional detachment (cool/West Coast jazz), a funk-inflected mixture of gospel and blues (hard-bop), as well as atonalistic improvisatory and harmonic explorations (free jazz/avant garde).

Dominated during this period by such prominent African-American figures as saxophonists John Coltrane and Sonny Rollins, drummers Max Roach and Art Blakey and bassist Charles Mingus, jazz had, in and of itself, become a loaded and rather abstract term. All the while, despite several attempts on behalf of its musicians to return the music to massive popularity in America, jazz gravitated quickly towards the realm of art music. In fact, by the close of the movement in 1965, the artists at the forefront of jazz often found themselves transcending pitch and musical shape while heavily emphasizing their own distinct emotional discourse. Though not always engaging such a transcending

of pitch and shape, the emergence of such an emphasized *individual* voice can nevertheless be heard in the five pieces and one album discussed here. Indeed, it was an aspect of these works that ultimately contributed most to the nature by which they chose to engage with the movement on artistic terms.

Just two years after the end of Montgomery's bus boycott, prominent jazz saxophonist and African American Sonny Rollins "created a stir"² with the recording of an album entitled *Freedom Suite* and its nineteen-minute title track. According to Rollins in the liner notes:

"America is deeply rooted in Negro culture: its colloquialisms, its humor, its music. How ironic that the Negro, who more than any other people can claim America's culture as its own, is being persecuted and repressed, that the Negro, who has exemplified the humanities in his very existence, is being rewarded with inhumanity."

Though coming just short of telling the listener *exactly* what the album title and title track are all about, it is clear from his quote that the issues of unjustified racial oppression and inequality were motives. To be sure, "The Freedom Suite" was not the first attempt at politicizing jazz music (in terms of race), but it was the first in some time and marked a more aggressive and direct inception of such practice that continued throughout the civil rights movement.

Martin Luther King Jr. and Sonny Rollins: two very different people (a preacher and an artist) living in two very different parts of the country (the legally racialised, largely rural South and more integrated urban North) yet united in their abhorrence of

² Back cover of *Freedom Suite* (no author mentioned).

racial inequality. Both men found completely different ways to engage with this issue yet understood the concept of freedom in similar ways. While the actions of Martin Luther King Jr., John Lewis and other civil rights activists would pepper the evening news with resistance to racial oppression, jazz songs like Coltrane's "Alabama" and Rollins's "The Freedom Suite," were not as widely disseminated despite their power, as products of sophisticated art, to be racial legitimizers. In light of this fact, many jazz musicians seemed to empathize with their protesting brethren (as is evidenced through participation in benefit concerts for civil rights organizations and the composition of related songs) even though their music failed to become as closely associated with the movement as did freedom songs and the emerging presence of rhythm and blues. While it could be argued that their music took as much thought as the organization of a successful boycott, march or movement speech, it certainly did not share their massive impact.

In this paper, I will be exploring the relationship between jazz and the civil rights movement and, keeping the statements of John Lewis in mind, I will be asking and hopefully adequately answering one large question: what was the size and nature of the musical wing supposedly occupied by jazz in relation to the civil rights movement? To this end, I intend to analyze and contextualize Sonny Rollins's "The Freedom Suite," Max Roach's *We Insist! Freedom Now Suite*, Art Blakey's "Freedom Rider," John Coltrane's "Alabama," and two Charles Mingus compositions: "Fables of Faubus" and "It Was A Lonely Day in Selma, Alabama," as musically unambiguous references to the movement by jazzmen. What did these musicians think they were doing? What impact, if any, did they intend to come from their artistic output? Drawing parallels between the state of jazz at the time of the movement while exploring the artists' relevant

backgrounds, actions and statements, the frequency with which these albums and/or songs were performed, recorded and released and the reaction of music critics will collectively allow for a better understanding of how such jazz musicians thought about the politics of race and their relationship to them as respectable and sophisticated artists. In the end, this paper will provide a better understanding of these men as artists, the history that made, and was making them and to what extent they felt the need to present jazz music to the world as the music of the movement.

Blue Notes and Brown Skin

Between 1955 and 1965, the genre of jazz was an ever-diversifying entity. Several new styles emerged (cool, bossa nova, hard bop, free jazz, third stream, cubop) while older styles (swing, Dixieland, bebop) remained at large; jazz music was exported around the world as a diplomatic tool for the United States and there was even a flourishing of urbane jazz periodicals such as *Jazz: A Quarterly of American Music* and *The Jazz Review*. Jazz music, nearly half a century old, was fast coming into its own as a sophisticated art form worthy of critical analysis and amid all of this activity was one very important issue: the American civil rights movement and its relation to the music. During this time, it became quite common for black musicians to become involved with the movement in some form or fashion. Famous actor Harry Belafonte, crooner Sammy Davis Jr., and modern jazz drummer Max Roach, were active protesters. Nina Simone performed for protesters in Alabama, Dizzy Gillespie manned a fundraising booth for the NAACP, and two of the most notable elder statesmen of jazz, Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington, publicly spoke out against racism.³

³ On Simone, this was told to me by the Honorable John Lewis (D-Georgia) on April 6, 2004. He said that Simone came to Alabama in 1965 to perform for the protesters (himself being one) on the march from Selma to Montgomery, AL, the night before they entered Montgomery. On Gillespie, see Alyn Shipton's *Groovin' High: The Life of Dizzy Gillespie* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 324. On

Though conspicuously vocal about such a topic then, both Armstrong and Ellington had already established themselves as figures who had confronted racial issues earlier in their careers, albeit in rather abstract ways. In 1929, jazz trumpeter Louis Armstrong recorded a song entitled “What Did I Do To Be So Black and Blue” whose lyrics speak openly about the African-American experience within a racist climate: “I’m white inside but that don’t help my case. That’s life, can’t hide what is in my face...My only sin is in my skin. What did I do to be so black and blue?” Originally written by Fats Waller and Andy Razaf for a Broadway musical entitled “Hot Chocolates,” “Black and Blue” spoke only of a “complaint of a dark-skinned woman about her man’s preference for lighter-skinned rivals.”⁴ Though the lyrics remain the same in both versions, Armstrong’s recording not only radically transforms the song’s theme from one of mere romantic jealousy into one of racial integrity but effectively shifts its focus from the stage to a single individual as well, thus hinting at Armstrong’s personal views. By the time of “Black and Blue’s” recording, Armstrong’s career had taken him far from the Deep South of his native New Orleans, however, a haunting realism of the region’s racial prejudice seemed to live on within him. Twenty three years after Louis’s recording, the opening

Armstrong, in September of 1957, he threatened to cancel his jazz trip to Russia as “Ambassador Satch” if President Eisenhower continually refused to get involved with the integration crisis at Little Rock Central High (which the state governor opposed). “The people over there ask me what’s wrong with my country, what am I supposed to say,” he exclaimed, adding that the President was “two-faced” for allowing it to happen and was letting Arkansas governor Orval Faubus “run the country” (see “Music News: East – Satch Speaks Twice,” *Down Beat* October 31, 1957, p. 10). On Ellington, according to the December 1958 issue of *Jazz Review* (p. 48), “before leaving for Europe in early October...he [Duke Ellington] told a press conference held as a prelude to NAACP’s Fund Dinner (according to the *Amsterdam News*): ‘The Negro has suffered to [sic] long. The United States doesn’t want to have the responsibility of keeping Negroes on parole for 100 years after emancipation. We were freed 95 years ago and we are still on parole.’” In 1959, Ellington (a lifetime member of the NAACP), would receive the prestigious Springarn Medal for outstanding Negro achievement from the NAACP and, according to the *Jazz Review* (Nat Hentoff, “Jazz in Print,” June, 1960, p. 38), would even go on to accompany 12 students in a Baltimore sit-in the following year.

⁴ Geoffrey C. Ward and Ken Burns, *Jazz: A History of America’s Music* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), p. 182.

pages of Ralph Ellison's famous novel *Invisible Man* gave "Black and Blue" immortality (the main character listens to the song while "in [his] hole in the basement," struggling to come to terms with racial identity). In fact, Armstrong would even "lay it on" Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, during a 1956 visit to Ghana with his All-Stars (Velma Middleton, vocals; Edmond Hall, clarinet; Trummy Young, trombone; Billy Kyle, piano; Barrett Deems, drums; Jack Lesberg, bass).⁵

Until his death in 1971, Louis Armstrong remained adamant about playing the show tunes that had made him so famous and even went as far as to denounce the more harmonically and soloistically complex bebop of the 1940s as a "modern malice."⁶ In fact, modern jazzmen such as trumpeter Miles Davis felt that Armstrong's "grinning" and clownish stage presence symbolized an outdated accommodation to white stereotypes. Such a critical approach marked an advent within jazz of more open racial sensitivity among its black musicians and a rather aggressive attempt to correlate jazz as sophisticated music with a more sophisticated and respectable image of the African-American.

Fourteen years after Armstrong's recording of "Black and Blue," Duke Ellington would premier his "Black, Brown and Beige" (which he described as a "tone parallel to the history of the American Negro") to a "standing room-only audience" at Carnegie

⁵ The "lay it on" quote comes from a real audio sound byte from the concert that can be found at <http://www.libertyhall.com/stamp/Ghana.html>. This is the home site of the Liberty Hall Jazz Quartet out of Cape Cod, Massachusetts which in turn pays tribute to several early jazz greats including Armstrong, Red Allen, Bobby Hackett and Teddy Roy.

⁶ Joshua Berrett, *The Louis Armstrong Companion: Eight Decades of Commentary* (New York: Shirmer Books, 1999), p. 147. The "modern malice" quote comes from a transcribed article: "Bop Will Kill Business Unless It Kills Itself First," *Down Beat*, April 7, 1948. Apparently, Ellington didn't look but so kindly on bebop either, stating once that "playing 'Bop' is like playing Scrabble with all the vowels missing."

Hall.⁷ The first extended jazz work of this magnitude and unique in dealing exclusively with the African-American experience, “Black, Brown and Beige,” as its title suggests, was constructed in three movements. The first movement, “Black,” consisted of two songs, “Work Song” and “Come Sunday,” which were intended “to show the close relationship between work songs and spirituals.” Next was “Brown” which contained “West Indian Dance,” “Emancipation Celebration” and “The Blues,” all of which were about “the contribution of the Negro to this country in blood” from pre-Civil War to the Spanish American conflict in the late nineteenth century and last was “Beige,” which dealt with the more exclusive topic of Harlem life with its “Sugar Hill Penthouse.”⁸

For all its success on opening night, “Black, Brown and Beige” was musically dismissed by at least two critics (see Ward and Burns, pp. 312-13) and, for whatever reason, Ellington would never again play the piece in its entirety. However, “Black, Brown and Beige” survives as not only a landmark of revolutionary compositional technique within jazz, but as a unique attempt of the music to adopt and communicate a socio-political theme.

Today, “Black and Blue” and “Black, Brown and Beige” serve not only as preludes to both of their public statements on racism during the civil rights movement, but as antecedents to the broader subject of more direct involvement with the movement on behalf of jazz musicians. However true it may have been that black musicians didn’t

⁷ Duke Ellington, *Music Is My Mistress* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), p. 181. A program for the concert shows “Black, Brown and Beige” as part three of a six-part concert of Ellington music on the night of Saturday, January 23, 1943, beginning at 8:45 p.m. In addition to the concert being billed as the “twentieth anniversary” of the Ellington band, proceeds from it went to the “Russian War Relief” (Ward and Burns, p. 311). Incidentally, while Ward and Burns claim the piece was forty-four minutes in length (p. 311), Ellington claims it to have originally been “fifty-seven minutes long” (p. 181). Ward and Burns, however, go on to claim that Eleanor Roosevelt was in the audience for the piece’s premier, that she “loved Ellington’s new work,” and that “the concert earned more than five-thousand dollars for Russian War Relief” (p. 312).

⁸ Ellington, *Music Is My Mistress*, 181-82.

sense the complete freedom to speak their minds on racial matters in the United States from the 1920s – 1940s, by the mid-1950s, not only had the idea of politicizing jazz music persisted but the ability and willingness of its practitioners to express their respective socio-cultural beliefs through public statements and affiliations with civil rights organizations had become much more commonplace.

Civil Rights Benefit Concerts

The most common way for jazz musicians to get involved in the civil rights movement was through performing benefit concerts for civil rights organizations. Taking the form of one-nighters, matinees, mini-tours and even television shows, benefit concerts were numerous and most commonly benefited the three largest civil rights organizations: the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).⁹ Such events involved both black and white musicians representing almost all styles of jazz (often alongside comedians and more popular musicians). They took place across the country in such cities as San Francisco, Chicago, Cleveland, Boston, Los Angeles, New York, along with less public locations such as the private home of baseball Hall of Famer Jackie Robinson in Stamford, Connecticut.¹⁰

⁹ Many other, often smaller, organizations were beneficiaries as well including the African Research Foundation, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Urban League, Freedomways magazine, Negro Action Group, Negro American Labor Council and Friends Unlimited. As yet another example, jazz pianist Dave Brubeck even performed in his adopted hometown of Wilton, Connecticut in December, 1964 to specifically benefit the McComb, Mississippi, Community Center ("Strictly Ad Lib - New York," *Down Beat*, January 14, 1965, p. 37).

¹⁰ In reference to the latter show, see "Jazzmen Raise Funds at Jackie Robinson's Home," *Down Beat*, August 1, 1963, p. 13. It explains that the idea was conceived by Jackie's wife and took place from 12-7p.m. on June 23, 1963. Forty-two musicians took part (including notables Dizzy Gillespie, Dave Brubeck and Cannonball Adderley) and a total of \$15,000 was raised which was then donated to Dr. Martin Luther

According to noted jazz scholar and historian Ingrid Monson, the advantage for jazz musicians participating in benefit concerts was twofold. Jazz musicians, she claimed, were not only able to “contribute to the cause by allowing the civil rights movement to capitalize on the cultural prestige of their music,” they also were not forced to leave “the communicative medium where they were most comfortable,” thus resulting in an “easy way out.”¹¹ In other words, not faced with the pressure to politicize their own identities, jazz musicians were able to take advantage of contributing to the cause while leaving the acts of talking at the shows, event organizing and actual protesting to the “experts.” Unfortunately, it is impossible to know just how much money was raised for the struggle by jazz musicians, but it’s clear that, through these concerts, it was high.¹² While many professional jazz musicians at that time participated in a civil rights benefit concert at one point or another during the movement, there were only two recorded albums from such shows, both by trumpeter Miles Davis.

The first recording came from a show at New York’s Carnegie Hall on May 19, 1961 as a benefit for a group called the African Research Foundation (ARF).¹³ The concert was to feature the Miles Davis Quintet (Davis, trumpet; Hank Mobley, tenor saxophone; Wynton Kelly, piano; Paul Chambers, bass; Jimmy Cobb, drums) alongside the orchestra of Gil Evans and for the show, Davis had promised “innovations

King Jr.’s Southern Christian Leadership Conference and used as “bail money for those jailed in the Negro civil-rights demonstrations in the South.”

¹¹ Ingrid Monson, “Miles, Politics, and Image,” p. 95 [Gerald Early ed., *Miles Davis and American Culture* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 2001)].

¹² See Benefit Concert Appendix for more details on specific shows.

¹³ Ingrid Monson, “Miles, Politics, and Image,” 90. “Now known as the African Medical and Research Foundation, the ARF “was founded by a group of three white doctors concerned about making health care services available in post-independence Africa...By 1961 they constituted a multiracial organization committed to the goal of leaving Africans in charge wherever they operated.”

galore...among them a flamenco guitarist in the hall's bar during intermission."¹⁴ One innovation he likely did not expect, however, was an interruption of the concert via protest, let alone by a fellow jazzman. That man was drummer Max Roach (not in Miles's group) who mistakenly believed that the ARF "was in league with South African diamond interests...[thereby] seeking to 'enslave' Africans instead of helping them."¹⁵ During "Someday My Prince Will Come" (the first song of the second set), Roach walked up to the stage and sat down carrying a sign(s) that read: AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS! FREEDOM NOW!¹⁶ Miles quit playing and walked away as stagehands came and removed Roach. However, Miles would later return to the stage and resume the performance with what Gil Evans simply described as "increased intensity."¹⁷ Over all, the night was a huge success. The near-capacity crowd paid as much as \$300 a seat, raising a total of \$25,000 that was to go "toward a mobile medical unit" in East Africa and Miles would later refer to the concert as "a great night of music."¹⁸ Perhaps in

¹⁴ "Strictly Ad Lib - New York," *Down Beat*, May 25, 1961, p. 47.

¹⁵ Ian Carr, *Miles: The Definitive Biography* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1982), p. 178.

¹⁶ Ibid. According to Carr (same page), Roach felt tinged with guilt after the concert and shouted apologetically through the stage door: "Tell Miles I'm sorry. Tell him he was so great I was crying during the first half. Tell Miles I love him." Though originally released as one record, a second, and different, one of the concert came out 20 years ago and both have recently been re-released as a two-CD set of the entire night titled *Miles Davis at Carnegie Hall: The Legendary Performances of May 19, 1961* (C2K 65027 CK65486). However, neither the original liner notes nor the most recent ones (Bob Blumenthal, 1997) mention anything about the incident. Oddly enough, neither does Larry Hicock, whose book *Castles Made Of Sound: The Story of Gil Evans* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2002) devotes an entire two-page chapter to it ("Live at Carnegie Hall," 122-123) and refers to the concert as "a major one." Because of the protest, "Someday My Prince Will Come" is, of course, noticeably shorter in length (2:55) than the 9:30 version Miles recorded the previous March.

¹⁷ Stephanie Crease, *Gil Evans: Out of the Cool: His Life and Music* (Chicago: A Capella Books, 2002), 242. Though most sources claim that Roach sat directly on the stage, in an interview with Crease (same page), Evans remembered Max "sit[ting] down on the floor and hold[ing] up a sign which says, 'Give Africa Back to the Africans.'" Perhaps Evans was thinking of the stage as "the floor?" For Miles, *Miles Davis at Carnegie Hall* was his third LP to reach the pop charts, and it earned him and Gil a 1962 Grammy nomination for Best Jazz Performance by a Large Group, Instrumental.

¹⁸ On the amounts of money, see "Miles Davis-Gil Evans Carnegie Hall Concert Spiked With Politics," *Variety* May 24, 1961, p. 45. The *Amsterdam News* (Saturday, April 29, 1961, p. 15 – ad for the concert), however, advertises ticket prices only ranging from \$2.50 - \$6.00, all "tax exempt." So, just who was paying as much as \$300? On "mobile medical unit," see Monson's "Miles, Politics, and Image," p. 90.

anticipation of that night's great success, the NAACP had begun planning a "west coast repeat" of this concert in San Francisco that October.¹⁹

The second concert took place on the night of Wednesday, February 12, 1964 when Miles Davis and his quintet performed a benefit for voter registration in Mississippi and Louisiana. Sponsored by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, CORE and SNCC, the show took place at the Lincoln Center, Philharmonic Hall (now Avery Fisher Hall) in New York and its date was significant for not only did it coincide with Abraham Lincoln's birthday, it was the NAACP's 55th birthday as well. Though, unlike the main subjects of this paper, Miles did not play or record any songs about the movement (that night, or ever for that matter), the album is musically significant in that it displays Miles's unique approach to ballads and the imaginative interplay of the band's rhythm section. Again remembering the night fondly, Miles said: "We blew the top off that place that night...there was a lot of creative tension happening that night that people out front didn't know about." However, it is the *source* of that creative tension that thickens the plot. According to the band's leader:

The *Amsterdam News* ("Miles, Gil Together For Benefit," May 6, 1961, p. 17) claimed the money was to "support a mobile health clinic, designed for use in East Africa." On "great night of music," see Miles Davis with Quincy Troupe, *Miles: The Autobiography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989), 253. Here, though, Miles erroneously refers to the beneficiary organization as the "African Relief Foundation."¹⁹ "Strictly Ad Lib - San Francisco," *Down Beat*, June 8, 1961, 50. Both the planning for this concert and an air of controversy about it had actually started well before the Carnegie Hall performance (see "Frisco's Masonic Temple Turns Down Miles Davis Benefit Show for NAACP," *Variety*, May 3, 1961, 1.) but oddly enough, no one seems to know for sure whether or not this concert eventually took place. According to biographer John Szwed (*So What: The Life of Miles Davis* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002), 229.), it was to be held at the Masonic Memorial Temple but "had to be canceled when the management decided that he might draw 'an inappropriate audience.'" On the other hand, Ingrid Monson lists the concert as having taken place in "Fall, 1961" and at the city's Opera House ("Abbey Lincoln's *Straight Ahead: Jazz in the Era of the Civil Rights Movement*," p. 182 [Richard G. Fox and Orin Starn ed., *Between Resistance and Revolution: Cultural Politics and Social Protest* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997)]. The NAACP's monthly magazine, *The Crisis*, never reported on this and *Down Beat* only had one small article on it ("Miles Davis 'Approved' For Bay Concert," July 20, 1961, 13-14), which said nothing about the Opera House, only that the Masonic Temple at first was against the concert (for Szwed's reason) but that the manager, Alvin A. Horwege, eventually "reversed his decision."

...it was a benefit and some of the guys didn't like the fact that they weren't getting paid. One guy...said to me 'Look, man, give me my money and I'll contribute what I want to them; I'm not playing no benefit'...The discussion went back and forth. Everyone decided that they were going to do it, but only this one time. When we came out to play, everybody was madder than a mother-fucker with each other and so I think that anger created a fire, a tension that got into everybody's playing, and maybe that's one of the reasons everybody played with such intensity.²⁰

It was an unforgettable night of music, as the record (both historical and musical) attests, but there were plenty who did not attend. According to New York magazine *Variety*, tickets to the show ranged from \$3-\$50 and "there was no way to tell whether the numerous empties on the main floor reflected no-sells or no-shows, both common at benefits."²¹ According to Monson, the *Amsterdam News* reported the Hall as being only a quarter full and generating \$6,000 in proceeds.²²

²⁰ Davis and Troupe, 266 (both quotes). According to John Szwed, (*So What*, 244), that "guy" was bassist Ron Carter. Monson also agrees ("Miles, Politics, and Image," 93), adding "Carter felt he had already done his part, since he had recently played a benefit for CORE held at the Five Spot." This concert, according to Monson ("Abbey Lincoln's *Straight Ahead*," 183), Carter had indeed participated in the October 27, 1963 CORE benefit at the Five Spot (see Benefit Concert Appendix for more information).

²¹ Concert Review, *Variety*, February 19, 1964, 61. This review also corroborates Miles's story, in part, by describing "...he [Miles] and the other unsmiling men on piano, bass and drums." One possible reason for the low turnout, insinuated by the reviewer ("-Land"), was the "rock 'n' roll shenanigans at Carnegie Hall which tied up 57th Street the same night." These "shenanigans," would've been the result of the Beatles' second New York City concert (after their appearance on the Ed Sullivan Show on February 9). That night, they played two 35-minute sets, one at 7 p.m. and another at 9:30 p.m. Not only had they become an immensely popular band by that time, the tickets to the Beatles' show were considerably cheaper than Davis's, only ranging from \$3 to \$5.50 (source: <http://www.rarebeatles.com/photopg7/cr21264.htm> - "Photos of unique Beatles rarities." This site actually has scanned images of torn tickets from that event.).

²² Monson, "Miles, Politics, and Image," 95. Monson later claims that "a few weeks after the event, Davis received a letter reporting that CORE had been able to send a thousand dollars to voter registration efforts in Iberville, Louisiana, and the same amount to help rebuild the Plymouth Rock Baptist Church in Plaquemine. SNCC also sent you a thank you note, reporting that the concert had enabled them to contribute two thousand dollars to support voter registration in Mississippi's fifth congressional district."

The stories from these two concerts alone illustrate the simple fact that benefit concerts weren't always as successful as one might have hoped. More importantly, however, they also show that support of the movement from members of the jazz community was anything but absolute. Not all of its members were as much of an activist as Max Roach and certainly there were those who felt as though they couldn't afford to play benefit concerts as often as Davis, regardless of the cause.

Aside from benefit concerts (though he had performed for several – see Benefit Concert Appendix), but on a similar note, famed jazz pianist Thelonious Monk, in a 1965 interview, attempted to distance himself from the “racial scene” entirely: “I hardly know anything about it...I haven't done one of those ‘freedom’ suites, and I don't intend to. I mean, I don't see the point. I'm not thinking that race thing now; it's not on my mind.”²³ Also, in a phone conversation, jazz trombonist Curtis Fuller told me that the events surrounding the Little Rock school integration crisis didn't even cross his mind in the weeks prior to the famous *Blue Train* recording (on which he played as a member of the John Coltrane Sextet on September 12, 1957) because he was too busy preparing for the album and bettering himself as a musician. When asked if the other musicians on that record (Coltrane, tenor saxophone; Lee Morgan, trumpet; Kenny Drew, piano; Paul Chambers, bass; Philly Joe Jones, drums) could have been thinking about the incident during the recording, Fuller couldn't say for sure, replying simply: “As musicians, we don't express ourselves the same way.”²⁴ This point is furthered by the fact that only a

²³ Valerie Wilmer, “Monk on Monk,” *Down Beat*, June 3, 1965, 20-22 (22).

²⁴ This conversation took place on October 26, 2003 at approximately 6:30 p.m. Fuller requested I “make it fast” since he was cooking dinner, but ended up telling me quite a bit. His explanation for being so busy before the record was being “at Coltrane's house every day for two weeks.”

handful of such men would go as far as to compose and record songs specifically related to the movement itself.

In this section, the focus will be on the materialization of empathy in the form of such songs within jazz. I have chosen six examples and will be looking at them in chronological order. Beginning with Sonny Rollins's "The Freedom Suite" (February, 1958), then moving on to Charles Mingus's "Fables of Faubus" (both the May, 1959 and October, 1960 versions), Max Roach and Oscar Brown Jr.'s *We Insist! Freedom Now Suite* (August and September, 1960), Art Blakey's "Freedom Rider" (May, 1961), John Coltrane's "Alabama" (November, 1963), and ending with Charles Mingus's "It Was a Lonely Day in Selma, Alabama" (May, 1965), I will discuss the music of these musicians and each piece's historical context, both within jazz and American society in general, to better understand how they fit into the broader fabric of both. Aside from the fact that these songs have never before been analyzed as a group, this paper not only aims to musically contextualize the contributions of these prominent musicians but also to provide a unique insight concerning their mindsets in terms of how they defined their missions as sophisticated artists and African-Americans amid such a volatile socio-political environment.

Soul, Freedom Songs, and Jazz

When John Lewis told me that the civil rights movement without music would have been like a bird without wings, it is worth noting that he was most likely referring to two types of music specifically: soul and freedom songs.²⁵ Collectively, these two forms occupied the roles of black popular and folk music during the movement and, at that time, made themselves the most readily available types of music to the African-American masses.²⁶ Though strictly an activist and not an artist, it is understandable that Lewis found himself both surrounded and deeply affected by such music. To be sure, there were jazzmen such as Cannonball Adderley and Dave Brubeck who produced immensely popular jazz songs around this time – Adderley’s “Mercy, Mercy, Mercy” (1966) and Brubeck’s “Take Five” (1959), for example. However, despite both artists’ tenure as

²⁵ In Lewis’s book *Walking With the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement*, the word jazz does not appear in the index, but both freedom songs (268) and soul music (269) are referenced. While he does mention one benefit concert at the Apollo, which included jazz performances by “Quincy Jones, Tony Bennett, Thelonious Monk, Carmen McRae, Billy Eckstine and others”(218), he describes freedom songs and soul music as “central to our lives” and “...the music on the radio to see us through” (268).

²⁶ Between the two, they could’ve been heard just about anywhere including in churches, at protests, on television, in jukeboxes, on the radio. Folk-singer Pete Seeger even gave a highly publicized concert at Carnegie Hall on June 8, 1963 which included such freedom songs as “I Ain’t Scared Of Your Jail,” “Oh, Freedom,” “If You Miss Me at the Back of the Bus” and, of course, “We Shall Overcome.” The music from this concert can currently be purchased as an album entitled “We Shall Overcome: The Complete Carnegie Hall Concert Historic Live Recording June 8, 1963.”

popular artists, jazz remained, for the most part, strictly art music during the civil rights movement, never reaching or affecting the black masses on such a large scale.

Taking the helm of black popular music for the time was soul; a term used “more or less synonymously with rhythm and blues.”²⁷ A fusion of both the blues and gospel traditions, soul music found both a home and an international audience through a multitude of record labels (Motown, Stax, ABC-Paramount, RCA, and King, to name a few) which, with the help of such artists as Smokey Robinson, The Supremes, Booker T & The MG’s, Ray Charles, James Brown and Otis Redding, were provided with numerous number top-ten hits on the Billboard charts.

As a popular music with an international audience, soul found itself on the threshold of modern black representation. In the words of Mark Anthony Neal, author of *Soul Babies: Black Popular Culture and the Post-Soul Aesthetic*, soul represented a challenge to the “prevailing logic of white supremacy and segregation” through the construction of ‘positive’ black images that could be juxtaposed against the overextended influence of Western caricatures of black life.”²⁸ Despite the supposedly inherent creation of these “positive images” however, some soul artists remained eager to get involved in the civil rights movement only to become frustrated by corporate opposition. Among those unafraid to share such feelings was popular soul singer Marvin Gaye who said: “I felt myself exploding. Why didn’t our music have anything to do with this? Wasn’t music supposed to express feelings? No, according to BG [Berry Gordy, head of

²⁷ David Morse, *Motown and The Arrival of Black Music* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971), 24.

²⁸ Mark Anthony Neal, *Soul Babies: Black Popular Culture and the Post-Soul Aesthetic* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 4. Though Neal does not detail it here, it seems likely that he is referring to the popular images of a sophisticated and cool “soul brother” or “soul man” (epitomized by Sam & Dave’s 1967 hit song of the same name) and the category of “soul food” as an exotic and delicious culinary treat. Taken together, these notions can certainly be seen as a *celebration* of “blackness” as opposed to those, like Mamie from *Gone With The Wind* that seemingly do nothing but reiterate a sense of racial inferiority.

Motown Records], music's supposed to sell. That's his trip."²⁹ Ever conscious of the time's racial tensions, Gordy (as did Jim and Estelle Stewart, founders of Stax Records) embraced an ideology of color-blindness when it came to hiring a staff of record executives by hiring a number of both whites and blacks. But, when it came to associating his label or the music *directly* with the movement, Gordy hesitated.³⁰ Such a climate of artistic restriction was apparently not a universally accepted industry standard, for there were some soul artists who made recordings that related directly to the movement. Quoting John Lewis, (writing in reference to the summer of 1964): "Within a year the soul sound would literally be a part of the movement, with politically overtone songs like Sam Cooke's 'A Change Is Gonna Come' and the Impressions' 'People Get Ready' speaking directly to the work we were doing in the Deep South."³¹

Without much of the internal politics and commercialism that helped to define soul, the form of music that became most closely associated with the civil rights movement was one of folk origin: freedom songs. Nestled within a broader folk song revival that included such artists as Bob Dylan and Joan Baez, freedom songs often took

²⁹ Gerald Posner, *Motown: Music, Money, Sex and Power* (New York: Random House, 2002), 172.

³⁰ *Ibid.* Here, Posner claims "Gordy had no interest in politics or history. He did not read newspapers or books and had little sense of social destiny or moral responsibility stemming from his remarkable success. He had, as he wrote years later in his autobiography, an almost benign view of how his music fit into the volatile times: 'In all the camps there seemed to be one constant – Motown music. They were all listening to it. Black and white. Militant and nonviolent. Antiwar demonstrators and the pro-war establishment.'" In this light, however selective his memory may have been, Gordy may have felt that to impose a direct political message on an essentially apolitical music would have disrupted its supposed unifying capabilities and that artists, like Gaye, eventually interpreted such hesitancy simply as an obsession with profit. Despite his hesitation to associate the music of Motown with the movement, he nevertheless accepted an award from one of its leading organizations. In early 1963, the Detroit branch of the NAACP awarded Gordy a special citation "in recognition of his spectacular rise in a very competitive field" and putting Detroit on the map as "the center of the rhythm and blues recording industry" ("What The Branches Are Doing – Michigan," *The Crisis* April, 1963, 232).

³¹ Lewis, *Walking With the Wind*, 269. According to Joel Whitburn's *The Billboard Book of Top 40 Hits – 3rd Edition* (New York: Billboard Publications, 1987), both songs were apparently mass-released and well received, having made the list as pop hits ("A Change Is Gonna Come," recorded for RCA, which entered into the Top 40 on February 13, 1965 and peaked at #31 (76) and "People Get Ready," recorded for ABC-Paramount, which entered the chart on March 6, 1965 and peaked at #14 (153)).

the form of slave spirituals and hymns with lyrics adapted to reflect current civil rights related events. Such popular examples as “We Shall Overcome,” “Oh Freedom,” and “We Shall Not Be Moved” were most often sung in groups, whether at church or during protests.

Having long been “essential to the African-American religious experience,”³² it should come as no surprise that much of the music produced by African-Americans during the civil rights movement, including freedom songs, reflected their spiritual traditions. Throughout the movement, the church assumed a central role in the organization of African-American political activity and the mobilization of community initiative often as the only place where they could freely congregate. Many such gatherings were said to have begun and ended in song by a songleader and the collective-participatory nature of these songs made it easier for large groups of African-Americans to hear what they were all about and understand their message. Marked by their close association with prevailing socio-political concerns, freedom songs became civil rights activists’ most popularly utilized method of direct artistic participation.

Such songs, in the opinion of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the movement’s most visible spokesman, were “...vital. They give the people new courage and a sense of unity.”³³ In agreement with Dr. King, activist Bernice Johnson Reagon also felt as though the songs embodied a form of defiance and an assertion of human dignity:

In Dawson, Georgia, county seat of ‘Terrible Terrell,’ where Blacks were seventy-five percent of the population, I sat in church and felt the chill that ran through a small gathering of

³² Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 97.

³³ “Without These Songs...,” *Newsweek*, August 31, 1964, 74. (no author mentioned)

Blacks when the sheriff and his deputies walked in. They stood at the door, making sure everyone knew they were there. Then a song began. And the song made sure that the sheriff and his deputies knew *we* were there. We became visible; our image was enlarged as the sounds of the freedom songs filled all the space in that church.³⁴

In Reagon's story, the act of singing freedom songs was used as a nonviolent method of overcoming fear, communicating human existence and articulating community concerns in such a way as to make it difficult for someone such as "Terrible Terrell" to deny them as peaceful human beings determined to enjoy such legitimate social freedoms as the right to vote and the right to shop where they pleased. For still others, such songs acted as personal reminders of the righteousness of their cause and the existence of heaven. Speaking specifically about the so-called "theme song of the integration movement" "We Shall Overcome," Reverend Wyatt Tee Walker, executive assistant to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. within the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, recalled:

"One cannot describe the vitality and emotion this hymn evokes across the Southland. I have heard it sung in great mass meetings with a thousand voices singing as one. I've heard a half-dozen sing it softly behind the bars of the Hinds County prison in Mississippi. I've heard old women singing it on the way to work in Albany, Georgia. I've heard the students singing it as they were being dragged away to jail. It generates power that is indescribable. It manifests a rich legacy of musical literature that serves to keep body and soul together for that better day which is not far off."³⁵

³⁴ Bernice Johnson Reagon's liner notes to the two-CD set *Voices of the Civil Rights Movement: Black American Freedom Songs 1960-1966* (Smithsonian Folkways 40084).

³⁵ Robert Shelton, "Rights Song Has Own History of Integration," *New York Times*, July 23, 1963, L21.

Though it would be difficult to pin down one specific reaction to both soul and freedom songs among African-American communities during the civil rights movement, it does seem plausible that their collective popularity and spiritual connections evoked a general sense of pride. In a time when racist sentiment from whites dictated much about life in America, the fact that blacks were often able to see themselves in the news, hear about each other appearing before national and international audiences - both live and on the radio - to wide acclaim, and selling hundreds of thousands of records could not have been insignificant. Such events likely helped strengthen a sense of racial “legitimacy” in America’s black communities – perhaps even convincing a few to raise the temperature of their attitude towards political activism above a low simmer - by bringing both the sounds and images of oppressed, active, hopeful and successful blacks right to their doorstep. Taken together, soul and freedom songs permeated American culture during the civil rights movement, did much to communicate the necessity of their desired socio-political freedoms and thus constituted an undeniably important part of the metaphorical wings on the civil rights bird.

As for jazz, in the mid-1950s, it likewise was a musical genre in tandem with many of the day’s socio-political concerns. Quincey Troupe, speaking about Miles Davis’s 1955 quintet, (which included John Coltrane on tenor saxophone), said “When this group was getting all this critical acclaim, it seemed that there was a new mood coming into the country; a new feeling was growing among people, black and white. Martin Luther King was leading that bus boycott down in Montgomery, Alabama, and all the black people were supporting him.”³⁶ In addition to the civil rights movement, this

³⁶ Davis and Troupe, 197-198.

“new mood” also involved a rise in black consciousness fueled by the struggle for and decolonization of over thirty African nations at this time. Sonny Rollins’s 1954 song “Airegin” (Nigeria spelled backwards), Kenny Dorham’s “Afrodisia” (1955) and John Coltrane and Wilbur Harden’s album *Dial Africa* (1958 – which included the tune “Tanganyika Strut”) are all jazz-related reflections of this.³⁷ As early as 1957, there was a music and dance club in New York called the African Room that regularly featured Afro-ethnic acts, and on April 15, 1959, bandleader Wilbur de Paris premiered his “Africa Freedom March” at the “Africa Freedom Day” event at Carnegie Hall.³⁸ In fact, by late 1960, jazz writer and record producer Nat Hentoff felt that some American jazzmen had become so concerned with happenings in Africa that they “began to know more about Nkrumah than about their local Congressman.”³⁹ There were even those like drummer Art Blakey and saxophonist William Huddleston who adopted Islamic names (Blakey’s was Abdullah Ibn Buhaina [he was often nicknamed “Bu”], Huddleston’s became Yusef Lateef). For many African-Americans at this time, Islam was seen as a superior alternative to Christianity, if for nothing other than its ecumenical approach to racial

³⁷ Nigeria, it should be noted, did not receive its independence from Britain until October 1, 1960, but it had been fighting for it for some time. Tanganyika (Tanzania), wouldn’t receive its independence until December 9, 1961 from Britain and Germany. Incidentally, as many as 34 African nations received their independence between 1955-1965 (the biggest wave coming in 1960 when 17 countries were decolonized, most of them during the summer and from French control). Also, Tunisia, from Dizzy Gillespie’s famed 1945 tune, *A Night In Tunisia*, received its independence from France on March 20, 1956, though its lyrics have nothing to do with revolution, just a glowing moon and nights “filled with peace.”

³⁸ On the African Room, see Charley Gerard, *Jazz In Black and White: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Jazz Community* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishing, 1998), 59. Here, Gerard claims that a composition by Guy Warren entitled *The Mystery of Love* was “written for a 1957 show at the African Room in New York City [and] was recorded by Art Blakey and Randy Weston, among others.” According to the African Music Encyclopedia (<http://africanmusic.org/artists/ladji.html>), the “African Room” was located at 44th Street and 7th Avenue in Manhattan and hired such African drummers as Chief Bey and Papa Ladji. On de Paris, see “Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, April 30, 1959, 46.

³⁹ Hentoff’s liner notes to Max Roach’s *We Insist! Freedom Now Suite*. “Nkrumah” is Kwame Nkrumah, the then Prime Minister of the Gold Coast who played an integral part in procuring the independence of Ghana from Britain (March 7, 1957).

prejudice.⁴⁰ So, there is no doubt that it was a time of both crisis and utter determination for black jazz musicians, and feelings of uncertainty about the future manifested themselves in the politically charged songs of the period.

As a music and community that increasingly concerned itself with an expression of the black experience, it is no coincidence that much of jazz's emotionality was intense at such a time and, in so doing, spoke to the types of frustrations felt by the leaders and activists of the civil rights movement. In fact, like soul and freedom songs, jazz was known to have, at times, provided a form of hope to political activists. For example, in the June 1960 issue of *The Student Voice*, periodical of SNCC, a young Julian Bond submitted a poem simply entitled "#1":

I too hear America singing

But from where I stand

I can only hear Little Richard

And Fats Domino.

But sometimes,

I hear Ray Charles

Drowning in his own tears

or Bird

Relaxing at Camarillo

Or Horace Silver doodling,

Then I don't mind standing

⁴⁰ Gerard, 74. Gerard goes on to say that "Unlike the Bible, the Koran specifically addresses racial prejudice: 'A white man is not superior to a black man, nor a black man to a white man, nor an Arab to a non-Arab, nor a non-Arab to an Arab. But the best of you is he who is most excellent in his morals.'"

A little longer.⁴¹

Here, the sounds of jazzmen Horace Silver (piano) and Charlie “Bird” Parker (saxophone) helped instill a sense of optimism within Bond. Whether or not Bond feels Little Richard and Fats Domino have “sold out” to the white rock and roll establishment or not is unclear, but he seems to prefer the sounds of “Bird,” Silver, and Ray Charles for an ability to express more of a sense of freedom to which he aspires – not to mention within musical vernaculars more closely associated with the African-American. In the end, this sort of connection between civil rights activists and jazz was extremely rare and, perhaps as a result, the music would ultimately never become as closely associated with the civil rights movement as did freedom songs especially. However, this look at the musical output of five African-American jazzmen in regards to the civil rights movement, at the very least, keeps us from thinking jazz had nothing to do with it altogether.

⁴¹ “A Place for Poetry,” *The Student Voice*, June 1960, 4.

Sonny Rollins's "The Freedom Suite"

By the time Sonny Rollins recorded "The Freedom Suite" (*Freedom Suite* Riverside RLP12-258) in February of 1958, significant action had already taken place on the civil rights front and there is proof that issues of race and equal opportunity were likewise finding their way into the nation's jazz community. In early 1955, criticism had surfaced concerning the supposed racially exclusive practices of Los Angeles's musicians' unions and in October of that same year, jazz impresario Norman Granz caused a fuss when he made sure there was going to be no segregation in Houston, Texas audiences.⁴² That December, Martin Luther King, Jr. began the highly publicized bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama which ended successfully a year later. Also, in September of 1957, Arkansas Governor Orval E. Faubus attempted to block nine African-American students (the "Little Rock Nine" as they were called) from integrating Little Rock Central High, prompting Louis Armstrong to make his controversial remarks (see

⁴² On "Los Angeles' music unions," see Leonard Feather, "Feather's Nest," *Down Beat*, February 9, 1955, 12 and see also "A Reminder To Petrillo" (*Down Beat*, November 14, 1957). According to this latter article, within Los Angeles's Local 47 musician's union, there had formed an organization called "The Musicians' Committee for Integration" which was making sure that American Federation of Musicians (AFM) president James C. Petrillo enforced "the anti-segregation resolution introduced by Local 47 at the AFM convention in June." On Granz, see "Granz Wins His \$2,000 Battle On Police Dice Raid in Houston," *Down Beat*, December 14, 1955, 6. In a follow-up story ("Strictly Ad Lib - New York," *Down Beat*, November 28, 1956, 8), Granz refused to return his Jazz at the Philharmonic (JATP) tour to the city until it changed "some of its peculiar ideas about people."

note 3). Soon thereafter, jazz critic Leonard Feather cancelled a southern leg of his “Encyclopedia of Jazz” tour on account of enforced segregation. Also, the topic of high school integration had come up in an interview of sorts with early jazzman Jimmy McPartland, a new, non-profit club called the Interracial Jazz Society formed in Baltimore in 1957, and the Modern Jazz Quartet received a first annual award from the NAACP for “outstanding cultural contribution in the field of music.”⁴³

Speaking personally, this writer finds it difficult to fully understand what it must have been like to be black in America at that time. Indeed, African-Americans’ collective concept of freedom meant something completely different from that of whites - sympathetic and non-sympathetic alike - in the sense that it was to be struggled for and won from a society having been run by whites since its earliest days, that this was a fight to alter the collective conscious of white America so that they may be thought of as equal citizens. The fact that such a racially rooted ideological gap indeed existed at the time of “The Freedom Suite’s” recording appears to be supported in the rhetoric used by both

⁴³ On Feather, see “Music News: U.S.A. East: ‘Casualty,’” *Down Beat*, October 17, 1957, 9. According to this piece, Feather remarked: “some of the dates were colleges, but we would have had to play for at least one segregated audience...The only thing wrong with southern hospitality is that they spell it h-o-s-t-i-l-i-t-y. It just wouldn’t have been worth the humiliation. We hope to take the show out next spring, in some parts of the country that are ready to accept it.” Feather would later go on to support fellow impresario Ed Sarkesian’s quote: “the south must be eliminated from future tours,” which was based on discrimination experienced by African American musicians in that part of the country (see Leonard Feather, “Life on a Jazz Tour, U.S.A.,” *Down Beat*, September 3, 1959, 9 cont. 21.). On McPartland, see Don Gold, “Cross Section: Jimmy McPartland,” *Down Beat*, November 28, 1957, 14. On Interracial Jazz Society, see August G Blume, “Baltimore Dateline: forming a jazz society can be a test of conviction and heroism,” *Metronome*, September, 1957, 8-10. According to the article, “the purposes of the Society have been twofold: to increase the number of persons appreciating and supporting Modern Jazz, however, whenever and wherever possible, and to secure the full equality of all musicians by working toward the establishment of one fully integrated musicians union with equal pay, equal working conditions, non-discriminatory hiring, non-discriminatory living conditions and to increase public pressure on any manifestations of discrimination in regard to the full equality of all musicians...Such fine talents as Miles Davis, Horace Silver, Max Roach, Clifford Brown, Richie Powell, George Morrow, Paul Bley, Doug Watkins, Al Levitt, Kenny Dorham, Donald Byrd, Serge Chaloff, Dick Twardzik and Carmen McRae not only attended many of our functions but gave their unreserved encouragement to our cause.” On the Modern Jazz Quartet, see “Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, June 13, 1957, 8.

Sonny Rollins and white jazz critic Orrin Keepnews (also the producer of Riverside Records) who authored the album's liner notes.

Referring to "The Freedom Suite" as "the heart of all the record," Keepnews attempts to justify his critical viewpoint through "having heard the piece several times, and having discussed it with Rollins." However, his elusive phrasing implies one still a bit uncomfortable with making a concrete attempt at describing the piece:

It is, by title, about 'freedom,' but just as that one word itself means many things, so does its application here have many facets. In most fields of music, a composition that is about something is concerned with a concrete picture, is 'program music.' But in jazz, which is so much a music of personal expression, 'program music' is more fittingly about *someone*. This suite, then, is 'about' Sonny Rollins: more precisely, it is about freedom as Sonny is equipped to perceive it...In one sense, then, the reference is to the musical freedom of this unusual combination of composition and improvisation; in another it is to physical and moral freedom, to the presence and absence of it in Sonny's own life and in the way of life of other Americans to whom he feels a relationship. Thus it is not a *piece about* Emmett Till, or Little Rock, or Harlem, or the peculiar local election laws of Georgia or Louisiana, no more than it is *about* the artistic freedom of jazz. But it *is* concerned with all such things, as they are observed by this musician and as they react – emotionally and intellectually – upon him. The suite is, then, in essence a work dedicated to freedom: it is a dedication and homage and resentment and impatience and joy – all of which are ways that a man can feel and that this man does feel about something as personal and basic as 'freedom' – and all expressed through the medium he best commands.

To Keepnews's credit, freedom, as both an abstract idea and highly subjective term, is inherently difficult to define. During the civil rights movement, statements and actions from blacks and whites alike openly challenged America's idea of itself as a "free"

country, thus exacerbating that difficulty. However, in immediate context, it seems rather escapist for him to interpret the “freedom” of Rollins’s “The Freedom Suite” as musical and *personal* especially in light of the more direct, concise statement, Rollins makes that also appears in the liner notes.

To have trivialized the political meaning of a jazz song/album, as it turns out, was something Keepnews seemed rather familiar with. In April 1957, trumpeter Clark Terry recorded an album for Riverside entitled *Serenade to a Bus Seat* (RLP 12-237) with the Clark Terry Quintet (Terry, trumpet; Johnny Griffin, tenor saxophone; Wynton Kelly, piano; Paul Chambers, bass; and Philly Joe Jones, drums) which included a four-and-a-half minute title track. At that time, the Montgomery Bus Boycott had ended four months earlier and a similar bus boycott in Tallahassee, Florida had also ended successfully the previous January. All things considered, the image of a bus seat in the mid-to-late 1950s would likely have been emblazoned in African-Americans’ mind as synonymous with a gate to freedom. In fact, on the cover of the album is a photograph of a trumpet standing erect upon its bell on what appears to be a seat near the back of a public bus, suggesting solidarity between the trumpeter and the boycotters’ plight. Therefore, it seems highly unlikely that the bus boycotts and ideas of racial prejudice *weren’t* on the mind of Clark Terry. In sharp contrast, though, are Keepnews’s liner notes which claim simply that “the bus referred to is the kind that big bands use on the road.” Unfortunately, at this time, there appears no evidence that Terry fought this assertion, meaning that Keepnews, however odd it sounds, could well have been correct. On the other hand, considering Sonny Rollins’s many statements about “The Freedom Suite,” it appears less likely the case here.

In a 1971 interview with jazz drummer Art Taylor, Rollins continued his history of direct statements about the piece: “I had written on the back cover of the album about what a drag it was that black people didn’t get their due. That was the reason for the suite...Here I had all these reviews, newspaper articles and pictures...At the time it struck me, what did it all mean if you were still a nigger, so to speak? This is the reason I wrote the suite.”⁴⁴ Speaking years later, in reference to his album *Global Warming*, Rollins again enforced the idea of a relationship between jazz and social issues: “Jazz has always had a social message to it and this is a vital part of the music...I did the ‘Freedom Suite’ a long time ago and I still think a lot about issues of relevance to society. *Global Warming* is my ‘Freedom Suite’ of 1998.”⁴⁵

Looking back, it’s possible that Rollins’s racial and political views were constructed with some direct personal influence. Drummer Max Roach, who appears on this album, had been playing with Rollins on and off for nine years.⁴⁶ Though three years from executing his famous protest of Miles Davis’s Carnegie Hall concert and just over two years before boycotting the Newport Jazz Festival (along with Charles Mingus and others on account of the event’s supposed over-commercialization) and recording his own *Freedom Now Suite* (during what some have referred to as his “militaristic period”), Roach had nonetheless demonstrated at least a budding political and racial awareness

⁴⁴ Arthur Taylor, *Notes and Tones: Musician to Musician Interviews* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1993), 171-172.

⁴⁵ www.ejn.it/mus/rollins.htm (Europe Jazz Network, Sonny Rollins Biography, courtesy of Ted Kurland Associates, a talent booking agency that represents many prominent jazz musicians, including Sonny Rollins)

⁴⁶ Their first record date together appears to have been with J.J. Johnson’s Boppers, a group led by bop trombonist J.J. Johnson, on May 26, 1949. From there, it would be over 6 years before they’d record again, and then as members of the Clifford Brown-Max Roach Quintet beginning in November, 1955. They would then proceed to play and record together almost constantly from then up to the summer of 1957. *Freedom Suite* became their first collaboration since October 28, 1957’s *That’s Him* by Abbey Lincoln, also for the Riverside label.

through his participation in and “unreserved encouragement” towards Baltimore’s Interracial Jazz Society.⁴⁷ Composer-music theorist George Russell could very well have also had a hand in Rollins’s decision to act in such a way. In the midst of the Little Rock integration crisis, Russell “took time out from his writing for an upcoming Sonny Rollins Riverside session” to write a letter to Ernest Green, the “unofficial leader” of the “Little Rock Nine,” because he admired his actions and had heard Green was a collector of modern jazz records.⁴⁸ Though none of the songs or any section of the liner notes on “Freedom Suite” are directly attributed to Russell, it was Rollins’s second Riverside date as a leader (the first one since June, 1957’s *The Sound of Sonny* [Riverside RLP 12 241]), and the last time he would record for Riverside as a leader or otherwise. Therefore, assuming the session took place, Russell would seem to have been writing something for *Freedom Suite*. Regardless, this activity ultimately suggests that he and Rollins would have been in close contact around the time of the album’s recording. Together, the actions and/or feelings of these two socio-culturally sensitive men (not to mention a host of other civil-rights related events, especially those mentioned above), could have easily led to general discussions with Rollins concerning the overall state of African-Americans and African-American jazzmen, thereby sensitizing Rollins – perhaps more so than he already was - as well to the issues that spawned this recording.

⁴⁷ See note 43.

⁴⁸ “Music News: East – ‘Jazz Goes to Little Rock,’” *Down Beat*, October 31, 1957, 10. Unfortunately, this blurb does not include Russell’s letter word for word, except to say that he signed it “from one pioneer to another” and sent along a copy of one of his records. Perhaps in an act of self-promotion, it does, however, include excerpts from Green’s return letter which state that Green was “thrilled” to receive Russell’s letter and record, and that he “take[s] *Down Beat* regularly.” The letter goes on to say: “I really dig your writings and the titles are the absolute end. If you obtain any more information on jazz would you be so kind to send it...jazz down this way is scarce.”

All in all, though he never mentions a direct influence from either Roach or Russell, Rollins has been remarkably clear about what this piece meant to him and what its inspirations were. In this light, the differences between his and Keepnews's viewpoints are highlighted. Given the amount of space allotted both men in the liner notes, one might easily make the argument that Keepnews's more diplomatic, broader interpretation serves to divert attention from the artist's more focused statement. However, while Keepnews may have been somewhat uncomfortable attempting to explain what the piece meant to Rollins on a personal level, his comments do appear to have some merit on the musical level. To begin with, Keepnews had this to say about the recording process: "At the first session, we cut the four standards...and what I thought was a Rollins original.... When we went into the studio the second time, we cut the rest of it. It happened pretty spontaneously, that afternoon."⁴⁹ Also, as part of a group interview with the jazz magazine *Metronome* in February of 1958, Rollins said: "...it seems to me that style has advanced to the point now where freedom is the basic thing that most saxophone players seem to be striving for."⁵⁰ Indeed, as both a saxophonist and composer, Rollins strove for freedom in many ways in this piece.

"The Freedom Suite" was recorded as a trio with two other jazz giants: Max Roach on drums and Oscar Pettiford on bass. The format Rollins chose for this piece was, quite obviously, the suite, which is defined by the *Harvard Dictionary of Music* as "an important instrumental form of baroque music, consisting of a number of movements, each in the character of a dance and all in the same key."⁵¹ Likewise, "The Freedom

⁴⁹ Joe Goldberg, *Jazz Masters of the Fifties* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), 100-101.

⁵⁰ *Metronome*, February, 1958, 26.

⁵¹ Willi Apel, *Harvard Dictionary of Music: Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970), 814. To be sure, there are some

Suite” is lengthy (19:24) and consists of three distinct sections each held together by an interlude (the resulting structure is A-B-C, with a repeated interlude between each section). Even though the sections aren’t all “in the character of a dance and all in the same key,” to utilize such a “classical” device was relatively new to the world of jazz⁵² and represented a certain freedom of the music to adopt traditionally classical forms, that it was not strictly confined to the blues or popular song form, for example. Perhaps the most revolutionary aspect of this piece, though, has to do with its infusion of political relevancy wherein Rollins continues yet another Ellingtonian tradition. Although it had been fifteen years since the debut of “Black, Brown and Beige,” according to author Eric Nisenson, *The Freedom Suite* marked the first attempt by a *postbebop* jazzman at such a feat.⁵³ Therefore, one can see the political content of “The Freedom Suite” as a both a modernist’s rebirthing of and more assertive prelude to an aspect of jazz quite unique to its black practitioners. However, it is interesting to note that such an achievement was apparently *not* on the saxophonist’s mind at the time of the recording. In his interview with Art Taylor, Rollins states that Frank Kofsky’s book *Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music* refers to him as “one of the first guys in the modern era to bring the political thing into music.” So, whether he was “the first” or “one of the first” to do so, Rollins ultimately leaves such a claim to other authors and never seems to investigate the issue himself. In this sense, the fact that Rollins doesn’t deny it is important; he even

classical music examples that stray from this. Some of Bach’s French suites, for example, have movements that are in the relative major and minor keys.

⁵² Though Ellington premiered a suite entitled “Black, Brown and Beige” in 1943 and Chico O’Farrill’s “Afro-Cuban Suite” was first performed in 1950, the whole idea of borrowing classical forms did not seem to become popular to jazzmen until much later in the decade and into the 1960s. Examples closer in time to the recording of this album include Ellington’s “Newport Jazz Festival Suite” (1956), Mose Allison’s “Back Country Suite” and Ellington’s “Shakespearean Suite” (both in 1957).

⁵³ Eric Nisenson, *Open Sky: Sonny Rollins and His World of Improvisation* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2000), 129. Considering the many songs, aforementioned in this paper dealing with the decolonization struggles in Africa, one must assume Nisenson speaks specifically about American politics in his claim.

seems to boast about it. However, the fact that he never personally stated this intent seems to eliminate the idea that to become the first modern jazzman to do so was an inspiration of his but rather an unexpected bonus.⁵⁴

Throughout the suite, Rollins's piece constitutes, as author Peter Niklas Wilson aptly states, a "wealth of themes, keys, tempos, and moods."⁵⁵ The first section (0:00 – 7:50), in G-Major, is in a medium-paced (ca. 180 b.p.m.) duple-meter (4/4) whereas the following interlude (7:52 – 8:55), in the key of C-Minor, is in a slower 6/8 (ca. 76 b.p.m.) and involves a short blurring of the changes near its end. This is followed by an even slower (ca. 66 b.p.m.), lazy and brooding waltz (3/4 time, or triple meter) in A-Flat Major (8:56 – 15:05), a recapitulation of the interlude (15:06 – 16:09), and finally by a blazingly fast third section (ca. 320 b.p.m.) in B-Flat-Major that ends with a slow restatement of the original melody (16:11 – 19:24).

Rollins begins the tune with a simple four-bar bi-tonal melody, exploring both the key of G-Major and its mediant B-Major:

tenor sax $\text{♩} = 180$

bass

Ex. 4.1 "The Freedom Suite" Theme A⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Perhaps it is worth noting here that such a stance was also taken by Rollins in regards to his own playing. In response to jazz writer Gunther Schuller's assessment of Rollins's use of thematic development in his playing, Rollins replied nonchalantly: "I hadn't really understood how I played before I read Gunther Schuller... This business about thematic approach – I think it's correct, but I had never thought about it; I just played it." (Peter Niklas Wilson, *Sonny Rollins: The Definitive Musical Guide* (Berkeley, California: Berkeley Hills Books, 2001), 63-64.

⁵⁵ Peter Niklas Wilson, 91.

⁵⁶ Transcribed by author.

Changing the tonal center in measure two of the melody not only comes a bit unexpectedly but frees Rollins from keeping it strictly diatonic as well. Also, in parts one (A) and three (C), after such an initial four-bar statement, Rollins follows it up with four measures of improvisation on a pedal point G in the bass, thus implying a tonal center but technically freeing himself from the confines of chord *changes* altogether. Here, Rollins's decision not to have a piano player on the date is significant. It would prove so again in part two by allowing him the freedom of discretionary harmonization with the monophonic bass as opposed to the polyphonic piano. Succinctly supporting this decision was Rollins himself who claimed this about pianists in 1958: "They got in the way. They played too much. Their chords interrupted my train of thought...And I got this idea that I didn't need a piano."⁵⁷ Part two (B), the suite's most danceable section, features one of the more unique examples of freedom employed in the entire piece: the adaptation of a major key for a mournful sound. Rollins opens and closes this section repetitively with a lilting theme, utilizing the slow tempo to his advantage by consistently playing behind Roach's steady beat.

The image shows a musical score for tenor sax and bass. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 66. The tenor sax part begins with a melodic phrase in measure 1, followed by a repeat sign. The bass part provides a steady accompaniment, primarily consisting of a single note (G) in the bass register, which serves as a pedal point. The key signature is three flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor).

Ex. 4.2 "The Freedom Suite" Theme B⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Dom Cerulli, "Sonny Believes He Can Accomplish Much More Than He Has to Date," *Down Beat*, July 10, 1958, 16.

⁵⁸ Based on transcription by Peter Niklas Wilson, 90.

Then, just as Rollins's drunken stylings begin to likewise affect the listener's senses, he/she is abruptly awoken by a short repetition of the waltzy interlude (Ex. 4.3) before transitioning yet again to the dizzying array of virtuosity that is part three.

tenor sax $\text{♩} = 76$

bass Intro

Ex. 4.3 “The Freedom Suite” Interlude – Bass Introduction and eight-bar sax melody⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Transcribed by author. For a slightly different transcription, see Peter Niklas Wilson, 90. Here, however, he has Rollins's first two notes in measure two as F-G when it is actually E-Flat-F. Also, in measure four, he has Rollins's two eighth notes that lead into the descending dotted quarter passage as G-B-Flat when it should be G-B-Natural.

♩ = 320

tenor sax

bass

Walk

4 bars sax ad. lib.

4 bar drum break

Ex. 4.4 “The Freedom Suite” Theme C ⁶⁰

Importantly, although Rollins is clearly the most featured musician throughout the piece, there is a healthy amount of soloing from both Roach and Pettiford as well, especially in parts one (A) and two (B). In this sense, perhaps best describing the feel and partial aesthetic goal of the suite was jazz trumpeter Art Farmer who claimed “These three play very freely on this record, but they don’t get in each other’s way...[they] have reached the level of jazz musicianship where they are not imprisoned anymore.”⁶¹

As a purely aesthetic observation, the opening four-bar theme that sets the stage for multiple subsequent variations sounds not like an angry man but an upbeat child, something more likely to be heard as part of a theme for a show like Sesame Street rather than a sonic rendering of a struggle against racial oppression. Indeed, fellow jazz

⁶⁰ Based on transcription by Peter Niklas Wilson, 91.

⁶¹ Art Farmer, “Record Review: *Freedom Suite*,” *Jazz Review*, November 1958, 37-38.

saxophonist Benny Golson even claimed the opening melody to have a “strong folk quality...reminiscent of a show-type tune.”⁶² Though part two is a bit more brooding in feeling, to convey such intense emotionality, this piece as a whole fails to stand alone. Perhaps, then, Rollins included his statement in the notes as a companion piece, as unspoken lyrics to further clarify his aspirations, aspirations that seem all the more complex, for Rollins, unlike the remaining artists in this work, never seems to have even performed in a civil rights benefit concert.⁶³



Fig. 4.1 – Cover of Sonny Rollins’ *Freedom Suite*

The importance of the album cover art (designed by Paul Bacon) is also not to be missed. On the cover is a photograph of a shirtless Rollins (shown from the shoulders up) taken by Paul Weller. Showcasing Rollins’s right profile, the saxophonist is shown looking defiantly at the viewer from the corner of his right eye. Rollins’s characteristic

⁶² Benny Golson, “Record Review: *Freedom Suite*,” *Jazz Review*, January, 1959, 36-37 (36).

⁶³ To be sure, Rollins was *supposed* to perform at a civil rights benefit in San Francisco on June 2, 1963 but “neither appeared nor sent an explanation” (Russ Wilson, “Caught In the Act,” *Down Beat*, August 1, 1963, 37.).

broad jawbone protrudes as he asserts his human presence, forcing the viewer to see Rollins's photo as one of a man with feelings, a man with a heart, a man willing to reverse the viewer's gaze despite the fact that he is "persecuted and repressed." Placed in a solid yellow square followed by broken strips of four other colors, Rollins's photo symbolically implies the existence of a clarified futuristic vision of color-blindness and unity. Here, Rollins faces ahead towards the future with one eye on the present in what may be interpreted as an artistic rendering of DuBois's concept of double-consciousness. Therefore, along with the symbolic album cover, as much as he wanted to communicate his frustration with racial oppression, he seemed to want to exert artistic freedom, so much so that he had to create "lyrics" for it outside of the recording in order to fully convey his feelings.

Could Riverside records have had anything to do with that decision? Independent columnist and jazz writer, Marshall Bowden seems to think so. According to his recent article, "Freedom Suite Revisited," "Riverside Records decided it ["The Freedom Suite"] was too incendiary and pulled the recording, reissuing it under the title *Shadow Waltz*, the name of another track on the recording."⁶⁴ Bowden also claims the existence of certain "forces that made Keepnews soften Rollins' verbal argument." There is no doubt that, for an African-American living in the United States in 1958, to assert that "the Negro, who more than any other people can claim America's culture as its own," was a bold statement. At a time that African Americans were attaining basic human freedoms one by one, they were nevertheless attaining them in the face of great challenge and often violent

⁶⁴ www.jazzitude.com/freedom_suite.htm "Freedom Suite Revisited" by Marshall Bowden, dated June 5, 2004. This same article can also be viewed at www.allaboutjazz.com/php/article.php?id=110 dated February 10, 2003. The reissue was done for Riverside's subsidiary label, Jazzland, and reportedly contained a new set of liner notes *and* omitted Rollins's statement.

protest. Indeed, as Bowden claims, “things were tense at the time of *Freedom Suite*’s release” and the concept of both self and freedom for African-Americans was a controversial topic across the U.S. There is no doubt that Rollins attempted, with this piece and his statement in the notes, to speak to those same ideas, and for a record company to align themselves with such action at that time was, perhaps, as bold a statement as Rollins’s and should not be ignored. Even the tenorist himself remembers receiving criticism for it while on a tour of the southern United States:

Several fans, white fans, confronted me and wanted to know what I had meant in my comments that accompanied the album. Some of them were obviously upset. I felt pressure to rescind my statement, but of course I did not do that.⁶⁵

In fact, a few years after *Freedom Suite* came out, there were those that also gave Rollins grief for hiring white guitarist Jim Hall to be a member in his band (November, 1961). In a 1991 interview with the *New York Times*, Rollins had this to say about it:

After *Freedom Suite*, some people expected me to behave in a certain way and wondered why I would hire a white musician. I took some heat for that. I thought it was a healing symbol, and I didn’t have any qualms about doing it. Social issues didn’t have anything to do with hiring white musicians who were qualified; it was that simple.⁶⁶

Finally, one should also note that Rollins never attempts to connect this piece with a *specific* moment in the civil rights movement. Though, through his statements, his

⁶⁵ Nisenson, 129.

⁶⁶ Peter Watrous, “Sonny Rollins and Pals In a Carnegie Hall Reunion,” *New York Times*, Friday, April 12, 1991, C16 L.

intent was clearly to identify this piece as a racial statement, the music itself and circumstances of its production make such a one-dimensional analysis problematic. In the end, there is an abundance of freedoms that combine to constitute “The Freedom Suite,” making Keepnews’s description in the liner notes sound less escapist and instead (not to mention ironically) more telling than Rollins’s. In fact, one might even view it as an honest effort to bridge a racially-rooted ideological gap, regardless of how much it may have existed between the two men. All things considered, it seems likely that Rollins didn’t intend for this *piece* to have as much an impact on the movement in general and jazz listeners’ views of it as his related *statements* and *actions*. Together, however, they paint the picture of a man whose artistic duty was clearly intertwined with his sense of racial awareness, but yet chose to reach an equal compromise with both his political and musical views.

Charles Mingus's "Fables of Faubus"

A much more bold statement, one that didn't need a companion piece, was bassist Charles Mingus's "Fables of Faubus." First recorded on May 5, 1959 on an album entitled *Mingus Ah Um* for Columbia Records (CK-65512),⁶⁷ the eight minute and

⁶⁷ Leonard Feather's review of the album (*Down Beat*, November 26, 1959) mentions this of the "weird" title: "it's a corruption of an imaginary Latin declension (mingus-minga-mingum). Don't ask why." Mingus's friend Al Young (co-author (along with Janet Coleman) of *Mingus/Mingus: Two Memoirs* (Berkeley, California: Creative Arts Book Company, 1989)) thought the title sensual – "in a churchy kind of way (the celebratory, yea-saying Southern Baptist and African Methodist churches I'd been raised in) – until I learned that the LP's title had evolved from a Columbia Records executive's attempt to grammatically decline Mingus's name as if it were a Latin noun" (75). The album was apparently a big hit, though Mingus and Columbia disputed over the actual sales figures. Al Young claims it was "rumored" to have sold about fifty-thousand copies (75) and, according to biographer Brian Priestley (*Mingus: A Critical Biography* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1982)), Mingus thought it had sold 90,000 copies in nine months, a figure which Columbia didn't outright agree with, only to say "it sold well" (103). Either way, Priestley claims that this disagreement "left them unable to renew their contract the following spring" (107). Also, though it could have also been over *Mingus Dynasty*, Mingus's second and last album for Columbia Records, Mingus's widow Sue recalls her then husband once described a "visit to the accounting department at Columbia Records, where he'd gone up the elevator carrying a shotgun, intent on demanding his royalties. He was dressed in a safari suit and helmet for the occasion...Columbia brought his royalties right up to date...Creative anger, as Mingus called it...It got results" (Sue Graham Mingus, *Tonight At Noon: A Love Story* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2002), 38). According to Gene Santoro (*Myself When I Am Real: The Life and Music of Charles Mingus* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 174), who looked it up in the Mingus Archives in the Library of Congress, a quarterly royalty statement from Columbia showed Mingus earned a total of \$790.13, though he did not say from when. Near the end of his career and life, Mingus would record for Columbia one final time, as a live concert from Philharmonic Hall in New York City on February 4, 1972. The album, entitled *Charles Mingus and Friends in Concert* (Columbia KG 31614), included such notable jazz figures as Lee Konitz, Gene Ammons, Gerry Mulligan, Milt Hinton and Dizzy Gillespie and is essentially a tribute to the bassist's music. However, it should be noted that despite the fact that it was still very much a part of the Mingus repertoire at that time, "Fables of Faubus" conspicuously does not appear on this album. In fact, none of Mingus's politically themed songs were recorded on this date either. It seems that, throughout the history of their relationship, Columbia Records was only interested in promoting and celebrating the least controversial aspects of Mingus's music.

thirteen second song was a programmatic satire of Arkansas governor Orval Faubus who, in September of 1957, attempted to block the integration of Little Rock's Central High School. In a display of corporate political aversion, however, "Fables" originally contained sung lyrics which Columbia thought too controversial to allow:

Mingus and band: *Oh, Lord, don't let 'em shoot us!*

Oh, Lord, don't let 'em stab us!

Oh, Lord, don't let 'em tar and feather us!

Oh, Lord, no more swastikas!

Oh, Lord, no more Ku Klux Klan!

Mingus: *Name me someone who's ridiculous, Dannie.*

Richmond: *Governor Faubus!*

Mingus: *Why is he so sick and ridiculous?*

Richmond: *He won't permit us in his schools.*

Then he's a fool! Boo! Nazi Fascist supremists!

Boo! Ku Klux Klan (Richmond: with your Jim Crow plan)

Mingus: *Name me a handful that's ridiculous, Dannie Richmond.*

Richmond: *Fillmore, Faubus, Rockefeller, Eisenhower*

Mingus: *Why are they so sick and ridiculous?*

Richmond: *Two, four, six, eight*

Mingus and Richmond: *They brainwash and teach you hate*

Mingus: *H-E-L-L-O, Hello.*⁶⁸

Therefore, his Columbia recording remains an instrumental.⁶⁹ However, Mingus would later record a version entitled “Original Faubus Fables” complete with these lyrics for a smaller label, Candid Records, on October 20, 1960 (*Charles Mingus Presents Charles Mingus* (Candid CJM 8005, CJS 9005)), produced by a much more sympathetic Nat Hentoff.⁷⁰

The Little Rock incident was well covered in the national media, and men such as Louis Armstrong and George Russell helped bring this matter specifically to the attention of the jazz community.⁷¹ As such, Mingus (and Rollins, for that matter) was almost certainly aware of the story at the time of its occurrence. However, it is unclear *exactly*

⁶⁸ Transcribed by the author from the 1960 Candid recording. Most sources have Dannie Richmond saying “He won’t permit *integrated* schools” but, on the Candid recording, he is clearly saying “he won’t permit *us* in his schools.”

⁶⁹ According to *Down Beat* (“Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” June 25, 1959, 8), *Mingus Ah Um* was the first record as part of an “ambitious modern jazz program” set forth by Columbia Records. Next on the list was to be “an album of jazz arrangements by Teo Macero (then producer of Columbia Records), Manny Albam, Bill Russo and Teddy Charles” to be played by a band including “Bobby Brookmeyer, trombone; Mal Waldron, piano; Donald Byrd and Art Farmer, trumpets; Al Cohn, tenor sax; and Frank Rehak, trombone.” Al Young (137) claims that Columbia had forced jazz singer Billie Holiday to record her anti-lynching song, “Strange Fruit,” for Commodore because they didn’t want anything to do with it and assumes Mingus had been aware of the story when agreeing to record the song for Columbia.

⁷⁰ Also the author of the album’s liner notes, Hentoff takes pride in having recorded it in such a fashion: “I was disappointed when I heard an earlier recorded version of THE ORIGINAL FAUBUS FABLES. In the club, the mood of the caricature was much more biting sardonic and there was a great deal more tension. Mingus says the other label would not allow him to record the talking sections, which he feels are an important part of the overall color and movement of the piece. This version is the way Mingus **did** intend the work to sound.” Between these two recordings, Mingus appears to have gone through a bit of a transitional phase with record companies, having recorded two albums: one more for Columbia (*Mingus Dynasty* Columbia CS 8236), then one for Mercury (*Pre-Bird* Mercury MG 20627) before settling down with Candid for several albums in a row. Also recorded during that “transitional” period was a performance released by Atlantic (*Mingus at Antibes* Atlantic SD2 3001). However, it was ultimately released many years later.

⁷¹ See *notes 3* and *48*.

when Mingus composed this tune. Though biographer Gene Santoro claimed him to have premiered the work while then performing a stint at the Bohemia in New York, another biographer, Brian Priestley, claims that that was only “possibly” the case and speaks instead of the tune’s “connection with Mingus’s often lengthy gestation of compositional materials.”⁷² Between the two, Priestley’s account appears more likely to be the case. In the December 12, 1957 issue of *Down Beat*, the “Heard in Person” feature (p. 42, cont. pp. 53-54) reported on a concert given by the Charles Mingus Quintet at the Half Note in New York and doesn’t mention anything about the piece. But less than a year later it was reported by the same magazine that he had performed an “angry” version of it on the evening of August 3, 1958 with the “Charlie Mingus Jazz Workshop” at the Great South Bay Jazz Festival, over 9 months before recording it for Columbia.⁷³ In fact, that same piece even claimed “the group has not worked together in some months.” Therefore, assuming that’s true, it seems as though the composition of the piece took place sometime between the late fall/winter of 1957 and late spring/early summer of 1958.⁷⁴ As for the lyrics, they were apparently added later. According to drummer and co-lyricist Dannie Richmond:

At the beginning, it didn’t even have a title... We were playing it one night and the line, “Tell me someone who’s ridiculous,” just fell right in with the original line, and I happened to respond with “Governor

⁷² Santoro, *Myself When I Am Real*, 133; Priestley, *Mingus: A Critical Biography*, 86.

⁷³ “Great South Bay: Sunday Night, Aug. 3,” *Down Beat*, September 18, 1958, 51.

⁷⁴ Between August 3, 1958 and May 5, 1959, Mingus did record two albums. The first was for United Artists with the Charles Mingus Quintet, entitled *Jazz Portraits* and the second was called *Blues and Roots* by the Charles Mingus Nonet with Atlantic Records. Both albums contain mostly Mingus originals so, it is possible that Mingus, had he have wanted to record the tune for either label, would have been able to do so. In this light, Columbia may not have been the first label unwilling to have recorded “Fables,” at least with lyrics.

Faubus!” At that time, Mingus and I had a thing where if something of musical importance happened on the bandstand, we’d leave it in.⁷⁵

This story, however telling about the piece’s inception, does serve to trivialize the intentions of Mingus in that, if it were Richmond who first brought Faubus’s name into the picture, Mingus might not have even written it with the governor in mind. Regardless, for Mingus to have possibly incubated a musical reaction to the event for almost a year at most, and then to have kept it in the repertoire throughout the bulk of his career (see below) not only implies how much this piece meant to him, but how important confronting the movement had become to his sense of artistic duty as well.

The question of why Mingus waited as long as he did to record this piece (and even then under such circumstances) is difficult to answer. However, its appearance on *Mingus Ah Um* is set among several other pieces that display a clear historical consciousness. Along with “Fables of Faubus” are “Goodbye Pork Pie Hat,” an emotional tribute to the recently fallen and legendary jazz saxophonist Lester Young,⁷⁶ and “Jelly Roll,” concerning early jazz composer Jelly Roll Morton.⁷⁷ In his laudatory review of the album, jazz writer and critic Leonard Feather aptly described the general

⁷⁵ Priestley, 87. Priestley references this quote as coming from an interview with Brian Case in the March 22, 1980 issue of *Melody Maker*.

⁷⁶ Young died on March 15, 1959, less than two months before this recording (“Goodbye Pork Pie Hat” was recorded on May 12) and Mingus was even said to have played a blues for him the night he died while then performing at the Half Note in New York, thereby proving that Mingus’s artistic tendencies included both immediate/near-immediate response *and* “lengthy gestation.” Like “Faubus,” however, he would record this tune several times in his career and in several different versions.

⁷⁷ According to Santoro (153), Mingus’s contract (which he signed on April 9, 1959) with Columbia called for “two LPs of Jelly Roll Morton compositions, at a 4 percent royalty.” For whatever reason, “Jelly Roll” is the only specific reference to the early jazz pianist-composer and none of his original tunes were recorded for this album or *Mingus Dynasty*, his second and final Columbia album (until 1972 – see *note* 62). In light of their decision not to let Mingus record the lyrics for “Faubus,” it appears as though Columbia was granting Mingus at least *some* artistic license by allowing him not to adhere, thematically, to their contract.

nature of the record's thematic content: "The...pieces he created for this album do not represent a break from the past; rather, they are a reflection of the past and an image of the present, seen through the mirror of tomorrow."⁷⁸

As far as "Fables of Faubus" is concerned, that "reflection of the past" appears to have much deeper roots than just the Little Rock incident. Aside from Faubus and Eisenhower, drummer Dannie Richmond clearly espouses the names of at least two other white American historical figures in the song's lyrics. First is "Fillmore," by whom he likely means Millard Fillmore (1800-1874), the thirteenth American president (1850-1853). While in office, Fillmore signed the Fugitive Slave Act, which placed the aid of government officers at the disposal of southern slaveholders seeking runaway slaves in the North. Later, during the American Civil War (1861-1865), Fillmore even opposed U.S. President Abraham Lincoln.⁷⁹ Richmond also mentions "Rockefeller," most likely meaning oil tycoon John D. Rockefeller (1839-1937). His oil company, Standard Oil, which maintained a monopoly on the nation's oil refining capabilities (making Rockefeller America's first billionaire), was reputed to have engaged in illegal transportation practices and also to have helped build a rubber manufacturing plant in Nazi Germany using slave labor from the concentration camp Auschwitz.⁸⁰ In addition to these two men, the October 22, 1959 issue of *Jet*, a bi-weekly African-American periodical, reports Mingus describing "Fables of Faubus" as "a message by carrier pigeon

⁷⁸ Leonard Feather, "Mingus Ah Um - Record Review," *Down Beat*, November 26, 1959. Feather incidentally, gives the album *Down Beat*'s highest rating of five stars = excellent.

⁷⁹ www.whitehouse.gov/history/presidents/mf13.html. As far as a stance on Lincoln is concerned, Mingus and Fillmore may have had something in common. For an unexplained reason, Al Young (*Mingus/Mingus*, p. 99) claimed that Mingus "regretfully traces his ancestry back to Lincoln." See *note 81* for more detailed information on Mingus's parents' family backgrounds.

⁸⁰ Here, it is also possible that Richmond meant Winthrop Rockefeller, Faubus's opponent in the upcoming gubernatorial race, but Winthrop Rockefeller apparently tried to convince Faubus to stay *out* of the integration crisis which would seemingly make him less "ridiculous."

from the late Sen. Bilbo.”⁸¹ A notorious white supremacist, Theodore Gilmore Bilbo (1877-1948), served as a Mississippi Senator from 1935-1947, a seat which he reportedly won in part by advocating black deportation to Africa. While in office, he not only praised Adolf Hitler on the Senate floor, but was also an outspoken opponent of racial miscegenation, claiming that “one drop of Negro blood placed in the veins of the purest Caucasian destroys the inventive genius of his mind and strikes palsied his creative faculty.”⁸² Aside from the aforementioned figures, this latter reference alone could have been enough to incense Mingus, himself both a proponent of integration and product of racial mixing.⁸³ All in all, however, the spotlight remains fixed on Faubus, even though Mingus treats the song as an all-purpose piece to attack white supremacy. In such a light it appears as no coincidence that, just as animals in Aesop’s fables proclaim useful truths, so too should these “ridiculous” human “animals” who “brainwash and teach you hate” (racist thought propagates evil statements and actions and needs to be eradicated).

⁸¹ “People Are Talking About,” *Jet*, October 22, 1959, 45. This piece also erroneously reports that “Mingus premiered the work last week at a special jazz concert at the Village Gate in New York’s Greenwich Village”

⁸² http://www.ehistory.com/world/amit/display.cfm?amit_id=2015. This site contains the archives for “A Moment In Time” with Dan Roberts of the University of Richmond. This particular article was Vol. 5 No. 116, August 15, 2001, “Senator Theodore Bilbo: Prophet of Racism.”

⁸³ According to Priestley (1), Mingus’s Texas-born mother’s (Harriet Sophia Mingus) death certificate showed her to be of Chinese and English descent. Mingus’s North Carolina-born father, on the other hand, “was the offspring of a liaison between a black farm-hand and a Swedish lady in the ‘big house,’ who was claimed to be a cousin of the late President Lincoln.” Mingus, later in life, would even marry several white women, Judy Starkey (1960) and Sue Graham (first, *unofficially* by Allen Ginsberg around 1966 at a party and then, *officially* by a justice of the peace at Woodstock in 1975), as two examples.



Fig. 5.1 – Cover of *Mingus Ah Um*



Fig. 5.2 – Cover of *Charles Presents Charles Mingus*

Less a “reflection of the past,” though, is the album cover of *Mingus Ah Um*, which features a painting by abstract artist S. Neil Fujita. Once the art director for Columbia, Fujita’s art graced the covers of several other jazz albums from the period such as Johnny Eaton’s *Far Out Near In* (1957), Dick Hyman’s *Provocative Piano* (1960) and, perhaps most notably, Dave Brubeck’s 1959 release, *Time Out* which featured the immensely popular songs “Take Five” and “Blue Rondo A La Turk.” Unlike the cover of *Freedom Suite*, Fujita’s cover for *Mingus Ah Um* seems not to have alluded to the artist’s socio-political agenda, but to a broader agenda of Columbia Records to correlate modern jazz with modern art (not to mention a hint of self-promotion as well). As for the cover of Candid’s *Charles Mingus Presents Charles Mingus*, though the liner notes do not mention who is responsible for it, there appears a photograph of Mingus sitting at the piano with a bass leaning against the wall in the background. With his eyes half-closed and donning a navy blue sweatshirt/sweater, the bassist appears comfortable and very much at peace with the situation at hand. Mingus’s lazy eyes appear to be

gazing at staff paper resting on the piano's music rack, providing a mood of both introspective focus and creative casualness. Considering Candid's boastful willingness to support Mingus's politically-inflected music by recording "Original Faubus Fables" with lyrics, it seems likely that, had he have wanted to, Mingus would have been allowed, if not altogether encouraged, to pursue a more politically relevant and/or aggressive image. Indeed, as Hentoff himself claims, the artists under Candid possessed "complete freedom" to do as they wished.⁸⁴ All in all, for both albums, it is clear that the "canvas" Mingus was choosing on which to display his social indignancy was not the album covers but rather just the music.

The song itself, unlike "The Freedom Suite," adopts the commonly used *AABA* structure of American popular song form from the 1920s – 1950s in which the melody is repeated (A, A), followed by a bridge (B), often in a different key and/or tempo, and finally followed by a return to the original melody (A) before opening up for solos. But while this form is usually found to be thirty-two bars long and subdivided into four eight-bar sections, Mingus employs a unique compositional technique by more than doubling its length and superimposing a sophisticated substructure. The result for both recordings is an eight bar introduction, followed by a seventy one-bar *AABA* form which allows Mingus adequate space in which to break it down even further:

A (0:16 – 0:54) 19 bars, 4+4+9+2

A' (0:54 – 1:30) 18 bars, 4+4+10

B (1:30 – 2:01) 16 bars, 4+4+4+4

⁸⁴ Phone interview with Nat Hentoff, conducted on January 19, 2005 at approximately 10:30 a.m.

A' (2:01 – 2:37) 18 bars, 4+4+10⁸⁵

While his lyrics clearly articulate his abhorrence for Governor Faubus (among others), the sophisticated thematic construction alludes to an increasing complexity within the world of jazz, an attempt to breathe new life into what had become an antiquated song form. As did Rollins, Mingus mixes the issues of musical experimentation with societal displeasure but in a much more direct way. Never one to be shy, Mingus refers to Faubus in the introduction of the 1960 recording as an “all-American heel,” provides a set of non-abstract lyrics and puts the tune in a minor key (F-Minor) all in order to better communicate his stark indignation.

“Fables” (1959) opens with the tenor saxophone (Booker Ervin) and trombone (Jimmy Knepper) playing a lilting and repetitive melodic passage over Mingus’s bass line (0:00 – 0:16). Reminiscent of a sauntering overweight giant, this introduction aptly sets the stage for the satirical mood. (To be sure, pictures of Faubus [see the cover of *TIME*, September 23, 1957, for example] from the time do not show him to be overweight. So, it does not seem likely that Mingus was thinking of the governor’s physicality when constructing this melody):

⁸⁵ Barry Kernfeld, *What to Listen for in Jazz* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1995), 73.

Musical score for "Fables of Faubus" (1959) bars 1-12. The score is in 4/4 time with a tempo of 120. It features an "Intro" section with a key signature of B-flat major (Bbm7) and a 2-beat feel. The first system shows the trombone and tenor sax parts, both marked *mp*. The second system shows the alto sax 1 and trombone parts, with the alto sax 1 marked "in octaves" and "3", and the alto sax 2 and tenor sax parts marked *simile*. The third system shows the alto sax 1 and tenor sax parts, with the alto sax 1 marked "(octaves)" and "3", and the tenor sax marked "(octaves)". The key signature changes to D-flat major (Db7) in the second system.

Ex. 5.1 "Fables of Faubus" (1959) bars 1-12.⁸⁶

This is then built upon and balanced nicely by an extremely punctuated staccato phrase in the trombone and alto saxophone (John Handy, 0:16 – 0:32) before all horns join hands to close out the opening A section over the drummer's (Richmond) steady swing beat (0:32 – 0:54). The second A section essentially repeats the first with the exception of the last four measures during which the alto saxophone sours high above an abysmal tenor saxophone and an even lower trombone. The alto sax quickly descends at the start of the b section (1:30), sharing a mournful call and response with the trombone above a wounded, wailing tenor sax and supportive bass and drums. This followed by a sudden

⁸⁶ Based on transcription in *Charles Mingus: More Than A Fake Book* (New York: Jazz Workshop Inc., 1991), 44.

four-measure detour into double time in the rhythm section (beginning at 1:46) over which the tenor saxophone solos before slowing to the original tempo, tastefully dovetailing into the final A section (which repeats the second). The solo section begins first with Ervin (2:37 – 3:48) followed by Horace Parlan on piano (3:48 – 4:51), back to Ervin (4:51 – 6:01), and finally to Mingus himself (6:01 – 7:04) after which the band recapitulates the B section and final A section to close out the final minute and ten seconds of the piece. As for the 1960 version, the song structure remains the same and the lyrics are essentially sung in place of the trombone. All in all, however, to pay too much attention to the *music* itself would be doing this song a disservice. The compositional structure and rhythmic devices are unique and help refresh both the melodic and harmonic sequencing. However, the most political message is communicated through the lyrics.

Despite keeping the same song structure, there are important differences in Mingus's treatment of the song between the 1959 and 1960 recordings. He records the first as an instrumental in the relatively subdued atmosphere of the recording studio and the next as *staged* live (yet still in the studio) and complete with lyrics. It is on this latter recording that one hears the real, unreserved Mingus come alive (he did entitle it "**Original** Faubus Fables"). The album, *Charles Mingus Presents Charles Mingus*, was recorded in Tommy Nola's Penthouse Studio in New York, yet Mingus pretended, according to Hentoff's liner notes, that it was a live gig by having the lights turned out and addressing an imaginary audience before each tune. According to Mingus, such an approach seemed to offer the ideal atmosphere in which to instigate musical experimentation within a studio setting: "I finally realized that a lot of jazz records don't

make it because guys almost unconsciously change their approach in a studio from what they do every night. I finally wanted to make an album the way we are on the job.”⁸⁷

Before “Original Faubus Fables,” he asks his imagined audience to not “rattle the ice in your glasses” and the “bartenders” to not “ring the cash register.”

Again, unlike Rollins and “The Freedom Suite,” Mingus performed “Fables of Faubus” multiple times. In fact, by 1964, there were as many as 10 different concert recordings of this piece, all issued years later, some of which are recorded in two parts, each exceeding sixteen and a half minutes in length.⁸⁸ According to Sue Mingus’s comments in *Charles Mingus: More Than A Fake Book* ((New York: Jazz Workshop Inc., 1991), p. 49), he even performed and recorded versions of it under several different names, such as “Nix on Nixon” and “Oh Lord, Help Mr. Ford.” Therefore, it’s clear that Mingus treated this composition as both a work-in-progress and its structure as a format through which to express political indignation.⁸⁹ Like Armstrong, Mingus made his feelings about Faubus an *international* issue, but he did so, not by making controversial

⁸⁷ Ibid. Interestingly enough, Mingus would change his mind on this issue completely within a matter of four years. In a 1964 interview with *Playboy* magazine (from editor Robert Walser’s *Keeping Time: Readings in Jazz History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 266), Mingus had this to say about night clubs: “I wish I’d *never* have to play in night clubs again...the night club environment is such that it doesn’t call for a musician to even care whether he’s communicating...the environment in a night club is not conducive to good creation. It’s conducive to *re-creation*, to the playing of what they’re used to. In a club, you could never elevate to free form as well as the way you could, say, in a concert hall.”

⁸⁸ See the April 16, 1964 recording in Bremen, Germany in which part one is seventeen minutes long followed by a sixteen-minute and forty-second part two. The album, entitled *Fables of Faubus Vol. 2* by the Charles Mingus Orchestra with Eric Dolphy, was made in Italy and released by Ingo records. It is a limited edition. Also, see the April 19, 1964 recording from The Champs-Elysees in Paris (*The Great Concert Of Charles Mingus* – recorded between 12:10 and 2:45 a.m.), which lasted for twenty-seven minutes and forty-six seconds. This version is also played much faster than either the Candid or Columbia recordings. Sue Mingus, likewise described an “up-tempo” version of Fables of Faubus performed by Mingus the first night they met at New York’s Five Spot in July, 1964 (*Tonight at Noon*, p. 21). She also claimed that in 1971, *The Great Concert of Charles Mingus* won the Gold Medal Award in France and that the music was eventually pirated, only to become the material for her first Revenge Records album (103).

⁸⁹ This “work-in-progress” approach is similar to Rollins, who recorded “Freedom Suite” over a period of a week and might not of even thought it out completely (as a suite) before doing so (see *note 44* for Orrin Keepnews’s thoughts on this).

public statements, but by performing seven different versions while on tour of Europe in 1964 which included stops in Amsterdam, Norway, Sweden, Germany and France. His insistence on bringing the issues of racial inequality to international audiences suggests an invariability on Mingus's behalf to make his feelings known to a much wider audience, thus intending perhaps to provide the United States with international political pressure to end such atrocities.⁹⁰

Regardless of what his political agenda may have been, "Fables" clearly fits into at least one of Mingus's artistic goals. As the bassist himself once said: "I always thought that no matter what kind of work people did, they should involve themselves totally with all the discrimination they ran into."⁹¹ So, despite the fact that Mingus never physically "ran into" discrimination at Little Rock, Faubus's actions were nonetheless indicative of at least one form of discrimination that African-Americans could encounter at that time, ultimately affecting Mingus as such.

⁹⁰ While this could have been a motivation, it also appears that the song itself indeed had become quite popular, at least to European audiences. As "Fables of Faubus" opens at the 1964 show in Paris, one can hear the audience beginning to applaud. Earlier on the album is the spoken introduction of "Johnny Cole's Trumpet," but for "Fables," no such introduction was recorded. Therefore, it's possible that the audience simply recognized the melody and that Mingus/the band decided to play it because of its known popularity.

⁹¹ Sue Mingus ed., *Charles Mingus: More Than A Fake Book* (New York: Jazz Workshop Inc., 1991), 48.

Max Roach's *We Insist! Freedom Now Suite*

Roach's *We Insist! Freedom Now Suite* was recorded on August 31 and September 6 of 1960. Like Mingus's 1960 recording of "Fables of Faubus," it was recorded for Hentoff's Candid Records, a small label that existed briefly in the early 60s. For Roach, recording for such a label was a significant change from Mercury Records, a much larger label with whom he had been affiliated since 1949.⁹² According to Hentoff's liner notes, the record had begun as a collaboration in 1959 with Chicago writer-singer Oscar Brown Jr. as a "long work" which they planned to perform in 1963 in accordance with the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. However, as Hentoff puts it in the liner notes: "Events in 1960 ["the sit-in demonstrations by Negro students in the South"] affected the content and the direction of the composition..." The sit-in demonstrations seem to have had an impact on Roach that went beyond the completion of this project. According to the February, 1960 issue of *Jazz Review*, "in the Amsterdam News, Max Roach and Art Blakey suggested a jazz concert for the students. As of this

⁹² His earliest appearance with Mercury appears to have been with the Bud Powell Trio which recorded *Piano Solos* (Mercury MG 35012) between January and May of 1949. The timing of his last record for Mercury (*Moon Faced and Starry Eyed* by the Max Roach Sextet (Mercury MG 20539)) even overlaps with the recording of the *Freedom Now Suite* and features both Abbey Lincoln and Julian Priester, both of whom would appear on that album as well.

writing, plans are underway for a similar project.”⁹³ Though there were several concerts “for the students” during the movement (see Benefit Concert Appendix), the one most likely in reference to the latter quote took place at New York’s 369th Regimental Armory during the week of May 26, 1960 and involved none other than Roach himself.⁹⁴

Though the completion of the album was ultimately expedited by the civil rights movement, the five songs on it speak to the *entirety* of the black experience referencing both America and Africa. The first tune, “Driva’ Man,” is also the shortest (5:17) and is about the slave experience in the antebellum South. Vocalist Abbey Lincoln performance of Brown’s lyrics describe the overseer’s violent, controlling and lascivious nature:

“Driva’ Man he made a life, but the Mammie ain’t his wife.
 Choppin’ cotton, don’t be slow. Better finish out your row.
 Keep a movin’ with that plow. Driva’ Man’ll show ya how.
 Get to work and root that stump. Driva’ Man’ll make ya jump.
 Better make your hammer ring. Driva’ Man’ll start to swing.
 Ain’t but two things on my mind: Driva’ Man and quittin’ time.

⁹³ “Jazz In Print,” 38.

⁹⁴ *California Eagle*, May 26, 1960, 18. Here, the concert is referred to as a “Martin Luther King Rally...that benefited the Martin Luther King Defense Fund and aided the Southern sit-in students.” In addition to Roach (who was part of a “fine house band backing the performing artists”), among those in attendance were African drummer Olatunji, singers Sarah Vaughn and Dorothy Dandridge (who co-emceed the event with Sidney Poitier) and actor Harry Belafonte. Unfortunately, nothing was mentioned about how many attended (only that those who did were “representatives from every walk of life”) or how much money was raised for the cause. At least one other concert to specifically benefit the sit-ins was held on April 14, 1961 at New York’s McMillan Theater and was sponsored by Columbia University’s newspaper, “The Owl.” According to the *Amsterdam News* (“Columbia Benefit to Aid Sit-Ins,” Saturday, April 15, 1961, 18), the concert took place at 8 p.m. and included the Herbie Mann Sextet among many others. A follow-up story (“Columbia U. Newspaper Aids Sit-Ins,” Saturday, April 29, 1961, 15) went on to say: “Proceeds from the benefit were sent to the Atlanta headquarters of Dr. King’s freedom drive.”

Driva' Man de kind of boss. Ride a man and lead a horse.
 When his cat o' nine tail fly,⁹⁵ you'd be happy just to die.
 Run away and you'll be found, by his big ol' red bone hound.
 Paddy-roller bring you back. Make you sorry you is black.
 Driva' Man he made a life, but the Mammie ain't his wife.
 Ain't but two things on my mind: Driva' Man and quittin' time.

Sung between tambourine hits, signifying the “ringing hammer,” the first verse of the lyrics are followed by an exhaustedly mournful horn line led by Coleman Hawkins on tenor saxophone, an apt lyrical aid insofar as painting the picture of the intimidating and inhumanely laborious experience of the African-American slave. Also adding color to this picture is Hawkins's subsequent tenor saxophone solo (1:38 – 3:57) intimating both pain and anger through its punctuated phrasing, scooped notes and wailing use of the upper register. Ending the song is a repetition of the first verse of the lyrics followed by the second.

The next song, “Freedom Day” (6:08) is considerably faster. The fast tempo, draped over by a minor blues chord progression, captures both the disbelief and excitement surrounding emancipation. Again, the lyrics leave little to the imagination:

⁹⁵ According to the Webster online dictionary (<http://www.webster-dictionary.org/definition/cat%20o%27%20nine%20tails>), a Cat' o' nine tails is defined as “a whip used as an instrument of punishment consisting of nine pieces of knotted line or cord fastened to a handle; - formerly used to flog offenders on the back; - called also the cat. It was used in the British Navy to maintain discipline on board sailing ships.” Also, the origin of the phrase “the cat's out of the bag” apparently used to mean that someone was going to get punished.

Whisper, listen! Whisper, listen, whisper say we're free.
 Rumors flyin,' must be lyin,' can it really be?
 Can't conceive it, can't believe it, but that's what they say.
 Slave no longer, slave no longer, this is Freedom Day.
 Freedom Day, it's Freedom Day. Throw those shacklin' chains away
 Everybody that I see, says it's really truly free.

Freedom Day, it's Freedom Day. Free to vote and earn my pay.
 Dim my path and hide away. But we made it, Freedom Day.

Similar to "Driva' Man," the first verse of "Freedom Day" is followed by a horn line and then by a solo section. However, the spotlight is broadened considerably to feature Booker Little on trumpet first, followed by Hawkins and then by Julian Priester on trombone and finally Roach, all of whom facilitate the song's impetuous mood through a utilization of fast passages. Once again, the lyrics return to close the song out.

Following "Freedom Day" and continuing the theme of gradual liberation is a three-part song entitled "Triptych: Prayer, Protest, Peace" which, at one time, had accompanied a ballet performed by the Ruth Walton Dancers.⁹⁶ In both "Prayer" and "Peace," the mood is meditative and rather sedate, buttressing a much angrier and forceful "Protest" in which Lincoln unleashes anger in the form of uncontrollable screams. All three pieces were done in a duet featuring Lincoln's voice and Roach on drums with the exception of "Peace" which only briefly features auxiliary percussion. In neither piece are there intelligible lyrics, just vowel sounds which, despite their highly

⁹⁶ Hentoff's liner notes to *We Insist! Freedom Now Suite*

abstract nature, do much to communicate the feelings of each. Here, a sonic hand reaches across cultural and racial boundaries to supply the listener with more of a humanistic interpretation of feeling as opposed to a specifically African-American one.

Whatever kind of extended, a-cultural hand existed in “Triptych” is quickly detracted in the final two pieces, “All Africa” and “Tears for Johannesburg,” which shift their collective foci to the decolonization struggles in Africa. Afro-Cuban players Mantillo and Du Vall, and Nigerian drummer Michael Olatunji take control of the rhythmic reins in “All Africa,” as Olatunji and Lincoln engage in a call and response with the names of African tribes. Here, Lincoln calls the name of the tribe in English as the drummer responds with a saying of each tribe concerning freedom⁹⁷ after which the percussionists solo unaccompanied in a polyrhythmic spree for over four minutes (3:50 – 8:02). First, however, Lincoln sings about the history of the “beat,” the album’s most explicit musical linking of Africans and African-Americans:

The beat has a rich and magnificent history,
full of adventure, excitement and mystery.

Some of it bitter and some of it sweet

but all of it part of the beat.

The beat. The beat.

They say it began with a chant and a hum
and a black hand laid on a native drum.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Transcribed by author.

Lastly, “Tears for Johannesburg” brings the listener historically up to date on the bloody situation in South Africa as a result of apartheid, a situation that had, for years, been a hot topic in the African-American jazz community. When asked his thoughts on the situation there in 1957, jazz saxophonist Cannonball Adderley replied: “That’s the only situation I can think of that’s more ridiculous than the southern U.S.”⁹⁹ Later that year, jazz vibist Lionel Hampton was scheduled to play a concert in London for the Christian Action for South African Trial Fund and readers of Nat Hentoff’s *The Jazz Review* were given the opportunity to contribute to both the South Africa Defense Fund “to help fight racial injustice in The Union of South Africa” and the Union of South African Artists, “a group dedicated to helping African artists.”¹⁰⁰ In fact, according to the same magazine, jazz pianist Dave Brubeck’s “refusal to head an all-white quartet recently cost him ‘the biggest TV booking of [his] career’ and a \$17,000 one-week stand in Johannesburg, South Africa” (Brubeck’s bassist, Eugene Wright, was black).¹⁰¹

For Roach, it seems, the most recent act of violence in that area, the Sharpesville Massacre (March 21, 1960 in which apartheid troops fired on African demonstrators killing nearly 70 and wounding about 180), was alone enough to warrant a song. The piece itself (9:42) is the longest on the album by more than a minute and a half and though mournful in title, maintains an intense drive throughout. It opens briefly with a repeating bass line which is followed by Lincoln who, in similar fashion, provides a repetitive vocal figure building chromatically upon the perfect fourth interval of F - B-flat, tagging it with a descending chromatic line beginning on the F an octave higher. Her

⁹⁹ “Cross Section: Cannonball Adderley,” *Down Beat*, September 5, 1957, 12.

¹⁰⁰ On Hampton’s concert, see “Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, October 31, 1957, 8. On the South Africa Defense Fund see Nat Hentoff, “Jazz in Print,” *The Jazz Review*, June, 1959, 39. On the Union of South African Artists see Hentoff’s “Jazz In Print,” *The Jazz Review*, January, 1960, 36.

¹⁰¹ Nat Hentoff, “Jazz in Print,” *The Jazz Review*, June, 1959, 41.

rich vibrato, skillful use of both the higher and upper registers and ad libitum treatment, with an emphasis on the open vowel sounds of oo and ah, aptly inflect a mournful mood into the driving polyrhythms provided by the percussionists. Following Lincoln is a harmonized soli section from the trumpet, saxophone and trombone (1:33 – 2:43) and then a solo section in the same order of “Freedom Day.” The song is then tied together thematically and structurally with a recapitulation of the harmonized horn soli and ending rather loosely with some free improvisation from the horns fading into silence, a silence that would soon be broken by controversy.

In the early summer of 1962, the government of the Union of South Africa stopped distribution of the album, claiming that its reference in the liner notes to the Sharpsville massacre “might cause trouble here,” which actually seemed to please the fiercely political drummer.¹⁰² Though claiming to have been upset solely at Hentoff’s words, the South African government could also have felt similarly towards Roach who, that same year, provided music from the suite for “World of Strangers/Dilemma,” a 92-minute Danish film shot on location in Johannesburg, “under the noses of South African authorities believing a musical was in production.”¹⁰³ Regardless of exactly who they

¹⁰² “No ‘Freedom Now’ in South Africa,” *Down Beat*, June 21, 1962, 11. The statement, as written by Nat Hentoff: “There is still incredible and bloody cruelty against Africans, as in the Sharpeville massacres of South Africa.” When Roach was told about this, he reportedly said: “It’s good to hear I’m not accepted by the South African government. That’s the best news I’ve had all week.”

¹⁰³ On “under the noses,” see David Meeker, *Jazz In The Movies: A Guide to Jazz Musicians 1917-1977* (London: Talisman Books, 1977), entry #502 (no page numbers). In fact, as the final part of the closing credits, this statement appears: “The film was shot entirely in Johannesburg without asking permission from the South African authorities.” The music for the film was done by Gideon Nxomalo (also an actor in the movie) and Max Roach. In the movie, original excerpts of “Tears” play at several points throughout, implying that they were either improvised and/or recorded specially for the movie. Lincoln’s introductory vocals for “Tears” are heard first during the opening credits. A little later, a percussion solo excerpt from “Tears” plays, tagged with the recurrent bass line. The horn soli from the song also sounds briefly in the background during a smoking scene (cigarettes), which is soon followed by a scene in town square that features “Tears” solos from both the trombone and drums. Lincoln’s vocals also appear near the end of the movie, turning into violent screams as one of the characters is beaten to death (supposedly the transition from Prayer to Peace during “Triptych”). What sounds like Lincoln’s voice can also be heard at different

were mad at and why, the South African government would eventually lift the ban in September but not without first making clear how controversial the issue of race relations and cultured responses to racism had become, and not just in the United States.

Roach's choices for sidemen on this album are significant to the album's overall message and also give it broad appeal. Bridging both modern and older jazz styles, Roach includes himself on drums and the young trumpet star Booker Little alongside the veteran tenor saxophonist Coleman Hawkins. He even features Nigerian drummer Olatunji (who appears courtesy of Columbia Records) on several of the tunes. Most featured, however, is vocalist Abbey Lincoln (Roach's wife at the time). Along with the songs themselves, which speak to both the African/African-American past and present, the careers and national origins of his sidemen effectively represent a microcosm of the international black community, implying that as long as one is black, he/she can relate to what's being said.

Though conceived as a performance piece, unfortunately, only scant descriptions of the *Freedom Now Suite's* visual nature exists. Of the few is a letter to *Down Beat* from Gay Eddson of Fort Wayne, Indiana, who claimed to have been "one of the many" who attended the NAACP Convention in Philadelphia at which Roach performed the suite in July of 1961. A "member of the 'black' race" whose mind "thinks in all colors," Eddson focused on vague descriptions of Abbey Lincoln's "attempt to be as unattractive as possible in order to emphasize the poor 'black woman' (her words) in an effort to

points during the movie, but not singing songs from the album (Lincoln is listed in the closing credits under "vocals" along with "Sophy" and "Ben Masinga."). Also, at several different points during the movie, a visible jazz sextet (alto saxophone, tenor saxophone, trombone, piano, bass and drums) plays behind African vocals (under "band leaders" in the closing credits is "MacKay Davashe & Max Roach."). All in all, jazz, in various forms, figures prominently throughout the movie, constituting its entire soundtrack.

disguise her own personal insecurity and misguided race pride.”¹⁰⁴ The most comprehensive account instead appears to come from *Variety* concert reviewer “Bill” (April 12, 1961 - Jazz Gallery, N.Y.), who claimed that “Protest” involved “some angry anguished writhing” from “terpers [short for terpsichoreans] Helena Walquer and Charles Moore” and that “Tears for Johannesburg” “ends with the dancers gunned down by staccato drums to blinking lights.”



Fig. 6.1 – Cover of *We Insist! Freedom Now Suite*

While we may be left with little visual detail by which to imagine the suite, the cover of the album at least provides some unique insights into the minds of its creators in that moment’s racial climate. Gracing the album cover is what Hentoff described as a

¹⁰⁴ “Chords and Dischords,” May 10, 1962, 3.

“wire service photo” of college students performing an actual sit-in.¹⁰⁵ Three black men sit at a lunch counter with their heads turned back towards the camera helping to communicate the album’s “confrontational sense of urgency”¹⁰⁶ while, behind the counter is a white worker, also gazing at the lens, dressed in soda jerk garb complete with white shirt, bow tie and paper hat and holding what appears to be a balled-up rag in his hands. He is at work yet not at work and both his look and body language suggest helplessness and impatience. The actions of his aspiring customers threaten a way of life that he, at least as a worker, has known for a long time. While he may not necessarily agree with the idea of segregated lunch counters, he is doing nothing to stop it and seems simply to desire a change in the current situation so that he may get back to work.

His glowingly white appearance in the background is offset by the blackness of the two customers’ suits in the foreground, flanking him from the service side of the counter. Such a triangle formation is reminiscent of “the pyramid and the eye,” which symbolized Thomas Jefferson’s idea of “the wall of separation” between church and state and appears on the reverse side of the American one-dollar bill. Though I do not suggest there is a direct relationship between the two, there does appear to be both an ideological “wall of separation” here and ones of a physical sense (the lunch counter, race, and even money itself) as well. Also, while the glowing eye above Jefferson’s pyramid is the focus and has traditionally represented “providence favoring our undertakings” as a nation, the soundness and focus of the photo’s triangle instead is the two black customers in dark suits that form its base. They are clean-cut, sophisticated and college educated

¹⁰⁵ Phone interview with Nat Hentoff, conducted on January 19, 2005 at approximately 10:30 a.m. Hentoff wasn’t sure, though, whether or not this photograph was from Greensboro, North Carolina, only that it was of an actual sit-in.

¹⁰⁶ Saul, *Freedom Is, Freedom Ain’t*, 94. On the following page, Saul claims the photograph to have been taken in Greensboro at Woolworth’s, the very place the sit-in movement began.

with high aspirations for their lives that certainly don't likely include work as a waiter or soda jerk. Not only do the black customers outnumber the worker, the looks on their faces imply that the only change they'd be willing to settle for is one of equal opportunity and it doesn't look like it'll happen any time soon. All three are wearing suits and at least the first two are reading at the counter as well. Their hair is cut short and they even all sport mustaches in an outward display of ideological unity, a protest uniform of sorts. The man on the far left even sports a pinky ring at the viewer. These are clearly not just ordinary men, but men of sophistication and a strong sense of duty, taking time out of their important schedules to fight against segregation in a working-class diner. Again, like Rollins's cover, the looks from these men are ones of defiance that assert their human dignity, clearly denoting them as in control of the situation. There is neither a police nor pro-segregation protesting presence in this photo, nothing to suggest that what these men are fighting for is wrong in any way.

Though there are three customers altogether, the emphasis is clearly on the one on the viewer's left and the one in the middle. Aside from his face, the customer to the far right's light-colored suit not only sets him apart but marginalizes him further as it blends much easier into the background of the diner. Here, blackness emphasizes blackness and vice-versa. Therefore, one may interpret his presence, though marginalized from "the triangle," much like Rollins's directionalized body, as representing a futuristic unified vision.

All in all, *We Insist! Freedom Now Suite* has been called many things: "perhaps the strongest political statement made by jazz musicians at the turn of the decade," "a powerful primal scream dedicated to black plight, from Johannesburg to Harlem," and

even the “most ambitious response” made by jazz performers to the civil rights movement.¹⁰⁷ No matter what people called it, it was lauded by *Down Beat* (they gave it a five-star rating [the highest it gives] and put it on both its Jazz Record Buyer’s Guide and Christmas Shopper’s LP Guide in 1961) and performed at several fund raising events for civil rights organizations (see below).

The suite itself premiered at New York’s Village Gate on January 15, 1961, sponsored by CORE, and in July of the same year was performed before the NAACP’s national convention in Philadelphia, where it was decided to take the act on the road. Plans for the tour began forming the following month and were proposed for as many as seventeen cities, including some in the Deep South. There was even talk of providing charter service for the band by a “Freedom Plane.”¹⁰⁸ Though it is known that Roach, along with Abbey Lincoln did play a NAACP benefit for the St. Louis branch on November 12, 1961 (Eighth Annual Concert-Tea at the Kiel Auditorium),¹⁰⁹ such a large-scale tour appears not to have materialized. Regardless, Roach’s “Freedom Now Suite” continued to cause a sensation. As did Mingus, Roach would continue to perform the *Freedom Now Suite* for several years. He eventually took the act overseas in 1964 and was even scheduled to perform it live at Penn State University as late as January 1965.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ On “perhaps the strongest political statement,” see Eric Porter, 167. On “a powerful primal scream” see Barry Davis, “A Jazz Singer By Many Names,” *The Jerusalem Post*, Wednesday, October 4, 2000. Culture Music Article. The article is mainly about Abbey Lincoln. On “most ambitious response,” see <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/aaohhtml/exhibit/aopart9.html>

¹⁰⁸ “Strictly Ad Lib,” *Down Beat*, August 31, 1961, 44 and “Freedom Now Suite May Go On Tour,” *Down Beat*, October 12, 1961, 13.

¹⁰⁹ “What the Branches Are Doing - Missouri,” *The Crisis*, January, 1962, 41.

¹¹⁰ On the January tour, see “Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, February 13, 1964, 10. According to this piece, “On Jan. 2, he [George Wein] left for Europe with the Max Roach Quartet (Roach, drums; Clifford Jordan, tenor saxophone; Coleridge Perkinson, piano; Eddie Khan, bass) and singer Abbey Lincoln (Mrs. Roach). The husband-wife team performed the *Freedom Now Suite* in Denmark, Sweden, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and France before returning to New York on Jan. 23.” According to the April 23 issue of the same year, a segment from that tour was aired on Dutch television (“Strictly Ad

Unlike Mingus, though, nothing of major significance about the songs, including title and length, seems to have been altered over the years implying that Roach was treating the *Freedom Now Suite* solely as a vehicle for socio-political commentary and not as a musical work in progress.

Lib - Europe”). According to www.jazzdiscography.com, the stops in Stockholm and Copenhagen (January 14) featured songs from the album which have been released by the Magnetic label. Also, “Triptych: Prayer, Protest, Peace” was recorded as part of a live radio broadcast from Rome on April 27, 1968. The album from that concert is entitled *Sounds As A Roach* and has been released on both the Joker and Crown labels. For the show at Penn State, see “Strictly Ad Lib - Potpourri,” *Down Beat*, January 28, 1965, 12.

Art Blakey's "The Freedom Rider"

Before discussing Art Blakey's "The Freedom Rider" musically, it is important to know of its specific historical context. In November 1955, the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) had banned racial segregation on interstate travel and in the winter of 1960, the U.S. Supreme Court had decided (*Boynton v. Virginia* – argued October 12, 1960, decided December 5, 1960) that segregation in buses, trains and their terminals was unconstitutional. However, state laws in the South ordered otherwise. Co-organized by two sit-in movement veterans, Tom Gaither and Gordon Carey, the goal of the Freedom Rides was to find out once and for all if the U.S. government was going to be so bold as to back up its own decision. Plans called for two buses (one a Trailways bus and the other a Greyhound), occupied by a diverse group of both blacks and whites, to leave from Washington D.C. on May 4, 1961 and visit rest stops and bus terminals in the South before arriving in New Orleans on the 17th of that month. That arrival date and location was set as both a celebration of the seventh anniversary of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision and a duplication of Gandhi's own march to the sea. However, the riders would suffer some major setbacks.

After several riders had been physically assaulted in Rock Hill, South Carolina (among them, John Lewis who remembers being “met by a group of white young men that beat us and hit us, knocked us out.”¹¹¹), they made their way into Atlanta before leaving for Birmingham, Alabama on May 14. Two hours before arriving in Birmingham, however, the riders made a stop in Anniston, Alabama that would almost cost them their lives. The first bus to arrive was the Trailways which was boarded by Klansmen who beat some of the passengers and ordered the bus to drive on to Birmingham with the passengers still on board. The second bus would never make it that far. After observing “a mob of white men...[who] had their weapons – pistols, guns, blackjacks, clubs, chains, knives – all in plain evidence,”¹¹² the decision was made to continue driving for the safety of the passengers, but not before members of the mob were able to slash the tires of the bus and bring it to a halt on the outskirts of town. The mob then proceeded to surround the bus, hold the door shut and hurl a firebomb into it through a window which soon engulfed the vehicle in flames. Photographs of the burned bus quickly made it into national papers.¹¹³ The riders would never make it to New Orleans. Their ride would end just twenty days after it had begun in Jackson, Mississippi, but they were ultimately successful in their main goal. That summer, Robert Kennedy would successfully petition the ICC for regulations banning segregation on the interstates.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Harry Hampton and Steve Fayer, *Voices of Freedom: An Oral History of the Civil Rights Movement from the 1950s through the 1980s* (New York: Bantam Books, 1990), 77.

¹¹² Ibid, p. 79. This recollection comes from James Farmer, director of CORE at the time.

¹¹³ Ibid, p. 82. Diane Nash, a member of SNCC who did not take place in the freedom rides would later say: “When that bus was burned in Alabama, it was though we had been attacked.”

¹¹⁴ “ICC Asked For Set of Bus Rules,” *The Washington Post*, May 30, 1961, A5. According to this article (Associated Press), Kennedy began the petition on Monday, May 30 asking that “regulations be drawn to include such terminal facilities as waiting rooms, rest rooms and restaurants” and for the ICC to move “as expeditiously as practical.”

Blakey's "Freedom Rider" is an intense a cappella drum solo that indeed captures the essence of those events. The title track of a Blue Note album (Blue Note – 21287) made by Art Blakey & The Jazz Messengers (Lee Morgan, trumpet; Wayne Shorter, tenor saxophone; Bobby Timmons, piano; Jymie Merritt, bass; Blakey, drums), "The Freedom Rider" was recorded on May 27, 1961, only 23 days after the Freedom Rides began and just three days after the initial rides had ended, representing, as liner note author Nat Hentoff puts it, "Art's immediate reaction to the explosive growth of the civil rights movement"¹¹⁵

"The Freedom Rider" was most likely played on Blakey's "Red Sparkle" Gretsch drum set, a standard set which consisted of one 20" × 14" bass drum, one 12" × 8" tom tom, one 14" × 14" tom tom, one 14" × 5 1/2" snare drum, and "genuine K. Zildjian cymbals"¹¹⁶ (at least a hi-hat and one crash), all of which Blakey uses to good effect. Lasting a total of seven minutes and twenty-five seconds, he begins the solo with an ominous tone created by a series of loose rolls on the lower-pitched floor toms and hits on the crash cymbal (0:00 – 0:27) as if to indicate the coming trouble faced by the freedom riders before leaving Washington. After this introduction, however, Blakey's solo sonically renders the freedom riders' utter determination and defiance through the steady fast tempo of 145 beats per minute (held together by a consistent snapping of the hi-hat).¹¹⁷ Near the end of the solo, Blakey gradually decrescendos, implying a sense of

¹¹⁵ Though the official "rides" had ended, the story continued to make news as more groups with the same goals kept pouring into the South.

¹¹⁶ *Down Beat*, June 8, 1961, 51 – full-page ad for Gretsch drums featuring Art Blakey. In addition to detailing his drum set, the caption of the photo reads: "You know it when the famous leader of the Jazz Messengers, Birdland regular, Art Blakey plays his Gretsch Drums on his latest Blue Note album."

¹¹⁷ Such determination was perhaps epitomized by Freedom Rider and mob victim Jim Zwerg who had this to say from his hospital bed: "Segregation must be stopped. It must be broken down. Those of us who are on the Freedom Rides will continue... We are dedicated to this. We will take hitting. We'll take beatings.

hopelessness, but just when you think the freedom riders have given up, Blakey builds back from nothingness to briefly end the solo just as it began.

One of the most amazing aspects of this piece is its coherent structure. Not only does it end as it begins, Blakey also provides a clear motivic sequence of high versus low hits on the toms that is recurrent throughout as a theme and variations, similar to what Rollins had done with the opening melody of “The Freedom Suite.” Because so much of the Freedom Rides can be understood in terms of binaries - integration versus segregation, perpetual versus interrupted motion (buses), peace (Washington D.C. at the start of the rides) versus war (Rock Hill, SC and Anniston, AL, notably), U.S. Government versus U.S. Supreme Court, etc. - it would be problematic, indeed, for anyone to try and directly associate such a motif/technique with a specific event. In fact, as a veteran drummer and soloist, it is fair to say that Blakey was simply infusing techniques he had been using for a long time into his solo, therefore complicating this issue even further. However, one needs not attempt such a task to feel its anxious and defiant tone, emotions surely felt by the riders themselves.

Biographer Leslie Gourse describes the song as “an exceptionally well-controlled, tightly constructed, and subtle drum solo,” which “communicates so well because of its deliberate understatement and absence of malice and hostility.”¹¹⁸ However, in reference to the latter statement, Hentoff appears to disagree. While referring to it as “remarkable,” “intense” and “prodigious,” Hentoff saw it as a seamless augmentation of the civil rights struggle. Instead of a “deliberate understatement and absence of malice and hostility,” Hentoff heard “fire” and a “whirlpool of emotions” marking “the winds of change

We’re willing to accept death.” (Juan Williams, *Eyes On the Prize: America’s Civil Rights Years, 1954-1965* (New York: Viking, 1987), 155.)

¹¹⁸ Leslie Gourse, *Art Blakey: Jazz Messenger* (New York: Schirmer Trade Books, 2002), 82.

sweeping the country, the resistance to that change, and the pervasive conviction of the Freedom Riders that ‘We Shall Not Be Moved.’”¹¹⁹

No one seems to know for sure whether the solo was pre-composed or completely improvised but, considering the historical context, both seem possible. Blakey and his group, it is known, were certainly quite active around the time of this recording. On April 17, 1961 Blakey and the Jazz Messengers were scheduled to perform a benefit concert for the Negro American Labor Council in New York and shortly thereafter left to tour Europe until mid-May of 1961.¹²⁰ Soon after returning from the tour, Blakey was the master of ceremonies at the annual “Gretsch Drum Night At Birdland”¹²¹ and, just three days after “The Freedom Rider” was recorded, his group supposedly began a week-long stay (May 30 – June 5) at Abart’s Internationale in Washington D.C.¹²² Just over a week after that, the group entered the studio yet again to record new material for the album *A La Mode* for Impulse (A-7). All of this was even done amid the fact that Blakey, himself, was on the board of a recently formed non-profit organization called the Jazz Arts Society.¹²³

To know of this activity is important, for it places “The Freedom Rider” in the middle of a heavy schedule, a virtual whirlwind of both social and musical activity on the

¹¹⁹ From Hentoff’s liner notes. In this latter quote, Hentoff likens the piece to the defiant emotionality of “We Shall Not Be Moved,” a common freedom song for civil rights activists.

¹²⁰ “Art Blakey, Dakota At NALC Salute,” *Amsterdam News*, Saturday, April 15, 1961, 18. As for the tour, there was even an album recorded from it on May 13 entitled *In Concert, Paris Olympia* (RTE 1502 (vol. 1 & 2) and RTE 710571 (vol. 3).

¹²¹ *Down Beat*, June 8, 1961, p. 11. Here, there is a photograph of Blakey speaking into the ear of fellow drummer (who is also playing at the time), Philly Jo Jones. The caption reads: “Blakey was master of ceremonies...taking part in the drum marathon last month.”

¹²² “Strictly Ad Lib - Washington,” *Down Beat*, June 22, 1961, 52. *The Washington Post* does not report on the Jazz Messengers’ gig there. However, it is interesting to note that, on the very day it began, supporters of the Freedom Riders picketed in front of the White House. Given such circumstances, I think it is likely that “The Freedom Rider” was performed at Abart’s. For more information on the demonstration, see “White House Pickets Support Bus Riders,” *The Washington Post*, Wednesday, May 31, 1961, A4.

¹²³ “Dizzy Heads Board For Jazz Society,” *Amsterdam News*, Saturday, April 29, 1961, 15.

drummer's behalf. Blakey would have returned from his European tour shortly after the Anniston incident (which may well have posed the question for him: "Just what am I coming back to?"), yet he never chose to join the Freedom Riders in their quest. Surely he was aware of how violent the situation had become and that many Freedom Riders were being put in jail, in which case, his decision not to join them could solely have been one of pragmatism given his musical commitments.¹²⁴ In fact, in 1943, Blakey seems to have had an experience eerily similar to that of the Freedom Riders:

...I took the band, and I went out on the road...We drove to Albany, Georgia, and I had some problems down there with the police and got beat up. They put a plate in my head. Boy, we fought like dogs down there, and I'm lucky to be alive in Georgia at that time...At that time the South was very rough.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Aside from scheduling conflicts, the physical effects that beating would have on his career could have also been enough to dissuade Blakey from joining them. As an example of one such decision, Louis Armstrong was once asked why he didn't take part in freedom marches and had this to say: "They'd only smash my face so that I couldn't use my trumpet...My mission is music." (*Toronto Telegram*, March 11, 1965). Nat King Cole, though generous in his monetary donations to the movement, was also against such participation. In a 1963 interview with Los Angeles magazine, *The Sentinel*, Cole claimed: "If I thought it would do some good, I'd cancel some of the shows I had to do, lose thousands of dollars, and join Dr. Martin Luther King and other integration leaders in my native state of Alabama." Cole later added that the idea that "entertainers should lead the way" was "idiotic" since "in our way, we do bring about a lot of changes, and often-times set the stage for persons and organizations dedicated solely to day-by-day efforts to put integration into action" ("Cole Disclaims Entertainers' Role in Integration Fight," *Down Beat*, July 4, 1963, 11).

¹²⁵ Wayne Enstice and Paul Rubin, *Jazz Spoken Here: Conversations with 22 Musicians* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1994), 21. This is an excerpt from an interview with Blakey, conducted and recorded by Enstice in 1976. Unfortunately, Blakey doesn't relay exactly what led to the incident, but on the same page, he adds: "Well, after that episode down there with the police, I got very sick and ended up in Boston and met the band there. And I got sick, and I stayed – because of that blow to the head. I stayed there for a year or so." According to Leslie Gourse's biography of Blakey, the incident took place in 1943 while he was with Fletcher Henderson's band as part of an "extensive tour of the Midwest and South." (31). In Art Taylor's *Notes and Tones*, Blakey put the Georgia incident this way: "I had a big fight down there. I went there to join Smack (Fletcher Henderson) with a white boy. This was before the ride in the back of the bus and all that...We got beaten up because I didn't understand the white police down there. I ended up with a steel plate in my head, and I was told it would shorten my life, but it didn't work out that way. I was arrested for being black, for being a nigger; that's what I was charged with." (240).

Regardless of why he didn't join the riders, Blakey still felt an obligation to pay homage to them. His decision to title the track "The Freedom **Rider**" was then, perhaps, his way of doing both - an empathetic expression of metaphysical union.

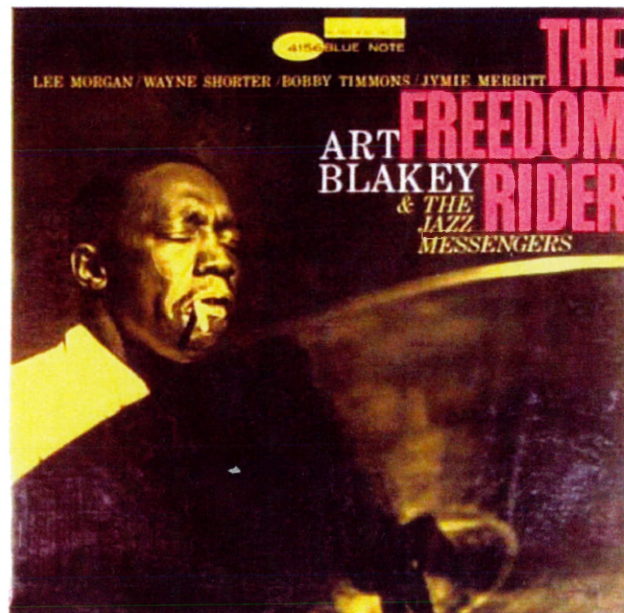


Fig. 7.1 – Cover of Art Blakey's *The Freedom Rider*

On the cover of the album is a close-up photograph of Blakey, taken by Blue Note co-founder Francis Wolff. Though the underside of a cymbal appears prominently in the foreground, the focus is clearly on the drummer's exhausted looking face. With closed eyes and a slightly furrowed brow, Blakey sits at his drum set amid a small puff of smoke rising from the cigarette, which dangles loosely from his down-turned mouth. His arms are not visible but one might surmise that he is in the middle of playing and, despite a look of physical pain, in an abyss of internalized focus. Whatever noises may be

surrounding Blakey, it is clear that he is listening hard while they instigate a deep, emotional reaction, stirring a seemingly endless source of creative torrent. Here, the viewer is offered a unique glimpse into the symbiotic absorption and ejection cycle of emotion and energy in the form of sound which is exactly what an improvising jazz musician does best. Though there is no extant running visual footage of a “Freedom Rider” performance, Wolff’s photograph provides a look at what an audience might well have seen.

In the end, however, Blakey would never again record “The Freedom Rider” and there seems to exist no proof that it was ever performed live, which suggests it was simply the product of an immediate emotional context. Given the nature of the event, it is possible that he either premiered it or simply came up with the idea for the solo at the Gretsch drum battle in New York and then performed it for the first time in the studio. However, if it was played anywhere live, it seems most likely that it was done at Abart’s, and even if there, to a relatively small audience.¹²⁶ Either way, it remains today perhaps the most short-lived piece in the Jazz Messenger repertoire.

¹²⁶ Tony Gieske, “Accent on Abart’s: There Is a Home For Jazz Downtown,” *The Washington Post*, Sunday, June 11, 1961, G4. Though the piece is more about the founding and founders of the club, it does eventually note: “Abart’s seats 130 persons.” Speaking in terms of the owners and the relative difficulty they’ve had running the place, the article adds, “Complicating their problem are two factors. First, the neighborhood trade – 9th and U sts. is not a very prosperous neighborhood – often maintains that it never realized it was going to have to pay quality money for a quality performance.” These factors, plus the fact that there never appears to have been an advertisement in this paper for the Blakey gigs, might have contributed to a small audience at most.

Jazz and Race

In the two-and-one-half years between Blakey's recording of "The Freedom Rider" and saxophonist John Coltrane's "Alabama," civil rights issues continued to significantly affect the social landscape of the jazz community. Along with a slight spike in the number of jazz concerts benefiting civil rights causes (see concert appendix), the most obvious examples of this at the time were in a printed medium. First, was *Down Beat's* two-part series entitled "Racial Prejudice in Jazz" that appeared in the March 15 (pp. 20-26) and 29 (pp. 22-25) issues, 1962.¹²⁷ These articles were prompted in large part by white jazz critic Ira Gitler's review of Abbey Lincoln's album *Straight Ahead* (*Down Beat*, November 9, 1961), in which, along with giving it the low rating of two stars, he accused Lincoln of being a "professional Negro." In other words, as he put it, she was "leaning too much on her Negritude in this album" which, he claimed adversely affected the musical content. The format of the article was a transcribed bi-racial panel discussion between Gitler, Lincoln, her husband Max Roach, Bill Coss (associate editor of *Down*

¹²⁷ Not to give *Down Beat* full credit for this idea, it should be noted that Nat Hentoff had written a similar article entitled "Race Prejudice in Jazz: it works both ways" that appeared in *Harper's Magazine*, June, 1959, 72-77. Here, Hentoff follows the history of jazz, giving examples of both Jim Crow and Crow Jim (blacks discriminating against whites) as "an undercover antagonism [that] has divided the world of jazz since its beginnings" (72). The *Down Beat* article actually comes to read much like a "play" version of this piece, thus indicating Hentoff as a conceptual instigator.

Beat), white bandleader Don Ellis, Argentine composer-pianist Lalo Schifrin, record producer-writer Nat Hentoff (also the author of *Straight Ahead*'s liner notes), and then editor of *Down Beat*, Don DeMicheal.¹²⁸ In what the magazine itself called a “heated discussion,” these panelists battled over rights to racial spokespersonship, the role of the critic as “psychoanalyst,” and the lengths to which art should be racially substantive.¹²⁹

Just over a year later (April 11, 1963), *Down Beat* published a very similar article entitled “The Need For Racial Unity In Jazz: A Panel Discussion” (pp. 16-21). For this, much less-heated discussion, a completely different bi-racial panel was chosen from the West Coast that included bandleaders George Shearing, Gerald Wilson and Red Mitchell, James Tolbert (president of the Hollywood-Beverly Hills Chapter of the NAACP), Leonard Feather (“*Down Beat* contributing editor, long-time jazz commentator and fighter of racial discrimination”), and John Tynan (“*Down Beat* associate editor in Los Angeles”). However similar in format, this article couldn’t have differed more from its predecessor in attitude and focus. Whereas “Racial Prejudice in Jazz” focused on the differences between the black and white races, this piece attempted to put more of a positive spin on things by calling for action among musicians to fight racial discrimination and to laud them as “living examples that integration works.” Much of the discussion didn’t spotlight individuals, choosing instead to shift the focus on the role of unions in the process of integration and blaming the American Federation of Musicians

¹²⁸ Perhaps part of the reason this article was thought to have been a good idea is because of the offense taken by the Afro-American Musician Society of Gitler’s review. According to the January 4, 1962 issue of *Down Beat* (“Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” 10), because of his review, its members were “asked to sign a petition denouncing Gitler and requesting his immediate dismissal from the magazine.” However, as it adds, “It was interesting to note the lack of petition-signers.” The piece even directs readers to more Gitler record reviews. Also, page 20 of part one describes the collective panel as “the few; the many who recognize the situation as one that will be resolved with understanding on both sides.”

¹²⁹ Incidentally, a tape-recording of the discussion was made with which the Canadian Broadcasting Company used to film a 30-minute television documentary, scheduled to have been shown “throughout Canada” on April 1 (see “CBC TO Telecast Prejudice in Jazz Discussion,” *Down Beat*, April 12, 1962, 11).

(AFM) specifically of being a bureaucratic and “conservative organization” that hasn’t done enough to amalgamate segregated locals.

Finally, just months before authoring the liner notes for John Coltrane’s *Live at Birdland* (which contained “Alabama”), Afro-centrist LeRoi Jones wrote an article entitled “Jazz and the White Critic: A Provocative Essay On The Situation Of Jazz Criticism” that appeared in the August 15, 1963 issue of *Down Beat* (pp. 16-17, 34). For Jones, that “situation” was simply fraught with counter-intuition. “Most jazz critics have been white Americans, but most important jazz musicians have not been,” he succinctly states in the opening sentence. Jones also explains that to truly understand jazz is to understand the black experience in America, and he uses this to weigh levy upon white middle-class jazz critics who not only are “anything but intellectuals” but ethno-centrists who can’t possibly understand jazz unless they ask “why” it sounds the way it does. Though most of the blame for the state of jazz criticism is laid upon these white critics, Jones, it should be noted, does point the finger at the black middle-class as well, claiming that their desire to become “vague, featureless Americans” has kept them from fully appreciating and celebrating the beauty of jazz and led them to treat it as a repressed socio-economic memory or, as Jones puts it: a “skeleton...locked in the closet of his psyche – along with watermelons and gin – and whose rattling caused him no end of misery and self-hatred.”¹³⁰

All three of these articles show that again, when it came to matters concerning race and equal opportunity, opinions among members of the jazz community were quite diverse. However, also important is that they all had something else in common: a

¹³⁰ For a more in-depth look at this argument, see pp. 122-141 of Jones’s book *Blues People* (New York: Williams Morrow and Company, 1963). Here, he devotes an entire chapter to the subject entitled “Enter the Middle Class.”

discussion on the existence of Jim Crow (white against black) racism in jazz and the admittance, albeit to a much lesser extent, of reverse racism, or Crow Jim as it was called.¹³¹ Such a claim of reverse racism, and even then mainly based on whites' perceived inability to "swing," seemed to effectively place the cultural propriety of jazz squarely in the hands of African-Americans, a position rarely disputed by either race, despite the high number of talented white jazz musicians.¹³² In this light, jazz came to stand, as almost all art seems to do, in unwavering opposition to the forces of capitalism, thus endearing it ideologically (if not already, musically) to those inclined to socialism, most notably Frank Kofsky.¹³³ That there was, as civil rights activists often called it, a "white power structure" within the world of jazz at this time is accurate. Indeed, whites did then maintain a firm grip upon the more capitalist aspects of the art; those that most manipulated the dissemination of ideas about the music: jazz criticism, magazine

¹³¹ Here, the term is mainly being used to describe the acts of not hiring white jazz players into bands on account of their perceived inability to "swing." Jones claimed that Crow Jim "has not been as menacing or as evident" in comparison to the acculturated ignorance of the white critic (16). In "Racial Prejudice in Jazz," Gitler twice mentions it, despite Lincoln's view that it didn't exist. In the first installment, he referred to it as being "not the powerful thing Jim Crow is, but it's a term that means something" (25) and then, in part two, "it exists, but it's not a force like Jim Crow" (24). Leonard Feather, in "The Need for Racial Unity in Jazz," said of Crow Jim: "...even though we oppose it, we have to concern ourselves with the far greater and more prevalent evil of Jim Crow, which if it hadn't existed, could not have led to the Crow Jim situation as it is now" (19). Red Mitchell, on the next page, then responded with: "The thing about Crow Jim is that it probably exists in a ratio of, say, 1 to 10 compared with Jim Crow..."

¹³² Seeming to capture the essence of a popular white feeling at the time was Gitler's quote from "Racial Prejudice in Jazz" (part one, 26): "Look, granted the American Negro has been the most important person in jazz since its beginning, but the individual white musician – if he comes from a certain environment, or if he has it within himself – can be equally great..."

¹³³ see two of his books, *Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970) and *Black Music White Business* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1998) for a better understanding of his views. In *Black Music White Business*, he summarizes the general aim of all of his work: "an exploration of the principal contradiction in jazz – that between music created by black artists on the one hand and controlled by white businessmen on the other" (88). Kofsky accepts LeRoi Jones's claim that to be black automatically makes one a "nonconformist" in this country and that his position as a Marxist in a capitalistic society grants him the same title, hence a more credible voice when it comes to understanding their plight.

publication, artist management,¹³⁴ record production, and club ownership. While it should be known that, within such a system, there did exist whites that used their power subversively, on behalf of black Americans,¹³⁵ the importance of such a realization cannot be underestimated, for it set the stage for jazz musicians to make clear decisions concerning their future. For example, would their practice favor artistic innovation and beauty before promoting racial issues, or vice versa? Again, the pitched battle between Ira Gitler and Abbey Lincoln (and, to a certain extent, Max Roach) symbolizes the festering wound this had created, a wound Hentoff seemed intent on treating preemptively. While Roach and Lincoln argued that they were creating innovative and beautiful art that promoted racial issues, Gitler felt otherwise. In the end, compromise seemed the only logical decision. If whites would cede cultural propriety of jazz to African-Americans generally, blacks would have to likewise admit that integration has significantly contributed to the identity and development of the art form, thus problematizing the *perpetuation* of the proprietary argument. Seeming eventually to have sided with the former of the two choices was Max Roach who, by defining integration, ended the two-part series on a rather optimistic note: “It means let’s take these problems and solve them together.”

In this way, jazz clearly mirrored the civil rights movement, though it should be noted that egalitarianism had persisted in jazz longer than in most other areas of society -

¹³⁴ A telling example of this appears on p. 42 of *Down Beat*, April 17, 1958. Here, there is a full-page ad for Associated Booking Corporation (an agency that “present[ed] the foremost artists in the world”), whose president was Louis Armstrong’s white agent, Joe Glaser. Listed in the ad are 180 jazz musicians/groups that included Sonny Rollins, Charles Mingus and Max Roach, and the fact that ABC has offices in “Hollywood, Miami Beach, New York City, Las Vegas and Chicago.”

¹³⁵ Here, the career of Nat Hentoff, particularly in the late 50s and early 60s, cannot be a better example. His production of the Candid record label and publication of *The Jazz Review* were symbolic of his view that an understanding and appreciation of jazz goes hand-in-hand with the exposure and celebration of its African-American roots, especially in the blues and gospel idioms. In his eyes, it seems, this was a way to give an authenticated voice to the history of jazz.

notably public schools (1954) and major league baseball (1947). However ironic it sounds, racism played a large part in the *creation* of jazz--the Supreme Court's ruling in Plessy vs. Ferguson (1896 – in favor of legally enforced segregation) actually helped homogenize the blacks and Creoles in turn-of-the-century New Orleans--but, nevertheless, as early as the late twenties and certainly by the early sixties, attitudes about race and jazz seemed to come full circle. In the midst of all this vocalized and rhetorical clatter came one of a catastrophic and more physical nature.

John Coltrane's "Alabama"

At 10:22 a.m. on Sunday, September 15, 1963, the basement of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama was bombed by local Ku Klux Klan members Robert Edward Chamblis, Bobby Frank Cherry and Tommy Blanton.¹³⁶ When the dust settled, it was discovered that four African-American girls (Denise McNair, Carole Robertson, Cynthia Wesley and Addie Mae Collins) had been killed. Because of the many similar attacks in recent years, the city had come to be known simply as "Bombingham" and one Negro section, even, as "Dynamite Hill."¹³⁷ This particular bombing came just several months after Martin Luther King Jr. had launched an aggressive integration campaign in the city and eighteen days after the March on Washington. Indeed, the city of Birmingham, Alabama had become the focus of the nation's unwavering attention on the civil rights struggle. In response to the bombing,

¹³⁶ Diane McWhorter, *Carry Me Home: Birmingham, Alabama: The Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001), 23, 586.

¹³⁷ On "Dynamite Hill," see Karl Fleming, "Birmingham: My God, You're Not Even Safe in Church," *Newsweek*, September 20, 1963 [*Reporting Civil Rights Part Two: American Journalism 1963 – 1973* (New York: Library of America, 2003), 26-33 (28)].

tens of thousands of Americans were moved into action,¹³⁸ among them, jazz saxophonist John Coltrane.

From October 22 to at least November 4, the John Coltrane Quartet (John Coltrane, saxophone; McCoy Tyner, piano; Jimmy Garrison, bass; Elvin Jones, drums) had been overseas on a European tour that included stops in Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Holland, France and Germany.¹³⁹ Less than two weeks after his return, on November 18, 1963, Coltrane recorded a song entitled “Alabama,” which he had composed as a memorial to the fallen girls. Though not a *live* recording, it, along with “Your Lady,” was paired with three other tunes (“The Promise,” “I Want to Talk About You,” and “Afro Blue”) that were recorded live at New York’s jazz club Birdland and released on *Coltrane Live at Birdland* for Impulse (AS-50). However, to LeRoi Jones, author of the album’s liner notes, that’s mere rhetorical liturgy: “All the music on this album is *Live*, whether it was recorded above drinking and talk at Birdland, in the studio. There is a daringly human quality to John Coltrane’s music that makes itself felt, wherever he records.”

In comparison to the aforementioned songs in this paper, “Alabama” is much shorter, with no known version lasting more than six minutes.¹⁴⁰ However, like all, except “The Freedom Suite,” it clearly conveys intense emotionality, despite the fact that it manages to follow a “pacifistic course.”¹⁴¹ The song (album version) opens ominously,

¹³⁸ See “Along the NAACP Battlefront – Birmingham Victims,” *The Crisis* November, 1963, 553-554. Here the article refers to 10,000 in Boston, about 15,000 in New York, 10,000 in Washington, 1,500 in Miami who gathered and/or marched in memory of the children, “demonstrat[ing] their horror and anger on Sunday, September 22.”

¹³⁹ Yasuhiro Fujioka with Lewis Porter and Yoh-Ichi Hamada, *John Coltrane: A Discography and Musical Biography* (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1995), 231.

¹⁴⁰ The album lists the song as lasting 5:08. The live version lasts about forty seconds longer.

¹⁴¹ Ashley Kahn, *A Love Supreme: The Story of John Coltrane’s Signature Album* (New York: Penguin Books 2002), 76.

as does “The Freedom Rider,” with a low drone in the piano over which Coltrane spreads the haunting, introspective melody *ad libitum*.¹⁴²

slow, legato, dirge-like, with rubato

slower

Ex. 9.1 John Coltrane’s sax melody in “Alabama”¹⁴³

The melody is at once languid and remarkably focused as it presses ever forward, free of any standard song form. Playing in the mode of C-Dorian, Coltrane consistently emphasizes the harmonic relationship of the minor third (the root and third (C – E-flat)),

¹⁴² From the live footage of the quartet playing this tune on *Jazz Casual*, the bass appears to be performing an active part at the beginning as well, but it is unfortunately inaudible.

¹⁴³ Transcribed by author.

while centering the melody around the root (C), subdominant (F) and dominant (G). As restrictive as this sounds, Coltrane is nevertheless able to expand upon it by centering phrases around each of the three notes and utilizing the lower register as well. Coltrane succeeds in keeping the entire solo modal until surprising the listener with an emphasis on the submediant (A-Flat) at ca. 1:16. However, the most powerful moment arrives at ca. 1:22 (measure 34, beats two and three) at which the band comes to a deafening silence, lasting about one second, before Coltrane, Tyner and also Jones (supportively on cymbals) join forces to perform a descending quarter-note pattern. The lowest two notes of this pattern bottom out (B-flat-C) and are then followed by a brief recapitulation to the minor third (E-flat), only to bottom out once more to a minor cadence (again, B-flat-C) before opening up for Coltrane's solo.

Through its almost strict use of a minor mode, Coltrane's melody alone is enough to convey an intense emotional feeling, one of both languish and calm introspection. However, the layering of Tyner's drone and Jones's low tom rolls effectively counters that mood by lending an air of urgent impetuosity. Together, one might hear it as a sonic rendering of a warrior in preparation for battle, a calm before the storm so to speak. Here, one of the piece's most interesting aspects is highlighted, for that storm never seems to come. Instead, Coltrane begins his solo rather playfully, aptly setting the mood with the aforementioned tritone. In doing so, Coltrane makes a conscious decision not to sonically lash out in screaming protest (unlike Abbey Lincoln), but rather to intimate that, however angry Coltrane may have been, a cooler head prevailed. This does not last for long, however, as Coltrane subsequently returns to the original melody to close out the song.

There are those that believe that Coltrane patterned the composition of this tune after a speech made by Martin Luther King, Jr. about the four little girls.¹⁴⁴ For them, their belief is supported in a statement made by Coltrane's pianist McCoy Tyner in a 2001 interview: "The song 'Alabama' came from a speech. John said there was a Martin Luther King speech about the four girls getting killed in Alabama. It was in the newspaper – a printed medium. And so John took the rhythmic patterns of his speech and came up with 'Alabama.'"¹⁴⁵ That speech was most likely the eulogy which King delivered for three of the four children just three days after the bombing (one can read it printed in full in King's autobiography [Clayborne Carson ed. *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York: Warner Books 2002), pp. 231-232]). However, there are also skeptics of this idea including Coltrane biographer Lewis Porter who claims that "every known speech has been checked and there is no audible match" and that "the music does not have speechlike patterns a la Psalm," adding that "it may have been inspired by a speech but is not syllabic."¹⁴⁶

Assuming Tyner's statement to be true, Coltrane's adoption of the speech's rhythmic pattern would have to have been based either on his hearing of a previous King speech or just an imagined sense of rhythm. Contrary to Porter, I feel that Coltrane's ad

¹⁴⁴ For such an example, see Bill Cole's *John Coltrane* (New York: Da Capo Press 1976), 150. Here, Cole states: "The significance of the piece ["Alabama"] is even greater when one realizes that the melodic line of the piece was developed from the rhythmic inflections of a speech given by Dr. Martin Luther King." One should note, however, that despite the authoritative tone, Cole does not provide a source for this statement.

¹⁴⁵ Kahn, 79. The interview with Tyner was conducted by Kahn and recorded on DAT tape April 12, 2001. The fact that Bill Cole stated this same idea twenty-five years earlier (see above *note 140*) suggests that it had existed for some time.

¹⁴⁶ This was stated in an e-mail sent to me on Tuesday, November 9, 2004. In footnote 11 for chapter 17 of his book, *John Coltrane: His Life and Music* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1998), 331, Porter states: "Coltrane reportedly based the opening recitative of his 'Alabama' on some words by Martin Luther King, but I have studied two speeches sent to me by Woideck (here, Porter is referring to Carl Woideck, author of *John Coltrane Companion: Five Decades of Commentary* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1998)) and have not found a connection."

libitum treatment of the melody is inherently speechlike and Coltrane did, apparently, admire King, to whom he would later pay homage in his 1966 song “Reverend King,”¹⁴⁷ but it is not known whether Coltrane had *heard* a King speech before the recording of “Alabama” (however, one should probably note that King’s most famous speech, “I Have A Dream,” had been delivered just weeks before the bombing at the August 28, 1963 “March on Washington”). Therefore, the whole idea of adopting specific rhythmic devices from one, as Porter asserts, is made tenuous. It is interesting to note, however, that while any relationship to rhythm in the song and in a specific speech is hard to prove, both King’s eulogy and Coltrane’s memorial make use of motivic and thematic development, something Coltrane would not have had to hear to understand.

For example, in his eulogy for the girls, King develops the theme of their death as an important communicative medium:

They died nobly...They have something to say to every minister of the gospel who has remained silent behind the safe security of stained-glass windows. They have something to say to every politician who has fed his constituents the stale bread of hatred and the spoiled meat of racism. They have something to say to a federal government that has compromised with the undemocratic practices of Southern Dixiecrats and the blatant hypocrisy of right-wing Northern Republicans. They have something to say to every Negro who passively accepts the evil system of segregation and stands on the sidelines in the midst of a mighty struggle for justice. They say to each of us, black and white alike, that we must substitute courage

¹⁴⁷ This song was recorded on February 2, 1966 along with “Manifestation,” “Peace on Earth” and “Leo” in San Francisco for Coast Records with the “John Coltrane Group” (John Coltrane, tenor saxophone, bass clarinet and percussion; Pharoah Sanders, tenor saxophone, piccolo and percussion; Alice Meleod, piano; Jimmy Garrison, bass; Rashied Ali, drums; and Ray Appleton, percussion). Though re-released several times (on Impulse and MCA), it was originally released on the album *Cosmic Music* (CRC AU4950). The Impulse album of the same name (AS 9148) was overdubbed by Alice Coltrane, vibraphone and organ; Charlie Haden, bass; and a string section.

for caution. They say to us that we must be concerned not merely about who murdered them, but about the system, the way of life, and the philosophy which produced the murderers. Their death says to us that we must work passionately and unrelentingly to make the American dream a reality. So they did not die in vain.¹⁴⁸

Likewise, Coltrane develops both the rhythmic pattern of the two sixteenth notes followed by a sustained one, and melodic development around the aforementioned three notes. Also, one might hear the changing mood of Coltrane's solo as a sonic decision on the side of nonviolence, the very lynchpin of King's activist philosophy. In addition, one might also hear, syllabically, King's "so they did not die in vain" and "they died nobly" (in that order) as the final two statements of the tenor saxophone's melody.

In addition to King, Coltrane expressed interest in the politics of Malcolm X, having attended at least one Malcolm X speech.¹⁴⁹ There were many who claimed that as Malcolm X's separatist ideologies began to gain ground over King's theory of integration via non-violence in the black community, a newer style of jazz, known as "free jazz" matured as a direct parallel. Though pressed by interviewer Frank Kofsky to validate this claim, Coltrane simply answered: "Well, I think that music, being an expression of the human heart, or of the human being itself, does express just what *is* happening. I feel it expresses the whole thing – the whole of human experience at the particular time that it is being expressed."¹⁵⁰ Coltrane's apolitical answer could have come as a result of many

¹⁴⁸ Carson ed., *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 231.

¹⁴⁹ In his 1966 interview with Frank Kofsky (*Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music*), the first thing Coltrane was asked was about a story a friend told him that John Coltrane sat next to her at a speech given by Malcolm X in New York City. Kofsky wanted to know how many times Coltrane had seen him to which Coltrane replied: "That was the only time." Kofsky then asked: "That was one of his last speeches, wasn't it?" and Coltrane answered: "Well, it was toward the end of his career" (Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965 at Manhattan's Audubon Ballroom).

¹⁵⁰ Kofsky, *Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music*, 225.

things. For instance, Kofsky tells us that Coltrane was tired at the time, so perhaps he was looking to avoid an involved philosophical exchange. Regardless of the reason, however, it does, validate drummer Rashied Ali's assessment of the saxophonist: "That whole movement... affected his thinking and his thoughts about what was happening...[but] Coltrane wasn't into politics; he wasn't the type of person to speak out about it."¹⁵¹ When Coltrane was asked if the title of the song "had any significance to today's problems," he replied: "It represents, musically, something that I saw down there translated into music from inside me."¹⁵²

For *Live at Birdland*, there were apparently five separate takes of "Alabama" and the one that appears is a combination of takes four and five.¹⁵³ Fortunately, for history's sake, Coltrane performed a full-length version as part of Ralph Gleason's television show "Jazz Casual" on December 7, 1963.¹⁵⁴ However, the end of that year effectively marked

¹⁵¹ Peter Watrous "John Coltrane: A Life Supreme," *Musician*, 1987 [Woideck, 65]. Though one aspect of this article is to expose the different ways people have read into Coltrane's music and character, another quote from Milt Jackson (same page) supports Ali's: "He was not involved in politics." Sonny Rollins (same page) even goes as far as to say "I can't draw any parallels between the social times of the 60s and John's playing... To me it was just a natural evolution in his own playing." Ali had been playing and recording with Coltrane from late 1965 up until the saxophonist's death in 1967.

¹⁵² Jones's liner notes to *Live at Birdland*. Coltrane was asked this question by producer Bob Thiele.

¹⁵³ The album has since been reissued and includes full takes of *both* four and five. However, according to the Fujioka and Porter discography (239): "There are two versions of 'Alabama' on various copies of Imp A(S) 50. One is tk 4 plus tk 5, both complete (5:05) and the other is tk 5, complete (2:23). Some LPs erroneously list the timings on the label; please check your LP carefully, but except for the latest LPs and CDs, almost all of issues are the same *(5:05)."

¹⁵⁴ Fujioka et al, 240. In J.C. Thomas's Coltrane biography (*Chasin' The Trane* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1975), 163), Ralph Gleason claimed that this show "was televised on more than two hundred educational stations around the country." "Trane's Lady" (presumably Alice Coltrane) wrote in her diary that she saw the show in New York on channel 13 on the night of February 19, 1964 (Thomas, 177). The Coltrane Quartet was playing at Shelly's Manne Hole (San Francisco) from early December, up to December 22, 1963. Though there do not appear to be any live recordings from those dates, it is quite possible that Alabama was played numerous times there. Also, according to *Down Beat* (LeRoi Jones, "Caught In The Act," February 27, 1964), the same group plus Eric Dolphy on tenor and soprano saxophones, had played a New Year's Eve gig at Philharmonic Hall in New York City which included "Alabama" and featured Elvin Jones who was "bombing and rolling on the sideground like a beautiful war picture." Of all the players in the group, LeRoi Jones consistently highlights the truculent drumming of Elvin Jones on this piece. In the liner notes to *Live at Birdland* he also states: "what we're given is a slow

the end of “Alabama’s” tenure in the Coltrane repertoire. He would perform it just once more, on New Year’s Eve with the same group plus Eric Dolphy at the Philharmonic Hall in New York City.

delicate introspective sadness, almost hopelessness, except for Elvin, rising in the background like something out of nature...a fattening thunder, storm clouds or jungle war clouds.”

Charles Mingus's "It Was a Lonely Day in Selma, Alabama"

Mingus's "It Was a Lonely Day in Selma, Alabama" was recorded as a live performance at the Tyrone Guthrie Theater in Minneapolis, Minnesota on May 13, 1965.¹⁵⁵ Just over two months earlier, on Sunday, March 7, Alabama state troopers had attacked a group of about 600 civil rights demonstrators with tear gas, cattle prods and clubs as they filed over the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, determined to march to the state's capital in order to vote. In what became known as "Bloody Sunday," nearly one hundred protesters were injured. Among them was SNCC executive committee member John Lewis who recalled the event this way: "The troopers came toward us with billy clubs, tear gas, and bullwhips, trampling us with horses. I felt like it was the last demonstration, the last protest on my part, like I was going to take my last breath from the tear gas. I saw people rolling, heard people screaming and hollering. We couldn't go forward."¹⁵⁶ The persistent marchers would begin their mission again the following day and would eventually succeed in their ultimate goal, but not before news of their beatings hit the airwaves and was viewed by Louis Armstrong in Toronto. According to *Down*

¹⁵⁵ The tune itself, for whatever reason, was not released with the recording from that concert (*My Favorite Quintet, Vol. 1: Tyrone Guthrie Theater* (Mingus JWS 009)). It was just recently released for the first time on *Blues and Politics*, a tribute to the late bassist by the Mingus Big Band in 1999.

¹⁵⁶ Hampton and Fayer, 228.

Beat, Armstrong said he “got sick” after viewing the violence, commenting “They would even beat Jesus if He was black and marched...Tell me, how is it possible that human beings treat each other in this way today? Hitler is dead a long time – or is he?”¹⁵⁷

On this, the only known performance and recording, “It Was a Lonely Day in Selma, Alabama” is combined with the song “Freedom,” which appears to have been receiving a third look since its first recording in 1962.¹⁵⁸ “Lonely Day,” on the other hand, was released for the first time on the album *Blues and Politics* by the Mingus Big Band in 1999 and produced by the bassist’s widow, Sue Mingus.¹⁵⁹

As he had done with “Faubus,” Mingus provides this tune with a spoken intro (though to a real live audience this time): “We’re trying to push this new movement that we are Americans, but Americans without justice. So this tune grows out of that. It’s titled ‘A Lonely Day in Selma, Alabama.’” Mingus again provides narrated lyrics that, this time, appear to speak to both “Bloody Sunday” and the bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church:

It was a lonely day in Selma, Alabama.

People gathered there to walk and march for freedom.

¹⁵⁷ “Armstrong Speaks Out on Racial Injustice,” April 22, 1965, 14-15.

¹⁵⁸ “Freedom” was first recorded for the album *Town Hall Concert* (United Artists UAJ 15024) on October 12, 1962. It would not be recorded again until September 20, 1963 album *Five Mingus* for Impulse (A 54). The recorded version on *Blues and Politics* appears to be the third and final one.

¹⁵⁹ Sue Mingus has since dedicated much of her life to perpetuating the musical legacy of her husband. In her recently published memoirs of their relationship (*Tonight At Noon*), she neither mentions this tune or exactly why she chose to release it for the first time after over thirty years. Her only mentioning of the concert was on page 45: “Despite our bickerings, we produced four albums and sold them through the mail...[one of them being] *My Favorite Quintet*, recorded at the Tyrone Guthrie Theater in Minneapolis...” Released on Mingus’s own label, Jazz Workshop (Mingus JWS 009), *My Favorite Quintet, Vol. 1: Tyrone Guthrie Theater* only contained two songs: “So Long Eric” and a medley of “She’s Funny That Way,” “Embraceable You,” “I Can’t Get Started,” “Ghost of a Chance,” “Old Portrait” and “Cocktails for Two.” Personnel on the date included Lonnie Hilyer, trumpet; Charles McPherson, alto saxophone; Jaki Byard, piano; Dannie Richmond, drums; Mingus, bass.

Mother, child in arms...

I wonder about this freedom

Four little girls in a church.

A minister and a longshoreman's wife...¹⁶⁰

According to the album's liner notes, authored by Mingus's widow, Sue Mingus, "'Lonely Day' was spliced off a newly discovered audio tape from the Sixties I listened to, quite by chance, a few days after the Mingus Big Band had completed recording. (The tape was part of a series Charles and I were releasing in those days on our mail-order record label – unissued, along with other material, because we ran out of cash.) Mingus was improvising during a performance...barely two months after a march for voting rights in Selma had ended with tear gas and clubbings." Throughout the tune, the lyrics are treated more like spoken-word, atonalistic poetry, than an important melodic vehicle. They are uttered, both casually and forcefully, between pointed phrases from the trumpet and saxophone at first and later joined by piano and drums. Overall, "Lonely Day" is musically minimalistic. Though expressive, it lacks the deeply soulful, gospel-inflected stylings of earlier Mingus compositions and is more a detour into the avant-garde than a backwards glance. Before transitioning into "Freedom," "Lonely Day" lasts just short of two minutes, though, at the end of "Freedom," "Lonely Day's" opening horn statements are repeated. Mingus would never record it for an album and there is no known proof that he again played it live.

¹⁶⁰ Liner notes to *Blues and Politics*. Here, it is written "People gathered there to march and walk for freedom..." but Mingus actually says "walk and march for freedom."

Considering the lyric's content, it seems as though the violence in Selma coupled in Mingus's mind with the church bombing in Birmingham, providing him with a general symbolic portrait of Alabama. In this light, one is reminded of a quote from LeRoi Jones regarding Coltrane's "Alabama": "The whole is a frightening portrait of some place, in these musicians' feelings." And, again, like "Fables of Faubus," Mingus uses one song to speak about multiple events. Perhaps he had wished to write a song about the Birmingham incident alone but felt that Coltrane's said it as well as anybody could have done.

Conclusion

In an otherwise telling book on the development of jazz history, *The Story of Jazz*, published in 1956, Marshall Stearns couldn't have more inaccurately predicted the future nature of the music. After first stating that jazz is a protest music, "in the sense that jazz reflects the attitudes of the Negro," Stearns then claims that as time goes on, the need for protest will diminish; all seemingly true. However, he then reveals his belief that that time was, indeed circa 1956. With the Montgomery Bus Boycott underway and a "new mood" coming over the country, Stearns still failed to predict a perpetuation of jazz as protest music in relation to the burgeoning civil rights movement. Indeed, the same man who felt that "the 'agony coefficient'... is noticeably decreasing,"¹⁶¹ could never have foreseen such aforementioned musical examples.

By writing and recording songs directly affiliated with the civil rights movement, these five musicians partook in their own unique form of what civil rights protesters referred to as "direct action" which can therefore classify them as protest music. They were all African-Americans with a keen sense of racial awareness, but first and foremost they were artists, artists who desired to make a living through their music. As such, they

¹⁶¹ Marshall Stearns, *The Story of Jazz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), 226.

were often subjected to varying forms of corporate suppression when it came to voicing their socio-political beliefs, but managed to circumvent it via public and printed statements, alignment with more open-minded record companies, participation in benefit concerts and live performances of their music. Therefore, in one sense, these artists' understanding of "freedom" was shared with that of civil rights activists such as John Lewis and Martin Luther King, Jr., for they too "understood freedom as something embedded in struggle, a hard-won realization rather than a gift with no strings attached."¹⁶² Although there were those, like Max Roach, Abbey Lincoln and LeRoi Jones, whose racial awareness led them to think Afro-centrally about jazz, and its authenticity concerning cultural production, they were, it seems, more often the exception to the rule.

Historically, jazz has striven for both an interracial and apolitical identity. Though far from existing in a vacuum, the music certainly gave rise to "integrationist subcultures" (to borrow Robert K. McMichael's term¹⁶³) in the United States. Thus, it helped perpetuate an ultimate artistic ideal in which one is judged based on the qualitative merits of one's art and not on skin color or personal beliefs. However, it became difficult for jazz to maintain this aspect of its identity during the civil rights movement. In and of itself, the push for African-American civil rights in this country both polarized and trivialized the concept of racial identity. No longer were blacks relegated solely to the realms of dehumanized entertainment, ignorance, and sloth. They were proving, through sophisticated jazz that was made to be *listened* to and nonviolent protests, that they were a race of *human beings* capable of intellectual thought and moral conviction. Whites, on

¹⁶² Saul, xiv.

¹⁶³ See his article "We Insist – Freedom Now!": Black Moral Authority, Jazz, and the Changeable Shape of Whiteness," *American Music*, Winter 1998.

the other hand, were forced to take a stand on this issue. While for some, like Eugene “Bull” Connor and the Ku Klux Klan, it meant they needed to work harder in order to more arduously defend their supposed racial superiority, for others, it simply meant due recognition. Just as Martin Luther King, Jr.’s nonviolent integrationist ideologies would clash with Malcolm X’s “by any means necessary” separatism, so too did black jazz musicians struggle with the merits of integration. Through the course of the movement, the general push in the jazz community was for more integration, but there were those who felt that the politicization of race demanded response in the form of cultural reclamation and autonomy. As Johnny Simmen of Duke Ellington’s orchestra once noted: “Along with the changes in American society brought about by the civil rights struggle came a feeling on the part of some black musicians that jazz should be an exclusively black expression.”¹⁶⁴

If one is to assume that jazz, as music, “is a man-made abstraction guided by its own rules [and] shaped by its own creators,”¹⁶⁵ one realizes that, when it came to the music of these five men, there were no rules. The pieces they created (all *original* compositions) were both short and long, structurally complex and minimalistic, intensely and subtly emotional, lyricized and instrumental, played year after year or perhaps just once. Opposite the actions of John Lewis, these men remained strictly artists, almost never involving themselves directly with the civil rights movement (in terms of the more conventional practices: mass marching for voting rights, and protesting or boycotting anti-integration laws). At the time, the American South was and had long been a dangerous place for African-Americans, jazzmen included. Both Art Blakey and

¹⁶⁴ Bill Crow, *Jazz Anecdotes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 142.

¹⁶⁵ Frank Tirro, *Jazz: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1977), 318.

trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie suffered head injuries while touring in the region, Louis Armstrong feared getting his mouth smashed in if he protested and in 1959, jazz impresario Ed Sarkesian was moved enough by prejudiced behavior to declare in general that “the south must be eliminated from future tours.”¹⁶⁶ In such a climate, these men understandably seemed to avoid the region whenever possible, doing in general as they did with benefit concerts: leaving the protesting to the experts. At the time of these recordings, each of the aforementioned musicians had established themselves as preeminent jazzmen. They were touring foreign countries to much acclaim, had recording contracts with the biggest record labels in jazz and were considered the foremost on their respective instruments. As any serious artist would, these men perceived themselves as professionals and were loyally wedded to their craft. These men were busy and though they had “cultural capital” to lend to the movement, their lifestyles did not easily permit them to interrupt their careers in the name of civil rights. Therefore, their actions can be easily understood as *unconventional*, as a confrontation with the movement on their own individual terms.¹⁶⁷ For them, this meant not only composing and recording songs affiliated with the movement and performing for civil rights benefit concerts, but speaking out on the multifaceted racism they experienced within the music industry as well. Indeed, it may be said that these men, inspired by the broader struggle for civil rights in this country, created a subculture in which they could concurrently

¹⁶⁶ On Gillespie, see Enstice and Rubin, 179. After refusing to perform the request of a white audience member in Pine Bluffs, Arkansas (year unknown, though he mentions that Charlie Parker was in the band which would’ve placed it sometime in the early to mid-forties), Gillespie claims he “hit me in the head with a bottle. Seven stitches.” On Sarkesian, see Leonard Feather, “Life on a Jazz Tour, U.S.A.,” *Down Beat*, September 3, 1959, 9.

¹⁶⁷ This statement is, perhaps, best supported by the words of Sonny Rollins himself who stated in 1963 at a press conference in Japan: “It’s obvious how I feel about the racial problem. I’ll do my job – on the stand, with my instrument” (“Sonny Rollins Meets the Japanese Press,” *Down Beat*, December 19, 1964, 16).

speak on behalf of all African-Americans, for themselves as African-American jazz musicians, and were actively confronting the racism they experienced as artists in a capitalistic society. Needless to say, without such a movement this music wouldn't have existed making it impossible to say when, if ever, jazz music would have confronted the issue of racism so directly. However, as a reflection of human experience one can only assume it would have happened sooner than later.

Appendix: Civil Rights Benefit Concerts

During the civil rights movement, there was a large number of benefit concerts scheduled for civil rights organizations that involved jazz musicians. The bulk of these concerts actually took place and, therefore, constitute the bulk of this list. However, there were a few that either were scheduled and *might* have happened and those that were scheduled and didn't happen at all. In this list, I have decided to include *all* types of concerts that I could find in order to better illustrate the level of commitment to the cause from jazz musicians through their, at least initial, participation commitment and the sheer organization of the event. Thus, it is assumed that there was a particular level of interest in having the concert that led to its organization and a particular interest in the musicians concerning the cause via their agreement to perform. Concerts listed in bold print indicate sufficient proof that they actually took place. Those that are in italics represent concerts that may well have happened but lack sufficient proof. Finally, those that have ** next to them represent concerts that were scheduled to happen, but never did.

August 7, 1959 – Chicago Urban League benefit performance. Concert was part of the Playboy Jazz Festival and started at 8 p.m. Performers included Miles Davis Sextet, Count Basie Band, Joe Williams, Dizzy Gillespie Quintet, Dave Brubeck Quartet, Kai Winding Septet, Dakota Staton and it was emceed by Mort Sahl. Reserved seats at: \$25, \$15, \$10, \$7.50, \$5. General Admission (1st Balcony) \$3.30, (2nd Balcony) \$2.20. The show went on to gross \$98,200 for the Urban League, a sum which was described as “the largest single amount ever raised by a social agency in one day.”¹⁶⁸

October 4, 1959 - “Miles played a ‘Jazz for Civil Rights’ benefit for the NAACP Freedom Fund at Hunter College in New York.” Concert also featured Timmie Rogers.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ Nat Hentoff, “Jazz In Print,” *The Jazz Review*, July 1959, 34. Also, on the \$98,200, see “Urban League Grosses \$98,200 At Jazz Festival,” *Jet*, August 27, 1959, 56.

¹⁶⁹ John Szwed, *So What: The Life of Miles Davis* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002), 181. Ian Carr’s biography backs this up and it was also reported in *Jet* (October 8, 1959, 63) that “At the NAACP benefit ‘Jazz for Civil Rights’ concert at New York’s Hunter College Oct. 4, Timmie Rogers and bandleader Miles Davis readily consented to appear.” Oddly enough, *The Crisis* didn’t report on this. According to *Jet* (“Map NAACP Concert,” October 8, 1959, 61), this concert was “to benefit NAACP’s \$250,000 Freedom

October 25, 1959 - "Jazz Civil Rights Part II" at New York's Birdland for the benefit of the NAACP. "Talent in the Birdland concert included "Count" Basie, Joe Williams, and Timmie Rogers."¹⁷⁰

Week of May 26, 1960 – Martin Luther King Rally at the 369th Regiment Armory that benefited the Martin Luther King Defense Fund and aided the Southern sit-in students. The concert was "co-emceed by lovely Dorothy Dandridge and my boy, Sidney Poitier, with Luther Henderson and a fine house band backing the performing artists, which included stars such as drummer, Max Roach; comedian, Alan King; singer, Lonnie Satin; Don Shirley and his Trio; comedian, Timmie Rogers; folk singer, Odetta; African drummer, Olatungi and his African Holiday Revue; singer, William Warfield; comedian Orson Bean; the Magic Voice of Sarah Vaughn; the Belafonte Folk Singers, and last, but by no means least, Mr. Harry Belafonte himself. Among others present in the audience were Sugar Ray Robinson, entertainer, Lillette, comedian, Ken Murray, baritone, Glen Covington, and representatives from every walk of life."¹⁷¹

April/May/June, 1960 – Boston, MA Lexington High School - benefit for the "Combined Emergency Appeal, which includes the Committee to Defend Martin Luther King Jr. and the student defense committee of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference." The Ahmed Abdul-Malik Trio and the Olatunji troupe of Nigerian drummers, singers and dancers performed.¹⁷²

August 27, 1960 - Chicago Urban League Jazz Festival at Comiskey Park.¹⁷³

Early-mid November, 1960 - NAACP Special Activity Group benefit in Pasadena at the Beverly Hilton.¹⁷⁴

November 27, 1960 - Freedom Festival of Stars at the Moulin Rouge for NAACP.¹⁷⁵

January 15, 1961 - CORE benefit at New York's Village Gate – Premier of Max Roach's *Freedom Now Suite* featuring Abbey Lincoln and Coleman Hawkins.¹⁷⁶

February 3, 1961 – Negro American Labor Council benefit in New York. The concert featured drummer Roy Haynes directing a large band, tenor saxophonist Coleman

Fund Drive" and was planned in part by jazz pianist Randy Weston and clarinetist Tony Scott. On Rogers, see "New York Beat," *Jet*, October 8, 1959, 63.

¹⁷⁰ *The Crisis*, November, 1959, 575.

¹⁷¹ *The California Eagle*, May 26, 1960, 18.

¹⁷² "Strictly Ad Lib – Boston," *Down Beat*, July 21, 1960, 70.

¹⁷³ Don DeMichael, "Urban League 'Festival,'" *Down Beat*, October 13, 1960, 20.

¹⁷⁴ "Chazz Crawford Soundtrack," *The California Eagle*, July 28, 1960, 10. This piece reported the event as going to happen and *The California Eagle*, November 17, 1960, 7 ("People and Places") verifies it took place.

¹⁷⁵ *The California Eagle*, November 17, 1960, 3. Nothing was reported about this in the November 27 issue of the L.A. Times and there was nothing about it in the Music section of November 28 issue either.

¹⁷⁶ "Strictly Ad Lib - New York," *Down Beat*, February 2, 1961, 48.

Hawkins, the Modern Jazz Quartet, Horace Silver's group, the Max Roach Quintet, Abbey Lincoln, Hazel Scott, Betty Roche, and Joe Carroll. "The affair raised money for the Negro American Labor Council workshop, held in Washington, D.C., Feb. 17-18."¹⁷⁷

April 14, 1961 – Committee to Aid The Southern Freedom Struggle benefit at the McMillin Theatre in New York by Columbia University's newspaper – The Owl. Concert took place at 8 p.m. and included the Herbie Mann Sextet, among many other performers. "Proceeds from the benefit were sent to the Atlanta headquarters of Dr. King's freedom drive."¹⁷⁸

April 17, 1961 – Negro American Labor Council Dinner Dance held at the Tavern On The Green in New York. Performers included Art Blakey and the Jazz Messengers, Dakota Staton, Coleman Hawkins and Randy Weston and his band, featuring Cecil Payne. Attendees included "congressman Adam Clayton Powell, chairman on the House Committee on Labor and Education; Mr. Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the NALC; Fred Small, president of the New York chapter of the NALC, and Odell Clark, Investigator for the House Committee on Labor and Education and Chairman of the entertainment committee of the NALC."¹⁷⁹

**April 28-30, 1961 - NAACP Freedom Fund benefit at New York's 143rd armory. "More than 100 musicians are scheduled to perform, among them Louis Armstrong, Gerry Mulligan, Duke Ellington, Cannonball Adderley, Charles Mingus, Red Allen, the Modern Jazz Quartet, and Horace Silver."¹⁸⁰

May 19, 1961 - Miles Davis Quintet and the orchestra of Gil Evans at Carnegie Hall for the benefit of the African Research Foundation.

October, 1961 - NAACP benefit at San Francisco's Masonic Temple featuring Miles Davis. Szwed said it didn't happen, Monson says it did, only she claims it was simply "Fall, 1961" and at the San Francisco Opera House.¹⁸¹

November 12, 1961 – NAACP benefit, St. Louis branch – Eighth Annual Concert-Tea at the Kiel Auditorium featuring Abbey Lincoln and Max Roach.¹⁸²

January/February, 1962 – NAACP benefit at the Fairmont Hotel Grand Ballroom in San Francisco featuring The Rudy Salvini big band.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁷ "Strictly Ad Lib - New York," *Down Beat*, March 2, 1961, 10.

¹⁷⁸ "Columbia Benefit to Aid Sit-Ins," *Amsterdam News*, Saturday, April 15, 1961, 18 and see follow-up story, "Columbia U. Newspaper Aids Sit-Ins," *Amsterdam News*, Saturday, April 29, 1961, 15.

¹⁷⁹ "Art Blakey, Dakota At NALC Salute," *Amsterdam News*, Saturday, April 15, 1961, 18.

¹⁸⁰ "Strictly Ad Lib - New York," *Down Beat*, April 13, 1961, 12. *The Crisis* doesn't report on this and the *Amsterdam News* reports that this concert was called off (May 6, 1961, 15). Although the exact reason for the concert's cancellation was unclear, apparently, it was to include a Cadillac giveaway.

¹⁸¹ "Miles Davis 'Approved' For Bay Concert," *Down Beat*, July 20, 1961, 13-14.

¹⁸² "What the Branches Are Doing – Missouri," *The Crisis*, January, 1962, 41.

¹⁸³ "Strictly Ad Lib - San Francisco," *Down Beat*, March 15, 1962, 47.

January/February/March, 1962 - The Negro American Labor Council benefit at the Apollo Theater featuring the Modern Jazz Quartet, Thelonious Monk, Charlie Mingus, Ray Bryant, Oscar Brown Jr., and many others, all under the direction of Tadd Dameron.¹⁸⁴

July 29, 1962 - NAACP Freedom Fund benefit at Milwaukee's Coach House Motor Inn featuring "the inimitable Louis Armstrong."¹⁸⁵

February 1, 1963 - SNCC Benefit, Carnegie Hall "A Salute to Southern Students." Performers included Thelonious Monk and Charles Mingus.¹⁸⁶

March 17, 1963 - *Let Freedom Swing* concerts for NAACP membership at Hollywood's Summit Club.

March 23, 1962 - NAACP benefit in the International Ballroom of the Beverly Hilton Hotel. Gerald Wilson's big band plays and Sammy Davis Jr. will headline the show.¹⁸⁷

March 24, 1963 - *Let Freedom Swing* concerts for NAACP membership at Hollywood's Summit Club.

March 31, 1963 - *Let Freedom Swing* concerts for NAACP membership at Hollywood's Summit Club. Regarding all three concerts: "With Leonard Feather as emcee, the talent lineup has been impressive. Volunteering their instrumental and vocal services were trumpeter Gerald Wilson, reed man Buddy Collette, bassist - tubaist Red Callender, pianist Gerry Wiggins, drummers Earl Palmer and Eddie Atwood, pianist Eddie Beal, altoist-vocalist Vi Redd, and singers Georgia Carr, Toni Harper, and Dave Howard."¹⁸⁸

June 2, 1963 - ILWU Auditorium, San Francisco featuring the Vince Guaraldi Trio, John Handy Quartet, Red Rodney Quartet, Carmen McRae group, Ahmad Jamal Trio. The concert apparently "...resulted in gross receipts of \$1,143.85. When expenses of \$159.75 were paid, \$984.10 remained for use in the integration campaign. The sponsors had hoped to fill the 1,000-seat downtown auditorium and raise \$5,000 for the cause (admission was a \$3 donation, and program sold for 50 cents). The long Memorial Day weekend, blessed by beautiful weather, was blamed for the small turnout."¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ "Strictly Ad Lib - New York," *Down Beat*, April 12, 1962, 43.

¹⁸⁵ "Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront - 'Milwaukee Raises \$1,000,'" *The Crisis*, August-September, 1962, 413. Soon thereafter, Armstrong appeared in Columbus, Ohio to promote Langston Hughes's book "Fight for Freedom - The Story of the NAACP" (see "'POPS' PITCHES IN" (photo caption), *The Crisis* November, 1962, 559).

¹⁸⁶ "Caught In the Act - SNCC Benefit, Carnegie Hall," *Down Beat*, March 28, 1963, 45. Exact date and title of the show comes from Ingrid Monson's article "Monk Meets SNCC" *Black Music Research Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 2, New Perspectives on Thelonious Monk (Autumn, 1999), 187-200. She also claims that "the exact figures on money raised at the...concert are unavailable."

¹⁸⁷ "Strictly Ad Lib - San Francisco," *Down Beat*, March 15, 1962, 47.

¹⁸⁸ "NAACP Uses Jazz to Bolster Membership in Hollywood," *Down Beat*, April 11, 1963, 12.

¹⁸⁹ Russ Wilson, "Caught In the Act," *Down Beat*, August 1, 1963, 37. Wilson only mentions that it was on Sunday of Memorial Day weekend, I had to figure the specific date out on my own.

June 23, 1963 – SCLC benefit Jackie Robinson’s Home – Stamford, Connecticut. In all, 42 musicians took part, and about 625 people paid \$10 a piece to listen to the concert which lasted from noon to 7 p.m. Besides the admission money, additional funds came from both attendees and performers, a raffle, persons who did not attend, and refreshment sales. The more than \$15,000 thus raised was donated to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.’s Southern Christian Leadership Conference.¹⁹⁰

August 23, 1963 – Marching Benefit at the Apollo (March on Washington) – money used to transport unemployed workers from New York to Washington D.C. “Among the artists scheduled to appear are Tony Bennett, Carmen McRae, the Herbie Mann Sextet, Billy Eckstine, the Quincy Jones Band, Cozy Cole, Coleman Hawkins, Lambert-Hendricks-Bavan, Teri Thornton, and Johnny Hartman.”¹⁹¹

Fall, 1963 – CORE benefit at Menlo Park in San Francisco featuring The Gillespie quintet, the Wynton Kelly trio (Paul Chambers, bass; Jimmy Cobb, drums); singers Jon Hendricks and Amanda Ambrose, pianist Gildo Mahones, and Teddy Edwards. According to *Down Beat*, it was a free concert and “the show, which was held in a city park; drew an audience of about 1,500 persons, and raised several hundred dollars for CORE via a collection and a sale of food, soft drinks, and CORE lapel buttons.”¹⁹²

October 20, 1963 – CORE benefit at the Five Spot featuring Billy Taylor, Don Heckman, Ted Curson, Bill Baron, Dick Berk, Ronnie Boykins, Kennie Burrell, Ray Draper, Ben Webster, Joe Newman, Horace Parlan, Frankie Dunlop, Edgar Bateman, Dick Kniss, Don Friedman, Ben Riley, Helen Merrill, Roy Haynes, Tony Williams, Frank Strozier.¹⁹³

October 27, 1963 - CORE benefit at the Five Spot. According to *Down Beat*, this concert featured “pianist Bill Evans’ trio, with bassist Gary Peacock and drummer Paul Motian led off the program and was followed by the tenor tandem of Al Cohn and Zoot Sims, pianist Freddie Redd’s trio, vocalist Shelia Jordan, reed man Eric Dolphy, and vibist Bobby Hutcherson. J.R. Monterose and Prince Lasha played later in the program.”¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ “Jazzmen Raise Funds at Jackie Robinsons’s Home,” *Down Beat*, August 1, 1963, 13.

¹⁹¹ “Strictly Ad Lib – New York,” *Down Beat*, August 29, 1963, 10.

¹⁹² “Strictly Ad Lib - San Francisco,” *Down Beat*, November 21, 1963, 45.

¹⁹³ Ingrid Monson, “Abbey Lincoln’s *Straight Ahead: Jazz in the Era of the Civil Rights Movement*,” 183 [Richard G. Fox and Orin Starn ed. *Between Resistance and Revolution: Cultural Politics and Social Protest* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997)]. This date is backed, partly because of Monson’s list, the number of musicians that took part and also by *Down Beat* (“Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” April 23, 1964, 12), which reports “The Congress of Racial Equality...ran some successful fund-raising jam sessions at the Five Spot last year...”

¹⁹⁴ “Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, December 19, 1963, 14. Monson (Abbey Lincoln’s *Straight Ahead*, 183) lists several other musicians as having taken part including Sal Mosca, Dick Scott, Hal Dodson, Jack Reilly, Dave Sibley, Paul Bley, Joe Chambers, Ron Carter, Booker Ervin and Henry Grimes. In fact, she even lists *Down Beat*’s own Ira Gitler as being there so why wouldn’t *Down Beat* have claimed the same? Monson’s sources for her benefit concert list are CORE’s “Records 1941-1967, State Historical Society of Wisconsin (Miscellaneous Benefits) and Topics Files at the Institute for Jazz Studies, Rutgers University, Newark, N.J. (New York Handbills).”

November 17, 1963 – CORE benefit, Bronx chapter, at Goodson’s Town Cabaret featuring Lloyd Davis, Chamber Jazz Quartet, Joseph Gula, the Hamilton Sisters, Karl Martin, Marie Simmons, William 88 Keys and Orchestra and possibly Thelonious Monk.¹⁹⁵

November 23, 1963 - SNCC benefit at Carnegie Hall featuring Clark Terry, Dave Brubeck and Lambert, Hendricks and Bavan.¹⁹⁶

**November 25, 1963 – “Stars for Freedom” concert benefiting CORE, NAACP, SCLC AND SNCC. This concert was scheduled to take place at the Santa Monica Civic Auditorium featuring Count Basie, conductor Nelson Riddle, and singers Frank Sinatra, Sammy Davis, Jr., and Dean Martin. Though described as “one of the highest-powered concerts ever planned for southern California,” the concert was cancelled and rescheduled for December 6, a date Count Basie was unable to attend.¹⁹⁷

December 6, 1963 - “Stars for Freedom” concert in the Santa Monica Civic auditorium for NAACP, CORE and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.¹⁹⁸

December 19, 1963 – CORE benefit, Troubadour Café Theater in Los Angeles featuring Oscar Brown Jr., Sonny Terry and Brownie McGhee.¹⁹⁹

February 12, 1964 - NAACP Legal Defense Fund, CORE and SNCC benefit at the Lincoln Center in New York featuring the Miles Davis Quintet.

¹⁹⁵ Monson, “Monk Meets SNCC,” 200 (Appendix) claims Monk played for this concert. *The Amsterdam News* (“Party Aids Bronx CORE,” November 30, 1963, 12) verifies the concert has having taken place, adding that it was to specifically aid Sara Collins who had been blinded by the church bombing in Birmingham, but it does not claim that Monk was there, nor does it mention the Hamilton Sisters, William 88 Keys and Orchestra, or Marie Simmons. At the very least, wouldn’t *The Amsterdam News* have mentioned Monk’s performance if it had happened?

¹⁹⁶ “Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, January 2, 1964, 43. Monson (“Monk Meets SNCC,” 191) claims that this concert generated \$5,200 and featured Clark Terry, Dave Brubeck, and Lambert, Hendricks, and Bavan. *The Amsterdam News* (Saturday, November 16, 1963, 15) has an ad for the show calling it an “All Star Concert” featuring the Dave Brubeck Quartet featuring Paul Desmond, Clark Terry-Bob Brookmeyer Quintet, and LHB. Ticket costs were \$4.50, 3.75, 3.00, 2.50 and 2.00” and you could mail order them.

¹⁹⁷ “Basie, Sinatra & Co. Headline California Benefit,” *Down Beat*, November 21, 1963, 12. On the cancellation of the concert, see *Down Beat*, January 2, 1964, 11.

¹⁹⁸ “Stars’ Show for Freedom Gains \$25,790 Profit,” *The California Eagle*, March 26, 1964, 2. An earlier report (“Sammy Davis, Jr. Tops Friday Show For Worthy Cause,” *The California Eagle*, December 5, 1963, 10, 12) claimed that “total proceeds will be divided equally among the three groups after a donation to the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.” According to the March article, “the Santa Monica show grossed \$45,675.50. Total expenditures were \$17,855.14. Net profit was \$25,790.36. The NAACP, CORE and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference received \$8,563.45 each.” What happened to the SNCC donation? Was it lumped in with the “expenditures?” Did it not even happen altogether?

¹⁹⁹ “CORE Sponsors Troubadour Show,” *The California Eagle*, December 12, 1963, 2.

March 24 – 30, 1964 - “Stars for Freedom” tour throughout California - “...far from benefiting any civil-rights organization, as had been hoped, it left the sponsors with \$10,000 in bills for which money was still unavailable at presstime.”²⁰⁰

April 12, 1964 - CORE jam session at The Five Spot featuring “the groups of Sun Ra, Roger Kellaway, Clark Terry-Bob Brookmeyer, Zoot Sims, Al Cohn, and Gary McFarland; Billy Taylor will emcee and also play piano with Sims-Cohn.”

April 19, 1964 - CORE jam session at The Five Spot featuring “Roland Kirk, Freddie Hubbard Quintet, Mal Waldron Trio, Johnny Hartman, and John Coltrane.”

April 26, 1964 - CORE jam session at The Five Spot featuring “Oliver Nelson, the Art Farmer Quartet, and emcees Mort Fega and Chris Albertson.”²⁰¹

May 14, 1964 – “Freedom Spectacular,” a television special, dedicated to children, as a fund-raiser for the NAACP. Featured entertainers included The Duke Ellington Orchestra and singers Lena Horne, Tony Bennett, Della Reese, and Harry Belafonte.²⁰²

October 18, 1964 – Negro Action Group benefit, New York’s Village Gate. The concert “featured alto saxophonist Jackie McLean and his quartet, pianist Billy Taylor, trumpeter Clark Terry, trombonist Benny Powell, and saxophonist Lucky Thompson.”²⁰³

November 6, 1964 – Women in NAACP Service benefit in Cleveland featuring Count Basie.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁰ “Caught in the Act,” *Down Beat*, May 21, 1964, 31.

²⁰¹ “Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, April 23, 1964, 12 (all three CORE benefits at the Five Spot in April). For the April 19 show, this piece listed Coltrane as “possibly” showing up but the Porter/Fujioka discography claims he was as a participant. A later edition of *Down Beat* (“Strictly Ad Lib – New York,” June 4, 1964, 8) verifies the existence of all three concerts.

²⁰² “Star-Studded NAACP Show on Closed-Circuit Television,” *Down Beat*, May 7, 1964, 13. The piece goes on to claim that “the show will be seen in at least 45 cities...broadcast in two one-hour segments from Los Angeles and New York City. Co-chairmen of the event are Miss [Lena] Horne, Steve Allen, Sammy Davis Jr., and Ed Sullivan. The program commemorates the 10th anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court’s decision on segregation in public schools... A million dollars in proceeds from ticket sales is sought by NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins. Part of the proceeds is earmarked for bail-bonds for defendants in civil-rights demonstrations.”

²⁰³ “Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, November 19, 1964, 41.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, “Cleveland,” 42. Although Basie was a lifetime member of the NAACP, should this concert have happened, Basie’s wife, Catherine, might well have had a hand in this concert as well, seeing as how she had been involved with the NAACP for many years. For information on her and the NAACP, see *The Crisis* January, 1959, 48. Here, is a photo caption that reads: “gala garden party given by Mrs. Catherine Basie, wife of Count Basie, for the Jamaica, N.Y. branch [which] netted over \$500 and 250 members for the NAACP.” Also, see *The Crisis* October, 1962, 487. Here, is another photo with the caption: “THE BON BONS - The Bon Bons Social Club has taken out a life membership in the NAACP. Presentation was made at a pool-side social at the home of Mrs. Catherine Basie, wife of the famed musician, Count Basie. Pictured from L are Mrs. Basie, Morris DeLisser, NAACP life membership representative, and Mrs. Leola Edwards, Bon Bons president.”

December, 1964 - McComb, Mississippi Community Center benefit, Wilton, Connecticut featuring Dave Brubeck.²⁰⁵

December 27, 1964 - *Freedomways* benefit at the Village Gate including John Coltrane.²⁰⁶

January 17, 1965 - "Jazz for Freedom" benefit for Friendship Unlimited, Pittsburgh.²⁰⁷

April 10, 1965 - CORE benefit at Boston's Jazz Workshop featuring Stan Monteiro's group, singers Muddy Waters and Mae Arnette.²⁰⁸

May, 1965 - NAACP benefit at New York's Birdland featuring the big band of tenor saxophonist Frank Foster, trombonist Benny Powell, pianists Ray Bryant and Jimmy Jones, tenor saxophonist Billy Mitchell, drummer Frankie Dunlop, and singers Yolande Bavan, Norman Mapp, Irene Reid, and Pat Thomas.²⁰⁹

May, 1965 - NAACP benefit put on by the Pittsburgh chapter in the main ballroom of the Hilton Hotel for human rights. Attendees exceeded 1,600 people and "they were entertained before and during dinner by tenor saxist Jon Walton, formerly of the Benny Goodman and Artie Shaw bands; bassist Tom Sewell, an occasional accompanist of Ray Charles; and pianist Carl Arter."²¹⁰

May 23, 1965 - CORE benefit "downtown" New York City featuring pianist Randy Weston's sextet (Ray Copeland, trumpet; Frank Haines, tenor saxophone; Bill Wood, bass; Lenny McBrowne, drums; Big Black, conga drums).²¹¹

Late May/June 1965 - CORE "street rally" benefit featuring the DC 4 (Charles Moore's Detroit Contemporary 4).²¹²

July 25, 1965 - CORE benefit at Shelly's Manne Hole in Los Angeles. The concert raised \$1,462.25 and "according to a CORE spokesman, Lu Washington, most of the money raised will be used to defray bail expenses arising out of demonstration arrests and will support CORE's efforts in voter-registration drives in Bogalusa, La. According to Manne, however, "last year we turned over between \$2,000 and \$2,500 to CORE.

²⁰⁵ "Strictly Ad Lib - New York," *Down Beat*, January 14, 1965, 37.

²⁰⁶ Yasuhiro Fujioka with Lewis Porter and Yoh-Ichi Hamada *John Coltrane: A Discography and Musical Biography* (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, 1995), 242, "1964 Coltrane's Footprints." *Down Beat* concurs ("Strictly Ad Lib - New York," January 14, 1965, 37).

²⁰⁷ "Strictly Ad Lib - Potpourri," *Down Beat*, January 28, 1965, 12.

²⁰⁸ "Ad Lib - Boston," *Down Beat*, May 20, 1965, 39.

²⁰⁹ "Strictly Ad Lib -New York," *Down Beat*, June 17, 1965, 16.

²¹⁰ *Ibid*, "Pittsburgh," 43.

²¹¹ "Strictly Ad Lib - New York," *Down Beat*, July 1, 1965, 15. Monson's list ("Abbey Lincoln's *Straight Ahead*," 183) shows this concert as happening in a "private apartment in Greenwich Village" and including James Farmer speaking on his recent trip to Africa and the U.S. civil rights struggle."

²¹² "Strictly Ad Lib - Detroit," *Down Beat*, July 1, 1965, 62.

Today, even though there were 319 people who paid their way in, they didn't buy too much."²¹³

Late October 1965 – NAACP benefit – state convention in Philadelphia featuring Walt Harper.²¹⁴

November 14, 1965 – CORE benefit, NYU chapter featuring the Marc Levin Trio.²¹⁵

December 12, 1965 – CORE benefit, NYU chapter featuring “a quartet led by pianist Burton Green including altoist Marion Brown, bassist Henry Grimes, and drummer Rashied Ali.”²¹⁶

²¹³ “L.A. Bash Raises \$1,462 For San Fernando CORE,” *Down Beat*, September 9, 1965, 11. Even though there appears to have been a similar concert the year before, I haven't yet found information on it aside from this piece.

²¹⁴ “Strictly Ad Lib – Pittsburgh,” *Down Beat*, December 2, 1965, 38.

²¹⁵ “Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, December 30, 1965, 17.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.* According to this piece, this concert was “the second of a series of jazz recitals.” I assume the November 14 gig was the first and I've found no information that there was another one between December 12 and 31.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Apel, Willi. *Harvard Dictionary of Music: Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Berrett, Joshua. *The Louis Armstrong Companion: Eight Decades of Commentary*. New York: Shirmer Books, 1999.
- Bill, "Concert Review – Jazz Gallery, N.Y." *Variety*, April 12, 1961.
- Blume, August G., "Baltimore Dateline: forming a jazz society can be a test of conviction and heroism." *Metronome*, September, 1957.
- Carr, Ian. *Miles: The Definitive Biography*. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1982.
- Carson, Clayborne ed. *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* New York: Warner Books 2002.
- Cerulli, Dom, "Sonny Believes He Can Accomplish Much More Than He Has to Date." *Down Beat*, July 10, 1958.
- Crease, Stephanie. *Gil Evans: Out of the Cool: His Life and Music*. Chicago: A Capella Books, 2002.
- Crow, Bill. *Jazz Anecdotes*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Davis, Barry, "A Jazz Singer By Many Names." *The Jerusalem Post*, Wednesday, October 4, 2000.
- Davis, Miles with Quincey Troupe. *Miles: The Autobiography*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989.
- DeMichael, Don, "Urban League 'Festival.'" *Down Beat*, October 13, 1960.
- Early, Gerald ed. *Miles Davis and American Culture*. St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 2001.
- Ellington, Duke. *Music Is My Mistress*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1973.

- Enstice, Wayne and Paul Rubin. *Jazz Spoken Here: Conversations with 22 Musicians*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1994.
- Eyerman, Ron and Andrew Jamison. *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Farmer, Art, "Record Review: *Freedom Suite*." *Jazz Review*, November, 1958.
- Feather, Leonard, "Feather's Nest." *Down Beat*, February 9, 1955.
- Feather, Leonard, "Life on a Jazz Tour, U.S.A." *Down Beat*, September 3, 1959.
- Feather, Leonard, "Review of *Mingus Ah Um* by Charles Mingus." *Down Beat*, November 26, 1959.
- Fox, Richard G. and Orin Starn ed. *Between Resistance and Revolution: Cultural Politics and Social Protest*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997.
- Fujioka, Yasuhiro with Lewis Porter and Yoh-Ichi Hamada. *John Coltrane: A Discography and Musical Biography*. Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1995.
- Gerard, Charley. *Jazz In Black and White: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Jazz Community*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishing, 1998.
- Gieske, Tony, "Accent on Abart's: There Is a Home For Jazz Downtown." *The Washington Post*, Sunday, June 11, 1961.
- Gitler, Ira, "Review of *Straight Ahead* by Abbey Lincoln." *Down Beat*, November 9, 1961.
- Gold, Don, "Cross Section: Jimmy McPartland." *Down Beat*, November 28, 1957.
- Goldberg, Joe. *Jazz Masters of the Fifties*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965.
- Golson, Benny, "Record Review: *Freedom Suite*." *Jazz Review*, January, 1959.
- Gourse, Leslie. *Art Blakey: Jazz Messenger*. New York: Schirmer Trade Books, 2002.
- Hampton, Harry and Steve Fayer. *Voices of Freedom: An Oral History of the Civil Rights Movement from the 1950s through the 1980s*. New York: Bantam Books, 1990.
- Hentoff, Nat, "Race Prejudice in Jazz: it works both ways." *Harper's Magazine*, June, 1959.
- Hentoff, Nat, "Jazz in Print." *The Jazz Review*, June, 1959.

- Hentoff, Nat, "Jazz In Print." *The Jazz Review*, July 1959.
- Hentoff, Nat, "Jazz In Print." *The Jazz Review*, January, 1960.
- Hentoff, Nat, "Jazz In Print." *Jazz Review*, February, 1960.
- Hentoff, Nat, "Jazz in Print." *Jazz Review*, June, 1960.
- Hentoff, Nat - liner notes to Max Roach's *We Insist! Freedom Now Suite*.
- Hicoock, Larry. *Castles Made Of Sound: The Story of Gil Evans*. New York: Da Capo Press, 2002.
- Jones, LeRoi. *Blues People*. New York: Williams Morrow and Company, 1963.
- Jones, LeRoi, "Jazz and the White Critic: A Provocative Essay On The Situation Of Jazz Criticism." *Down Beat*, August 15, 1963.
- Jones, LeRoi, "Caught In The Act." *Down Beat*, February 27, 1964.
- Kahn, Ashley. *A Love Supreme: The Story of John Coltrane's Signature Album*. New York: Penguin Books, 2002.
- Kernfeld, Barry. *What to Listen for in Jazz*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1995.
- McMichael, Robert K., "We Insist – Freedom Now!": Black Moral Authority, Jazz, and the Changeable Shape of Whiteness," *American Music* (Winter, 1998).
- McWhorter, Diane. *Carry Me Home: Birmingham, Alabama: The Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001.
- Meeker, David. *Jazz In The Movies: A Guide to Jazz Musicians 1917-1977*. London: Talisman Books, 1977.
- Mingus, Sue Graham ed. *Charles Mingus: More Than A Fake Book*. New York: Jazz Workshop Inc., 1991.
- Mingus, Sue Graham. *Tonight At Noon: A Love Story*. New York: Da Capo Press, 2002.
- Monson, Ingrid. "Monk Meets SNCC," *Black Music Research Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 2, New Perspectives on Thelonious Monk (Autumn, 1999).
- Morse, David. *Motown and The Arrival of Black Music*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971.

Neal, Mark Anthony. *Soul Babies: Black Popular Culture and the Post-Soul Aesthetic*. New York: Routledge, 2002.

Nisenson, Eric. *Open Sky: Sonny Rollins and His World of Improvisation*. New York: Da Capo Press, 2000.

Porter, Lewis. *John Coltrane: His Life and Music*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1998.

Posner, Gerald. *Motown: Music, Money, Sex and Power*. New York: Random House, 2002.

Priestley, Brian. *Mingus: A Critical Biography*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1982.

Reagon, Bernice Johnson - liner notes to the two-CD set *Voices of the Civil Rights Movement: Black American Freedom Songs 1960-1966* (Smithsonian Folkways 40084).

Santoro, Gene. *Myself When I Am Real: The Life and Music of Charles Mingus*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Saul, Scott. *Freedom Is, Freedom Ain't: Jazz and the Making of the Sixties*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Shelton, Robert, "Rights Song Has Own History of Integration." *New York Times*, July 23, 1963.

Shipton, Alyn. *Groovin' High: The Life of Dizzy Gillespie*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Stearns, Marshall. *The Story of Jazz*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956.

Szwed, John. *So What: The Life of Miles Davis*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002.

Taylor, Arthur. *Notes and Tones: Musician to Musician Interviews*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1993.

Thomas, J.C. *Chasin' The Trane*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1975.

Tirro, Frank. *Jazz: A History*. New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1977.

Walser, Robert ed. *Keeping Time: Readings in Jazz History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

- Ward, Geoffrey C. and Ken Burns. *Jazz: A History of America's Music*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000.
- Watrous, Peter, "Sonny Rollins and Pals In a Carnegie Hall Reunion." *New York Times*, Friday, April 12, 1991.
- Whitburn, Joel. *The Billboard Book of Top 40 Hits – 3rd Edition*. New York: Billboard Publications, 1987.
- Williams, Juan. *Eyes On the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years, 1954-1965*. New York: Viking, 1987.
- Wilmer, Valerie, "Monk on Monk." *Down Beat*, June 3, 1965.
- Wilson, Peter Niklas. *Sonny Rollins: The Definitive Musical Guide*. Berkeley, California: Berkeley Hills Books, 2001.
- Wilson, Russ, "Caught In the Act." *Down Beat*, August 1, 1963.
- Young, Al and Janet Coleman. *Mingus/Mingus: Two Memoirs*. Berkeley, California: Creative Arts Book Company, 1989.

----- *Phone interviews, Articles/Blurbs without authors, and Websites* -----

- Phone interview with Curtis Fuller, conducted on October 26, 2003.
- Phone interview with Nat Hentoff, conducted on January 19, 2005.
- "Bop Will Kill Business Unless It Kills Itself First," *Down Beat*, April 7, 1948.
- "Music News: East – Satch Speaks Twice," *Down Beat* October 31, 1957.
- "Strictly Ad Lib - New York," *Down Beat*, January 14, 1965.
- "Jazzmen Raise Funds at Jackie Robinson's Home," *Down Beat*, August 1, 1963.
- "Strictly Ad Lib - New York," *Down Beat*, May 25, 1961.
- "Miles Davis-Gil Evans Carnegie Hall Concert Spiked With Politics," *Variety* May 24, 1961.
- "Miles, Gil Together For Benefit," *Amsterdam News*, May 6, 1961.
- "Strictly Ad Lib - San Francisco," *Down Beat*, June 8, 1961.

“Frisco’s Masonic Temple Turns Down Miles Davis Benefit Show for NAACP,” *Variety*, May 3, 1961.

“Miles Davis ‘Approved’ For Bay Concert,” *Down Beat*, July 20, 1961.

“Concert Review,” *Variety*, February 19, 1964.

“What The Branches Are Doing – Michigan,” *The Crisis* April, 1963.

“Without These Songs...,” *Newsweek*, August 31, 1964.

“Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, April 30, 1959.

“A Place for Poetry,” *The Student Voice*, June 1960.

“A Reminder To Petrillo,” *Down Beat*, November 14, 1957.

“Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, November 28, 1956.

“Music News: U.S.A. East: ‘Casualty,’” *Down Beat*, October 17, 1957.

“Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, June 13, 1957.

“Music News: East – ‘Jazz Goes to Little Rock,’” *Down Beat*, October 31, 1957.

“Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, June 25, 1959.

“Heard in Person,” *Down Beat*, December 12, 1957.

“Great South Bay: Sunday Night, Aug. 3,” *Down Beat*, September 18, 1958.

“People Are Talking About,” *Jet*, October 22, 1959.

California Eagle, May 26, 1960.

“Columbia Benefit to Aid Sit-Ins,” *Amsterdam News*, Saturday, April 15, 1961.

“Columbia U. Newspaper Aids Sit-Ins,” *Amsterdam News*, Saturday, April 29, 1961.

“Cross Section: Cannonball Adderley,” *Down Beat*, September 5, 1957.

“Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, October 31, 1957.

“No ‘Freedom Now’ in South Africa,” *Down Beat*, June 21, 1962.

- “Chords and Dischords,” *Down Beat*, May 10, 1962.
- “Strictly Ad Lib,” *Down Beat*, August 31, 1961.
- “Freedom Now Suite May Go On Tour,” *Down Beat*, October 12, 1961.
- “What the Branches Are Doing - Missouri,” *The Crisis*, January, 1962.
- “Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, February 13, 1964.
- “Strictly Ad Lib – Europe,” *Down Beat*, April 23, 1964.
- “Strictly Ad Lib - Potpourri,” *Down Beat*, January 28, 1965.
- “ICC Asked For Set of Bus Rules,” *The Washington Post*, May 30, 1961.
- “Art Blakey, Dakota At NALC Salute,” *Amsterdam News*, Saturday, April 15, 1961.
- “Strictly Ad Lib - Washington,” *Down Beat*, June 22, 1961.
- “White House Pickets Support Bus Riders,” *The Washington Post*, Wednesday, May 31, 1961.
- “Dizzy Heads Board For Jazz Society,” *Amsterdam News*, Saturday, April 29, 1961.
- “Cole Disclaims Entertainers’ Role in Integration Fight,” *Down Beat*, July 4, 1963.
- Toronto Telegram*, March 11, 1965.
- “Racial Prejudice in Jazz” (part one), *Down Beat*, March 15, 1962.
- “Racial Prejudice in Jazz” (part two), *Down Beat*, March 29, 1962.
- “The Need For Racial Unity In Jazz: A Panel Discussion,” *Down Beat*, April 11, 1963.
- “Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, January 4, 1962.
- “CBC TO Telecast Prejudice in Jazz Discussion,” *Down Beat*, April 12, 1962.
- “Along the NAACP Battlefront – Birmingham Victims,” *The Crisis* November, 1963.
- “Armstrong Speaks Out on Racial Injustice,” *Down Beat*, April 22, 1965.
- Liner notes to *Blues and Politics*.
- “Life on a Jazz Tour, U.S.A.,” *Down Beat*, September 3, 1959.

“Sonny Rollins Meets the Japanese Press,” *Down Beat*, December 19, 1964.

“Urban League Grosses \$98,200 At Jazz Festival,” *Jet*, August 27, 1959.

“Map NAACP Concert,” *Jet*, October 8, 1959.

“New York Beat,” *Jet*, October 8, 1959.

The Crisis, November, 1959.

The California Eagle, May 26, 1960.

“Strictly Ad Lib – Boston,” *Down Beat*, July 21, 1960.

“Chazz Crawford Soundtrack,” *The California Eagle*, July 28, 1960.

“People and Places,” *The California Eagle*, November 17, 1960.

The California Eagle, November 17, 1960.

“Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, February 2, 1961.

“Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, March 2, 1961.

“Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, April 13, 1961.

“Miles Davis ‘Approved’ For Bay Concert,” *Down Beat*, July 20, 1961.

“Strictly Ad Lib - San Francisco,” *Down Beat*, March 15, 1962.

“Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, April 12, 1962.

“Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefield - ‘Milwaukee Raises \$1,000,’” *The Crisis*, August-September, 1962.

“Caught In the Act - SNCC Benefit, Carnegie Hall,” *Down Beat*, March 28, 1963.

“Strictly Ad Lib - San Francisco,” *Down Beat*, March 15, 1962.

“NAACP Uses Jazz to Bolster Membership in Hollywood,” *Down Beat*, April 11, 1963.

“Strictly Ad Lib – New York,” *Down Beat*, August 29, 1963.

“Strictly Ad Lib - San Francisco,” *Down Beat*, November 21, 1963.

“Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, April 23, 1964.

“Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, December 19, 1963.

“Party Aids Bronx CORE,” *Amsterdam News*, November 30, 1963.

“Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, January 2, 1964.

Amsterdam News, Saturday, November 16, 1963.

“Basie, Sinatra & Co. Headline California Benefit,” *Down Beat*, November 21, 1963.

“Stars’ Show for Freedom Gains \$25,790 Profit,” *The California Eagle*, March 26, 1964.

“Sammy Davis, Jr. Tops Friday Show For Worthy Cause,” *The California Eagle*,
December 5, 1963.

“CORE Sponsors Troubadour Show,” *The California Eagle*, December 12, 1963.

“Caught in the Act,” *Down Beat*, May 21, 1964.

“Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, April 23, 1964.

“Strictly Ad Lib – New York,” *Down Beat*, June 4, 1964.

“Star-Studded NAACP Show on Closed-Circuit Television,” *Down Beat*, May 7, 1964.

“Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, November 19, 1964.

“Strictly Ad Lib - Cleveland,” *Down Beat*, November 19, 1964.

“Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, January 14, 1965.

“Strictly Ad Lib – Potpourri,” *Down Beat*, January 28, 1965.

“Ad Lib – Boston,” *Down Beat*, May 20, 1965.

“Strictly Ad Lib -New York,” *Down Beat*, June 17, 1965.

“Strictly Ad Lib - Pittsburgh,” *Down Beat*, June 17, 1965.

“Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, July 1, 1965.

“Strictly Ad Lib – Detroit,” *Down Beat*, July 1, 1965.

“L.A. Bash Raises \$1,462 For San Fernando CORE,” *Down Beat*, September 9, 1965.

“Strictly Ad Lib – Pittsburgh,” *Down Beat*, December 2, 1965.

“Strictly Ad Lib - New York,” *Down Beat*, December 30, 1965.

<http://www.useekufind.com/peace/summary.htm>

<http://www.rarebeatles.com/photopg7/cr21264.htm>

<http://africanmusic.org/artists/ladji.html>

www.ejn.it/mus/rollins.htm

www.jazzitude.com/freedom_suite.htm

www.allaboutjazz.com/php/article.php?id=110

http://www.ehistory.com/world/amit/display.cfm?amit_id=2015

<http://www.webster-dictionary.org/definition/cat%20o%27%20nine%20tails>

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/aahtml/exhibit/aopart9.html>

www.jazzdiscography.com

VITA

Ben Anderson

Ben Anderson was born in Monmouth, Illinois in 1979. He graduated from Hermitage High School in Richmond, Virginia in 1997. As an undergraduate, he attended Virginia Commonwealth University where he received a B.A. in Music with a minor in American Studies in 2001. He entered the American Studies Program at the College of William and Mary as a master's candidate in August of 2003 and defended his thesis in April of 2005. He currently resides in Richmond and plans to pursue a career in the museum field.