

**VALUING JAZZ: CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISONS OF THE
CLASSICAL INFLUENCE IN JAZZ**

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Abstract

‘Valuing Jazz: Cross-cultural Comparisons of the Classical Influence in Jazz’ re-examines the interaction of Western classical music and jazz, focussing particularly on developments in North America and Britain in the twentieth century. This dissertation acknowledges and builds on the existing connections that have been drawn between classical music and jazz—both those that underscore the musical differences between the two idioms in order to discredit the latter, and those that acknowledge similarities in order to claim cultural legitimacy for jazz. These existing studies almost universally use outdated evaluative criteria, and I seek to redress this by using contemporary classical-music practices and discourses as my point of reference. By adopting a range of methodologies to investigate both intra- and extra-musical trends, this dissertation offers a thorough and balanced exploration of the topic.

Each chosen avenue for exploration is explained with reference to parallel developments in North America, in order to provide a context within accepted jazz history and to highlight the different ways in which jazz developed in Britain. The phenomena under consideration include the emergence of a school of jazz criticism and scholarship that adopted systems of analysis and evaluation from established studies of classical music (Ch. 1); physical characteristics of jazz performance venues and the changing styles of audience reception within (Ch. 2); the adoption by jazz composers of ideologies and musical features from classical repertoire (Ch. 3); and the development of educational establishments and pedagogical systems that mirrored those already present in the classical-music world (Ch. 4). Although by no means exhaustive, these chapter topics provide a

range of jazz narratives that provide a clear picture of the degree to which the development of jazz in America and Britain has been conditioned by the practices and characteristics of classical music.

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A few years ago, I remarked upon witnessing a friend submitting their PhD that ‘it takes a village’. As I approach the final stages of my own doctoral dissertation, I realise that rarely was a truer word spoken!

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1 Influences of Classical Music in Jazz Criticism	30
CHAPTER 2 Changing Venues and Values in Jazz	74
CHAPTER 3 Intra-musical Meetings of Jazz and Classical Music	148
CHAPTER 4 Jazz Education	215
CONCLUSION	265
APPENDICES	277
BIBLIOGRAPHY	286

Introduction

Jazz is a hybrid music. Throughout its history, the music has formed and developed as a result of the incorporation of existing and local musical styles. Western classical music is arguably the most contested and ruminated upon of these musical influences, and has been positioned variously as a highbrow counterfoil to jazz, a set of systems and values for jazz musicians and composers to aspire to and the provider of frameworks for criticism and analysis. These categories have been constructed from the longstanding viewpoint of classical music as the dominant position—a stance that became the cultural norm after centuries of musical performance, and became fixed after the nineteenth-century sacralisation of culture.¹ Many of these critical stances have since been debated and debunked by members of jazz's discursive community, and a third (jazz-centric) stance has emerged, in which influences from classical music are seen as a corrupting force. This category is a conflation of the earlier positions, acknowledging differences between the two musics in order to emphasise the cultural legitimacy of jazz. In this dissertation, I reframe the oft-perceived oppositions between the two musics, considering the possibility of a more nuanced relationship, and suggesting that certain aspects of the classical-music tradition and the surrounding discourse may be and have been more appropriately applied to *British* jazz than others. I suggest that British jazz can absorb elements of the discourse, practices, traditions and styles of classical music without losing its own identity.

¹ As documented by Lawrence W. Levine, with reference to this cultural phenomenon in America. *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 83–168.

In this dissertation, I address the intersection and interaction of values and ideologies of Western classical music with jazz, focussing particularly on the differences between jazz in Britain and the accepted narrative of jazz in America. The topics covered in the following four chapters are wide-ranging in order to provide an overview of developments in jazz history and their relationship to classical-music practices during this timeframe. I adopt a two-fold approach in each chapter, opening with a detailed history of jazz in relation to the topics under consideration, followed by theoretical and ethnographical answers to the research questions. I have undertaken extensive archival, analytical and ethnographical research in order to collect information with which to begin the task of constructing a history of jazz in Britain from a variety of perspectives. In order to provide a cultural foil throughout, I also provide a study of parallel developments in American jazz history.

This dissertation was prompted by my own experiences as a musician in Britain. When I began simultaneously training as a classical saxophonist and performing as a semi-professional jazz saxophonist in 2003, I encountered numerous prejudices from both sides. From my classical instructor at the Royal Academy of Music, I repeatedly heard such comments as ‘you’ll ruin your embouchure if you play jazz’. From mentors and colleagues in the jazz world, I heard ‘why do you mess around with classical repertoire?’ I struggled to reconcile these perspectives as an active musician. Why were these antagonistic opinions so ingrained? Why, when I played the same instrument in both situations, using the same notes and the same fingerings, were my colleagues and superiors in both disciplines so wary? I

understood the need to produce different sounds and timbres for different styles—but that is to be expected *within* classical music and *within* jazz, too. Just as I would not expect to produce the same sound for the solo in Bizet's *L'Arlésienne* as for Glasunov's *Concerto*, I would expect to adopt different timbres and vibrato for Count Basie's *Splanky* and Gordon Goodwin's *Sing, Sang, Sung*. And although I used different mouthpieces and reeds to play classical repertoire than to play jazz, I also used different mouthpieces depending on what style of jazz I was playing. The tension between the two idioms was clearly more deep-rooted than I had first imagined.

By investigating British jazz history as part of my postgraduate research, I thought, I could locate the origins of these prejudices. My earliest research, though, yielded surprising results in two main areas. First, jazz in Britain appeared to adopt existing classical-music frameworks from its beginnings. Second, the antagonistic relationship between the two musics that I encountered as a performer seemed to have been imported from America.

Classical music has different cultural associations in Britain and in the United States. In Britain—and in its wider geographical context, Europe—Western classical music has been part of the cultural backdrop for centuries, and performances of the repertoire have developed from being the popular music of its day to attaining the separation from public life and artistic status that it now holds. In North America, the existence of this perceived 'highbrow' music that in some cases is older than the United States has frequently been a cause of cultural

anxiety.² By the 1980s, the desire to develop an indigenous music that could be as prestigious as European classical music is evident, in writing such as Billy Taylor's article 'Jazz: America's Classical Music', and in the establishment of repertory programmes such as 'Classical Jazz' at the Lincoln Center in New York. In his article from 1986, Taylor—who was active as a jazz pianist from 1952, and who earned a doctorate for a dissertation on the history of jazz piano in 1975—vehemently explained his belief that jazz deserved the same cultural appreciation as classical music:

Jazz is America's Classical Music. It is both a way of spontaneously composing music and a repertoire, which has resulted from the musical language developed by improvising artists. Though it is often fun to play, jazz is *very serious* music. As an important musical language, it has developed steadily from a single expression of the consciousness of *black* people into a *national* music that expresses American ideals and attitudes to Americans and to people from other cultures all around the world ... This classical music defines the national character and the national culture ... *Jazz is America's classical music*, yet many Americans have been consistent in their bias against it. They believe that western-European classical music is superior to any other in the world, and therefore the only music that warrants serious and intensive study.³

Taylor's tone is typical of much American writing about jazz since the late 1920s, in which a constant impetus to prove the music's cultural validity results in the simultaneous creation and reinforcement of an opposition between the two musics, as well as an emphasis of their similarities in order to rebut claims of jazz's inferiority. Wynton Marsalis made equally strong claims about the cultural validity of jazz in the early years of the Classical Jazz project:

Classical Jazz at the Lincoln Center ... is intent on helping give to jazz, its artists and its products their deserved place in American culture. I also feel

² Throughout this dissertation, the terms 'America' and 'American' are used to refer to the United States (North America). 'The South' refers to the southern United States, not South America.

³ William 'Billy' Taylor, 'Jazz: America's Classical Music', *The Black Perspective in Music* 14/1 (Winter 1986): 21–25; reprinted in Robert Walser (ed.), *Keeping Time: Readings in Jazz History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 328–331. Perhaps the most famous example of this school of thought is Grover Sales' book of the same name. *Jazz: America's Classical Music* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1984).

that the Classical Jazz series gives Lincoln Center an additional reason to regard itself as a center of world culture.⁴

John Gennari critiques this position, reflecting upon a century of jazz criticism in his 2006 tome *Blowin' Hot and Cool: Jazz and Its Critics*. He suggests that while American jazz *musicians* were able to progress and develop the music, critics and didacts (among which number Marsalis and Taylor through their discursive activities) became caught up in cultural anxieties: 'Pious clichés about "America's classical music" and "America's only indigenous art form" notwithstanding, old-fashioned boosterism has always been fundamental to the rhetoric of U. S. jazz criticism.'⁵

In contrast, many European classical musicians embraced jazz, and members of the avant-garde were quick to absorb elements into their compositions. Due in part to the long history of classical music in Europe, jazz in Britain was not always positioned as its opposite but could simply be accepted as another form of musical entertainment.

Another contributing factor to the intersection of the two musics is the hybridity of jazz—the fact that components of classical music contributed to the emergence of the idiom. Elements of classical music were therefore always present in jazz practices, and helped to make the music what it is today. This dissertation seeks to unearth some of the ways in which values and ideologies of classical music have intersected specifically with British jazz—although I always situate case studies within relevant historical developments on the American jazz scene. The

⁴ Wynton Marsalis, 'What Jazz Is—and Isn't', *New York Times* (31 July 1988): 21, 24; reprinted in Walser (ed.), 338.

⁵ John Gennari, *Blowin' Hot and Cool: Jazz and Its Critics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 374.

following four chapters address this research question in diverse areas: jazz criticism (Chapter 1); performance venues and audience response (Chapter 2); composition and performance (Chapter 3); and jazz education (Chapter 4). The wide range of topics covered, combined with the focus on British jazz, offers a more subtle perspective on the presence or rejection of aspects of classical music in jazz than the search for cultural legitimisation expressed by Taylor and Marsalis.

My focus on British jazz casts a different light on the nuances of the relationship between jazz and classical music. The reasons for this focus are three-fold, and have been influenced by: my own experiences as a jazz musician; my involvement in the jazz culture of Britain as a life-long fan of the music; and my recent discovery of and engagement with an exciting group of jazz scholars within the British academic community. I have already discussed the comments and questions that arose when performing as both a classical and jazz saxophonist. However, my immersion in the British jazz world as a performer overlapped with my experiences as a fan. It is possible to hear the upper echelon of British jazz musicians, as well as the American jazz greats, at venues as diverse as Ronnie Scott's jazz club in London, and the Brecon Jazz Festival in mid-Wales. Regularly attending jazz performances has been both an inspiration and a reward for this study. My research also overlaps with my experiences as a fan, but I am aware of the academic limitations of the 'fan mentality' (to adopt John Covach's term as used in relation to rock music), and I aim to maintain an objective and neutral tone

throughout.⁶ Finally, in recent years, a group of British jazz scholars has emerged (George McKay, Catherine Parsonage, Alan Stanbridge, Tony Whyton and others). These scholars are both re-evaluating the history and historiography of jazz in the United States, and engaging with the origins and influences of British and European jazz performance. While these scholars and their interactions are suggesting new ways of thinking and writing about jazz history, little scholarship has been published on British jazz aside from Catherine Parsonage's seminal research into the earliest performances and developments in British jazz and Hilary Moore's exploration of British jazz and related social topics in the twentieth century.⁷ This dissertation contributes to this emerging field by suggesting a new narrative for the understanding of jazz history, by focussing on the influences of classical music, and by considering American and British developments in tandem.

My research addresses the temporal gap between Parsonage's timeframe (1880–1935) and research into contemporary jazz. In each chapter I give contextual background to the first decades of jazz in Britain, but use the 1950s as a pivotal decade in jazz history from which point I introduce original ethnographic material. This decade is within living memory for some jazz musicians, and is

⁶ Covach writes: 'All of us who enjoy music are fans to some degree—nobody is really excluded from this group. But what does it mean to be a fan? Being a fan of an artist, group or style entails frequently listening to the music itself as well as gathering interesting facts about both the artists and the music. As a fan, there is absolutely nothing wrong with ignoring other artists, groups or styles that do not interest us ... But as students of rock music, we cannot be so quick to ignore music we do not like. We must strive to be as fair as we can as we study rock's history and development, and this often forces us to consider carefully music we probably wouldn't choose to listen to otherwise. Being fair also means that we don't use every fact we encounter in a perpetual quest to prove that our favorite band really is the best band in the history of music ... You don't have to suspend your sense of judgment to study rock's history, but you do have to work to keep the fan mentality at bay.' John Covach, *What's That Sound? An Introduction to Rock and Its History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2006), 6.

⁷ Catherine Parsonage, *The Evolution of Jazz in Britain, 1880–1935* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005); Hilary Moore, *Inside British Jazz: Crossing Borders of Race, Nation and Class* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2007).

viewed by many scholars as a crucial period in jazz history. In Britain, the 1950s saw the end of a Ministry of Labour restriction that forbade American musicians from performing in Britain, allowing native musicians to learn first-hand from their jazz idols for the first time in over twenty years. In addition, New Orleans jazz was prevalent and popular, bebop and hard bop were well received by musicians and audiences, and an indigenous free-jazz movement was emerging. The 1960s saw the first formalised jazz education in Britain, and the 1970s forceful developments in jazz-rock. The 1980s was a crucial decade, both for the ‘classic jazz’ resurgence headed by Wynton Marsalis in the United States, and for the emergence of two popular and influential British big bands, Loose Tubes and Jazz Warriors.⁸ I end my study in the 1990s for two reasons: first, the encapsulated forty-year period is roughly approximate to the working life of a jazz musician, and appropriate to my methodology. I therefore adopt Paul Berliner’s methodology of arranging an academic study of jazz around the ‘life cycle’ of jazz musicians.⁹ Second, British governmental support for jazz waned at the end of the Thatcher government in 1990.¹⁰ Her resignation as Prime Minister in 1990 helps to define the end of this social period.¹¹

⁸ Stuart Nicholson, *Jazz: The 1980s resurgence* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1995); Hilary Moore, “‘Dreams of Our Mothers’ Ebony Eyes”: 1980s Black Britain and the Jazz Warriors’, in *Inside British Jazz*, 97–132.

⁹ After undertaking ethnographic research for over a decade, Berliner consolidated the information gained into an academic monograph. ‘After numerous revisions of the manuscript’, he writes, ‘I settled on a final structure based, in part, on the artist’s musical life cycle.’ Paul Berliner, *Thinking in Jazz: The Infinite Art of Improvisation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), 13.

¹⁰ Jason Toynbee remarked upon this phenomenon in a recent conference paper. Jazz and National Identity Conference, organised by Rhythm Changes Committee, Conservatory of Music, Amsterdam, 2 September 2011.

¹¹ The only exception to this temporal focus is my discussion of the Associated Board jazz examinations in Chapter 4. This syllabus was devised in the late 1990s, but only came into operation in the early 2000s.

The twentieth century saw many cultural contextual changes outside music. Two world wars, the Great Depression, the Cold War, the Gulf War and Britain's first female Prime Minister were just some of the events that shaped societal norms during this period. Within music, the advent of recording technology at the turn of the century, and the ease of distribution and consumption brought with it was the most significant development. Social and technological developments came together in the post-World War II years, in which teenagers first became distinct from their parents in terms of taste cultures and disposable income. For the first time, the youth were able to purchase and consume music independently of their parents, which had an important effect upon the speed at which popular music styles developed. Pre-war, the popular music was jazz, but after soon after the war, the rock and roll boom hit the English-speaking world, and the nature of music consumption changed. While my main focus is on the relationship between jazz and classical music, it is important to situate this study within its wider context, and to realize that a similar analytical framework could be usefully applied to different genres.

Musical Oppositions?: Improvisation and Composition, Art and Commerce

Jazz's relationship with classical music has resulted in the creation and reinforcement of dichotomies between the two musics. In this dissertation I interrogate the accuracy of commonly held understandings of jazz as improvised music and classical as composed, and jazz as commercial music and classical as

art music, using existing writings about jazz to explain that such binary oppositions are based on anachronistic yet culturally pervasive evaluative criteria.

Improvisation is a prime exemplar to demonstrate the nuanced relationship between classical and jazz. Improvisation is commonly understood to be a feature unique to and defining of jazz. As David Demsey writes:

Improvisation is at the very center of the jazz experience. In many ways, improvisation gives jazz a unique place in Western music. While other music genres share similarities with jazz in terms of form, harmony, melodic line, instrumentation, or even the concept of swing, no musical situation is more singularly thrilling, joyful, and sometime terrifying for a performer as walking onto a jazz stage and literally not knowing what is about to happen musically.¹²

Yet improvisation has also played a significant role in classical music throughout its history. Bruno Nettl has acknowledged its existence in Baroque keyboard sonatas, while Joseph Kerman emphasised the importance of improvisation in Classical-period piano sonatas, and Robin Moore highlighted its role in music of the Romantic period.¹³ The practice declined in the classical music of the late-nineteenth century, but re-emerged in the 'New Music' and avant-garde of the 1950s. Carl Dahlhaus commented in 1987:

The tendency towards improvisation [in modern classical music] is motivated in a number of different ways: first, by the development of compositional technique in the post-serial music of the last decade and a half; secondly, by an affinity to jazz, which, it is true, has existed for decades but which in the past produced nothing except a superficial, contradictory, hotchpotch of musical materials; and finally in the hope that

¹² David Demsey, 'Jazz Improvisation and Concepts of Virtuosity', in Bill Kirchner (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Jazz* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 788.

¹³ Bruno Nettl, 'Thoughts on improvisation: a comparative approach', *Musical Quarterly* 60 (1974): 1; Joseph Kerman, 'Review: Piano Concertos by Mozart and Beethoven', *Early Music* 25/3 (August 1997): 519–520; Robin Moore, 'The Decline of Improvisation in Western Art Music: An Interpretation of Change', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 23/1 (June 1992): 62–3. Both Nettl and Moore acknowledge the importance of Ernst Ferand's earlier study into the tradition of improvisation in Western classical music. Ferand, *Die Improvisation in der Musik* (Zurich, 1938).

musical improvisation is the expression of, and a means of achieving, an emancipation of consciousness and feeling.¹⁴

Dahlhaus' dismissal of the entire history of jazz as 'a superficial, contradictory hotchpotch of musical materials' provides an example of anti-jazz opinion from classical musicology. Even when acknowledging similarities between contemporary classical improvisatory practices and those of jazz, Dahlhaus displays a reluctance to engage with the musical content of the latter in any detail. However, despite his prejudices, the above quotation indicates that in the example of improvisation, contemporary and early classical-music practices are entirely relevant to jazz. It is only when measured against the predominantly reproductive (not interpretative) classical performances of the nineteenth century that the incorporation of improvisation can be seen as an inappropriate valorising criterion.

Bernard Gendron suggests that the development of a critical discourse specifically intended for jazz laid the groundwork for a re-negotiation of the typical division of (commercial) jazz and (artistic) classical repertoire. Taking the co-existence of revivalist New Orleans-style jazz and bebop in 1940s America as his focus, he suggests that jazz became an art music in its own right through the appropriation and manipulation of gestures and discourses previously reserved for high culture:

Modern jazz did not necessarily want to join high culture, to become America's 'classical music,' but to contest high culture's monopoly over cultural capital. Modern jazz musicians and jazz critics were intensively engaged in a struggle to raise jazz from the lowly musical status to which it had been consigned. Thus, more than anything else, it is by overturning the traditionally passive role of popular music in high/low interactions, and thereby contesting high culture's monopoly over cultural respect, that modern jazz deserves the special distinction of having ushered in the

¹⁴ Carl Dahlhaus, 'Composition and Improvisation', in *Schoenberg and the New Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 265.

postmodern age in high/low engagements. The formal appropriation of modernist devices is itself only a symptom of this larger transformation.¹⁵

Each of the following chapters explains ways in which features and practices of classical ‘art’ music were first introduced to jazz contexts, before the development of new systems and frameworks that were unique to jazz.

Writings About Jazz

It is a common understanding that writings about jazz served different functions and addressed different aims over the music’s history. As Robert G. O’Meally, Brent Hayes Edwards, and Farah Jasmine Griffin note:

While the earliest forms of criticism were faced with the task of legitimating jazz as an art form, later writers debated critical approaches: Should the critic focus on the technical accomplishments of a particular artist? Should he or she focus on the political, economic, cultural, and social context out of which the music emerges?¹⁶

Most existing studies of jazz fulfill one of the three outcomes suggested by O’Meally et al.: R. D. Darrell’s early reviews of Duke Ellington records went some way towards legitimising the musical content of jazz, by evaluating the music using existing classical-music criteria and by appearing in a classical-music journal; Gunther Schuller’s analysis of Sonny Rollins’ improvisations valorised the technical and musical accomplishments of the saxophonist; and many recent

¹⁵ Bernard Gendron, *Between Montmartre and the Mudd Club: Popular Music and the Avant-Garde* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 11.

¹⁶ Robert G. O’Meally, Brent Hayes Edwards, and Farah Jasmine Griffin, ‘Introductory Notes’, *Uptown Conversation: The New Jazz Studies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 5.

biographies of musicians and edited collections of essays emphasise the significance of the social backdrop to jazz.¹⁷

In addition to the three aforementioned styles, and in line with Covach's description of the fan mentality, the interests and enthusiasms of the author frequently colour jazz writing. As Krin Gabbard comments, 'a disproportionate amount of jazz scholarship is and has been devoted to finding the most effective means for identifying and exalting favored artists.'¹⁸ He continues, citing examples of two articles from the Austrian jazz journal *Jazzforschung*:

Both [writers] insist on the value of their subjects even when it means speaking with two voices: each scholar writes almost entirely in the professional language of a canonical discipline, but at the beginning or end of his piece, he switches to the vocabulary of the fan and the record collector. Their praise for jazz artists is not and cannot be documented by their use of traditional scholarly approaches. Footnotes and musical examples disappear when the scholar becomes essentially indistinguishable from the fan. The collapsing of these two categories has run through a great deal of jazz writing ever since the appearance of the first books that dealt with the music.¹⁹

The fan mentality and fan cultures have, however, played a crucial role in the development and the continuation of jazz. As Chapters 1 and 2 show, networks of supportive and enthusiastic jazz fans enabled the establishment of a discursive tradition in jazz and the formation of different styles of reception. In Britain, far removed from the original source of the music, jazz fans were also frequently active as jazz authors (as in the case of Patrick 'Spike' Hughes), as members of

¹⁷ R. D. Darrell, 'Black Beauty', *disques* (Philadelphia: H. Royer Smith, 1932); reprinted in Mark Tucker (ed.), *The Duke Ellington Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 57–65; Gunther Schuller, 'Sonny Rollins and the Challenge of Thematic Improvisation', *Jazz Review* 1 (1958); reprinted in *Musings: The Musical Worlds of Gunther Schuller* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1999), 86–97; for example, essays that engage with the social context of jazz are contained within Kirchner (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Jazz*, and Mervyn Cooke and David Horn (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Jazz* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

¹⁸ Krin Gabbard, 'Introduction: The Jazz Canon and Its Consequences', in Gabbard (ed.), *Jazz Among the Discourses* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 8.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

Rhythm Clubs (as in the case of Eddie Harvey) and as jazz musicians themselves (Hughes and Harvey). Paul Lopes suggests the emergence of a ‘jazz art world’ (after Howard S. Becker’s ‘art worlds’) in the 1950s, in which a network of people in America performed different roles within the jazz world: musicians, writers, fans, record producers, concert promoters and so on.²⁰ In Britain, although a similar phenomenon can be noted, individuals frequently doubled up on these roles.

Thus in Chapter 1 I explore the influences of and innovations from classical-music criticism and scholarship on writings about jazz on both sides of the Atlantic. I divide jazz authors into four loosely chronological groups: jazz writers (writing for non-specific presses about jazz, with little discussion or analysis of musical content); jazz critics (writing for newly founded specialised jazz periodicals, and including some analytical detail); jazz scholars (writing for jazz periodicals and educational textbooks, including analytical detail and an awareness of their place within the discursive tradition surrounding jazz); and new jazz scholars (modern jazz scholars, who re-evaluate and re-contextualise trends of past jazz authorship, as well as developing new schemes of analysis and evaluation). ‘Jazz authorship’ is used as a blanket term to cover all four categories. I re-evaluate the usage and appropriateness of critical traditions adopted from classical music, and assess the utilisation of new frameworks developed for jazz. In particular, different approaches adopted by British and North American authors are noted.

²⁰ Paul Lopes, *The Rise of a Jazz Art World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); after Howard Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

Sources for Chapter 1 include archived original jazz periodicals (for which the microfiche resources at the British Library have been invaluable), secondary edited collections of jazz authorship (in particular Mark Tucker's *The Duke Ellington Reader*, Robert Walser's *Keeping Time* and Robert Gottlieb's *Reading Jazz*), autobiographies and biographies of key figures in British jazz history, and recent analyses of the discursive tradition (with key texts being the 1991 articles of Scott DeVeaux and John Gennari, Gennari's later monograph on the subject, and edited collections of essays).²¹ By focussing on the aforementioned trends in jazz authorship, I give an overview of developments in writing style, and use carefully chosen examples to retain a sharp focus on the adoption and manipulation of classical-music frameworks. By discussing contemporary developments in jazz musicology, I can situate my own research within the discursive tradition. The extensive background to the field that I give in this chapter stands in place of a conventional literature review. In subsequent chapters, I use brief topic-specific literature reviews to indicate the desiderata that are addressed by my research.

In Chapter 2 I extend the idea that traditions and associations formed within the 'jazz art world', but outside the practices of performing and creating jazz, acted as a legitimising force for the music. The chapter is bipartite, consisting of a historical survey of jazz venues and an ethnographic study of the connections between British jazz venues and the music's stylistic development. First I chart

²¹ Mark Tucker (ed.); Walser (ed.); Robert Gottlieb (ed.), *Reading Jazz: a Gathering of Autobiography, Reportage, and Criticism from 1919 to Now* (New York: Pantheon, 1997); Scott DeVeaux, 'Constructing the Jazz Tradition: Jazz Historiography', *Black American Literature Forum* 25 (1991): 525–560; John Gennari, 'Jazz Criticism: Its Development and Ideologies', *Black American Literature Forum* 25 (1991): 449–523; Gennari, *Blowin' Hot and Cool*; Gabbard (ed.), *Jazz Among the Discourses*; Gabbard (ed.), *Representing Jazz* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995); Kirchner (ed.); Cooke and Horn (eds.).

the trajectory of jazz performance venues in the United States and Britain, arguing that jazz reception in its early decades was conditioned by the physical properties and audience expectations of the venues in which it was performed. I begin by establishing the expected physical characteristics and audience behavioural conventions of classical concert halls, by constructing ‘a classical concert experience’.²² This model of a classical concert provides a ‘legitimate’ framework against which to compare the systems of reception and venues that accompanied jazz performances. A brief historical survey of jazz venues in both countries yields examples of reception frameworks that differed radically from those of classical music, those that adopted classical-music conventions to accompany jazz performances in concert halls, and the development of unique styles of jazz reception that were suited to the music and its venues. Closer examination of the histories of the respective countries shows that although the trends in performance venues can be crudely categorised thus, in actuality more subtle shifts took place. British phenomena included the ‘Rhythm Club’ movement, and the early idea of jazz clubs consisting of members with a shared ethos rather than a fixed geographical space—both of which were developed without reference to classical concert traditions or American jazz performances. This historical survey of jazz venues concludes with the emergence of several dedicated jazz clubs (in both Britain and America) and the reception styles that they encouraged.

The second half of Chapter 2 consists of an ethnographic study into the ways in which British jazz venues and the development of style have been intertwined

²² The publications of Lawrence W. Levine and Christopher Small are crucial to this model, and I also draw upon my own experiences as a frequent concert goer. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*; Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1998).

since the 1950s. During this period of research, I interviewed six leading figures in British jazz: Eddie Harvey (b. 1925), jazz composer, trad-jazz revivalist, bebop trombonist and pianist, and jazz educator; Bill Ashton (b. 1936), founder and director of the National Youth Jazz Orchestra (NYJO); John C. Williams (b. 1943), composer for NYJO, and freelance jazz saxophonist and educator; Alan Barnes (b. 1959), jazz educator and freelance jazz saxophonist; Dave O'Higgins (b. 1960), jazz educator and freelance jazz saxophonist; and Pete Long (b. 1965), musical director of the Ronnie Scott's All-Stars Big Band, Gillespiana and Echoes of Ellington repertoire bands, and freelance jazz saxophonist.²³ I combine the information gained from these interviews and the few existing written sources on the period to address the rise in the number of concert jazz performances and the cultural legitimacy implied by this, as well as the implications for jazz of the simultaneous decline in informal and more intimate jazz venues across both Britain and America. Very little existing scholarship acknowledges the crucial role that performance venues have played in the development and continuation of jazz, but as a starting point, I use Ian Carr's study of British jazz in the 1960s and 1970s, Vincent Pelote's chapter on jazz clubs in America, and DeVeaux's article concerning 1930s American jazz concerts.²⁴

The first fusions of classical compositional style with features of jazz were often imbued with cultural aspirations for the idiom—for example Paul Whiteman's 1924 Aeolian Hall concert, featuring George Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue*, was

²³ More detailed biographies of these musicians are given as Appendix 1.

²⁴ Ian Carr, *Music Outside: Contemporary Jazz in Britain*, Second Edition (London: Northway Publications, 2008. First published by Latimer New Dimension Ltd., 1973); Vincent Pelote, 'Jazz Clubs', in Kirchner (ed.), 722–733; DeVeaux, 'The Emergence of the Jazz Concert, 1935–1945', *American Music* 7 (1989): 6–29.

billed as the effort to ‘make a lady out of jazz’.²⁵ However, when Gunther Schuller devised and promoted an ‘equal fusion’ of the two musics in the late 1950s, he attempted to cast aside earlier cultural misgivings and attempts to elevate the status of jazz, by giving the new fusion a new name:

I am fully aware that, individually, jazz and classical music have long, separate traditions that many people want to keep separate and sacred ... I felt that by designating this music as a *separate, third* stream, the two other mainstreams could go their way unaffected by attempts at fusion. I had hoped that in this way the old prejudices, old worries about the purity of the two main streams that have greeted attempts to bring jazz and ‘classical’ music together could, for once, be avoided.²⁶

Schuller commissioned the first examples of the third-stream style for the 1957 Festival of the Creative Arts at Brandeis University, Massachusetts. In Chapter 3, I identify areas of musical disjunction between the two styles in three early works in the third-stream idiom: instrumentation; differences in rhythmic interpretation between classical and jazz musicians; formal design that betrays origins in either discipline; the integration of improvisation; and the incorporation of jazz harmonies. Case studies for this section are George Russell’s *All About Rosie* (1957, composed for the Brandeis Festival); Schuller’s own *Concertino for Jazz Quartet and Orchestra* (1959); and John Dankworth’s and Mátyás Seiber’s *Improvisations for Jazz Band and Symphony Orchestra* (1959). *Improvisations* is the only notable example of British third-stream repertoire, and provides an instance of Dankworth’s willingness to experiment with new compositional developments in jazz.

²⁵ Robert Walser credits this phrase to Whiteman himself, and uses it as the heading for Hugh C. Ernst’s programme notes for the concert. Walser (ed.), 39.

²⁶ Schuller, ‘Third Stream’, *Saturday Review of Literature* (13 May 1961); reprinted in *Musings*, 115.

I then consider the presence of these third-stream areas of musical disunity in musical examples drawn from key subgenres of jazz through the music's history, in order to suggest the presence of subtle but implicit classical compositional values in mainstream jazz and the positive musical results engendered by such a creative tension. Styles and case studies include: the implication of performance values from classical music in swing, focussing on the treatment of improvisation in Duke Ellington's *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue* (1937–1956); a nod to classical music in the acoustic instrumentation, extended forms, and instrumental virtuosity of jazz-rock; and the seamless integration of swung and straight quavers, jazz harmonies, and complex formal designs in composer-led jazz ensembles of the 1980s (with Django Bates' *Tentle Moments* and Maria Schneider's *Wyrgly* as examples).

Chapter 4 continues to investigate the adoption of existing classical frameworks as a legitimising force for jazz, this time considering the use of established methods of learning and teaching classical music within educational systems. In this chapter, I isolate three elements of a jazz musician's development that are both fundamental and unique to jazz: the ability to interact with other jazz musicians within performance and rehearsal contexts; familiarity with jazz repertoire; and improvisational ability. I borrow from Lucy Green's research in the field of popular-music to categorise the ways in which jazz musicians have learnt their craft into informal learning (oral learning within performance and rehearsal contexts) and formal learning (through codified systems within educational establishments), and address how each of the specified educational aims could be

achieved in either context.²⁷ A running theme of this chapter is the role of the ‘jazz mentor’—a prevalent informal system in which students learn appropriate attitudes, technique, and repertoire from those around them. I explain the changing nature of mentors as jazz became absorbed into the academy, from 1942 in America, and from 1965 in Britain.

While the recent monographs of Stuart Nicholson, David Ake, and Tony Whyton have addressed the implications of college-level jazz education systems in America, the parallel phenomenon in Britain has not been considered in any depth.²⁸ The data gained from my interviews with British jazz musicians formed a key resource for this chapter. Their educational paths divided clearly into two paradigms, and I was able to distinguish between an ‘older group’ that learnt informally (Harvey, Ashton and Williams), and a ‘younger group’ who went through formal degree-giving systems of education (Barnes, O’Higgins and Long). I also consider the effect of examination syllabuses and mass-produced pedagogical methods for improvisation in decreasing the originality of jazz musicians, alongside a manipulation of the classical-music graded system, by which generations of young musicians learn the same arrangements of the same repertoire.

I use the music and influence of Duke Ellington as a recurring case study throughout this dissertation. The complexity of Ellington’s compositional output

²⁷ Lucy Green, *How Popular Musicians Learn* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2002), 16.

²⁸ Stuart Nicholson, ‘Teachers Teaching Teachers: Jazz Education’, in *Is Jazz Dead? (or has it moved to a new address?)* (London: Routledge, 2005), 99–120; David Ake, ‘Learning jazz, teaching jazz’, in Cooke and Horn (eds.), 255–269, and ‘Rethinking Jazz Education’, in *Jazz Matters: Sound, place, and time since bebop* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 101–120; Tony Whyton, ‘Birth of the School’, in *Jazz Icons: Heroes, Myths and the Jazz Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 153–177.

has prompted frequent comparisons with classical music since the 1920s. These same alignments with classical music make Ellington a useful case study for my research. His compositions, his orchestra, and the events that have surrounded them provide an alternative to the standard practices of American jazz history—and often fall between the usual practices of classical music and those of jazz. Ellington’s colossal popularity in Europe preceded his first European tour in 1933, and many of the classical-music systems of appreciation that have since been applied to Ellington’s music originated there. Thus in Chapter 1, I investigate Ron Welburn’s claim that Ellington’s music was the ‘catalyst for a true jazz criticism’, exploring not only the American examples suggested by Welburn, but earlier and contemporaneous British writings.²⁹ Ellington’s residency at Harlem’s black-and-tan Cotton Club is a thought-provoking example of existing connotations of a venue conditioning audience responses to jazz, a trend which I explore in Chapter 2. In addition, Ellington wrote a series of original works of symphonic proportions for the ensemble’s annual Carnegie Hall concerts from 1943, in an unusual case of a jazz musician manipulating classical musical and reception frameworks for his own artistic devices. In Chapter 3 I consider the implementation of classical compositional and performance values in three recordings of *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue*. I examine the compositional complexity in detail, as well as considering the changing role of improvisation in the work between 1937 and 1956, in order to provide a new perspective on critical claims of classicism in Ellington’s output. Ellington’s repertoire forms a large proportion of the material used by repertory bands in educational contexts, and in Chapter 4 I examine the

²⁹ Ron Welburn, ‘Duke Ellington’s Music: The Catalyst for a True Jazz Criticism’, *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 17 (1986): 111–122.

suitability of his music for this purpose, and its effects on the creation and continuation of the jazz canon.

Methodology

The wide-ranging topics covered in this dissertation encourage an interdisciplinary approach. I engage with archival textual and musical resources, current and established conventions of musicological research and analysis, modern philosophy, qualitative research, and pedagogical tools. The dissertation is not intended to provide a comprehensive history of British jazz, but a thorough historical overview can be gained from the study as a whole, due to the detailed stylistic comments contained within the chapter themes.

Chapter 1 provides an overview of writings about jazz, including a discussion of the subjects addressed by and untouched by jazz scholarship. Subsequent chapters draw on relevant contemporaneous and contemporary scholarship, and I intertwine scholarly findings with the information from my interview subjects to inform my conclusions. More established philosophical opinions and schools of thought from classical musicology form a necessary counterbalance to this research. Levine's theories of the 'sacralisation of culture' provide the framework with which to compare the jazz venues and audiences considered in Chapter 2. In Chapter 4, I draw upon theories of canon formation in classical repertoire by scholars such as Marcia Citron in order to interrogate Gabbard's understanding of

a parallel ‘jazz canon’, suggesting that such a jazz canon has been formed and perpetuated by educational systems and repertoire bands.³⁰

When preparing and carrying out the interviews, I borrowed from social science methodology.³¹ Each interview was conducted in person, and followed a prepared ‘interview guide’: a series of prompts (as opposed to scripted questions) that allowed conversation to flow without the concern that I had omitted questions. I structured the interviews around five topics: current employment and weekly routine; early training and career; NYJO, if applicable; venue; and some detailed questions about musical content. The flexibility of this format allowed me to research the biography of each subject in advance, and tailor questions to their own history and experiences. I began by interviewing Bill Ashton, with whom I had a prior acquaintance. From this first interview, the others followed in a ‘snowball effect’, whereby if a musician was mentioned several times in an interview (for example, Ashton talked at some length about Pete Long, another mutual acquaintance), I arranged an interview with that musician. This method of arranging interviews had the potential for creating a self-selected pool of corresponding opinions and experiences, but I deliberately selected interview subjects with a range of geographical and social backgrounds, thereby representing a cross-section of the jazz world. The musicians often held conflicting opinions, which reinforces the representative nature of this study. To expand this as a resource, future projects could include interviews with today’s jazz students at music colleges and working young musicians, which would

³⁰ Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

³¹ Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods*, 3rd Edition (London: Sage Publications, Inc., 2002).

accurately represent the effects of the educational systems of the last twenty-five years.

I am aware of the potential limitations of my own position within jazz musicological discourse. My background as a white middle-class Brit is appropriate for addressing the history of British jazz—but perhaps less so when considering the music’s African-American origins in America. My intention is to provide a balanced and open-minded interpretation of the histories and topics under consideration, and I have engaged with primary sources from the emergence of jazz as well as later re-appropriations by black activists such as LeRoi Jones.³² My background in traditional musicology has enabled me to understand and apply systems and frameworks of classical music, but I am aware of the irony of approaching such a research question from this perspective. I endeavour to remember without replicating the prejudices of my classical and jazz instructors, and to keep an open mind throughout.

Perhaps more problematic is my stance as a female scholar. I am aware that this is a male-centric narrative. Unfortunately, this has always been the situation in jazz performance—a fact that is supported by the gender imbalance in jazz education. In the first year of the jazz degree at Leeds College of Music in the academic year 2010–11, four out of fifty-one students are female. When I spoke to these female students about this situation, they elaborated. Two of the four are baritone saxophone players—an instrument that is seen as unwieldy and cumbersome, but necessary in big bands. The implication made by the students was that a baritone

³² LeRoi Jones, *Blues People: Negro Music in White America* (New York: Harper Collins, 1963).

player did not have to be of the same standard as the melody instruments played by the male component of the course. (Incidentally, there are no male baritone saxophonists in this year group.) The other two female jazz students are singers—historically seen as an adornment to the band, but not as a ‘real’ member of jazz ensembles.

A notable exception to the predominantly masculine performance trajectory in British jazz is Kathleen Stobart (known as Kathy), who emerged as a bebop tenor saxophonist in the 1950s. Her influence is a recurring feature in the life stories of several of my interview subjects. Although she denied it in person, much of the written evidence of her career has supported the prevailing sexism in the jazz industry.³³ For example, Humphrey Lyttelton’s recollection of Stobart’s involvement in his band in the late 1950s is not overtly sexist, but still notes her gender:

During her tour of duty, we made a recording (‘Kath meets Humph’), which gives ample evidence that, without qualification on grounds of gender, she is one of the finest tenor players in the country.³⁴

A detailed study into the reasons for this gender imbalance is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but I hope to address this in a future project.

Other avenues that warrant further investigation but are outside the limits of this dissertation include the implications of race and class on British jazz. Hilary Moore begins to explore some of these topics in her 2007 monograph *Inside British Jazz: Crossing Borders of Race, Nation and Class*.³⁵ Moore focuses on one case study to illustrate each theme of the title, ‘progressing in chronological

³³ Kathy Stobart, conversation with the author, Axmouth, 7 October 2010.

³⁴ Humphrey Lyttelton, *Second Chorus* (Letchworth: MacGibbon and Kee, 1958), 171.

³⁵ Hilary Moore.

order and spanning most of last century'.³⁶ Chapter 1 explains the 1920s 'jazz invasion', situating the performances of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band and the Southern Syncopated Orchestra within the social backdrop of post-war Britain. Chapter 2 concerns the British New Orleans jazz revival of the 1940s and '50s, using the life and times of cornettist Ken Colyer as a case study, and explaining the phenomenon as a 'principally working-class initiative'.³⁷ In Chapter 3 Moore compares the free jazz of British-Caribbean saxophonist Joe Harriott with that of the American Ornette Coleman, aligning the respective sounds with political ideologies. Finally, in Chapter 4, she recounts the formation of the all-black Jazz Warriors in 1985, contrasting them musically with the contemporaneous all-white Loose Tubes, and positioning them within the social backdrop of race riots in Britain.

Inside British Jazz is an important scholarly text for raising these crucial issues. Moore's narrative strategy enables her to provide an overview of British jazz history and its context, but in focussing on such specific case studies, many more questions are raised. For example, she gives a brief history of racial relations in Britain from 1958 to 1995, listing the 1958 Notting Hill riots, 1964 Commonwealth Immigration Act, and 1981 New Cross fire and Brixton riots as key events. She explains the changing racial climate between these events:

In the first, West Indian residents were victims of violent attacks by white extremists. They reacted violently only after two days of unprovoked assault, and then only in defending their properties against white attackers ... In contrast, by the 1980s, structures of authority – from school teachers through police to the government itself – were the target of black wrath. Lessons of the civil rights and black power movements had been internalized, bringing about mass demonstration and violent protest against

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

the structures of government, at whose feet were laid the final accountability for British racism.³⁸

However, in directing all the information towards her study of the Jazz Warriors, Moore omits discussion of other important events in the racial climate of Britain. For example, John Dankworth's involvement with racial politics is enlightening and warrants further study. The singer Clementine Campbell (who later achieved worldwide recognition as Cleo Laine) joined his band in 1951, and they married soon after meeting. Laine was of African descent, although she had been born and brought up in Essex. Dankworth experienced racist attitudes in Britain close-hand, and modified his own policies accordingly. In 1954 he turned down a £10 000 tour to South Africa because segregation laws meant that only a segment of the population would be allowed to attend. He was later a founding member of one of the first public anti-racism groups in Britain, the Stars' Campaign for Inter-Racial Friendship, formed by a group of 'showbiz people' after the Notting Hill riots of 1958.³⁹ Again, the 1950s and the decades following have been neglected in academic study.

Moore's discussion of class divisions also provides a springboard for further exploration. Her use of Ken Colyer to illustrate the working-class roots of British New Orleans-style jazz is valid, but the opposite also deserves consideration. Humphrey Lyttelton is perhaps a better-known example of a New-Orleans revivalist musician—and he was born into aristocracy and educated at Eton. The tradition of middle- to upper-class British jazz musicians has continued partly out of necessity, for financial stability and self-confidence are great assets for

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 108.

³⁹ John Dankworth, *Jazz in Revolution* (London: Constable and Company, 1998), 110–11.

musicians who need time to practice and to take unpaid gigs as they gain notoriety on the jazz circuit. Class privileges and education in American jazz deserve attention, too—such important figures in jazz history as Miles Davis and Duke Ellington were born into wealthy families and provided with a musical education at an early stage. The situation in America is complicated by the popular belief that the nation is a ‘class-less society’. Romanticised notions of struggling jazz musicians prevail in the mythology surrounding jazz in both countries, and are reinforced by the testimonies of jazz musicians and those around them.⁴⁰ Moore’s choice of contextual issues of race, nation and class provide the impetus for further study.

Valuing Jazz: Cross-cultural Comparisons of the Classical Influence in Jazz

The wording of my title deserves some explanation. I use the term ‘classical influence’ to refer to practices from the European art-music tradition—not specifically the Classical period (which is usually understood to be c. 1750–1820), but the continuing traditions from the Baroque era to the present day.

As has become apparent through this introductory chapter, many of the existing polarisations of classical and jazz refer to nineteenth-century ideals of composition, criticism and reception. In reality, an almost limitless variety of compositional techniques, performance practices and even improvisation exist in

⁴⁰ Tony Whyton surveys the propagation of these myths through oral histories in his chapter ‘Witnessing and the jazz anecdote’, in *Jazz Icons*, 106–126. Nathan Wiseman-Trowse has conducted a study into representations of class in 1990s Britpop. *Performing Class in British Popular Music* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

contemporary classical music—yet the musicological and aesthetic ideals that have been applied to jazz are almost universally rooted in the nineteenth century. By expanding our understanding of ‘classical’ music to include not only contemporary practices but also those from the Baroque and Classical, and Romantic eras, it is possible to see many similarities between jazz and classical music.

I do not use the term ‘values’ to reinforce existing hierarchies such as those detailed by Levine in *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, but as an umbrella term to cover all the musical features, extra-musical practices, and ideologies of the style. In each chapter of this dissertation, I apply a modern perspective in order to show that the interaction of Anglo-American jazz and contemporary classical values can be a creative union.

Chapter 1: Influences of Classical Music in Jazz Criticism

Jazz is commonly understood to have originated and been first performed in the Louisiana port city of New Orleans around the turn of the twentieth century. Although the geographical specificity of the emergence of jazz has since been disputed,¹ the colourful narratives surrounding the location and connotations of early jazz performances provide a springboard for this discussion of the influence of classical music in jazz criticism. Much of the early writing about jazz focussed on its social and musical contrasts with classical—with local authors condemning the connotations of performances in brothels, nightclubs and dance halls. On the few occasions that the musical content of jazz was considered in any detail, it was dismissed as a manifestation of influences from the African jungle. However, in the later 1910s, visiting European musicians that were not burdened by decades of racial tension wrote about jazz in a different way, praising the emotion conveyed by the musicians, and beginning to compare the music with that of their own tradition. I refer to this early generation of non-analytical authors as ‘jazz writers’.

In the 1920s, a trend for analytical jazz criticism began in North America, borrowing evaluative criteria from the classical-music world. This more considered criticism developed in the 1930s, with authors on both sides of the Atlantic producing record reviews, periodical articles and historical textbooks on the subject. The geographical distance of European jazz fans and critics from the

¹ For example, Jeff Taylor states that ‘a variety of syncopated styles and repertoires, ones related to but distinct from the ragtime and “country blues” traditions, are now known to have evolved in other regions of the country during jazz’s formative years. In New York, Chicago, the Southwest, and even the West Coast, African-American popular music traditions both maintained a regional flavor and incorporated elements of the New Orleans style as it was disseminated in the first two decades of the twentieth century.’ ‘The Early Origins of Jazz’, in Kirchner (ed.), 41.

source of the music led to an enthusiasm for jazz recordings, and the first jazz discographies were produced in France in 1936, again as a result of sustained research and study. Authors of this musical criticism are referred to here as ‘jazz critics’.

By the 1950s, a generation of jazz critics had emerged in both Europe and America that not only analysed and evaluated the musical content and social context of jazz, but were self-reflexive in their approach, referring to earlier and contemporaneous criticism, and situating themselves within the discursive tradition. I refer to this third category of authors as ‘jazz scholars’. Several epic studies were produced in this vein, and the American Gunther Schuller is a key figure in this style of authorship. His 1958 article analysing the improvisations of saxophonist Sonny Rollins is an important early example of the systematic application to jazz of analytical techniques borrowed from classical music.² His thoroughly researched and comprehensive survey textbooks of the history of jazz, published in 1968 and 1989 respectively, provided some of the most comprehensive musical information and application of the values and systems of classical-music appreciation to date.³ Schuller’s historical tomes promoted a common narration of jazz history, one that divided the history of jazz into decade-long periods that formed a compressed version of the development of European classical-music styles. A feature of this linear narrative was his focus on individual musicians, which endorsed the auteurism found in histories of classical music as well as in other disciplines.

² Schuller, ‘Sonny Rollins’, 86–97.

³ Schuller, *Early Jazz: Its Roots and Musical Development* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968); *The Swing Era: The Development of Jazz, 1930–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

Several historical surveys of jazz criticism were published in the late 1980s and early 1990s by authors such as Scott DeVeaux, John Gennari and Ron Welburn.⁴ Gennari later expanded his study into a book-length comprehensive (and valuable) survey of jazz criticism, *Blowin' Hot and Cool*.⁵ A feature of these studies was a criticism of the adopted linear narrative and its associations with classical-music criticism. DeVeaux writes: 'For a music that had prided itself on its distinctiveness from "classical music," it is surprising how readily and unquestioningly a rough parallelism with the history of European music was accepted.'⁶ The single-man approach has also been criticised, with scholars such as Krin Gabbard drawing parallels with film theory:

I would argue that [jazz studies] has for a long time been in a phase comparable to the auteurist era of film studies in the 1960s and 1970s: ever since the first serious writings about jazz appeared, critics have sought to become organic intellectuals, who would theorize themselves and the music into positions of importance.⁷

These scholars are representative of a new trend in American and British jazz scholarship, termed 'new jazz studies'. Authors such as those listed, as well as David Ake in America, and Catherine Tackley (*née* Parsonage), Tony Whyton and colleagues in Europe, have over the last decade challenged not only the adoption of classical-music criteria in jazz criticism, but also the methods of earlier jazz scholars. Ake and Whyton have published monographs questioning readily accepted 'jazz myths', and Tackley has completed an extensive survey of the emergence of jazz in Britain.⁸ In addition, the two last scholars are heading large-

⁴ DeVeaux, 'Constructing'; Gennari, 'Jazz Criticism'; Welburn, 'Catalyst'.

⁵ Gennari, *Blowin' Hot and Cool*.

⁶ DeVeaux, 'Constructing', 544.

⁷ Gabbard, 'Introduction: The Jazz Canon and Its Consequences', in Gabbard (ed.), *Jazz Among the Discourses*, 7.

⁸ David Ake, *Jazz Cultures* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); *Jazz Matters*; Whyton, *Jazz Icons*; Parsonage (now Tackley), *The Evolution of Jazz in Britain*. Tackley recently described the new jazz studies as the approaches adopted in such publications as *Jazz Among the Discourses*; Robert O'Meally, *The Jazz Cadence of American Culture* (New York: Columbia

scale collaborative research projects into European jazz: Whyton is at the forefront of the three-year ‘Rhythm Changes’ project, which ‘examines the inherited traditions and practices of European jazz cultures’; and Tackley and colleagues at the Open University examined the cultural identity and emergence of Black British Jazz, under the umbrella title of ‘What is Black British Jazz?’ I refer to the proponents of this recent scholarly trend as ‘new jazz scholars’.⁹

In this chapter, I examine and re-evaluate the adoption of classical-music criteria in the four categories of jazz author outlined: jazz writers; jazz critics; jazz scholars; and new jazz scholars. (Jazz authorship is used as a blanket term to cover all categories.) I focus on the distinctions that can be drawn between American and British authors—a theme that has been overlooked in existing surveys of jazz authorship. Although my approach is survey in style, I do not purport to give a comprehensive history of jazz criticism, but rather an overview of stylistic developments in authorship, focussing on key examples of methodological trends. While the first two sections are outside the main temporal focus of this dissertation, the brief summaries of developments during these periods provide crucial background and context for post-1950s authorial trends.

University Press, 1998); O’Meally, Edwards and Griffin (eds.); and the journal *The Source: Challenging Jazz Criticism* (Leeds College of Music), now the *Jazz Research Journal*. Tackley, ‘Jazz recordings as social texts’, in Amanda Bayley, (ed.), *Recorded Music: Performance, Culture and Technology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 183, footnote 4.

⁹ Tony Whyton *et al.*, <http://www.rhythmchanges.net> (accessed 2 June 2011); Jason Toynbee, Catherine Tackley *et al.*, <http://www3.open.ac.uk/media/fullstory.aspx?id=19081> (accessed 2 June 2011). The What is Black British Jazz? project took place between January 2009 and July 2011.

Jazz Writers

The earliest performances of jazz, in the nightclubs, speakeasies and brothels of New Orleans and elsewhere, were characterised both by the improvisatory and energetic ‘hot’ style of music, and by the intimate dances developed by audiences. Features of the New Orleans jazz style included: small ensembles featuring trumpet, clarinet, trombone, double-bass or sousaphone, and drum-kit; syncopated repetitive melodies that were usually based on twelve-bar blues sequences or ragtime structures, played in heterophony or simple harmony; improvised solos based on the melody; and a steady four-four beat. The differences in musical style between the ‘sensual delight’ of the new jazz and the ‘languor of a Viennese waltz or the refined sentiment and respectful emotion of an eighteenth-century minuet’,¹⁰ along with the connotations of amorality and corruption that contemporaneous writers associated with jazz performance venues, meant that the earliest jazz writers sought to disown the style.¹¹ An article in a New Orleans newspaper from 1918 states:

It has been widely suggested that this particular form of musical vice had its birth in this city—that it came, in fact, from doubtful surroundings in our slums. We do not recognize the honor of parenthood, but with such a story in circulation, it behooves us to be the last to accept the atrocity in polite society, and where it has crept in we should make it a point of honor to suppress it. Its musical value is nil, and its possibilities of harm are great.¹²

The musical content of jazz rarely featured in these early American writings—and when it did, superficial connections were drawn with the African roots of the music. This approach both embodied the combined allure and repulsion of

¹⁰ Anonymous, ‘Jass and Jassism’, *The Times-Picayune* (20 June 1918), 4; reprinted in Walser (ed.), 8.

¹¹ The correlation between jazz venues and jazz reception is explored in greater detail in Chapter 2.

¹² Anonymous, ‘Jass and Jassism’, 8.

American primitivism at this time, and served to distance jazz from classical music. A 1917 article in the *New York Sun* provides an example:

In the old plantation days, when the slaves were having one of their rare holidays and the fun languished, some West Coast African would cry out, 'Jaz [*sic*] her up,' and this would be the cue for fast and furious fun ... Jazz music is the delirium tremens of syncopation. It is strict rhythm without melody ... There are many half notes or less and many long-drawn wavering tones. It is an attempt to reproduce the marvelous syncopation of the African jungle.¹³

In these early years of jazz, the established press displayed a reluctance to award the music critical consideration. This could be attributed to an effort by the white press to distance themselves from the perceived social and musical inferiority of the new style. As Welburn comments: 'the emergence of a serious critical journalism for lowly jazz was heretical to followers of classical music ...

Although most commentators acknowledged the African-American roots of jazz, few African Americans wrote about it with critical depth.'¹⁴ It can therefore be understood that those writing about jazz at this time had little or no interaction with the musicians.

American racial politics, the attitudes of the predominantly white journalistic press and the effects of segregation on black jazz musicians are central to any discussion of the early years of jazz. Scholars such as Ingrid Monson and Sherrie Tucker have discussed this topic at length.¹⁵ Racism was a lesser issue in Europe, and in Britain especially, as there were neither indigenous black populations nor a

¹³ Walter Kingsley, 'Whence Comes Jass? Facts From the Great Authority on the Subject', *New York Sun* (5 August 1917), 3; reprinted in Walser (ed.), 6.

¹⁴ Ron Welburn, 'Jazz Criticism', in Kirchner (ed.), 745–749.

¹⁵ Ingrid Monson, *Saying Something: Jazz Improvisation and Interaction* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996); Sherrie Tucker, *Swing Shift: "All-Girl" Bands in the 1940s* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).

long history of conflict to inspire guilt-fuelled antipathy. As Grover Sales commented in 1984:

The private face of the artist was glimpsed only by fellow musicians and a hyperemotional cult of white critics and record collectors who mainly lived abroad where the relative freedom from racial and artistic prejudice better equipped them for an early embracement of American black music, not merely as an adjunct to dancing and partying, but as the object of thoughtful listening and study.¹⁶

However, some useful background to racial acceptance and conflict in Europe can be found in the publications of Parsonage, Paul Oliver, and Jeffrey H. Jackson.¹⁷ As the topic has been so extensively covered elsewhere, issues relating to racism are only discussed here when directly relevant to the development of jazz authorship.

Some early European jazz writers adopted a different approach to that of their American counterparts. In 1919, after hearing a performance in London by the Southern Syncopated Orchestra (an early jazz ensemble which featured clarinetist Sidney Bechet as a soloist at the time), the Swiss conductor Ernest Ansermet praised the emotions conveyed by the musicians:

I couldn't tell whether those artists feel it is their duty to be sincere, or whether they are driven by the idea that they have a 'mission' to fulfill, or whether they are convinced of the 'nobility' of their task, or have that holy 'audacity' and that sacred 'valor' which the musical code required of our European musicians, nor indeed whether they are animated by an 'idea' whatsoever. But I can see that they have a very keen sense of the music they love, and a pleasure in making it which they communicate to the hearer with irresistible force—a pleasure which pushes them to outdo themselves all the time, to constantly enrich and refine their medium.¹⁸

¹⁶ Sales, 43.

¹⁷ Parsonage, *The Evolution of Jazz in Britain*; Paul Oliver (ed.), *Black Music in Britain: Essays on the Afro-Asian Contribution to Popular Music* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1990); Jeffrey H. Jackson, *Making Jazz French: Music and Modern Life in Interwar Paris* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

¹⁸ Ernest Ansermet, 'Sur un Orchestra Nègre', *Revue Romande*, (October 1919); reprinted in Walser (ed.), 9.

Although Ansermet later describes the musicians under consideration as ‘negroes’, the term appears to be used descriptively rather than pejoratively, and there is none of the alignment with the African jungle that is evident in Kingsley’s writing. In addition, Ansermet addresses the musical content of the performance. He contrasts it with the classical music with which he is familiar, but even in so doing this European jazz writing demonstrates a willingness to consider jazz a music of value:

In the field of melody, although his habituation to our scales has effaced the memory of the African modes, an old instinct pushes the negro to pursue his pleasure outside the orthodox intervals: he performs thirds which are neither major nor minor and false seconds, and falls often by instinct on the natural harmonic sounds of a given note ... It is only in the field of harmony that the negro hasn’t yet created his own distinct expression. But even here, he uses a succession of seventh chords, and ambiguous major-minors with a deftness which many Europeans should envy.¹⁹

In the late 1910s, therefore, differing responses to jazz can be seen in the writings on either side of the Atlantic.²⁰ In the following decade the continued popularity of jazz in America and Britain ensured the development of similar musical criteria for its evaluation in both countries. Welburn suggests that the sophisticated compositions of Duke Ellington, and the characteristics that they shared with classical music, provided the inspiration for sophisticated jazz criticism. This issue carries racial overtones, however, and I will frame the following study of the emerging academic jazz criticism that surrounded Ellington’s music with a consideration of the social nuances of the reception of a black orchestra playing to white audiences on both sides of the Atlantic.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 10–11.

²⁰ The differences between the critical style of British jazz writers and their American counterparts warrants further investigation. This research is outside the scope of the present dissertation, but future topics for exploration could address national distinctions in jazz criticism on a larger scale, taking into account other European countries as well as non-Western nationalities.

Jazz Critics

Pianist and composer Edward Kennedy ‘Duke’ Ellington moved to New York City from his native Washington in 1923, and began playing for a five-piece band, the Washingtonians, whom he soon came to lead. Under Ellington’s direction, the group gained a residency at the Cotton Club, a segregated ‘black and tan’ venue in Harlem, in 1927.²¹ The Cotton Club residency gave increased exposure to Ellington’s band and repertoire, which led to several positive published reviews of the music. These American reviews focussed more often on the race of the composer and performers than on the musical content, and the language used was evocative of savagery and the jungle—racial constructions which were still in common usage at the time. For example, a reviewer in 1929 wrote that:

I should say that anyone who could not enjoy the savage and mournful Ellington records ... could not enjoy jazz ... There is more and better melody in one of the dances of this astounding Negro than in ten of the pallid tones of the average operetta.²²

While the racial overtones are apparent in this review, the acknowledgement of musical value in Ellington’s output marks a development from the earlier examples of American jazz writing. The transition was slow, for even R. D. Darrell, whose enthusiastic critique of Ellington later caused Welburn to characterise the musician ‘the catalyst for a serious jazz criticism’,²³ wrote in 1932 that:

Where the music of [Ellington’s] race has heretofore been a communal, anonymous creation, he breaks the way to the individuals who are coming

²¹ Reception conventions at the Cotton Club and their implications for Ellington’s music are explored further in Chapter 2.

²² Abbé Niles, ‘Ballads, Songs and Snatches’, *The Bookman* (January 1929), 570–71; reprinted in Mark Tucker (ed.), 41.

²³ Welburn, ‘Catalyst’.

to sum it up in one voice, creating personally and consciously out of the measureless story of racial urge for expression.²⁴

Again, the appreciation of musical value is present but the writing is not analytical. The opinions voiced by Niles and Darrell were common at this time, and indicate a primitivist understanding of black musicians amongst white American jazz writers.

Ellington developed a style of composition and performance in his band known as 'jungle style', which catered to the primitivist expectations of his audiences and employers. As Ellington's compositional output features adept compositions in several other styles, it may be understood that the jungle style (which featured driving tom-tom rhythms, growling brass, and swooping saxophones) was a comment upon the expectations of white audiences who had situated the black dancers and musicians as an exotic spectacle. In a 1969 tribute to Ellington, Ralph Ellison recalled hearing 'stylized jungle sounds (the like of which no African jungle had ever heard)' in the Ellington band's performances.²⁵ An example of the jungle style can be heard in Ellington's 1927 composition for performance at the Cotton Club, 'Black and Tan Fantasy'.

According to Welburn, 'Black and Tan Fantasy' was the inspiration for the beginnings of evaluative musical criteria for jazz. He explains how a series of record reviews by the American writer R. D. Darrell between 1927 and 1932 suggested the development of a style of detailed criticism of jazz that carried the

²⁴ R. D. Darrell, 'Black Beauty', 64.

²⁵ Ralph Ellison, 'Homage to Duke Ellington on His Birthday', *Sunday Star* (Washington D. C., 27 April 1969); reprinted in Mark Tucker (ed.), 396.

same critical weight as the contemporaneous discourse surrounding classical music. In 1927, Darrell wrote in *Phonograph Monthly Review*:

In ['Black and Tan Fantasy'] the Washingtonians combine sonority and fine tonal qualities with some amazing eccentric instrumental effects. This record differs from similar ones by avoiding extremes, for while the 'stunts' are exceptionally original and striking, they are performed musically, even artistically. A piece no one should miss! The snatch of the Chopin Funeral March at the end deserves special mention as a stroke of genius.²⁶

In 1932, Darrell expanded upon these opinions in an extended critical essay.

'Black Beauty' was published in the classical-music journal *disques*. This choice of publication indicated a wider acceptance of the cultural status of jazz. In the essay, Darrell compared Ellington's works to 'great', 'serious' Western composed classical repertoire. He surveys several of Ellington's compositions, explaining that the repertoire,

for all its fluidity and rhapsodic freedom [is] no improvisation, tossed off by a group of talented virtuosi who would never be able to play it twice in the same way. It [bears] the indelible stamp of one mind, resourcefully inventive, yet primarily occupied not with the projection of effects or syncopated rhythms, but the concern of great music—tapping the inner world of feeling and experience.²⁷

This quotation both underscores the mystique surrounding improvisation, and reiterates the classical-music obsession with the single *auteur* of a musical work. The publication of this article represented a recognition of the complexity that was possible within jazz composition and performance—prior to this, American jazz writing had focussed on the emotions that the music provoked and expounded. In contrast, Darrell described Ellington as 'a man who knows exactly what he is doing: exercising his intelligence, stretching to new limits his musicianship while he remains securely rooted in the fertile artistic soil of his race.'²⁸ Darrell

²⁶ R. D. Darrell, *Phonograph Monthly Review* (1927); reprinted in Mark Tucker (ed.), 33–34.

²⁷ R. D. Darrell, 'Black Beauty'; reprinted in Mark Tucker (ed.), 57–65.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 59.

borrowed evaluative musical criteria from the classical world, and praised features of Ellington's works including: timbral integration; meshing of soloists and composed sections; quality of rhythm; quality of soloists; and dynamic range. His reviews represented the first example of American jazz *criticism*. John Howland has recently identified a more general critical desire to authenticate jazz as an art form in the 1930s, with Ellington's music providing a central focus to this agenda.²⁹ David Metzger offered another racialised perspective on the subject in 2003, suggesting that constructions of whiteness and blackness were distorted by Ellington's and Miley's use of quotation in 'Black and Tan Fantasy'. Metzger identifies a spiritual, 'The Holy City', as the basic melodic material for the piece:

'Black and Tan Fantasy' rejects the restraint and musical decorum of the spiritual arrangements, which were largely modeled upon European concert idioms. In lieu of such refinement, it charges its spiritual with a blues intensity that yields a series of bizarre sounds—Miley's 'choking and wailing' and Nanton's ya-yas and horsewhinny—unheard in either the church or concert hall.³⁰

Metzger refers to a 1934 essay by Zora Neale Thurston and Henry Louis Gates, Jr.'s ideas of Signifyin(g) to theorise upon the racial and cultural associations that were played with in 'Black and Tan Fantasy'.

In 1920s Europe, aspects of primitivism had been in vogue for several years. An example is Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring*, which had its premiere in Paris in 1913 with the Ballets Russes and used ritualistic tribal rhythms and subject matter. From its early days, therefore, the European cultural establishment linked primitivism more to musical prowess than to race. This can be attributed both to

²⁹ John Howland, 'Chapter 4: Ellingtonian Extended Composition and the Symphonic Jazz Model', *Ellington Uptown: Duke Ellington, James P. Johnson and the Birth of Concert Jazz* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2009), 143–199.

³⁰ David Metzger, *Quotation and Cultural Meaning in Twentieth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 54.

the distance from native black populations and their existing musical representations.

Enthusiasm for jazz spread among Europeans in the 1920s, due to tours from American jazz bands and the dissemination of recordings. By the time of Louis Armstrong's European tour in 1932, a considerable fan base for jazz had been established in Britain, thanks in no small part to the establishment of a jazz press in the form of jazz record reviews published in periodicals such as *Gramophone* (established in 1923), and *Melody Maker* (1926). A key figure in the British journalistic jazz press was Patrick 'Spike' Hughes (1908–1987). Hughes contributed hundreds of articles to *Melody Maker*, and used the pseudonym 'Mike' to review jazz records. He was also active as a jazz double bassist, and frequently reviewed his own recordings under his pseudonym.

European jazz critics still exhibited more open-mindedness towards the music than their American counterparts. When planning Ellington's 1933 tour to England, his manager Irving Mills wrote in *Melody Maker*:

[British dance-band leaders and musicians] have left me in no doubt that England is Ellington-minded, that it has as good an appreciation—if not better—than the white folk of America. It has been a revelation, and an encouragement to arrange for the band's future visit to London.³¹

The English composer and critic Constant Lambert used direct comparisons with features and composers of classical music to valorise Ellington's music the following year:

The best records of Duke Ellington ... can be listened to again and again because they are not just decorations of a familiar shape but a new arrangement of shapes. Ellington, in fact, is a real composer, the first jazz

³¹ Irving Mills, 'Au Revoir, Europe!', *Melody Maker* (February 1933): 121.

composer of distinction, and the first Negro composer of distinction. His works—apart from a few minor details—are not left to the caprice or ear of the instrumentalist; they are scored and written out, and though, in the course of time, variants may creep in—Ellington’s works in this respect are as difficult to codify as those of Liszt—the first American records of his music may be taken definitively, like a full score, and are the only jazz records worth studying for their form as well as their texture. Ellington himself being an executant of the second rank has probably not been tempted to interrupt the continuity of his texture with bravura passages for the piano, and although his instrumentalists are of the finest quality their solos are rarely demonstrations of virtuosity for its own sake. The real interest of Ellington’s records lies not so much in their colour, brilliant though it may be, as in the amazingly skilful proportions in which the colour is used.³²

Once again, it is possible to see a respect for the musical content of jazz in the jazz criticism of European classical musicians. Although Lambert comments favourably upon Ellington’s music, and does not lament the absence of a score, his classical-music bias is evident in his inability to accept the validity of more than one version of a musical work.

By the 1930s, networks of (predominantly white) jazz enthusiasts in both Europe and America had established a small but prolific jazz press. The primary medium for their criticism of jazz was the record review, which Gennari describes as ‘the short, pithy, self-contained unity of analysis that represents an important first step toward thorough criticism.’³³

As Simon Frith explains, though, record reviews were already in existence as a medium for classical-music appreciation. By the 1920s, British periodicals such as *Gramophone* and *Melody Maker* had established a format for classical record reviews that is still familiar today:

³² Constant Lambert, *Music Ho! A Study of Music in Decline* (London: Faber and Faber, 1934), 151.

³³ Gennari, ‘Jazz Criticism’, 473.

The review described the music in analytical terms drawn from academic musicology (and with a strong sense of what was proper according to the score); the record's acoustic properties were assessed. The critics' authority rested on their knowledge of both the history of music and record company catalogues. The best—most elegant and effective—versions of such reviews are to be found, though, not in *The Gramophone* itself but in Edward Sackville-West and Desmond Shawe-Taylor's *The Record Guide*, published in 1951 as the UK's 'first guide to recorded classical music', the book 'that takes the expensive guesswork out of record-buying and ensures that you get the *best* records for your money.'³⁴

However, as Frith later suggests, the jazz record reviewers of the late 1920s and early '30s did not follow this model exactly. Jazz critics focussed less on the technological aspects of recording, and more on the musical content. Although records were still described analytically, reviewers drew upon 'genre-specific rather than classical musicological terms; performances were placed historically; individual performers—soloists were assessed if not for their truth to a score than for their truth to a musical form'.³⁵ The adoption and adaptation of an established critical form raised the cultural profile of jazz, but jazz reviewers were faced with unique challenges. As Frith explains, the music was constantly developing, and reviewers in both America and Britain had to 'make sense of a series of new jazz forms'. In addition, many critics (especially in Britain) were geographically and demographically removed from the source of the music. As such, 'the basis of jazz record critics' authority—their writing voice—was different from that of their classical colleagues.'³⁶

Gennari summarises Welburn's division of the early jazz writers into

³⁴ Simon Frith, 'Going Critical: Writing About Recordings', in Eric Clarke, Nicholas Cook, Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, and John Rink (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 275. Edward Sackville-West and Desmond Shawe-Taylor, *The Record Guide* (London: Collins, 1951).

³⁵ Frith, 278.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 278–9.

a slightly older group born around the turn of the century—the *Chicago Defender*’s Dave Peyton (1885), the *New York Herald-Tribune*’s Virgil Thomson (1896), Aaron Copland (1900), and B. H. Haggin (1900)—from a younger group born in the first two decades of the new century—Winthrop Sargeant (1903), Preston Jackson and Charles E. Smith (1904), Wilbur Hobson and William Russell (1906), Marshall Stearns (1908), John Hammond and Charles Delaunay (1910), Stanley Dance (1911), Hugues Panassié (1912), Leonard Feather (1914), and Barry Ulanov (1918). Whereas the older group wrote about various kinds of music (with Thomson and Copland, of course, also composing music, primarily within the European classical tradition), the younger group cast its lot completely with jazz, and considered its own cultural development parallel with that of the jazz idiom itself. What is significant about the younger group is its privileged class background, coupled with a skeptical attitude toward the establishment.³⁷

Both Gennari and Welburn focus on shared aspects of these writers’ upbringing and lifestyle, rather than their nationality—a factor that indicates the possibility of intellectual exchange and transfer between European and American jazz critics. This idea is exemplified by Leonard Feather, who was British, emigrated to New York in 1939, and continued his writing for *Melody Maker* as a foreign correspondent. Delaunay and Panassié were French, whereas the remainder of Gennari’s list were American. All of the writers listed had classical-music training, a biographical feature that inevitably played a part in the nature of their jazz criticism. Classical music provided a ‘serious’ counterfoil to the jazz efforts of the first group, who as Welburn explains

provided an interesting, sometimes provocative intellectual subclass in that, as critics, they first of all were not of the racial background of the musicians who generated the creative spirit of jazz, and secondly they could never gain entry to the status of the serious music critic.³⁸

At the same time, European critics were researching and writing the first analytical textbooks about jazz. The Belgian Robert Goffin published *Aux Frontières du Jazz* in 1932, but it was never translated into English. Panassié’s *Le*

³⁷ Gennari, ‘Jazz Criticism’, 472–3. Gennari quotes at length from Ron Welburn’s PhD dissertation. ‘American Jazz Criticism, 1914–1940’ (New York University, 1983).

³⁸ Welburn as above, cited in *ibid.*, 472.

Jazz Hot (Hot Jazz) was published in French in 1934, and in English translation in 1936. He followed this with *Le Jazz Vrai (The Real Jazz)* in 1942.³⁹ These texts were the first full-length critical studies of jazz, and Panassié applied traditional musicological values to the music, suggesting by implication that jazz could have an artistic status similar to that held by classical music. Panassié opens *Le Jazz Hot* with a set of contrasts between jazz and classical music:

In most music the composer creates the musical idea, and the performers re-create these ideas as nearly as possible as the composer conceived them. This puts the [classical] performer in a secondary role ... In jazz, however, the performer appears in a more important capacity. He begins with a melody, often banal, and proceeds to transform it, perhaps by improvising around it, or perhaps by 'arranging' it.⁴⁰

DeVeaux later commented that Panassié was 'guided by a deep-rooted inclination to view art as a growing, developing organism.' Metaphors of organic growth as a measure of positive value in music have long been used in classical-music criticism, as explained by the American musicologist Janet Levy at length. Levy's primary thesis is that while classical musicology by the late 1980s lacked overt value judgements, thematic economy and organicism in works are generally understood to be representative of intelligent and cogent compositional structure, and are therefore desirable. She suggests a number of 'covert and casual values' in musicology, of which 'thematic economy is the primary value but textural and orchestral economy are also covertly prized.'⁴¹ Welburn views Panassié's valorisation of organicism in jazz as a 'flawed musicological assumption', but celebrates his reinforcement of another classical-music trope, a narrative structured around a series of 'great men'. Welburn writes: '*Hot Jazz* upheld

³⁹ Robert Goffin, *Aux Frontières du Jazz* (Paris: Sagittaire, 1932); Hugues Panassié, *Hot Jazz* (London: Cassell and Company Limited, 1936); *The Real Jazz* (New York: Smith & Durrell Inc., 1942).

⁴⁰ Panassié, *Hot Jazz*, 1.

⁴¹ Janet M. Levy, 'Covert and Casual Values in Recent Writings About Music', *Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987): 9.

Armstrong and Ellington as seminal jazz figures and established Panassié as among the most perceptive of jazz historians.⁴²

The late 1930s saw the publication of some American histories of jazz, each of which engaged with the musical content to varying degrees. Winthrop Sargeant's *Jazz Hot and Hybrid* was published in 1938, while Wilder Hobson's *American Jazz Music* and *Jazzmen*, edited by Charles Edward Smith and Frederic Ramsey, were published in 1939.⁴³ These books straddled the divide between musical evaluations and biographies. According to Welburn, they 'affirmed the arrival of a sympathetic body of jazz critical literature, one offering jazz followers something more than just its recordings as historical documents.'⁴⁴ It is possible to see a growing echo of conventions in classical musicology in the development of jazz criticism, both in the application of evaluative criteria and in the focus on individual musicians.

Discographical research was an area of jazz study that did not borrow established patterns from classical music. In 1936, the Frenchman Charles Delaunay published the first discography of records of any genre. *Hot Discographie* was a catalogue of hundreds of jazz records, arranged in chronological or matrix order under the name of a specific musician or bandleader.⁴⁵ Welburn writes:

Some jazz fans' demand for specific details about recordings appeared to be insatiable. Investigative work began when record company errors left

⁴² Welburn, 'Jazz Criticism', 748.

⁴³ Winthrop Sargeant, *Jazz Hot and Hybrid* (New York: Arrow Editions, 1938); Wilder Hobson, *American Jazz Music* (New York: Norton, 1939); Charles Edward Smith and Frederic Ramsey, Jr., (eds.), *Jazzmen: The Story of Hot Jazz as Told in the Lives of the Men who Created it* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1939).

⁴⁴ Welburn, 'Jazz Criticism', 753.

⁴⁵ Charles Delaunay in Walter E. Schaap and George Avakian (eds.), *New Hot Discography: The Standard Directory of Recorded Jazz*, (New York: Criterion, 1948).

contacting either the companies themselves or the musicians as the only recourse for corrections. Recording companies cooperated by giving Delaunay matrix numbers and recording dates, and he corresponded with musicians, met them and critics visiting France, and proceeded to set up, for its time, a useful classification system.⁴⁶

Jim Godbolt details a similar discographical movement in Britain in the first volume of his history of jazz in Britain.⁴⁷ The fact that this tool for jazz study and criticism was devised in Europe, at considerable geographical distance from the source of the music, can perhaps be attributed to the European fans' reliance on recorded jazz.⁴⁸ A side effect of the categorisation of jazz records by single musicians' names, rather than ensemble titles, was the construction and reinforcement of a 'great man' narrative, which mirrored the typical story of classical-music development. As Gabbard comments:

In the academy ... canonizers are ... likely to adopt the strategy of romanticizing the artist. The improvising jazz artist is, after all, a composer as well as a performer, not unlike the mythologized composer/performers of the Romantic Era such as Liszt and Paganini who improvised on well-known works. Although this equation is seldom explicit in jazz writings, its traces can usually be found, hinting at why a music associated with prostitution and drug addiction is as valid as the music associated with landed gentry in premodern Europe.

Like the auteurists of film studies, [Delaunay] built the discography on a model that centered great artists: Delaunay would combine, for example, all the recordings of Armstrong in one section of his book even when titles had not been recorded under Armstrong's name or when the trumpeter was only a sideperson at someone else's recording session.⁴⁹

This auteurist understanding of jazz history, as well as the classical musicological approaches that were beginning appear in jazz criticism, influenced the jazz scholarship of the subsequent decades.

⁴⁶ Welburn, 'Jazz Criticism', 752.

⁴⁷ Jim Godbolt, 'Discographers', *A History of Jazz in Britain: 1919–50* (London: Paladin, 1986), 172–84.

⁴⁸ The phenomenon of record circles for jazz appreciation is discussed at greater length in Chapter 2.

⁴⁹ Gabbard, 'Introduction: The Jazz Canon and Its Consequences', 8–9.

Jazz Scholars

The American jazz critics who wrote for 1930s jazz journals played a crucial role in the establishment of a discursive formula and evaluative criteria for the music in the following decade. Jazz underwent several stylistic developments in the 1940s, as the mass production and popularity of swing co-existed with the revival and development of smaller movements. First, in the late-1930s a revival of the 1920s New Orleans style (known by this point as ‘Dixieland’, or ‘trad’) took place, and second, in the early 1940s, the new bebop style emerged in New York City.

Bernard Gendron suggests that the emergence of dedicated followers and supporters of each style during this period provided the backdrop for an ‘aesthetic discourse’, which established the limits within which discussions about jazz could take place.⁵⁰ The passionate following garnered by these subgenres of jazz inspired a proliferation of specialised journals and articles in support of the respective styles. Gendron categorises the arguments of the critics in support of their chosen styles into a set of binaries, which included: art and commerce; folklore and affect; technique and schooling; and emotion and professionalism in performance.⁵¹

The revival of New Orleans-style jazz was accompanied by an increased fandom, in which followers of the style ‘collected out-of-print records and exchanged

⁵⁰ Bernard Gendron, “‘Moldy Figs’ and Modernists: Jazz at War (1942–1946)”, in Gabbard (ed.), *Jazz Among the Discourses*, 34.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

arcane discographical information.’⁵² Critics in support of the style praised the improvisation and emotion they heard in the music, while those in support of swing lauded its technical prowess and complex arrangements. Gendron describes the amount of criticism produced on each side, and the development of a ‘critical war’:

A spate of small sectarian journals appeared on the scene to give vent to these revivalist views and concerns. They set themselves off as the only authentic alternatives to the two dominant mainstream jazz journals, *Down Beat* and *Metronome*, which were altogether beholden to the swing phenomenon.

In 1942 *Metronome* fired the first shot of the modernist-revivalist war with a vigorous attack on the exclusionary purism and incessant carping of the revivalists, whom it derisively labeled ‘moldy figs’ [Ulanov 1942]. Over the next four years, in a continuous barrage of editorials and articles, *Metronome* would castigate New Orleans jazz as technically backward and ‘corny,’ and the writers of the revivalist journals as hysterical cultists and musical ignoramuses, against whom it positioned itself as the defender of modernism and progress in jazz. The revivalists counterattacked with charges of crass commercialism, faddism, and Eurocentrism.⁵³

Gendron suggests that the most important lasting consequence of this critical war was the production of a significant body of thoughtful, analytical, jazz criticism. An effect of the division of jazz critics into two camps, the ‘ancients versus the moderns’, was that, when the bebop style emerged in the early 1940s, factions could be subtly recast to pit swing and New Orleans fans (now united in the ‘ancient’ camp) against bebop advocates (the ‘moderns’). Musical features of bebop that differed from swing included a focus on improvisation and instrumental virtuosity, small ensembles, and complex melodies and harmonic substitutions. Many viewed bebop as an intellectualisation of jazz, and Gendron suggests that alongside these musical characteristics, the nature of critical writings

⁵² *Ibid.*, 32.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 32.

about bebop played a part in establishing jazz as a legitimate cultural style on a par with composed classical music:

In addition to performing its usual functions of interpretation and promotion of particular artists and movements, critical discourse had to persuade the general culture at large as well as the jazz constituency that with bebop, jazz had moved from being mere entertainment to being an art form and that this was a good thing. It also had to develop, almost from scratch, a specifically jazz aesthetic, which would legitimate jazz as an art form while preserving its specificity in the face of other types of art music.⁵⁴

This emerging art-music status for jazz can be understood as parallel to but distinct from that of classical music. Bebop encouraged thoughtful consideration of the music, but by different means than classical music. Although the melody lines and improvised solos of bebop were complex and sophisticated, the arrangements were simple and the structures straightforward. Bebop performances adopted a standard structure of head-solos-head, which though predictable, did not espouse the compositional and structural preoccupations of classical repertoire. Listeners were drawn in instead by the virtuosity and energy of the new style. Paul Berliner suggests that within the standard bebop structure, the melody at either end reminded listeners that they were in familiar territory:

The conventional format of jazz arrangements serves the interests of listeners by reminding them of the structures on which artists base their intricate improvisations. [Trumpeter] Doc Cheatham always plays 'the melody of each tune first before I improvise, so that the audience knows what I'm doing.' ... By extension, repeating the melody at the close of a band's rendition encapsulates solos in familiar material, usually of a simpler lyrical nature, temporarily relaxing the demands upon listening and providing the rendition with a satisfying shape overall. [Saxophonist] Lee Konitz adds that repeated performance of the same pieces over the years allows serious fans to appreciate the uniqueness of the most recent version in relation to the history of past performances.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Gendron, *Between Montmartre and the Mudd Club*, 20.

⁵⁵ Berliner, 458.

Bebop performances therefore encouraged an understanding of jazz as an art music, without recourse to structures and techniques from the classical world.

In the 1950s, jazz critics on both sides of the Atlantic wrote analytical pieces that utilised techniques from the classical-music tradition, and did not engage with the social context of jazz. One such text was the Frenchman André Hodeir's *Jazz: Its Evolution and Essence*, first published in French in 1954 and translated into English in 1956.⁵⁶ Hodeir was a classically trained composer and violinist, who had received his musical education at the Paris Conservatoire. It is possible to see the influence of his classical training on his treatment of jazz. The centerpiece of the book is a chapter valorising Ellington's 1940 'Concerto for Cootie', drawing parallels with and utilising techniques from classical-music criticism, and rejecting the social context that had become a feature of jazz criticism. Hodeir draws a direct comparison between Ellington's treatment of the concerto form and that of Mozart, supporting his statement with the following table:

Plan of CONCERTO FOR COOTIE	
<i>Introduction</i>	8 bars
I. <i>Exposition</i> (F major)	
Theme <i>A</i>	10 bars
followed by <i>A'</i>	10 bars
followed by <i>B</i>	8 bars
followed by <i>A''</i>	10 bars
followed by a modulatory transition	2 bars
II. <i>Middle section</i> (D \flat major)	
Theme <i>C</i>	16 bars
followed by a modulatory transition	2 bars
III. <i>Re-exposition and coda</i> (F major)	
<i>A'''</i>	6 bars
Coda	10 bars

Figure 1. Hodeir's structural analysis of Ellington's 'Concerto for Cootie'.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ André Hodeir, *Jazz: Its Evolution and Essence* (New York: Grove Press, 1956), first published as *Hommes et Problèmes du Jazz* (Paris: Portulan, 1954).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 81.

A clear appropriation of methodology from the classical-music world can be seen when compared to the following analysis of the first movement of Mozart's Piano Concerto in A Major, K488. This analysis is taken from the *Norton History of Western Music*, which is commonly used as a textbook for American university music courses.

Orchestral Exposition					Solo Exposition				
Measure:	1	18	30	46	67	82	98	114	
	P	Transit.	Tutti	S	K (Closing Tutti)	P	Transit.	Tutti	S
		Ritorn. A			Ritorn. B		Ritorn. A		K
Key:		Tonic				Tonic		Dominant	
		Develop.		Recapitulation					
137		143	198	213	229	244	284	297	299
		New	P	Transit.	S	K	Closing	Cadenza	Closing
Transit.	Tutti	material		Tutti			Tutti		Tutti
Ritorn. A				Ritorn. A		Ritorn. B			Ritorn. B
		Modulat.	Tonic						
Note: P = primary group; S = secondary group; K = closing section									

Figure 2. Structural analysis of ‘Allegro’ from Mozart’s Piano Concerto in A Major, K488.⁵⁸

Hodeir also falls into line with the classical-music valorisation of thematic economy as explained by Levy. He writes:

Concerto for Cootie is a masterpiece because what the orchestra says is the indispensable complement to what the soloist says; because nothing is out of place or superfluous in it; and because the composition thus attains unity.⁵⁹

Ellington’s ‘Concerto’ was written for and performed by his own ensemble, in the big-band idiom, so Hodeir’s analysis can be seen as a retrospective appreciation. A 1956 hard-bop recording by saxophonist Sonny Rollins’ quartet provided the inspiration for a similarly analytical piece of jazz criticism by the American

⁵⁸ Donald J. Grout and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, Fourth Edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1988), 614.

⁵⁹ Hodeir, 80.

Gunther Schuller. Schuller was active as a performer, scholar, and critic in both the classical and jazz fields, and in ‘Sonny Rollins and the Challenge of Thematic Unity’, he brought his classical-musical training and musicological values into his appraisal of Rollins’ ‘Blue Seven’ improvisation.⁶⁰ Schuller’s article was published in 1958, and therefore focussed on a more contemporaneous jazz style than Hodeir’s.

Schuller lamented the decline in thematic unity in jazz improvisation, stating that ‘jazz improvisation became through the years a more or less unfettered melodic-rhythmic extemporaneous composing process in which the sole organizing determinant was the underlying chord pattern.’⁶¹ He defined two kinds of improvisation: paraphrase improvisation, in which the soloist uses the melody as a basis, and adds embellishment and ornamentation; and chorus improvisation, in which the soloist departs from the given theme and relies solely upon the harmonic structure. The growing use of chorus improvisation, he suggests, has led to a reduction in cohesiveness and forward planning in improvised solos.

Rollins, Schuller argued, was one of very few musicians who brought thematic and structural unity into his improvisations by reworking musical material from the melody into his solo. In ‘Blue Seven’, Schuller identifies a short motivic fragment from the melody and an additional improvised three-bar segment, both of which, he explains, Rollins incorporated into several choruses of improvisation through melodic variation:

⁶⁰ Schuller, ‘Sonny Rollins’; Sonny Rollins, *Saxophone Colossus* (New York: Prestige Records, 1956), re-released as *Tenor Madness/Saxophone Colossus* (London: Prestige Records, 1991), CDJZD 002.

⁶¹ Schuller, ‘Sonny Rollins’, 86.

The crowning achievement of Rollins's solo is his eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth choruses in which, out of twenty-eight measures, all but six are derived from the opening and two further measures are related to the four-bar section introducing Max [Roach]'s drum solo. Such structural cohesiveness—without sacrificing expressiveness and rhythmic drive or swing—one has come to expect from the composer who spends days or weeks writing a given passage. It is another matter to achieve this in an on-the-spur-of-the-moment extemporization.⁶²

Schuller's analysis was one of the first examples of American jazz criticism to use detailed notated musical examples as seen in analyses of classical music. His initial transcription of the melody, and isolation of melodic fragments within, is shown here as Figure 3. Schuller's understanding of improvisation as a spontaneous practice is a common classical-music perspective of jazz, and a myth that I interrogate in an examination of the treatment of improvisation in Ellington's *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue* in Chapter 3.



1. The notes C, D flat, and A in bar 5 are simply a transposition of motive *a* to accommodate the change to E flat in that measure, and all other notes are nonessential alterations and passing tones.

Figure 3. Schuller's thematic analysis of Sonny Rollins' 'Blue Seven'.⁶³

The positive value judgement in the fulfilment of classical musicological criteria in Schuller's writing is explicit, and is supported by numerous notated examples from his transcription of the recorded solo. Gennari describes Schuller as attempting to impose a sense of masculinist authority on Rollins' music, making

⁶² *Ibid.*, 91.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 88.

more cerebral. Rollins was apparently dismayed by this reaction to his playing, which he considered academicised and removed from the African-American roots and oral traditions of jazz.⁶⁴ Nonetheless, ‘Sonny Rollins and the Challenge of Thematic Improvisation’ was representative of a new era in jazz writing, an era in which jazz and classical music could be regarded on equal terms through the same critical lens. Schuller adopted and extended many beliefs about jazz that had been present in European jazz criticism for decades.

Both Hodeir and Schuller used evaluative criteria from European classical music to indicate the musical worth of jazz, and in so doing isolated their respective case studies from the tradition within which they were constructed. In a 1997 chapter, Robert Walser offers an alternative reading to ‘Blue Seven’, suggesting that jazz should not be considered without its social and musical context:

Rollins’s virtuosic performance ... can be seen as a creative negotiation with conventions: when he accentuated the flatted fifth and other dissonant notes, alternated fast complex passages with willful, bluesy coolness, and superimposed thematic development upon the repeated twelve-bar choruses, Rollins carved out a distinct identity by pushing against norms. It was this that drew like-minded audiences to come [and] hear him play, not some general devotion to the abstract qualities that so impressed Schuller.⁶⁵

The English intellectual and author Eric Hobsbawm (writing under the pen name of Francis Newton) published *The Jazz Scene* the following year (1959). In this thorough and insightful book, he offered a markedly different approach to the

⁶⁴ In an interview with Joe Goldberg, Rollins commented on this incident: ‘I began to worry about things I shouldn’t have. People said that I did a certain kind of thing and I began to believe them, and by the time I figured out how I did it, I was unable to achieve the effect any more.’ *Jazz Masters of the Fifties* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1965), 102. Cited in Gennari, *Blowin’ Hot and Cool*, 198–9.

⁶⁵ Robert Walser, ‘Deep Jazz: Notes on Interiority, Race, and Criticism’, in Joel Pfister and Nancy Schnog (eds.), *Inventing the Psychological: Toward a Cultural History of Emotional Life in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 288.

Schuller's single-minded analytical focus. Newton's text combines a general history and description of jazz styles with a perceptive social and cultural understanding of the effect of the music. He divided the history of jazz into four periods: the 'prehistoric' era (c. 1900–1917); the 'ancient' period (c. 1917–c. 1929); the 'middle' period (c. 1929 to early 1940s), and the 'modern' period from that point until the time of writing. These clear-cut stylistic divisions were to be adopted and refined by Schuller, as will shortly be explained.

Of particular relevance to the current study is the fact that Newton relates each of his chapters (covering such topics as 'Jazz and the other arts', 'The jazz business', and 'The public') to the American, European, and British scenes.⁶⁶ Newton's study was groundbreaking for its time, and was reflective of a high level of research and understanding. Perhaps contributing to Lincoln Collier's later efforts to write early American appreciation of jazz into jazz history, Newton explained his belief that the main jazz audience in the first half of the twentieth century was European:

Paradoxical though it may seem, the specialised jazz public in the USA has always been relatively, and probably absolutely, smaller than in Europe, though the public exposed to some kind or other of jazz has been much larger. The sales of the British *Melody Maker* are considerably higher than those of the equivalent American weeklies.⁶⁷

In 1969, Schuller published *Early Jazz*, which was the first of a two-volume study of jazz. (The second volume, *The Swing Era*, was published in 1989, and follows

⁶⁶ Francis Newton, *The Jazz Scene* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, (1959).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 239.

the same methodological model.) An abbreviated version of Schuller's

introduction to the study outlines his intentions and methods:

Although there is no dearth of books on jazz, very few of them have attempted to deal with the music itself in anything more than general descriptive or impressionistic terms. The majority of books have concentrated on the legendry of jazz, and over the years a body of writing has accumulated which is little more than an amalgam of well-meaning amateur criticism and fascinated opinion ... This history, the first of two volumes, attempts among other things to fill some of those gaps, to explore, as it were, the foothills as well as the peaks of jazz. In fact, this volume has been written on the assumption that virtually every record made, from the advent of jazz recordings through the early 1930s, has been listened to, analyzed, and if necessary discussed ... the book is directed particularly to the 'classically' trained musician or composer, who may never have concerned himself with jazz and who cannot respond to the in-group jargon and glossy enthusiasm of most writing on jazz.⁶⁸

The technique of studying from recordings was a new phenomenon that was unique to jazz, but several of the uses of this new technology reinforced existing classical-music methodologies. While Schuller acknowledges the inherent difference of analysing jazz from recordings to analysing classical repertoire from notated scores, he effectively creates a parallel series of artifacts to work from.⁶⁹ By referring to specific recordings (which are fixed in time), and transcribing hundreds of examples, which he presents as notated examples, Schuller reinforces Lambert's belief in fixed musical works, and underscores the auteurist approach created by Delaunay's discography. Both of these are schools of thought that were adapted from studies of classical music. Schuller's chapter headings reinforce the linear narrative and auteurist approach that he adopts in this study: 'The Origins', 'The Beginnings', 'The First Great Soloist', 'The First Great Composer', 'Virtuoso Performers of the Twenties', 'The Big Bands', 'The Ellington Style: Its

⁶⁸ Schuller, *Early Jazz*, vii-ix.

⁶⁹ In a recent chapter, Catherine Tackley explains the historical precedent for analysing jazz from recordings in this way, and suggests a socially situated alternative. 'There is a need to embrace the ability of recording to transcend and blur past, present and future and to be heard anew in multiple historical and geographical contexts.' 'Jazz recordings as social texts', in Bayley (ed.), 170.

Origins and Early Development'. The use of classical terminology to evaluate and valorise jazz is clear. In 'The First Great Composer', he explains the influence of Jelly Roll Morton as a performer and arranger, but first and foremost as a *composer*—a term more commonly associated with classical music.⁷⁰

Schuller singles out formal design as the outstanding achievement of Morton's music, explaining how the musician drew upon earlier styles to create structurally complex pieces:

To Morton the composer, ragtime and blues were not just musical styles, but specific musical forms: the one a multi-thematic structure, the other an eight- twelve- or sixteen-bar single-theme form with a predetermined chord progression. These were forms as well-defined as the sonata form was to a 'classical' composer, and Morton accepted them as active, continuing traditions.⁷¹

Schuller explains that Morton developed a formal design that allowed a variety of contrasting styles within a cohesive whole. This structure could be adapted for different melodies, thereby creating a musical formula for Morton's output. Again, the classical-music values of organicism and unity are evident. Schuller equated Morton's formal designs with those of Italian opera, and his improvised breaks with operatic cadenzas that took place at fermatas.⁷² Schuller created a tabular depiction of this format, which is shown in Figure 4. This was a logical approach to analysing and representing ragtime-influenced pieces, which tended to be constructed in clearly defined sections. He used this graphic style of analysis repeatedly in both his large-scale studies of jazz.

⁷⁰ Schuller, *Early Jazz*, 'The First Great Composer', 134–176.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 140.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 146.

Example 3 *Black Bottom Stomp*—Scheme

Structural divisions	Intro. vamp	A ¹	A ²	A ³	
Instrumentation	Full ens.	Full ens. (arr.)	Tpt. Full Tpt. Full	Clar. (Banjo)	Interlude (modulation)
Number of bars	(4)	(8)	4 4 4 4	16	4

B ¹	B ²	B ³	B ⁴	B ⁵
Full Tpt.-Trb. Full (break)	Clar. Full ♯ ♯ ♯ ♯ ♯ ♯	Piano Full (no rhy.) (as in B ²)	Tpt. (stop-time)	Banjo (partly 4-beat)
6 2 12 20	18 2 20	18 2 20	20	20

B ⁶	B ⁷	Coda
Full Drums (2-beat) — ♯ ♯ ♯ ♯ ♯ ♯	Full Trb. (Tom-tom) (break)	Full
6 2 12 mp	6 2 12 ff	2

Figure 4. Schuller's tabular depiction of Jelly Roll Morton's formal design.⁷³

Morton's melodic piano improvisation took place within the strictly defined formal limits of this structure. However, rather than viewing Morton's improvisations as part of the blues and jazz lineage, Schuller again situates them within the European classical tradition:

The liberating inducements of improvisation [Morton] characteristically equated, not with the free-form extemporizations of early blues, but with the somewhat restrictive disciplines of variation. It was improvisation as the eighteenth-century baroque musician understood the term: embellishment of or improvisation on a given thematic material over a relatively fixed harmonic background.⁷⁴

Some contemporaneous reviewers took issue with Schuller's approach. For example, Pekka Gronow, writing for *Ethnomusicology*, questioned the ready appropriation of the 'great man' narrative from classical music: 'If the reader

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 145–6.

prefers to call some other musicians “great” instead of those chosen by Schuller, the whole history of early jazz would look quite different.⁷⁵

Schuller expanded his ideas and understanding of the history of jazz in a 1976 article that was originally intended for an encyclopaedia. Here he divides the history of jazz into roughly decade-long periods, developing Newton’s stylistic divisions, and suggesting a constant cycle of action and reaction in the stylistic development of the music.⁷⁶

Schuller begins by explaining the transition of the predominantly notated, and in his opinion, classically influenced, ragtime style that flourished at the turn of the twentieth century to the more improvised and stylistically fluid jazz:

Rhythmically ‘ragging’ melodies and themes was only one step removed from loosening them up even further through improvisation and melodic embellishment. Thus, many of the earliest jazz musicians were essentially ragtime players, or, to put it more precisely, musicians who were transitional in the progress from a relatively rigid, notated, non-improvised music (ragtime) to a looser, more spontaneously inventive performance style (jazz). This process succinctly delineates the fundamental difference between ragtime (and other notated musics, such as ‘classical’ music) and jazz: in the former, it is the composition per se, the ‘what,’ that is crucial; in the latter, it is the performance expression, the ‘how,’ that counts.⁷⁷

Schuller uses terms from classical-music criticism to explain the appealing features of jazz, beginning with a definition of its fusion of aspects of European and African music:

By superimposing the highly complex polyrhythmic and polymetric structures of African music on the comparatively simple binary rhythms and meters of European music, the American Negro was creating a unique and unprecedented musical symbiosis. The inherent conflict between rhythmic symmetry and asymmetry, the constant tension between a steady

⁷⁵ Pekka Gronow, ‘Review of *Early Jazz*’, *Ethnomusicology* 13/3 (1969): 562.

⁷⁶ Schuller, ‘Jazz’, written in 1976 for a prospective encyclopaedia, but later published in *Musings*, 3–17.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

metronomic underlying beat and the unnotatable, infinitely subtle permutations (especially when improvised) of polyrhythms, the equilibrium maintained between strict controlled tempo and relaxed rhythmic spontaneity—these are the essential energizing antipodes of jazz.⁷⁸

Schuller proceeds to divide the eighty-year history of jazz into short stylistic periods thus: the ‘classic’ period of jazz, 1905–1925, which incorporated New Orleans style, Chicago style, and Dixieland; the development of Fletcher Henderson’s and Don Redman’s big-band arranging style, 1924–1930; the swing era, 1930–1940; reactions to the swing era in the late 1930s which took the form of small combos, informal jam sessions, and the New Orleans revival movement; the bop movement in the 1940s; an awareness of contemporary classical techniques in the jazz ensembles of leaders such as Stan Kenton, Boyd Raeburn and Dave Brubeck at the same time; cool jazz in the late 1940s; hard bop in the 1950s; free jazz in the late 1950s, and the rock revolution of the 1960s. His use of Western musicological terms, as well as his creation of a series of clearly defined stylistic periods for jazz, reinforces the classical-music frameworks that were accepted in jazz criticism by this time.

Aside from Newton’s 1959 evaluation of the jazz scene, scholarly criticism concerning British jazz was relatively late to emerge, considering the early efforts of British critics when writing about American jazz. When full-length texts did begin to appear, they took one of two forms: anecdotal accounts from bystanders from the 1950s, and autobiographical books by jazz musicians from the same period.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

Important examples of the first category include David Boulton's *Jazz in Britain* (published in 1958), and Jim Godbolt's two-part history of jazz in Britain.⁷⁹ These books took more of a socio-historic approach than the heavily analytical textbooks that were appearing in America at this time. Godbolt's focus is less on the musical content of jazz than on the documenting of it, as the following extract concerning the British discographical tradition illustrates:

Collectors in Europe assailed musicians in America with letters about their past and the activities of their contemporaries ... Although the music is largely African in origin and its more renowned executants African-Americans, it was white men and women (mainly men)—with not one single black writer—who delved into its history, wrote the in-depth critiques and painstakingly compiled the discographies. Furthermore, these investigative activities were predominantly undertaken by Europeans.⁸⁰

Godbolt was involved in the British jazz scene at first hand, for he worked as trumpeter Humphrey Lyttelton's manager for several years in the 1950s. Lyttelton himself was a prolific writer and broadcaster, and his five autobiographical books provide an enlightening and informative insight into the period.⁸¹ These writings are an example of a trend for British jazz musicians to write humorous, self-deprecating, and musically informed memoirs—and autobiographies by Benny Green, Ronnie Scott, and John Dankworth follow a similar pattern.⁸²

The autobiographies of their American counterparts reveal a much darker jazz world, tied up with racism, drugs, and hardships. Charles Mingus' *Beneath the*

⁷⁹ David Boulton, *Jazz in Britain* (London: The Jazz Book Club, 1958), Jim Godbolt, *A History of Jazz in Britain, 1919–50; A History of British Jazz 1950–70* (London: Quartet Books, 1989).

⁸⁰ Godbolt, *A History of Jazz in Britain, 1919–50*, 175.

⁸¹ Humphrey Lyttelton, *I Play as I Please: the Memoirs of an Old Etonian Trumpeter* (Letchworth: MacGibbon and Kee, 1954); *Second Chorus; Take It From The Top* (London: Robson Books, 1975); *The Best of Jazz: Basin Street to Harlem, Jazz Masters and Masterpieces 1917–1930* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1978); *Why No Beethoven?* (London: Robson Books, 1984).

⁸² Benny Green, *The Reluctant Art* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1962), *Swingtime in Tottenham* (London: Lemon Tree Press Ltd., 1976); Ronnie Scott with Mike Hennessey (London: W. H. Allen, 1979), *Some of My Best Friends are Blues*; Dankworth, *Jazz in Revolution*.

Underdog, and Miles Davis' *Miles: The Autobiography* are key examples.⁸³

American jazz autobiographies provide social context through the experiences of the narrator, but in general they are less contextually aware than their British counterparts, and promote the image of the troubled artistic genius—thereby implicitly reinforcing classical-music narratives of greatness and authorship.

New Jazz Studies

The trend for creating a smooth narrative and neatly divided chronology of the history of jazz by scholars such as Schuller was criticised in the early 1990s by Scott DeVeaux and John Gennari. DeVeaux deconstructs the seamless narrative that was created in isolation from its social context, as well as the use of musical unity as a parameter for positive appraisal:

Most of the explanations routinely offered for the process of change in jazz derive from the metaphor of organicism ... Jazz historians are fond of charts and diagrams that amount to elaborate genealogies of style, with each new innovation flowing directing from those that precede it ... The most striking thing about these explanations is the assumption that the impetus for change in jazz is internal ... while the social context for the music is rarely ignored entirely ... it is generally treated as, at best, a secondary cause—the cultural static of political or social upheaval that may color the process of development but is ultimately external to it.⁸⁴

The most ambitious attempts to organize the history of jazz through detailed musical criticism or analysis, not surprisingly, rely on such internal explanations. Gunther Schuller's massive two-volume historical and analytical study of jazz through the swing era, while drawing astutely on cultural context where appropriate, is a monument to the ideal of jazz as an autonomous art. In the work of the most influential jazz critics, history is invoked as a means of framing and justifying aesthetic judgments—of establishing those boundaries within which evaluation may

⁸³ Charles Mingus (edited by Nel King), *Beneath the Underdog: His World as Composed by Mingus* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971); Miles Davis with Quincy Troupe, *Miles: The Autobiography* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991).

⁸⁴ DeVeaux, 'Constructing', 541.

take place. Indeed, the more broadly those boundaries are conceived ... the more inevitably historical relationships become embedded in the process of evaluation.⁸⁵

DeVeaux explains that jazz scholarship that adopts this linear narrative falters when it reached the 1950s, due to the coexistence of trad jazz, bebop, swing and free jazz towards the end of the decade. He finds fault with scholars such as Schuller who accepted the plurality of the 1950s jazz scene, without questioning whether the construction of a linear narrative to depict the development of earlier jazz styles was a simplification of many conflicting and coexisting styles.

DeVeaux's article was part of a trend for surveying the history of jazz criticism in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Other examples of this trend include the writings of Welburn and Gennari, both of whom have been quoted earlier in this chapter. These articles marked a temporal distance from the origins of jazz that allowed the history of the music to be re-evaluated by synthesising information in hundreds of earlier writings about jazz, the recordings that had inspired the original articles, and modern musicological approaches.

In a controversial, and generally poorly-received, revision of the by-now standard history of jazz and jazz criticism, the American author James Lincoln Collier offered an alternative history in his 1988 *The Reception of Jazz in America*. In this version of events, Collier set out to right what he considered to be the injustices done to American jazz fans and critics over the twentieth century. He writes:

The history of jazz has been plagued by two myths which have badly distorted both the nature of American culture and the process by which jazz evolved from a local New Orleans into a national—indeed international—phenomenon. The first of these myths says that the American people, until relatively recently, have ignored or despised jazz, and that it lived its early years as a music of the black ghetto, appreciated

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 541–2.

elsewhere only by a handful of enlightened white critics and musicians ... The second myth, which has clung like a burr to jazz history is the idea that it was first taken seriously by Europeans.⁸⁶

In his text, Lincoln Collier vehemently rejects early European support and promotion of jazz, defending the music and surrounding culture as an American phenomenon, and one that was positively received and written about in the United States from its beginnings. Many scholars and historians have taken him to task on this viewpoint—including myself, in the current text. However, Lincoln Collier's writing is perhaps symptomatic of a wider trend for revisionist and exploratory interpretations of the history of music.

In classical musicology, too, the isolation of positivist and analytical approaches was challenged in the 1980s. Following the publication of Joseph Kerman's *Musicology* in 1985 (published as *Contemplating Music* in America), a group of American scholars began to adopt new approaches to the study of music.⁸⁷ The movement was termed 'new musicology'. New musicologists echoed conventions of literary criticism with their interdisciplinary approaches, focussing on the cultural study, analysis and criticism of music. This group of scholars included Susan McClary, Gary Tomlinson, Lawrence Kramer, Jeffrey Kallberg, Richard Taruskin and Philip Bohlman.⁸⁸ The new influences they brought to musicology included feminism, queer theory, gender studies, post-colonial studies, structuralism and post-structuralism. Value judgements were no longer based solely on thematic unity and organicism—indeed, new musicologists frequently

⁸⁶ James Lincoln Collier, *The Reception of Jazz in America* (New York: Institute for Studies in American Music, 1988), 1–2.

⁸⁷ Kerman, *Musicology* (London: Fontana, 1985).

⁸⁸ Key texts from the new musicological discourse include Lawrence Kramer's *Music as Cultural Practice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); and Susan McClary's *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991).

attacked these criteria. Although new musicology provided a fundamental shift in classical musicological studies, the movement had little direct impact upon jazz scholarship. While new jazz scholars challenged the use of outdated classical-music systems of evaluation within jazz scholarship (much of which was also outdated), few acknowledged the new musicology in the classical field.

In the mid-1990s, several edited collections of essays and original written sources were published in America, offering alternative histories of jazz and addressing the idea that jazz history may have developed in a different way to the classical-music model so commonly adopted. Krin Gabbard edited two complementary volumes in 1995, *Jazz Among the Discourses* and *Representing Jazz*. In his introduction to the latter, he explains his desire to ‘write the other history’ by presenting a volume of essays dedicated to jazz’s appearance in non-literary forms. He explicitly states his view that methodologies appropriated from classical music are unsuitable for creating a history of jazz, and suggests instead an adaptation of popular musicology:

At least until recently, jazz history has been based on an evolutionary model that emphasizes a handful of master improvisers and genius composers. Many of the essays in *Representing Jazz*, as well as in its companion volume, *Jazz Among the Discourses*, have radically called this model into question.⁸⁹

Jazz writers tend to ignore ... extramusical aspects of jazz by conceptualizing it as a safely autonomous domain, more dependent on rhythmic innovation than on social change. In doing so, however, they have closed themselves off from the kind of work undertaken by ... the more sophisticated commentators on pop music.⁹⁰

The focus on the individual in jazz history has also been challenged by the sociologist Paul Lopes, who adapts Howard S. Becker’s term to locate the rise of

⁸⁹ Gabbard, ‘Introduction: Writing the Other History’, in Gabbard (ed.), *Representing Jazz*, 1.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

a ‘jazz art world’ in the 1950s, suggesting that record producers, concert producers, club-owners, music critics, magazine publishers, and diverse audiences all contributed to the cultural recognition of jazz as an art music on a par with classical music.⁹¹ Walter van de Leur’s 2002 monograph explains the previously neglected role of Billy Strayhorn in the compositions and arrangements of the Ellington Orchestra.⁹² I have written elsewhere about the contributions of Ellington’s bandmen to the ensemble’s repertoire—these scholarly texts are part of a trend to debunk the classical-music ‘great man’ narrative in jazz history.⁹³

In his introduction to *Jazz Among the Discourses*, Gabbard evaluates the canonical implications that historical and analytical methods borrowed from classical music have had on jazz. He debates the value of the search for musical unity and coherence as seen in Schuller’s analysis of ‘Blue Seven’:

Even when jazz writers perform close analysis of the music, many engage in a kind of canon-building based on paradigms that have been radically questioned in other disciplines. One historically prominent strategy for canonizing the jazz artist is based in an aesthetic of unity and coherence.⁹⁴

Shortly after, in Britain, the Oxford and Cambridge University Presses published books about jazz in their ‘companion’ series.⁹⁵ These edited collections both contained essays about the history of jazz, as well as commentaries and evaluations of the appropriateness of analytical and historiographical systems adopted up to this point. In his chapter for *The Cambridge Companion to Jazz*, Mervyn Cooke explains the history of, and reasons for, examining jazz music

⁹¹ Lopes.

⁹² Walter van de Leur, *Something to Live For: The Music of Billy Strayhorn* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁹³ Katherine Williams, ‘Improvisation as Composition: Fixity of Form and Collaborative Composition in Duke Ellington’s *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue*’, *Jazz Perspectives* Duke Ellington Special Edition, forthcoming.

⁹⁴ Gabbard, ‘Introduction: The Jazz Canon and Its Consequences’, 12.

⁹⁵ Kirchner (ed.); Cooke and Horn (eds.).

through a classical critical lens. He argues that, rather than being simply a correct or an incorrect method of evaluation, the overlap and symbiosis of the two styles deserves investigation. He also suggests that much of the recent rejection of classical values in jazz criticism may be attributed to the use of outdated nineteenth-century criteria:

Part of the inappropriateness of applying a classical analytical approach to jazz arises from the fact that romanticized notions of musical structure are unhelpful when considering much twentieth-century music (in any idiom). There is no point in relating Ellington's work to nineteenth-century ideas of thematic unity, when he owed a much more significant debt to twentieth-century composers whose work was mostly rooted in entirely different organizational principles.⁹⁶

Cooke's re-evaluation of the applicability of criteria from contemporaneous classical music is enlightening, and suggests the potential for a parallel to the hybrid nature of jazz practices in other fields in jazz criticism and scholarship.

In 1990, Paul Oliver edited a collection of essays on the origins of black music in Britain. This edition provides a historical context for studies of British jazz, and marked the beginning of a surge of scholarly texts on the subject.⁹⁷ Essays in the volume ranges from a study of the influence of Victorian minstrelsy on the reception of jazz in Britain and racial politics in Britain at the turn of the twentieth century, to the Jamaican origins of the ska and reggae movements in 1960s Birmingham. Parsonage's detailed study of the emergence and development of jazz in Britain provided the first in-depth research into the phenomenon. This was followed by Hilary Moore's research, in which chapters cover a range of phenomena from the 1940s New-Orleans style revival to the Jazz Warriors in the

⁹⁶ Mervyn Cooke, 'Jazz Among the Classics, and the case of Duke Ellington', in Cooke and Horn (eds.), 160.

⁹⁷ Oliver (ed.).

1980s.⁹⁸ Chris Horne published a collection of interviews with British jazz musicians in 2004, showing the ways in which their musical upbringing impacted upon their performing styles and careers.⁹⁹ George McKay's monograph, published in 2005, evaluates the cultural and political impact of jazz in Britain between the 1920s and the 1970s, considering especially the music's nature as an American export.¹⁰⁰

In recent years, British and American scholars have addressed the musical isolation created by classically influenced analytical methods, and at the same time attempted to dispel some commonly accepted jazz 'myths' in the telling of American jazz history. Ake (American) and Whyton (British) adopt a similar approach, focussing on the social and musical context of crucial events or trends in jazz history, and evaluating their significance from a social and philosophical perspective. In his introduction to *Jazz Cultures* (2002), Ake explains:

Rather than a broad-based survey of stylistic innovation, each of the book's chapters concentrates on a specific moment or institution, focusing on the historical, cultural, technological, and musical phenomena that gave rise to different ways of playing and understanding jazz.¹⁰¹

In this and in his 2010 monograph, *Jazz Matters*, Ake emphasises his background in and activity as a jazz musician, explaining the rarity of a performing academic in America:

I am hardly the first musician to bring together the practical side of making jazz, the pedagogical side of teaching it, and the academic side of writing about it, but this is still a relatively rare combination in this country.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Parsonage, *The Evolution of Jazz in Britain*; Hilary Moore.

⁹⁹ Chris Horne, *Contemporary Jazz UK: Twenty One Lives in Jazz* (London: Perspectives in Jazz, 2004).

¹⁰⁰ George McKay, *Circular Breathing: The Cultural Politics of Jazz in Britain* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005).

¹⁰¹ Ake, *Jazz Cultures*, 2–3.

¹⁰² Ake, *Jazz Matters*, 12.

Whyton was active as a jazz composer before turning his attention to the cultural placement of the music. His recent book explores the idea of ‘jazz icons’. When stating his methodology, he reinforces the interconnectedness of theory and practice in this modern study:

I wanted to explore the influence of the jazz icon from a variety of perspectives. By approaching each chapter as an independent case study, I sought to blend theoretical models with practical examples and draw on several themes in the discussion of jazz icons, from advertising to anecdotes, heroic narratives to the jazz community. Through this integration of theory and practice, I wanted to develop a series of iconoclastic arguments designed to relate to everyday life, and to encourage readers to formulate critical perspectives on their own relationship to established jazz greats.¹⁰³

In his first chapter, Whyton sets out to deconstruct the codified representation of ‘great men’ in the narration of jazz history. Later chapters deal with the impact of revered recordings on contemporary performance-practice habits, the ‘untouchability’ of recordings by jazz greats (with Kenny G’s ‘duet’ with Louis Armstrong’s ‘What a Wonderful World’ as the principal case study), the marketing of jazz, the role of jazz anecdotes in the construction of jazz history, the iconic construction of Duke Ellington’s persona, and the role of jazz education. Each chapter represents an interdisciplinary analysis of a sociological (rather than a purely musical) phenomenon.

Conclusion

The development of writings about jazz—from non-analytical writings, to criticism that borrowed from classical-music analysis, to theoretical and analytical

¹⁰³ Whyton, *Jazz Icons*, 12.

scholarship produced with little reference to social context, and finally to the modern trend of evaluating analytical methods and reintroducing a social context—has shown that the values and systems of classical-music criticism have always been present in jazz writing to varying degrees.

The adoption and adaptation of systems and frameworks from classical music can, I believe, be attributed to three main factors. First, when writing about a new style of music, authors needed a point of reference from which to structure their writing and engage their readers. Second, writers used the language of the culturally prestigious tradition of classical music in order to provide artistic legitimisation for jazz—as proven in the case of Duke Ellington. Finally, jazz is a hybrid music. It developed musically because of the coexistence of several musical styles—of which Western classical music and African-American styles were prominent. It seems entirely appropriate that systems of analysis and evaluation from one of the main contributing styles should be adopted, provided—as Cooke warns—that valorising criteria are appropriate to the timeframe under consideration.

The proximity of jazz writers to the source of the music has resulted in different approaches, although the gap has narrowed in recent years. The first American jazz writers sought to distance themselves from the scene, while early European writers were fascinated, and developed systems to catalogue American jazz recordings. The geographical distance of jazz writers has been perhaps most noticeable in attitudes towards race. While white American attitudes were clear in early primitivist interpretations of black jazz, the emergence of white jazz bands such as the ODJB blurred these distinctions. Mid-century American jazz

scholarship ignored all social context, effectively removing any racial barriers. In Europe, on the other hand, jazz musicians of all creeds and colours were welcomed and revered—particularly those of African-American descent. Racial relations have improved almost immeasurably in America over the past century, but even so, the author of *Race Music*, Guthrie P. Ramsey, Jr., was recently inspired to comment favourably upon the tolerance and open-mindedness of the British academic community with regard to issues of race in jazz.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ Guthrie P. Ramsey, Jr., *Race Music: Black Cultures from Bebop to Hip-Hop* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004). These comments were made at one of the closing sessions at the Jazz and Race conference organised by the What is Black British Jazz? committee at the Open University in November 2010.

Chapter 2: Changing Venues and Values in Jazz

The relationship between jazz and its performance spaces is bound up with cultural connotations and expectations. This chapter explores the different venues in which jazz has been performed throughout its history, explaining the ways in which the music and its reception were restricted, legitimised and liberated by changing contexts. I approach this subject in two ways: first, through a historical survey of jazz venues in North America and Britain; and second, through an ethnographic study of British jazz musicians' experiences of and attitudes towards performing in different venues. I also discuss the importance of radio broadcasts and recordings for the dissemination and development of jazz in both countries.¹

I begin the chapter with a theoretical model of a conventional classical concert around the turn of the twentieth century, discussing venue characteristics, audience expectations and typical audience behaviour. Two existing studies on the subject are particularly useful in creating this model. In his seminal 1998 text *Musicking*, Christopher Small deconstructs and analyses the processes of classical-music performance and reception at a generic symphony orchestra concert, offering a new term 'musicking' to describe all the processes and relationships involved.² Lawrence W. Levine, in his 1988 *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, relates the 'taming' of bawdy North American pre-nineteenth-century concert

¹ The connections between music and geography have been explored recently by such scholars as Adam Krims and Daniel Grimley. However, the specific connotations of performance venues deserve further attention. This topic is deserving of more in-depth study, but such a project—for example, the history of jazz through the prism of its performance venues—is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Adam Krims, *Music and Urban Geography* (London: Routledge, 2007); Daniel Grimley, *Grieg: Music, Landscape, and Norwegian Identity* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2006).

² Small.

audiences into a unified group who ‘passively’ and ‘politely’ follow a set of unspoken conventions of music reception.³ The work of Small and Levine allows me to construct a generic classical ‘concert experience’, which serves as a reference point for my study of jazz venues.

As explained in Chapter 1, the earliest American jazz writers were concerned less with the music than with the moral and social deviance that it appeared to promote, an understanding that was due in large part to the perceived amoral connotations of the ‘underground’ venues in which the music was performed. Early jazz venues included nightclubs and speakeasies, both of which provided intimate venues that allowed the consumption of alcoholic beverages—even during the Prohibition years (1920–1933). Negative associations with alcohol and with the behaviour to which it might lead translated into a scepticism of any musical value in jazz, as Paul Lopes comments:

Critics of jazz in the 1920s retained the old nineteenth century ideal of ‘good’ music and viewed jazz as undermining moral values and behaviour, or at a bare minimum corrupting musical values and techniques.⁴

Several shifts in understanding and expectations of the music and its performers took place in America over the following decades, which led to jazz being performed and received in dance halls, concert halls and dedicated jazz clubs by the 1940s. A similar—but by no means identical—trend took place in Britain, as jazz was first received in similar ‘underground’ venues, in record appreciation societies known as ‘Rhythm Clubs’, in dance and concert halls, and in specialised jazz clubs.

³ Levine.

⁴ Lopes, 46.

Following the model of a classical concert, the first part of this chapter addresses the shifts in ideology and understanding that enabled these changes in jazz performance venue in the first half of the twentieth century, stepping outside the main timeframe of this dissertation in order to provide crucial historical context. In my discussion of each type of venue in their respective countries, I consider the physical properties of the venue, the types of jazz performed and by whom, and the nature of the music's reception—referring to the classical concert experience in order to note disparities, similarities, and any cultural associations created or negated by the jazz venues. Parsonage's monograph *The Evolution of Jazz in Britain, 1880–1935* provides important information and opinions about early British jazz venues and Rhythm Clubs, while Scott DeVeaux's 1989 article 'The Emergence of the Jazz Concert, 1935–1945' offers context and evaluation of the 1930s phenomenon of concert-hall jazz performances in America.⁵

The growing popularity of jazz and the entrepreneurship of jazz musicians and fans in the United States led to a surge in the establishment of dedicated jazz clubs in the 1940s (especially in New York). I draw upon the writings of Vincent Pelote and Paul Berliner to explain the nature of these clubs and any existing cultural connotations, the styles of music performed, and the methods of reception and appreciation that took place.⁶ A similar trend took place in 1950s London, which saw a proliferation of new jazz clubs towards the end of the decade. Using information gained from the series of interviews I conducted with prominent British jazz musicians, and Ian Carr's invaluable study of 1950s–'70s British

⁵ Parsonage, *The Evolution of Jazz in Britain*; DeVeaux, 'Emergence'.

⁶ Pelote, 'Jazz Clubs', in Kirchner (ed.); Berliner 'Vibes and Venues: Interacting with Different Audiences in Different Settings', in *Thinking in Jazz*, 449–84.

jazz,⁷ I assess the similarities and differences between these British clubs and their American counterparts, as well as noting any shared characteristics with the classical concert experience. Again drawing upon Carr's writings and the experiences and opinions of my interview subjects, I then proceed to evaluate the inseparable bond between British jazz venues and the developments in British jazz style that ensued.

Finally, I consider the cultural, musical and social reasons behind the rise in concert jazz performances and the concurrent decline in informal and more intimate jazz venues across both Britain and America. As Pelote acknowledges: 'while jazz clubs still exist, especially in major cities like New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, their numbers pale in comparison to those of the 1920s, '30s and '40s.'⁸ The musicians questioned, as well as facts and figures surrounding jazz performances, suggest that while concert-hall performances are a necessity for financial survival as a jazz musician, many of the original defining aspects of jazz are lost in these situations.

The Classical 'Concert Experience'

Both Small and Levine refer to a shift in classical concert infrastructure and audience behaviour in the nineteenth century as a focal point of their arguments, explaining that the characteristics adopted during the nineteenth century have, perhaps anachronistically, remained standard practice since.

⁷ Carr.

⁸ Pelote, 723.

At this time, concert performances took place as part of a variety of events in exhibition halls. For example, London's Royal Albert Hall was built in the late nineteenth-century to host 'not only concerts of music but exhibitions, public meetings, scientific conversations and award ceremonies.'⁹ Small explains:

The large purpose-built concert hall is essentially a nineteenth-century invention ... Even many of the big nineteenth-century halls that are now used from time to time for symphony [orchestra] concerts, like London's six-thousand-seat Royal Albert Hall, were intended, and are still used, as multipurpose places of assembly, symphony [orchestra] concerts taking place among balls, political rallies, boxing matches, and the like. These are the halls that, even though they may have served very well for symphonic performances for more than a hundred years, are now being replaced by more specialized buildings.¹⁰

Despite the change in the overall function of the buildings in which symphonic concerts took place around the turn of the twentieth century, the layout of the buildings and the auditoria within share many physical characteristics.

Classical concert halls tend to stand alone, separated from their neighbouring buildings by a physical distance. Figures 5a, 5b and 5c illustrate this with images of the Royal Albert Hall (opened in 1871 in London's South Kensington), New York's Carnegie Hall (opened in 1891 as a dedicated classical-music performance space), and London's Royal Festival Hall (opened in 1951 as a dedicated classical-music performance venue within the South Bank Arts Centre). Despite the mid-twentieth-century construction date of the Royal Festival Hall, the three examples share several nineteenth-century design features. A foyer separates the outside world from the auditorium. Small characterises this space as 'a transitional space from the outer every day world to the inner world of performance',¹¹ and

⁹ Anonymous, <http://www.royalalberthall.com> (accessed 5 May 2011).

¹⁰ Small, 21. I have inserted the word 'orchestra' in Small's text in order to clarify the American use of the word 'symphony' to refer to symphony orchestra rather than symphonic repertoire.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 23.

audience members buy tickets and programmes explaining the musical content here. Inside the auditorium:

The very air feels different. Beneath the lofty ceiling sparkling with lights, row after curved row of seats separated by aisles extends across the raked floor, while above are galleries with more rows of seats. All face in the same direction, down the rake of the floor toward a raised platform at the end. This platform is itself tiered, and on it are seats facing the audience or, rather, facing concentrically toward a small dais at the front center of the platform. Behind the dais is a waist-high desk, and on it lies the score of the first piece to be played tonight, waiting for the conductor and the musicians who will between them bring the piece into existence. It is this dais and desk that together form the focus, the center of attention, of this whole vast space.¹²

The auditoria of the three venues mentioned above all share most of these characteristics, as Figures 6a, 6b and 6c show. The Royal Albert Hall and Carnegie Hall contain rows of seats arranged concentrically around the round auditoria, facing the stage in an amphitheatre-style layout. The Royal Festival Hall's auditorium is rectangular, so all the seats directly face the stage.

The layout of the venues and the nature of the seating arrangements mean that audiences sit in rows, facing the stage. Classical-music performances are one-way events, in which the onstage musicians perform to a silent and attentive audience. Levine explains the relatively recent encouragement of this standard of audience behaviour by concert promoters and arbiters of highbrow culture for the American public. This reception style replaced a more interactive style, likened by Levine to Shakespearean and nineteenth-century Italian opera audiences, in which audiences would talk amongst themselves, eat, drink, and even engage with the performers by offering encouragement and suggestions:

Nothing seems to have troubled the new arbiters of culture more than the nineteenth century practice of spontaneous expressions of pleasure and

¹² *Ibid.*, 24–25.

disapproval in the form of cheers, yells, gesticulations, hisses, boos, stamping of feet, whistling, crying for encores, and applause. By the middle of the twentieth century polite applause and occasionally well-placed ‘bravos’ were all that remained of this panoply of reactions, and there were some who seriously proposed abolishing even this small remnant.¹³

Today, classical audiences sit in silence for the duration of performances, applauding only at the end of complete works (not in between movements), and focus their attention on the onstage musicians.¹⁴ Both Levine and Small compare the ritualistic nature of attending classical concerts to the rites and traditions of religion. Small writes: ‘a symphony [orchestra] concert is a very sacred event in Western culture, sacred in the sense that its nature is assumed to be given and not open to question.’¹⁵ Levine likens the isolated environments of turn-of-the-twentieth-century symphonic concerts to sacred spaces:

Cultural space became more sharply defined, more circumscribed, and less flexible than it had been. Americans might sit together to watch the same films and athletics contests, but those who also desired to experience ‘legitimate’ theater or hear ‘serious’ music went to segregated temples devoted to ‘high’ or ‘classical’ art.¹⁶

By the turn of the twentieth century—the time jazz began to be performed in public places—a set of clearly defined conventions surrounded concerts of classical music. As Levine comments, although these concerts were open to anyone who could afford the ticket price, ‘after the turn of the century there was [another] price that had to be paid: these cultural products had to be accepted on the terms preferred by those who controlled the cultural institution.’¹⁷ Audience members were expected to enter a performance space dedicated to and defined by

¹³ Levine, 192.

¹⁴ A parallel disciplining of the audience can also be found in film screenings during the first decade of the century, and the use of pre-existing Western art music and symphony orchestras seems to have played a role in the shifting cinematic audience behaviours. A discussion of this phenomenon can be found in Rick Altman’s *Silent Film Sound* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

¹⁵ Small, 14.

¹⁶ Levine, 234.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 230–231.

its function as a classical-music venue, purchase tickets and programmes, listen to the repertoire in silence while facing the musicians, and applaud at culturally accepted moments. These venue characteristics and audience expectations and behavioural patterns provide a framework against which to consider jazz venues and audiences.



Figure 5a: Royal Albert Hall exterior (2009).¹⁸



Figure 5b: Carnegie Hall exterior (2010).¹⁹



Figure 5c: Festival Hall exterior (2011).²⁰

¹⁸ Anonymous photograph. Available at http://westend.broadwayworld.com/article/Royal_Albert_Hall_Announces_Their_Upcoming_Events_20090810 (accessed 22 June 2011).

¹⁹ Photograph: Jeff Goldberg. Available at <http://www.wgbh.org/articles/-2876> (accessed 22 June 2011).

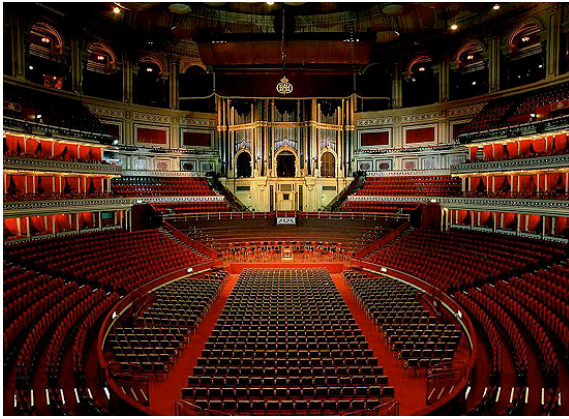


Figure 6a: Royal Albert Hall interior (2009).²¹



Figure 6b: Carnegie Hall interior (2010).²²



Figure 6c: Royal Festival Hall interior (2007).²³

²⁰ Anonymous photograph. Available at <http://ticketing.southbankcentre.co.uk/venues/royal-festival-hall> (accessed 22 June 2011).

²¹ Anonymous photograph. Available at <http://worldtravelgallery.blogspot.com/2009/11/royal-albert-hall-world-travel.html> (accessed 22 June 2011).

²² Anonymous photograph. Available at <http://www.abrahamdarbysmusic.co.uk/New%20York%202010.htm> (accessed 22 June 2011).

²³ Anonymous photograph. Available at <http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/music/review-23400226-the-five-star-festival-hall.do> (accessed 22 June 2011).

Early Jazz Venues

A stark contrast can be noted between the purpose-built venues and formalised conventions of classical concert performances and audiences, and the earliest public performances of jazz, which took place in speakeasies and nightclubs.

Pelote explains that ‘nightclubs’ as they are recognised today developed in the speakeasies that proliferated in post-World War I America:

Speakeasies were illegal saloons that lacked the huge bars, elaborately decorated mirrors, large rooms, and many tables that were the standard for other saloons ... As the popularity of the speakeasies grew, food, entertainment, and dancing were introduced. The entertainment could be anything from performances by a single pianist and vocalist, or a four- or five-piece band, to huge, elaborately staged productions featuring singers, chorus lines, comedians, and large jazz orchestras.²⁴

It is commonly accepted that jazz emerged in New Orleans, but scholars such as Pelote have recently explained that similar styles were developing concurrently in cities such as Chicago and Kansas City, and that New York became an important jazz hub in the 1920s, and remains so today.²⁵ However, the wealth of existing scholarship concerning early jazz in New Orleans indicates that the venues in which jazz performances were heard played an important part in the music’s reception. Jeff Taylor identifies three types of ensemble that contributed to the emergence of jazz in turn-of-the-century New Orleans, and explains that each could be associated with specific venues and styles:

Several types of ensembles boasted a long history in the area, and their character and repertory were guided by their audiences and the context in which they played. They may be gathered into three general categories, though the boundaries between them remained somewhat fluid. The most informal ensembles were the combos that performed in the seedier cabarets and bars of the red light district; these were small groups that were often built around a pianist [e.g. Jelly Roll Morton] ... the repertory

²⁴ Pelote, 723.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 725–732.

for these groups consisted largely of slow blues and more up-tempo, rag-like stomps ... Better known were the brass marching bands, which would perform for public gatherings, picnics, funerals, and a variety of other events; these groups specialized in traditional marching music but also began to incorporate rags and blues into their performances during the early 1900s. The final category, loosely gathered under the heading of 'dance bands,' often included string instruments and played for dances, parties, and other social functions. The repertoire varied widely, and clearly had to be adaptable to a variety of performance venues.²⁶

Taylor's comments illustrate two key issues: first, early jazz was not heard in classical-music venues; and second, jazz rarely provided the focal point for an event, being used instead as functional music for dancing and celebration. Early jazz audiences would walk around, eat, drink, talk and dance. Robert P. Crease elaborates on the connection between jazz music and dancing:

Jazz dancing and jazz music were continuing to develop in contexts—picnics and nightclubs, riverboats and brothels, weddings and funerals—where they did not command the center of attention before a quiet and respectful audience but were related elements of a larger social event.²⁷

The first live jazz performances in Britain took place in 1919, with the arrival of two American ensembles. The all-white Original Dixieland Jazz Band (ODJB) and the all-black Southern Syncopated Orchestra (SSO) presented different styles of jazz in venues with differing cultural connotations to audiences with differing expectations. The race of the jazz musicians, as well as the styles and repertoire performed, contributed to the different venues each group performed in, and their reception within. Parsonage explains that the ground had been paved for the first touring jazz musicians in London by the prevalence and popularity of minstrelsy, plantation revues and music-hall performances in Victorian Britain:

Just as traditional music hall developed into civilized variety theatres, the standardized minstrel show format had become increasingly outdated and also began to dissolve ... However, nineteenth century minstrelsy had established strong links between British theatrical promoters and African-

²⁶ Jeff Taylor, 48.

²⁷ Robert P. Crease, 'Jazz and Dance', in Kirchner (ed.), 697.

American performers which laid a firm foundation for subsequent visits in the twentieth century, and thus helped to pave the way for the presentation of jazz in Britain.²⁸

These early British jazz performances took place in existing venues, which carried their own cultural connotations and audience expectations. A contrast can be seen not only with performances of classical repertoire in purpose-built concert venues, but with the simultaneous development of jazz music and jazz venues in America. The five-piece ODJB—which comprised cornettist Nick LaRocca, trombonist Eddie Edwards, pianist Henry Ragas, clarinetist Larry Shields and drummer Tony Sbarbaro—began their London season in April 1919 as part of the ‘Joy Bells’ revue at the Hippodrome on Leicester Square. After one performance at the Hippodrome—which according to H. O. Brunn was met with ‘shouting and clapping in a manner peculiarly un-British’²⁹—the band began a fortnight’s engagement at the London Palladium, as one act of a variety show. Parsonage explains that the ODJB incorporated a novelty and comedic element to their performances, thereby modifying their performance style to reflect the conventions of the venue in which they appeared:

The addition of the singing and dancing to the band’s performance shows their awareness of the requirements of variety theatres, in which acts had to be visually as well as aurally attractive, and ensured that this act was integrated well amongst the comedy, singing, dancing and bioscope projection which formed the rest of the bill.³⁰

The ODJB was accompanied onstage by a dance troupe, thereby associating jazz with dance from its very earliest British performances, even when this took place in front of a non-dancing audience. After their employment at the Palladium, the

²⁸ Parsonage, *The Evolution of British Jazz*, 10. She offers an extensive and detailed account of the significance of the early visits of the ODJB and the SSO in *ibid.*, 121–162.

²⁹ H. O. Brunn, *The Original Dixieland Jazz Band* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1961), 126. Brunn explains that the comedic star of the Hippodrome show, George Roby, was so incensed by the positive reception to the ODJB that he issued an ultimatum to the ‘Joy Bells’ producer—either he or the band had to leave. 126–7.

³⁰ Parsonage, *The Evolution of British Jazz*, 125.

ODJB began a long-term engagement at the Dixie Club on Bond Street. In a reflection of the growing craze for dancing to jazz in America at this time, the Dixie Club permitted its audience members the space and freedom to dance. The ODJB was becoming established as a band to accompany jazz dancing, and on 28 October 1919 the group played at the opening night of Britain's biggest jazz-dancing venue to date, the Hammersmith Palais. Figure 7 depicts their act at this venue. Parsonage comments:

The fact that the ODJB played in the newest and largest dance venue from its opening night for six months is significant, as their version of 'jazz' was widely disseminated and firmly established as the new dance music in Britain.³¹

The ODJB's skin colour and novelty performances provoked criticisms of inauthenticity from American jazz aficionados, but Parsonage explains that British audiences were more accepting, having little to compare them to. She refutes the claims of inauthenticity, stating:

What is most significant when evaluating the role of the ODJB in the evolution of jazz in Britain is that the musicians themselves (with the exception of Billy Jones, an Englishman) and the music that the band performed in London were clearly rooted in and representative of the New Orleans musical tradition. In that city, musicians were influenced as much by white march music as black blues.³²

In contrast to the novelty performances of the ODJB in venues associated with music hall and dancing, the SSO (under the direction of Will Marion Cook) first performed in London's Philharmonic Hall in June 1919. Their programme consisted of:

The juxtaposition of plantation songs and spirituals with instrumental ragtime, and improvised blues ... provid[ing] in effect an illustrated lineage of African-American music. Thus, the SSO linked the new styles of syncopated music with musical forms with which the British public would already be familiar.³³

³¹ *Ibid.*, 130.

³² *Ibid.*, 136.

³³ *Ibid.*, 144.

The group consisted of up to one hundred musicians, and incorporated strings and orchestral percussion as well as typical jazz instruments. (See Figure 8 for a picture of the group.) They did not perform jazz exclusively, and frequently incorporated ragtime and light classical repertoire into their programmes. The situation of the group within a concert hall with established conventions of audience behaviour and musical expectations led reviewers of the SSO to evaluate the music within familiar frameworks: ‘British reviewers variously attempted to define and assess the performances as ‘minstrelsy’, ‘negro folk music’, ‘religious music’, ‘art music’, or ‘ragtime’, genres with which they considered themselves more or less familiar at this time.’³⁴ From the earliest appearances of jazz in Britain, it is possible to see that the styles of jazz performed and the connotations of the venues in which the music was heard conditioned audience response.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 145.

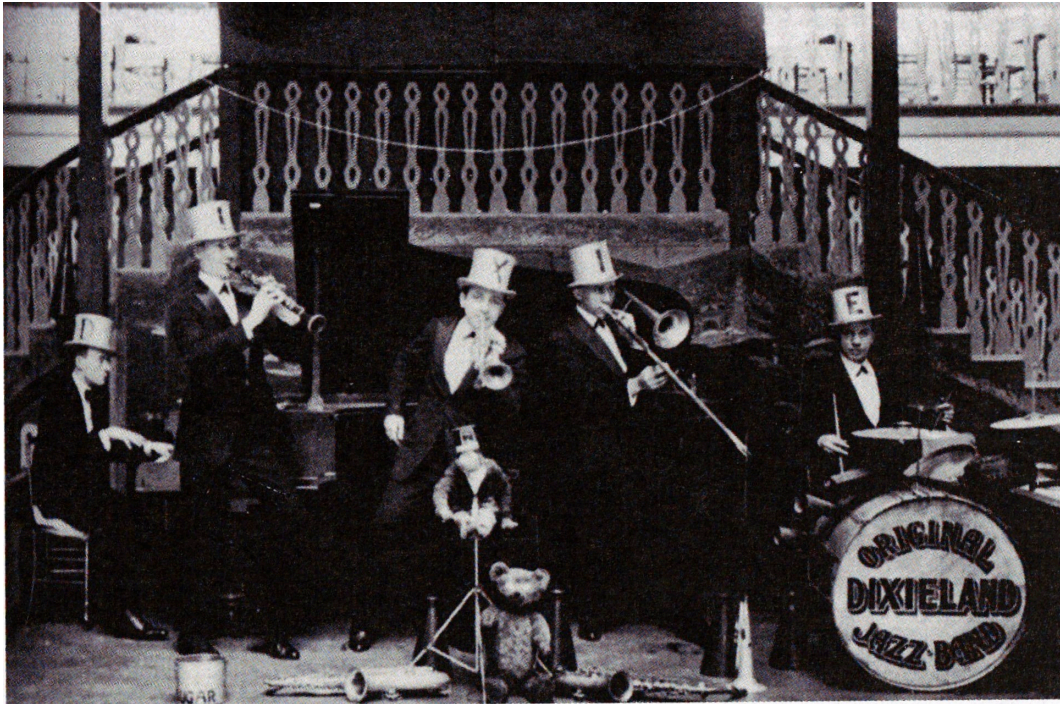


Figure 8: Original Dixieland Jazz Band performing at the Hammersmith Palais (1919).³⁵



Figure 8: Southern Syncopated Orchestra (1919).³⁶

In the United States, one of the early sources of the association of jazz with ‘degeneracy’ was the fact that audiences frequently danced to the music.³⁷ Crease explains:

³⁵ Image taken from *ibid.*, 127.

³⁶ Anonymous photograph. Available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/london/hi/people_and_places/history/newsid_8186000/8186315.stm (accessed 22 June 2011).

Antecedents to [jazz] dances can be found in the 1890s, when the first generation of jazz artists was in its infancy. In New Orleans ... new dance styles began to appear along with new music styles at local dances—often [in] unruly environments, readily accessible to African Americans, in which experimentation in both music and dance was encouraged and rewarded.³⁸

The new dances, which were derived from African-American dances such as the shimmy, resulted in men and women dancing together in close proximity, and encouraged more bodily contact than previous forms of ballroom dancing. Crease writes: ‘The symbiosis of jazz dancing and music continued after the turn of the century, when several new sexy dances appeared, including the turkey trot, black bottom, and Texas Tommy.’³⁹ These dances contributed to the general social mistrust of jazz, for as Elijah Wald comments, ‘most were marked by close partner holds, syncopated rhythms, and the horror they provoked in respectable observers.’⁴⁰

Soon, however, the underground nature of jazz appreciation through dance began to change. The white middle-class couple Vernon and Irene Castle sparked a craze for jazz dance among white American audiences. Crease explains the importance of social dancing for creating more venues and stable employment for jazz musicians:

In 1913 a society dance craze, the celebrity figures of which were Vernon and Irene Castle (accompanied by James Reese Europe’s orchestra), began to sweep across all social strata. The craze revolved around an offspring of ragtime dancing called the fox-trot ... [and] did much to lay the groundwork for the subsequent development of jazz music and dance. Dance halls were rescued from their seedy reputation and became respectable places to visit, while the insatiable demand for dance music

³⁷ Jed Rasula writes: ‘The link with degeneracy was a persistent feature of the early jazz years.’ ‘The jazz audience’, in Cooke and Horn (eds.), 65.

³⁸ Crease, 697.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 697.

⁴⁰ Elijah Wald, *How the Beatles Destroyed Rock’n’Roll: An Alternative History of American Popular Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 38.

encouraged the formation of stable, professional bands with regular personnel.⁴¹

The popularity and influence of the Castles served to gentrify jazz for white audiences: they taught large-scale dance lessons, and invented their own steps that were less intimate and suggestive than the original jazz dance steps. In 1914, they opened a dancing school (Castle House), a nightclub (Castles By the Sea) and a restaurant (Sans Souci)—and chose James Reese Europe’s orchestra as their house ensemble. Europe was a black musician and bandleader, and president and director of New York’s Clef Club, which was the city’s first union for black musicians.⁴²

The Castles’ popularity and commercial expansion marked the beginning of a large-scale craze for jazz dancing among the American middle classes. Dancing as a response to musical performance represented a different reception format to classical concert audiences. Jazz dancing necessitated interaction with one’s partner and other dancers, and required a large open dance-floor, in contrast to the tiered rows of seating and silent audiences of classical concert halls.

Venues for the purpose of jazz dancing proliferated in the 1920s, with halls and clubs such as Harlem’s Apollo Theater, Cotton Club and ‘Savoy Ballroom, known as ‘the “Home of Happy Feet,” [which] was where many of the dance crazes of the 1920s and 1930s originated.’⁴³ These venues were necessarily larger than previous jazz venues, in order to accommodate greater numbers of dancing

⁴¹ Crease, 697.

⁴² More information about Europe’s role as a promoter and protector of styles that contributed directly to the emergence of jazz can be found in R. Reid Badger, ‘James Reese Europe and the Prehistory of Jazz’, *American Music* 7 (1989): 48–67; and Ron Welburn, ‘James Reese Europe and the Infancy of Jazz Criticism’, *Black Music Research Journal* 7 (1987): 35–44.

⁴³ Pelote, 727.

patrons. As Chapter 3 will show, the jazz ensembles hired to play for dancing in these venues were larger than the previous New Orleans groups, and the swing style of jazz evolved in tandem with the development of jazz dancing. Musical features of swing that ensured it was appropriate for dancing included its steady four-four pulse, and the focus on repetitive arranged passages in place of extended improvisation. (The musical features of swing are explained at greater length in Chapter 3.) Schuller suggests that the rhythmic shift from the two-two beat of ragtime to the four-four pulse of swing was one of the most important developments in the jazz style. He explains that four beats to a bar allowed emphasis on the back-beat, demonstrated the technical potential of the double bass that replaced the tubas and sousaphones of New Orleans-style ensembles, and provided a ‘rhythmic drive’ such as that heard in the repertoire of the Fletcher Henderson band.⁴⁴

Crease explains the close relationship between jazz bands and their dancing audiences in early 1920s America:

A growing number of dance bands began to value what jazz historian James T. Maher calls the ‘tactile bond’ between musicians and dancers. In a cross-country tour around 1922, bandleader Art Landry would spend the first set mingling with dancers on the floor to pick up the local tempo.⁴⁵

Another of the venues that became famous for jazz performance and non-participatory dancing in the 1920s was Harlem’s Cotton Club. The club was an example of the segregated ‘black and tan’ venues, in which black musicians and dancers performed for seated white audiences. As Mark Tucker comments, the Cotton Club was ‘patronized by wealthy whites, and staffed by blacks ... put[ting]

⁴⁴ Schuller, *Early Jazz*, 217, 256, 316.

⁴⁵ Crease, 699.

on high-powered music revues featuring sultry chorus girls, and plenty of hot jazz.⁴⁶ A significant turning point in Duke Ellington's career came when he and his band won a five-year residency at this venue in 1927. The financial stability and regular performance opportunities afforded by this position enabled Ellington to expand his ensemble to three reeds, three trumpets, two trombones and a four-strong rhythm section. The new musicians included such colourful musical personalities as Johnny Hodges, Barney Bigard, Cootie Williams and Juan Tizol, all of whom contributed evocative and memorable instrumental solos to the group. Ellington composed prolifically for the ensemble during the residency. The sophisticated compositions that he was able to produce in the swing style under these conditions later caused Schuller to describe it as a 'five-year workshop period',⁴⁷ and constituted an output that contributed to the group becoming known as the Duke Ellington *Orchestra* (or at times, Duke Ellington's *Famous Orchestra*). This name carried connotations of composed classical music, and jazz writers continually drew parallels between Ellington's music and Western classical repertoire on both sides of the Atlantic (as explained in Chapter 1). Although earlier ensembles such as the Southern Syncopated Orchestra and the Clef Club Orchestra also used the term, their repertoire included light classical and march music. Ellington's adoption of the term for a group playing purely in the jazz idiom is revealing.

In addition, the reception of Ellington's compositions in the Cotton Club indicates that the implications of the venue affected audience response. The situating of black musicians and dancers as an exotic spectacle both reinforced the primitivist

⁴⁶ Mark Tucker, 'Cotton Club Bandleader (1927–1932)', in Mark Tucker (ed.), 29.

⁴⁷ Schuller, 'Jazz', 12.

expectations outlined in Chapter 1 and separated the performers from the audience, more in the manner of a classical concert hall than a night club. However, audience members were seated at tables, not in rows, and were able to talk, eat and drink while performances took place. (See Figures 9a, 9b and 9c for pictures of the exterior and interior of the Cotton Club.)



Figure 9a: Exterior of the Cotton Club, Harlem (c. 1932).⁴⁸



Figures 9b and 9c: Interior of the Cotton Club, Harlem (c. 1930).⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Photograph: Frank Driggs Collection/Getty Images. Available at <http://www.life.com/image/3245821> (accessed 22 June 2011).

⁴⁹ These pictures depict the audience and stage area of the Cotton Club. No picture is available of the empty performance space. Images taken from Jim Haskins, *The Cotton Club: A Pictorial and Social History of the Most Famous Symbol of the Jazz Era* (New York: Random House, 1977), 35, 41.

In 1920s London, live jazz was heard in three main ways. According to Parsonage, it was ‘performed by dance bands, usually white, at socially exclusive venues such as large hotels and respectable clubs; performed by black music theatre companies, often accompanied by their own ensembles; and performed by small groups of musicians in West End clubs.’⁵⁰ Although American jazz musicians still visited Britain in this decade, many imitative British bands emerged, and there was a growing sentiment—strongly encouraged by Sir John Reith of the BBC—that the British entertainment industry should be self-sufficient, and should cease to rely heavily on imported musicians. (This belief, of course, ignored the fact that jazz was an American import.) Some musicians and managers believed that the presence of American jazz bands had led to increased unemployment among British musicians, and in 1923 the Musicians’ Union (MU) issued a statement to that effect.

An extension of this dissatisfaction was the legislation issued by the Ministry of Labour in 1935, effectively banning any performances by foreign musicians on British soil. (An exception to this ruling was made for servicemen such as Glenn Miller and his band.) While rank-and-file dance musicians expected to benefit from the ruling, jazz fans and aspiring jazz musicians in Britain lamented the loss of authentic jazz performances.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Parsonage, *The Evolution of Jazz in Britain*, 163.

⁵¹ The ban was reported in *Melody Maker* thus: ‘Whatever plans may now be hatching to bring any American bands to this country, for any class of work whatsoever, are likely to be completely frustrated as a result of an entirely new policy which the *Melody Maker* has every reason to believe has been adopted by the Ministry of Labour. The immediate effect will be to veto projected visits on the part of Duke Ellington’s Band and Fred Waring’s Pennsylvania.’ Anonymous, ‘No American Bands Need Apply’, *Melody Maker* (week ending 30 March 1935): 1.

A side effect of the removal of American jazz bands through the Ministry of Labour legislation was a surge in the popularity of record circles for jazz appreciation. ‘Hot Clubs’ were first instigated in France by jazz fan and writer Hugues Panassié. In 1932, the French jazz periodical *Jazz-Tango* announced the formation of a ‘club of aficionados devoted to hot music above all other kinds of jazz.’⁵² Organisers of Hot Clubs persuaded American record companies to release records in France, and then arranged recitals at which the records could be played and discussed.

A similar movement was adopted in Britain the following year, using the name ‘Rhythm Clubs’:

The idea of forming groups similar to literary circles for listening to and discussing hot music first appeared in *Melody Maker* on 3 June 1933 in a letter from James P. Holloway. At this time, record collecting was becoming a distinct hobby, with letters to the magazine outlining the size and scope of individual readers’ collections.⁵³

Contemporary and secondary accounts indicate that Rhythm Clubs had a different atmosphere to live jazz performances. The groups met in back rooms of pubs and village halls—venues that were not purpose-built for music performance, but took on some of the aura and practices of concert halls. Trombonist Eddie Harvey recalls that Rhythm Clubs were places ‘where people sat around listening to jazz records in a sort of sanctified silence.’⁵⁴ Often referred to as ‘record recitals’, jazz enthusiasts sat in silence, focussing their attention on the gramophone—receiving jazz (albeit recorded jazz) in a similar fashion to music reception in classical concerts. Lopes reinforces the idea that jazz Rhythm Clubs appropriated classical concert practices:

⁵² Jackson, 159.

⁵³ Parsonage, *The Evolution of Jazz in Britain*, 72.

⁵⁴ Eddie Harvey, interview with the author, Richmond, 2 March 2010.

While the jazz art world and jazz art market grew from the late 1930s into the 1940s, enthusiasts were looking for more than just audiences for jazz. They were looking to elevate this music as an art form deserving of ‘serious’ appreciation. Replicating in many ways the classical ‘enthusiasts’ of a century earlier who through societies, concerts, recitals, journals, and books attempted to elevate the cultivated tradition as a distinct world of music performance and appreciation, jazz enthusiasts shared a similar vision for jazz.⁵⁵

Rhythm Clubs became increasingly popular in Britain, and by May 1935 (as the Ministry of Labour ban took force and the British Federation of Rhythm Clubs was established) there were ninety Rhythm Clubs nationwide, and two publications dedicated exclusively to the phenomenon. *Swing Music* was launched in March 1935, and *Hot News and Rhythm Record Review* in April of that year.⁵⁶

A number of emulative New Orleans-style ensembles emerged in Britain, as jazz musicians strove to imitate the music they listened to at Rhythm Clubs. It was but a small step for these venues to become live performance venues, with audiences primed for concert-style performances. A 1943 performance by George Webb’s Dixielanders at the Red Barn public house in Barnehurst, South London, was the earliest documented performance of revivalist New Orleans jazz in Britain. As well as marking the first public performance of revivalist jazz, this occasion was also Harvey’s first professional performance. Live performances of New Orleans jazz flourished in the Red Barn and similar venues over the following years, with seated audiences giving the musicians their full attention. As Harvey recalls, ‘people just sat and listened and were enthusiastic’.⁵⁷ These musicians took as their inspiration imported recordings of 1920s New-Orleans jazz. Paul Oliver directly attributes this phenomenon to the Ministry of Labour ban:

⁵⁵ Lopes, 173.

⁵⁶ Parsonage, *The Evolution of Jazz in Britain*, 72.

⁵⁷ Harvey, interview with the author.

In imitation of the [American] idols many young white British musicians formed jazz bands in the late 1940s while the ban was rigidly imposed, deriving their repertoires from collectors' record issues. It was mimicry but it was 'sincere,' and in the obsessional cult of New Orleans jazz, 'sincerity' and 'authenticity' were much valued.⁵⁸

This indigenous second wave of jazz performance in Britain (after the imported first wave) therefore attained a concert-style reception that can in part be attributed purely to the medium through which the music was heard. Rhythm Clubs provided no visual stimulus such as that experienced in the variety-based performances of the ODJB, and thus encouraged audiences to listen in silence, focussing on the source of the sound. This attention was transferred to the musicians when live performances began.

In the 1940s British revival of New Orleans-style jazz, bands such as George Webb's Dixielanders also performed their music in concert halls. Harvey explained that during his time with the Dixielanders, performances in clubs and in concert halls were 'simultaneous right from the off.'⁵⁹ The concert performances took place in the King's Hall on Tottenham Court Road, and were organised by the Hot Club of London, which seemed to transport the atmosphere and audience from clubs in pubs into the classical venue. Harvey recalls:

We did a few concerts in prestigious concert halls in London, and a lot of people came. Because the word had spread about this band playing this music, and there were a lot of people that were interested. And it just seemed to be a fateful time, when people were interested in it.⁶⁰

The concert-style reception of Dixieland jazz in Britain can be attributed to the recital traditions of the Rhythm Clubs, rather than an adoption of existing classical-music frameworks.

⁵⁸ Paul Oliver, 'Introduction: From the 1950s to the Present', in Oliver (ed.), 80–81.

⁵⁹ Harvey, interview with the author.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

Recorded Jazz

The impact of recording technologies upon the dissemination and development of jazz, as well as the effect the studio environment had on musicians, is crucial to this study, and I digress from this survey of live jazz venues to consider the significance of the recording studio on the development of jazz. With the birth of both jazz and recording technology around the turn of the twentieth century, the two have evolved hand-in-hand to a certain extent. Dan Morgenstern writes:

Without the medium of recording, a music so defined by spontaneity of invention, individuality of instrumental sound and rhythmic complexity that defies musical notation could not have been so rapidly or widely disseminated, nor lent itself so readily to rehearsing, studying and copying. Without recordings, jazz might have remained a temporary regional phenomenon.⁶¹

As the above quotation from Morgenstern indicates, recordings have been invaluable in the dissemination and promotion of jazz. From the Original Dixieland Jazz Band's pioneering 'Livery Stable Blues' recording in 1917, jazz records have prompted a degree of financial compensation for the musicians involved, the geographical dispersal of the music, and imitation by amateur musicians around the world. As Mark Katz writes:

Repeatability has also affected musicians in their capacity as listeners. With recordings, performers can study, emulate, or imitate performances in a way never before possible. In the early days of recording, this possibility was trumpeted as a gift to all musicians, who could learn from the world's greatest masters by studying their discs. For performers of popular music, recordings have been especially valuable learning aids.⁶²

The value of recordings as educational artifacts is discussed in greater depth in Chapter 4. Recording studios and their limiting and liberating capacities have been part of jazz musicians' lives since the 1910s.

⁶¹ Dan Morgenstern, 'Recorded Jazz', in Kirchner (ed.), 766.

⁶² Mark Katz, *Capturing Sound: How Technology Has Changed Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 27.

Many scholars have analysed the technological and social impact of recording studios upon musical performance and spontaneity, but few have acknowledged the effect of a studio environment upon communication between performers. Morgenstern provides an example of the former by explaining Duke Ellington's creative use of the medium, as he 'soon made himself the master of the three-minute musical gem and played close attention to the proper placement of players in the studio and to the special tonal characteristics of that new contraption, the microphone.'⁶³ In his 2004 monograph *Capturing Sound*, Katz locates many similarities between 'improvised' solos on different takes of recordings by the Ellington Orchestra and by Louis Armstrong in Fletcher Henderson's band. Katz suggests that the time restrictions of 78 rpm records may have been a contributing factor to this fixing of solos, although he does debate whether

the tendency to plan solos for the studio [was] attributable to the influence of recording? This is a difficult question, for we do not know to what extent musicians were improvising when playing live. One thing, however, is clear: live performances tended to be longer than recorded ones, with the extra time usually going towards additional solos.⁶⁴

Differences between live and studio performances can be attributed partly to the necessity for musicians to play in a more tightly focussed manner on record than live performance situations demanded, and partly due to the temporal freedom that live performance allowed for extended improvisation.

The development of recording technologies to include magnetic tape (since the late 1940s) and digital manipulation (since the late 1970s) has enabled musicians to use studio techniques to their advantage.⁶⁵ An example of the studio creation of a physically impossible musical feat can be heard on Pete Long's latest album, on

⁶³ Morgenstern, 'Recorded Jazz', 770–71.

⁶⁴ Katz, 76.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 41.

which his saxophone playing is overdubbed to create an entire section of independently moving parts.⁶⁶ Bill Ashton spoke at length about re-recording and over-dubbing sections of otherwise ‘live’ recordings of NYJO in order to create seamless performances. At the time of our interview (October 2009), he was in the process of supervising the re-recording of a clarinet solo in order to disguise a squeak.⁶⁷ He had also recently overseen the splicing together of two recordings of the same song—one section featuring NYJO’s current vocalist, and the other solos by well-known alumni of the band, recorded the previous year. When questioned about what these practices meant for the promotion of these recordings as ‘live at Ronnie’s’, Ashton explained: ‘very few recordings of any kind just involve what you hear. There are always going to be repairs, and there are always going to be things that are going to be mended.’⁶⁸

These examples provide just a few of the countless instances of the creative use of recording technologies by jazz musicians. However, as Katz explains, the studio can be a restrictive environment:

When musicians record, their invisibility to listeners removes an important channel of communication, for performers express themselves not only through the sound of their voices or instruments but with their faces and bodies. In concert, these gestures color the audiences’ understanding of the music ... Recording artists have also reacted to the fact that they cannot see their audiences. For many, the task of performing to unseen listeners, with recording equipment as their proxy, can be both daunting and depressing.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Track 8, ‘The Sunday Grind’ features Long on soprano, alto, tenor (1 and 2), and baritone saxophones. Peter Long, *Music for 4, 5 & 6* (London: Kenilworth Studios, 2007), TOCD 003.

⁶⁷ This process involved the soloist in question transcribing his own improvised solo, and learning to play it perfectly in time with the existing recorded version, in order to minimise the recording and over-dubbing necessary.

⁶⁸ Bill Ashton, interview with the author, Harrow, 9 October 2009.

⁶⁹ Katz, 20–23.

All my interview subjects emphasised the importance of communicating with their audiences in performance situations, and almost universally cited this as a reason for preferring performing in small nightclubs to large concert halls.

Another key factor is the ease with which they can communicate musically and verbally with their bandmates. Berliner suggests that much visual interaction between musicians is lost in the studio: 'Acoustic dividers sometimes sacrifice the visual contact that normally assists interaction among improvisers, thus requiring players to use headphones to hear each other clearly.'⁷⁰

It is important to acknowledge the potential limitations of the recording studio, but its significance as a venue and catalyst for the development of jazz cannot be denied.⁷¹

Radio

Radio broadcasts also played an important role in the dissemination and development of jazz, both in America and internationally. As Morgenstern explains: 'Radio's role in the dissemination of all kinds of music grew as the [1920s] moved on, and almost all that music was made live; the disc jockey was a 1930s phenomenon.'⁷² Radio broadcasts can be viewed as a halfway point between live performances and recordings, for 1920s radio musicians did perform

⁷⁰ Berliner, 476.

⁷¹ The relationship between recordings, recording studios as performance spaces, and the interaction between and creativity of jazz musicians deserves further scholarly exploration, but is beyond the bounds of this study.

⁷² Morgenstern, 'Recorded Jazz', 772.

live, and often to dancing audiences, but the majority of their listeners could not see them.

Although a network of Hot Clubs to parallel the British Rhythm Clubs was introduced in America in 1935, the African-American jazz critic and novelist Albert Murray suggests that a similar phenomenon had been occurring informally for over a decade, thanks to recording and broadcasting technology. He referred to phonograph records as ‘a concert hall without walls’,⁷³ and commented on radio audiences:

Much goes to show that it may have been precisely the phonograph record (along with radio) that in effect required the more ambitious blues musicians to satisfy the concert-oriented listeners and Bacchanalian revelers at the very same time; long before the first formal concerts. Even as Chick Webb kept them stomping at the Savoy Ballroom on Lenox Avenue in Harlem, and Earl Hines kept the shuffling at the Grand Terrace on the South Side in Chicago, their orchestras were also playing what to all intents and purposes was a finger-snapping, foot-tapping concert for listeners huddled around radios all over the nation.⁷⁴

The combination of jazz being the first musical idiom to be disseminated more by recording technology than by live performance, and the lack of a network of purpose-built performance venues for it, resulted in ‘radio audiences’ to varying levels of formality in Britain and America.

In Britain, ‘programmes of uninterrupted dance music were advertised in advance so that evening dances or afternoon *thé dansant* parties could be planned.’⁷⁵ The BBC, which had been formed in 1923 under the direction of Sir John Reith, distinguished between ‘dance’ music and ‘hot’ music—categorising them as British and American respectively. Reith set rigorous moral and educational

⁷³ Albert Murray, *Stomping the Blues* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1978), 193–4.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 184.

⁷⁵ Parsonage, *The Evolution of British Jazz*, 47.

standards for the company, and these were initially maintained by broadcasting only dance music, which was seen to be tamer and more civilised than its American counterpart. Nonetheless, British dance music was strongly influenced by American jazz, and BBC radio broadcasts from London dance halls helped to spread music of a jazz idiom to the British public, and ‘played an important part in the self-tuition of musicians in the new syncopated styles in the early 1920s and helped to ensure stylistic consistency across the country.’⁷⁶

The medium of radio affected the development of jazz on both micro and macro levels. On a micro level, it encouraged dance bands across America and Britain to develop their own unique identities. Whereas record buyers had purchased individual hits, radio audiences tuned in for the sound of the band rather than for specific numbers.⁷⁷ On a macro level, radio broadcasts played a crucial role in the development of concert-hall jazz.

Clarinetist and bandleader Benny Goodman is commonly understood to have been the key figure in bringing jazz to the concert stage. (In this discussion of concert-hall jazz I deliberately avoid works that blended aspects of classical and jazz music, in order to focus on bands that played in their usual style on the concert stage.) Goodman’s activities in this arena owed much to the media, as a brief recount of the oft-told story testifies.⁷⁸ In 1934 Goodman’s band was hired for a half-hour slot on twenty-six episode of a weekly radio show called *Let’s Dance*. Goodman’s band took the last slot, and followed two bands playing in the

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 172.

⁷⁷ Wald, 93.

⁷⁸ The story is related at greater length in Benny Goodman and Irving Kolodin, *The Kingdom of Swing* (New York: Stackpole and Sons, 1939), 193–6.

commercial and by-now prevalent swing style. Given that the musicians could not see or respond directly to their audience, and that an hour of conventional swing had already been broadcast by the time of their performance, Goodman began to allow musical liberties. Tempos crept up (until they were too fast for dancing), and a greater emphasis was placed on improvisation. The idea of radio as an interim between recorded and live performance can here be seen to enact Katz's assertion that 'live performances tended to be longer than recorded ones, with the extra time usually going towards additional solos.'⁷⁹ While Goodman maintained a substantial radio following, the disparity between his jazz style and the expectations of a dancing audience became apparent in 1935. The radio company had arranged a tour of dance halls in the mid-West and California, and the band met with consistently bad reception—a fact that can be attributed to the increasing unsuitability of Goodman's jazz for a dancing audience. According to Wald, on the band's last tour date at the Palomar Ballroom in Los Angeles, after a string of poor audience responses to attempts to tame their music for the dancing public, Goodman decided to play as they did on the radio show. Goodman recalled: 'to our complete amazement, half of the crowd stopped dancing and came surging around the stand ... we finally found people who were up on what we were trying to do, prepared to take our music the way we wanted to play it.'⁸⁰ Crease concurs, referring to the subculture of audience members that preferred to stand still and listen to swing as 'alligators'.⁸¹ That night marked the beginning of a different audience response to Goodman's swing, as Wald writes:

⁷⁹ Katz, 76. The performances of the Duke Ellington Orchestra are an exception to this general rule: 'When Duke Ellington performed his well-known works for the radio he hewed closely to the versions recorded on 78, even though he was not constrained by the temporal limitations of the disc.' *Ibid.*, 81.

⁸⁰ Wald, 117.

⁸¹ Crease, 702.

A few months later [Goodman] got a residency at Chicago's Congress Hotel, where ... the orchestra also gave their first formal jazz concerts, and the ... audience behaved in quite a new way. Although the first show was advertised as a 'tea dance' the few couples who tried some steps were 'instantly booed' by those who 'preferred to listen and watch.' Unadulterated dance music, without novelty specialities, catchy choreography, or symphonic pretensions was for the first time being treated as a serious concert style.⁸²

Although the physical characteristics of the venues remained those of dance halls, the behaviour of Goodman's audiences—standing and listening in silence, applauding at the end of pieces—fell into line with the unwritten rules of classical audiences. Radio broadcasts therefore indirectly conditioned the development of Goodman's style and the audience reception, in a parallel to the earlier development of jazz appreciation through record circles in Europe.

DeVeaux comments on the appropriateness of swing as a style for concert audiences:

Swing was a 'functional' music, performed in ballrooms for dancing, in theaters as part of a wide-ranging program of entertainment, and as part of elaborate floor shows in nightclubs. At the same time, the music of the swing style was appealing in and of itself. The imaginative arrangements and brilliantly improvised solos established the essential audience precondition for a concert: the willingness to listen with undivided attention.⁸³

A seemingly natural next step for Goodman and his band was a series of jazz concerts at the famous classical venue Carnegie Hall in New York, in 1938 and 1939.

The evening of jazz that Benny Goodman and his band performed at Carnegie Hall on 16 January 1938 was divided into four sections thus: six swing hits of the

⁸² Wald, 118.

⁸³ DeVeaux, 'Emergence', 8.

time played by the orchestra; a chronology of jazz through performance by the orchestra, various sub-units of the orchestra, and guest musicians, including a jam session involving Count Basie, Lester Young, Buck Clayton and others; four tunes performed by the orchestra; and three tunes performed by The Goodman Trio/Quartet.

Despite the variety of jazz styles performed in this concert, the classical connotations of Carnegie Hall affected audience expectations and responses. The layout of the hall (Figure 6b) strongly contributed to codes of behaviour: audience members could not help but face the stage. Audience members could buy explanatory programmes, and applauded at the end of each piece. Reception traditions were therefore borrowed from the classical music usually performed in the venue—although filmed footage of the 1938 concert aired in a 1985 television documentary about Goodman’s musical career shows that younger audience members deviated slightly from the norms of classical-music reception, by tapping their feet and clicking their fingers.⁸⁴ This audience response indicates the beginning of a relaxation of stringent nineteenth-century expectations. Lopes explains the positive cultural implication that this concert and those that followed had for jazz:

Jazz concerts not only presented jazz as a serious art form, but when located in concert halls usually reserved for European cultivated music also represented for jazz enthusiasts and musicians the new legitimate status of this music.⁸⁵

While the story related above and Goodman’s 1938 Carnegie Hall concert are often heralded as the first presentation of jazz within an existing classical venue in

⁸⁴ *Let’s Dance*, PBS television documentary (U.S.A.: Public Broadcasting Services, 1985).

⁸⁵ Lopes, 166–167.

America, DeVaux offers a less sensationalist narrative of the history of concert jazz performance:

For all its symbolic significance, Goodman's Carnegie Hall debut was less an isolated event than the crest of a wave. The decade from 1935 to 1945, from the onset of the swing era to the end of World War II, may be seen as the period in which the jazz concert as institution took root in American culture.⁸⁶

He locates early problems with jazz as a concert music being that American society was unwilling to allow African-American musicians the cultural prestige that performing in a concert hall symbolised, and the fact that jazz musicians tended to adopt an informal and relaxed performance style that was not in keeping with the nineteenth-century expectations of concert-hall organisers and regular audiences. DeVaux explains that, in a parallel phenomenon to the readying of British audiences for jazz through music hall and minstrelsy, 'In the early part of the [twentieth] century new developments in Afro-American music were made available to the public with some frequency in traditional concert halls.'⁸⁷ He cites the performances of Will Marion Cook and the SSO and James Reese Europe's Clef Club as examples—both of whom performed a wide range of repertoire at Carnegie Hall in the early 1910s. In addition, W. C. Handy traced the evolution of black music in a 1928 concert at the venue. Referring specifically to Goodman's much-hyped 1935 Palomar Ballroom performance, DeVaux gives contemporaneous evidence to show that the same thing occurred in black audiences in Harlem years earlier at performances by Lester Young, Erskine Hawkins, and Teddy Hill. DeVaux explains that black audiences would 'forget

⁸⁶ DeVaux, 'Emergence', 6.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

about dancing and flock around the stand ten deep’,⁸⁸ but suggests that racial privileges in America meant that the same phenomenon was only recognised by the cultural establishment when ‘acted out by white teenagers in the glare of publicity.’⁸⁹

The fact remains, however, that by the late 1930s, jazz concerts—in which musicians performed the music they had previously played in nightclubs and dance halls in concert venues to audiences that adopted modified classical-music reception methods—were becoming an established part of the jazz performance tradition.

Duke Ellington provides an exception to the rule. When he and his orchestra made their Carnegie Hall debut in 1943, Ellington composed an extended jazz work for the occasion. The work was programmatic, and was intended to represent the three periods of Negro development. Ellington referred to *Black, Brown and Beige* as a ‘tone parallel’ in order to avoid overt comparisons to the classical form of the tone poem.⁹⁰ He had publicly expressed reservations about the clean-cut division of music into ‘classical’ and ‘jazz’, and strove to avoid such pigeonholing in *Black, Brown and Beige* and the series of extended works that he composed for subsequent yearly concerts at Carnegie. Nevertheless, Howland argues, Ellington adopted many of the trappings of classical concert music:

⁸⁸ Otis Ferguson, ‘Breakfast Dance in Harlem’, in Ralph J. Gleason (ed.), *Jam Session: An Anthology of Jazz* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1958), 36–7, quoted in DeVaux, ‘Emergence’, 9.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁹⁰ In a preview to the Carnegie Hall concert, Helen Oakley wrote: ‘Acknowledging an aversion to identifying [his] music ... with any accepted classic form, Duke designates his latest work a *Tone Parallel*. It is to be presented in three movements, but he emphasizes, this construction has been used simply because it satisfactorily lent itself to the presentation of his ideas.’ ‘Ellington to Offer “Tone Parallel”’, *Down Beat* (15 January 1943): 13; reprinted in Mark Tucker (ed.), 156.

Despite his avowed indifference to ‘symphony techniques,’ by several means Ellington taps into the archetypal imagery, rhetoric, and social privileges of classical music in midcentury America: in his adoption of the concert performance model, in the very idea of appearing at Carnegie Hall, and especially in his emphasis on the culturally elevated idea of ‘serious’ music.⁹¹

By the 1940s, jazz had been heard in many different contexts. In America, it provided the backdrop for dancing in nightclubs and dance halls, before concert-hall appearances of swing bands became more common in the 1930s. In Britain, the early association with minstrelsy and music-hall entertainment gave way to jazz for dancing and concert-style Rhythm Club audiences. By the early 1940s, New Orleans revival bands were performing live to Rhythm Club audiences, both in the clubs and in concert halls.

The influence of radio in developing jazz style and penetrating previously inaccessible venues is also evident in the career of American pianist and bandleader Dave Brubeck from 1949. Brubeck’s early blending of classical and jazz compositional style is explained at greater length in Chapter 3, but one offshoot of his combination of stylistic traits from both disciplines was his reluctance to adopt a ‘jam session’ method of arranging and rehearsal.⁹²

Brubeck’s wife helped the quartet organise a tour of universities and colleges on the West Coast in the early 1950s, including the University of California, the College of the Pacific, Marin Junior College, San Francisco State University, and Stanford University. Despite the beginnings of formalisation in jazz education at this time (as explained in Chapter 4), Gioia comments upon the ingrained

⁹¹ Howland, 248.

⁹² Ted Gioia, *West Coast Jazz* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 88.

prejudices against the idiom within academia. 'Campus jazz events became standard fare largely thanks to Brubeck's pioneering efforts. In the late 1940s, any jazz performance given under the auspices of an academic music department was, to put it mildly, an unusual event.'⁹³

Specialised Jazz Clubs in America

While swing music performed for dancing or concert audiences grew in popularity and commercial success, many jazz musicians gathered at informal late night performances known as 'jam sessions'. These jam sessions provided a place for musicians to experiment artistically, in contrast to the increasing echoes of classical-music replicative performance conventions found in swing. Small writes of classical concerts:

Musical performance plays no part in the creative process, being only the medium through which the isolated, self-contained work has to pass in order to reach its goal, the listener.⁹⁴

To an extent, the formulaic nature of many swing arrangements of the 1930s and '40s, and the limited amount of improvisation required provided a parallel in the jazz world.

Small nightclubs in New York were a focal point for informal jam sessions, as

DeVeaux explains:

After the night's gig was over, swing era musicians headed out in search of places where they could relax and continue to improvise in more informal settings ... at any given time, jazz players had their choice of

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁹⁴ Small, 5.

more than a dozen venues in New York City alone, ranging from well-established clubs to dingy basement dives to ad hoc sessions held in apartments or hotel rooms.⁹⁵

These late-night jam sessions within intimate nightclubs provided the environment for a group of musicians to develop a new style of jazz. Saxophonist Charlie Parker, trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie, guitarist Charlie Christian, and drummer Kenny Clarke evolved a style of small-group jazz that became known by the onomatopoeic term ‘bebop’. Bebop groups were smaller than swing bands, comprising two or three frontline musicians and a rhythm section of bass, drums, and guitar or piano. Their music was a stylistic departure from swing, and placed the focus on improvisation rather than arrangement. Musical features of bebop included: fast original melodies (sometimes based on existing chord sequences such as twelve-bar blues or the ‘I Got Rhythm’ harmonic progression); extended improvised solos, based on the chord progression rather than the melody; a basic rhythmic unit of the quaver, and off-beat accents in both melody and rhythm instruments; and complex harmonies including cyclic turnarounds, harmonic substitutions, and a fast harmonic rhythm. Bebop was a showcase for instrumental virtuosity, and musicians competed to play faster, louder and higher than those that went before them. This competitive element took the form not only of pushing the musical boundaries of swing, but also the ‘cutting contests’ that became a feature of jam sessions, in which new and unknown musicians would compete against established masters.

Eric Nisenson explains the suitability of the smaller, more intimate club environment for experimentation with jazz styles:

⁹⁵ DeVeaux, ‘The Advent of Bebop’, in Kirchner (ed.), 293.

There is no other venue where a jazz musician can have the close relationship between himself, the other musicians, and the audience. Clubs have always been conducive to jazz creativity and to the relaxed atmosphere where a musician feels free to explore his or her music and move it forward. Certainly neither the concert hall nor the dance hall has ever been a place where jazz musicians can comfortably ‘stretch out,’ the first because it is too formal, the latter because playing what is best for the dancers may inhibit the jazz musicians from being more adventurous.⁹⁶

The mid-1940s jam sessions at which bebop emerged were originally informal gatherings held by and for musicians, so the response of the audience was largely irrelevant. However, as Pelote comments ‘someone had the idea of [holding] organized sessions for the entertainment of the public.’⁹⁷ It soon became apparent that bebop was not suitable for dancing audiences—both the physical characteristics of the venues and the off-beat accents and fast tempi of the music prohibited the by now customary response of jazz audiences. However, changes in American society allowed the development of several small jazz clubs suitable for bebop performances and listening rather than dancing audiences. DeVaux notes

the gradual emergence of a commercial outlet for small-combo jazz. The process had begun in the mid-1930s: with the end of Prohibition in 1933, small clubs featuring lively music and alcohol suddenly became profitable. In particular, New York, with its high concentration of nightclubs occupying the converted brownstones lining 52nd Street, became a mecca for those seeking an intimate relationship with [this] music.⁹⁸

The most notorious 52nd Street clubs of this era include the Onyx (a favourite haunt of Gillespie), the Famous Door, the Hickory House, Kelly’s Stable, the Yacht Club, Jimmy Ryan’s, the Three Deuces, and the Spotlite. The Village Vanguard opened in Greenwich Village in 1935, and remains a popular jazz venue today. (Figures 10a and 10b show images of the exterior and interior of the Village Vanguard, illustrating that these venues were dissimilar to classical concert halls in that they are part of a row of terraced buildings, and that the

⁹⁶ Eric Nisenson, *Blue: the Murder of Jazz* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1997), 81.

⁹⁷ Pelote, 726.

⁹⁸ DeVaux, ‘The Advent of Bebop’, 299.

interior neither contains rows of seats facing the stage, nor is it designed for dancing, but for sitting and eating and drinking.) The Royal Roost and Birdland (which was named after, and originally fronted by Charlie ‘Bird’ Parker) opened on Broadway in the 1940s,⁹⁹ and the Five Spot and the Halfnote elsewhere in New York in the 1950s.



Figure 10a: Village Vanguard, Greenwich Village exterior (2010).¹⁰⁰



Figure 10b: Village Vanguard, Greenwich Village interior (2011).¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ The original Birdland opened on Broadway and 52nd Street in 1949, but closed in 1965. Its current location, at 2745 Broadway, was opened in 1986 with a similar atmosphere and ethos to the original. Anonymous, <http://www.birdlandjazz.com/history/> (accessed 23 May 2011).

¹⁰⁰ Photograph: Elena Martinez. Available at <http://www.placematters.net/node/1576> (accessed 22 June 2011).

¹⁰¹ Anonymous photograph. Available at <http://www.soulofamerica.com> (accessed 22 June 2011).

In Chapter 1, I explained Gendron's suggestion that the critical discourse surrounding bebop helped to establish an art music status for jazz that was equivalent but distinct to that of classical music.¹⁰² This artistic and cultural status can also be seen in the emergence of bebop clubs that encouraged audiences to focus their attention on the music, rather than on their companions or dancing. Although parallels with classical-music reception can be noted, the physical characteristics of the venues and the respectful but not rigid actions of typical bebop audiences ensure that this style of venue and reception promotes an art music status unique to jazz.

Concert performances of jazz continued to be a popular feature of American musical life from the 1930s. The emergence of repertoire bands funded by and intrinsically connected with classical concert halls was a particularly important feature of this trend. Although the tradition of repertory bands began as early as the 1930s, with the American and British New Orleans revivals and Bob Crosby's Orchestra, the phenomenon was only seen in America on a large scale from the 1970s. (The British equivalent and its pedagogical implications are discussed in Chapter 4.) Two important New York ensembles bolstered the trend in 1973, Chuck Israels' National Jazz Ensemble and George Wein's New York Jazz Repertory Ensemble. Both groups received institutional support in the form of monetary grants from the New York State Council of the Arts, and venue affiliations from Carnegie Hall or other concert halls.¹⁰³ Jazz historian Martin Williams 'produced a series of historical jazz concerts at the Smithsonian

¹⁰² Gendron, *Between Montmartre and the Mudd Club*, 32.

¹⁰³ Jeff Sultanof, 'Jazz Repertory', in Kirchner (ed.), 515.

[Institution] in the mid-'70s'¹⁰⁴—and the link between the venue and repertory jazz was furthered by the establishment of the Smithsonian Jazz Masterworks Orchestra under the direction of Gunther Schuller and David Baker in 1991. The Lincoln Center Jazz Orchestra was founded in 1988, headed by Wynton Marsalis, in order to promote the repertoire performance of past masters that formed the basis of the 'Classical Jazz' concert series at the venue. In 1990, the Carnegie Hall Jazz Orchestra was formed under the musical direction of Jon Faddis, upholding the same ideology. Alex Stewart connects this repertory ideology of jazz as a fixed historical entity, and the ubiquitous affiliations with and cultural connotations of classical-music performance spaces, to classical-music ideology:

Repertory bands perform a broad repertoire in much the same way that classical orchestras present the works of the 'great composers.' Indeed, the founders of repertory emulated the model of the symphony orchestra not just in the way they selected material but also in terms of gaining public and institutional support.¹⁰⁵

Increasing numbers of concert-hall jazz performances, along with a formalisation of jazz performances at specialist jazz clubs, coincided with a decline in the number of informal performance venues available to emerging jazz musicians. This issue is addressed in Chapter 4, where I suggest that the informal jam sessions and jazz venues that were so important for the development of jazz musicians before the 1980s were replaced by formalised opportunities within educational institutions.

Berliner suggests that nightclubs and concert halls represent the opposite ends of a spectrum in terms of the atmosphere and audience behaviour at jazz venues:

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 516.

¹⁰⁵ Alex Stewart, *Making the Scene: Contemporary New York City Big Bands* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 21.

The architectural design and management policy of venues also contribute to the distinct atmosphere, or vibes, of a performance space. Concert halls and nightclubs generally represent opposite poles in an improviser's experience; each has advantages and disadvantages. The concert hall, on the one hand, presents jazz in its ... most formal setting as art music. Musicians expect a high standard of management. Engagements begin and end on time. Pianos are in tune. Typically, a band's concert hall performance of two to three hours begins at about eight in the evening and includes one short intermission. This format enables artists to build momentum from piece to piece throughout the event ... By contrast, nightclubs have the greatest potential for an intimate performer-audience relationship.¹⁰⁶

The description of audience behaviour given by Berliner can be contrasted with Levine's description of the 'polite applause and occasional ... well-placed "bravos"'¹⁰⁷ of classical audiences listening in silence:

Knowledgeable jazz audience members respond to exceptional improvisations with bursts of applause, shouts of praise and whistle calls ... At the very least, polite audience members listen attentively, typically offering applause after solos and at the conclusion of each piece.¹⁰⁸

Berliner's suggested spectrum of formality in jazz venues, ranging from concert halls on one end to nightclubs on the other, provides a helpful perspective for analysis. His ethnographic approach to his study *Thinking in Jazz* provides a springboard for my discussion of British jazz musicians' experiences of and attitudes towards different types of jazz venues in the following study of the connections between jazz venues and the developments of style in Britain from 1950 to 1990.

¹⁰⁶ Berliner, 452.

¹⁰⁷ Levine, 192.

¹⁰⁸ Berliner, 456.

Specialised Jazz Venues in Britain

A 'jazz club' in Britain in the 1940s was not restricted to a particular venue, and referred instead to the group of people (or members) who shared the same enthusiasms for and ideologies about jazz. Therefore a jazz club could change location without changing ethos; for example, the Marquee Club in London changed venue six times during its fifty-year existence.¹⁰⁹ The 100 Club in 1940s London is another example of this, for it featured swing music on Saturdays and Mondays, even after the owners had changed the general policy to bebop. The fact that a jazz club was made up of shared attitudes and ideologies rather than a fixed geographical space meant that clubs could be mobile and portable, and in the case of George Webb's Dixielanders ensured a familiar and enthusiastic audience reaction when the band performed in concert halls, which provided a British example of the relaxing of nineteenth-century concert-hall audience behaviour.¹¹⁰ This represents a parallel phenomenon to 1940s American concert-hall jazz audiences, despite having been arrived at differently.

The arrival of Graeme Bell's Australian Band in London in 1948 prompted a change in reception format for New Orleans-style jazz in Britain, for he and his band members recommended that audiences dance. The band started their own jazz club at the Café l'Europe in Leicester Square later that year, with the specific intention of enabling and encouraging audience members to dance. The idea of

¹⁰⁹ The club moved to venues in Wardour Street in 1964, Charing Cross in 1988 before closing temporary in 1995. It re-opened for a period in the Islington Academy in 2002, in Leicester Square 2004-5, and in Upper St. Martin's Lane in 2007, and closed permanently in May 2008. Koldo Barroso, 'History', <http://www.themarqueeclub.net> (accessed 17 March 2010).

¹¹⁰ When I asked Harvey whether concert audiences differed from club audiences in the 1940s, he replied: 'Not really. They just shouted, and all that old stuff.' Harvey, interview with the author.

dancing to jazz was met enthusiastically by existing audiences, and was soon capitalised on by trumpeter and bandleader Humphrey Lyttelton, who featured ‘music for dancing’ at the club he opened at 100 Oxford Street in London later that year. Harvey (who played in Lyttelton’s band at this time) recalls:

It wasn’t until Graeme Bell’s band ... played their music [that] people started to dance to it. The continuation of that was that when it got well known later on, and [Lyttelton] started his own club ... people came there to dance. But prior [to that] people just sat and listened and were enthusiastic ... the idea of dancing to it would have been sort of sacrilegious.¹¹¹

At the same time as these developments in traditional jazz venues for dancing, a small group of British musicians followed the developments of the bebop movement in New York. These musicians included saxophonists Ronnie Scott, John Dankworth and Tubby Hayes. Scott recalls having difficulties obtaining 78 rpm records of bebop to listen to and learn from, due to the already limited British jazz market being geared towards New Orleans-style jazz.¹¹² In 1947 Scott and Dankworth gained employment on the *Queen Mary* cruise ship, and travelled between England and New York several times in order to experience bebop live. In 1948 Scott, Dankworth and eight other British modern jazz musicians hired a rehearsal room on Great Windmill Street in London, which they ran co-operatively as Club Eleven, Britain’s first bebop club. The musicians played there every night, experimenting in the new style. After a chance meeting with Dankworth, Harvey recalls becoming interested in bebop. ‘Club Eleven ... became my university. I was one of the first bebop musicians to jump ship from a traditional jazz band to a bebop band.’¹¹³ Consequently, Harvey became one of the founding members of an early British bebop group, the co-operative John

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² Scott, 33.

¹¹³ Harvey, interview with the author.

Dankworth Seven. In 1950, Club Eleven moved from Great Windmill Street to 50, Carnaby Street. The club was closed down shortly after a drugs raid by the police in April 1950.¹¹⁴

At the beginning of the 1950s two jazz venues with a focus on bebop existed in London: Studio 51 and the Feldman Club at 100 Oxford Street, which also hosted Lyttelton's 'jazz-for-dancing' London Jazz Club on other evenings. As bebop grew in popularity throughout the decade, several modern jazz clubs were founded in the central London district of Soho. Prominent amongst these clubs were the Flamingo Club on Wardour Street, the Marquee Club on Oxford Street and Ronnie Scott's Club on Gerrard Street. In the 1960s and '70s, the area became the centre of the British popular music scene. (Figure 11 is a street map of London, showing the proximity of these specialised bebop venues.)

¹¹⁴ This episode is recounted with characteristic good humour by Ronnie Scott in his autobiography. Scott, 39–42.

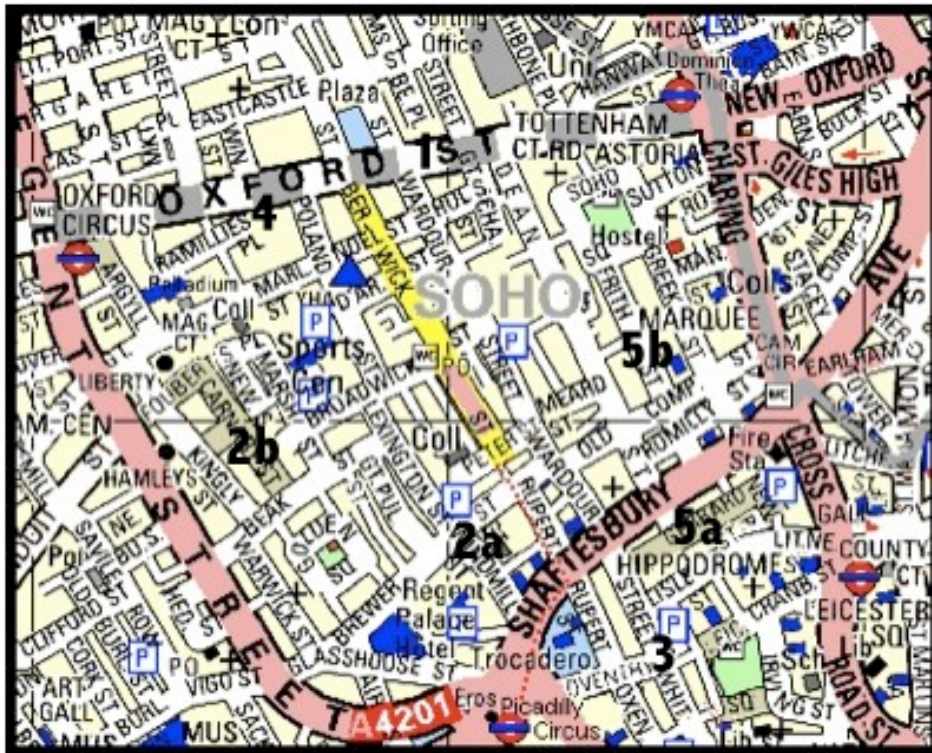


Figure 11: Streetmap of London's Soho, showing proximity of jazz clubs in the 1950s.¹¹⁵

1: 100 Club, 100 Oxford Street (opened 1942).

2a: Club Eleven, Great Windmill Street (opened 1948), moved to 2b: 50 Carnaby Street (1950).

3: Flamingo Club, corner of Wardour Street and Coventry Street (opened 1952).

4: Marquee Club, 165 Oxford Street (opened 1958).

5a: Ronnie Scott's Jazz Club, Gerrard Street (opened 1959), moved to 5b: 47 Frith Street (1965).

The Flamingo Club was opened by Jeffrey Kruger in August 1952, and was intended to feature modern jazz (bebop) in a venue modelled on jazz dancing venues (traditional jazz clubs). Kruger secured the function room of the Mapleton Restaurant on the corner of Wardour Street and Coventry Street, and booked two modern jazz bands per evening; the opening night on 12 August featured the John Dankworth Seven and Kenny Graham's Afro-Cubists. By modelling the club on existing jazz clubs, Kruger ensured different forms of reception to that of classical

¹¹⁵ Available at <http://symbianism.blogspot.com/2008/08/mobile-maps-london-street-map-tube-maps.html> (accessed 22 June 2011).

concert audiences. However, the unsuitability of bebop for dancing resulted in a listening audience—albeit one that could mingle, talk, and drink while appreciating the music. The Flamingo Club therefore provided a British example of the American phenomenon of the reception of bebop as art music. A slow relaxation of the Ministry of Labour ruling against foreign musicians performing in Britain by the early 1950s meant that American jazz soloists could be ‘exchanged’ for British soloists (the reasoning being that local bands would still be hired to accompany visiting artists). As a result, ‘the Flamingo not only provided an outlet for British jazz musicians like Ronnie Scott, Tubby Hayes and Tony Crombie, but also played host to some of the greatest American jazz artists.’¹¹⁶ The Flamingo Club closed in the early 1960s.

Another significant early British bebop venue was the Marquee Club, which opened at 165 Oxford Street in January 1958. The first ‘Jazz at the Marquee’ nights were financially unsuccessful, so Harold Pendleton, who was co-director of the National Jazz Federation at that time, took over the management in April of that year. Pendleton began with jazz on Saturday nights, but by booking acts like the John Dankworth Orchestra improved the popularity of the club to the extent that he was soon able to add Friday night performances. (Dankworth’s popularity and success had increased through the 1950s, and by this time he headed his own jazz orchestra.) The first Marquee Club was located in the basement of the Academy Cinema in Oxford Street. The venue was a large ballroom, decorated in the red and white stripes of a circus tent. Having been unsuccessful as a ballroom, in its reincarnation as a jazz club the organisers filled the venue with rows of

¹¹⁶ Anonymous, <<http://www.evolvingstyles.co.uk/joomla10156/2008100576/STYLE-NATIVE/Clubland-History-THE-FLAMINGO-CLUB.html>> (accessed 18 March 2010).

plastic chairs, ensuring that the audience sat and listened rather than dance to such early acts as the Dankworth Orchestra, Alexis Korner's Blues Incorporated, and the Joe Harriott Quintet.¹¹⁷

Several of these venues were not restricted solely to jazz performances. The Marquee Club was also an important early performance venue for the Rolling Stones in the 1960s. The 100 Club was a crucial site for the punk revolution of the 1970s, and even hosted the world's first punk festival in 1976, which featured bands such as The Sex Pistols, The Clash, The Damned, Siouxsie and the Banshees, the Vibrators and the Subway Sect.¹¹⁸

Ronnie Scott's Jazz Club and the Bull's Head

In October 1959, tenor saxophonists Ronnie Scott and Peter King joined forces to found what was to become one of the world's most famous bebop venues. Ronnie Scott's Jazz Club opened in an underground room on Gerrard Street. From its opening, the club featured up-and-coming British jazz musicians alongside the American greats. The use of a local house band as support for visiting musicians ensured the interaction of British and American musicians, and helped to keep jazz in London fresh and innovative. John Fordham explains the attraction of a small jazz club for audiences:

Fans loved the proximity to the guests, the way they would be ushered ... through the parting crowd, up to the tiny stage to pick up one of Stan Tracey's quirky, sidelong piano introductions. Local musicians liked the

¹¹⁷ Barroso.

¹¹⁸ Anonymous, <http://www.the100club.co.uk/history.asp> (accessed 23 May 2011).

club as a place to meet friends, maybe stay on for an after-hours jam session.¹¹⁹

The success of the club led to the need to expand the premises, and in 1965 the club moved to its current location at 47 Frith Street. Figures 12a and 12b show the two venues, and illustrate how Scott and King captured a similar atmosphere within the larger premises.

Ronnie Scott's Jazz Club is set back from Frith Street. A small doorway opens onto a long corridor that leads past a cloakroom and ticket desk to the performance space. Despite being on street level, there are no windows, and the club is soundproof to the outside, with a 'neat, dry acoustic' inside.¹²⁰ Upstairs from the performance space is a private members' bar (which sometimes showcases small-band gigs, or otherwise feeds the live music from the stage through the sound system), and downstairs is a green room for musicians and the toilets for patrons (to which music from the stage is also fed). The entrance to the main performance room faces the raised stage, with a bar and a few barstools to the right of the door, and a few square dining tables in front of the bar. To both sides are rows of bench-like seats that descend the few steps to another level of smaller round tables. The lighting is soft, and the floors and lightshades decorated in a warm red colour. The walls are decorated with signed pictures of musicians who have performed in the venue.

This lengthy description of the interior of Ronnie Scott's Jazz Club (see Figure 13a and 13b for images of the exterior and interior in recent years) reveals that the

¹¹⁹ John Fordham, *Ronnie Scott's at Fifty* (London: Palmgren Limited, 2009), 21.

¹²⁰ Pete Long, telephone conversation with the author, 20 March 2008.

club is designed neither for a dancing audience, nor for a concert audience. The performance room is filled with tables and chairs for patrons, making dancing impossible even if the bebop performed allowed it. The venue was therefore suited to the expected norms of audience behaviour in a bebop venue, which fell between the formality of a nineteenth-century concert audience and the behaviour of early jazz audiences. Ashton remembers locating a recording of a familiar tongue-in-cheek request of Scott's, to use in a tribute to the saxophonist and club-owner. 'We managed to find [a recording of] Ronnie Scott's own voice, saying "quiet please, you're not here to enjoy yourselves."'"¹²¹ Scott's longtime friend and regular audience member Spike Milligan concurs, in stronger language:

I love his jazz club. I hate the noisy bloody customers, who sometimes speak so loud that you would think it was part of the musical arrangement that's going on on the stand ... he does try to employ first class, world class jazz musicians, and sometimes when all the oafs haven't come in to hear themselves eat, there are quiet occasions with Stephane Grappelli and John Williams.¹²²

As Ashton recalls, sometimes Scott would request more attention from audience members. However, the layout of the club and provision of drinks and meals indicates that a certain amount of socialising and background noise was encouraged. Once again, the venue can be seen to condition audience behaviour.

¹²¹ Ashton.

¹²² Spike Milligan, 'Coda: All that Jewish Jazz', in Scott, 123.



Figure 12a: Ronnie Scott's Jazz Club, Gerrard Street, interior (1962).¹²³



Figure 12b: Ronnie Scott's Jazz Club, 47 Frith Street, interior (1967).¹²⁴

¹²³ Photograph by John 'Hoppy' Hopkins; reprinted in Fordham, 31. Lucky Thompson (saxophone) with Stan Tracey (piano).

¹²⁴ Photograph by Val Wilmer; reprinted in *ibid.*, 54. Max Roach group.



Figure 13a: Ronnie Scott's Jazz Club, Frith Street, exterior (2009).¹²⁵



Figure 13b: Ronnie Scott's Jazz Club, interior. The stage is to the right of this picture (2008).¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Photograph: Shaun Curry/AFP/Getty Images. Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/musicblog/2009/sep/30/happy-birthday-ronnie-scotts> (accessed 22 June 2011).

¹²⁶ Anonymous photograph. Available at <http://www.metro.co.uk/metrolife/358103-called-to-bar> (accessed 22 June 2011).

The owner of the Bull's Head pub in Barnes Bridge, near Richmond (South-West London), opened a jazz club in the function room behind the pub in November 1959, just a month after the opening of Ronnie Scott's:

Since 1959 the Bull's Head has gained a world-wide reputation for Modern Jazz. Musicians from all over the world can be heard playing every night of the week as well as Sunday lunchtimes. International artists like George Coleman, Billy Mitchell, Ben Webster, Coleman Hawkins, Shorty Rogers, Charles Rouse, Bud Shank, Al Cohn, Ronnie Scott, Peter King, Humphrey Lyttelton, Stan Tracey, Dick Morrissey, Don Weller, and Art Themen, have all appeared at the Bull.¹²⁷

The music room of the Bull's Head can be reached through the pub, or directly from the pub's car park. Framed photographs of famous (American and British) musicians who have performed there adorn the otherwise plain walls. The stage is raised at the opposite end of the room to the entrance. The audience sits in rows of chairs facing the stage—the chairs are not fixed to the floor or each other, however, and the arrangement seems informal. There is a small bar behind the audience, who have the choice of buying drinks there or carrying them through from the pub. Like Ronnie Scott's and the Marquee Club, there is no dance floor. Combined with the rows of seating (albeit informal), the implication is that the audience will focus on and listen to the music. Again, audience response is guided by the layout of the venue and the expectations of its organisers.

In America, specialised jazz clubs such as Birdland, the Village Vanguard and the Blue Note have a similar aesthetic. Every club has a bar in its performance room, and many serve food. Audiences are seated at tables, on benches, or at the bar. Attention is focussed on the stage, but silence is not demanded, and performances are accompanied by the sounds of audiences talking, eating and drinking.

¹²⁷ Dan Fleming, <<http://www.thebullshead.com/LiveMusic.html>> (accessed 20 February 2008).

Free Jazz, the Avant-Garde, and the Popular Music Explosion

Jazz in Britain (and in America) underwent many changes of style in the 1960s and '70s. The era marked an expansion and a departure from the mainstays of the 1950s, bebop, New Orleans, and cool jazz, which was associated with the West Coast of America. The development of many of these new styles can be attributed to club owners being open-minded to change and experimentation.

One of these new styles began with saxophonist Joe Harriott's late-1950s experiments into free jazz.¹²⁸ Also in the free-jazz category were drummer John Stevens and the Spontaneous Music Ensemble (SME), who were particularly important to the development of British jazz in the 1960s, because Stevens secured a venue for free musicians to play. The owner of the Little Theatre Club (LTC) in London's West End, Jean Pritchard, allowed him to use the venue free of charge six nights a week. He opened the club as a jazz venue in January 1966:

The Little Theatre Club rapidly established itself as the platform and crucible for the ideas and experiments of the rising generation of musicians. Apart from providing a regular weekly playing spot for numerous little-known musicians and groups, it also became the place where all kinds of musicians dropped in to listen or to sit-in when there was a loosely organized blowing session [jam]—which happened most nights.¹²⁹

The LTC was a crucial venue for musicians interested in the freer, more spontaneous aspects of jazz. Stevens comments upon the non-commercial nature of the club:

People were just getting together for the sheer joy of playing together ... I found [this] less and less in the actual gigs [on the professional scene], and more and more in the afternoon rehearsals and the things I was doing in

¹²⁸ More historical and musical detail about the emergence of British free jazz is given in Chapter 3.

¹²⁹ Carr, 54.

my spare time ... So a significant thing was finding the Little Theatre Club. You got in there with people who were interested in the same group experience and the music was allowed to develop day by day, literally.¹³⁰

The generosity of Jean Pritchard removed the need for commercial success, and the free jazz played at the LTC developed through the experiments of the musicians rather than the expectations of the audience. This represents the opposite of the role of the performers in Small's model of a classical concert:

As for performers, we hear little about them ... at least not as creators of musical meaning. It seems that they can clarify or obscure a work, present it adequately or not, but they have nothing to contribute to it; its meaning has been completely determined before a performer ever lays eyes on the score.¹³¹

Carr explains the importance of the LTC to beginning free-jazz musicians.

Saxophonist Evan Parker

came to London in 1965 or '66, and made straight for the Little Theatre Club. It was the obvious centre for new faces, the place to go to find out what was happening and what was available. The Ronnie Scott Club used to provide a similar service for established musicians—a grapevine service, and an after-hours meeting place.¹³²

Even after the move to Frith Street, though, Ronnie Scott's Jazz Club provided an important service to new British jazz musicians. With the aforementioned continuation of the lease on the 'Old Place' on Gerrard Street, Scott provided another venue for not-yet-established musicians. Scott recalled:

Although we had shut up shop in Gerrard Street, Pete and I planned to reopen the basement as a place in which to present some of the excellent younger musicians who were coming on to the British jazz scene—and we finally took the step in September 1966 ... For the next two years—until the lease ran out and we were unable to afford to renew it at treble the previous figure—the Old Place presented some outstanding musicians, including Graham Collier, Mike Osborne, John Surman, Chris McGregor, Dudu Pukwana, Evan Parker, Tony Oxley and Mike Westbrook. It ran at a loss, but we were happy to subsidise it as long as we could afford to.¹³³

¹³⁰ John Stevens, cited in Carr, 52.

¹³¹ Small, 5.

¹³² Carr, 87.

¹³³ Scott, 92.

The simultaneous existence of the Old Place and the LTC resulted in a shift in the 1960s London jazz scene. As the Old Place had a policy of paying musicians £3 a night, and the LTC did not pay its musicians, most groups gravitated towards the former. The only group to remain faithful to the LTC was the SME, which effectively created a stylistic split defined by venue. The more mainstream, bebop-influenced and commercially motivated groups played in Gerrard Street, while the spontaneous and free musicians remained at the LTC.

The importance and influence of venues on the development of jazz in Britain during the 1960s and '70s can be illustrated further by the case of pianist and bandleader Mike Westbrook. Westbrook composed large-scale, multi-influenced works for jazz orchestra—the scale and complexity of which have prompted comparisons to Duke Ellington.¹³⁴ The lack of a stable infrastructure for jazz musicians in Britain meant that until the LTC and the Old Place became available in the mid-1960s, it was impossible for new groups to play together regularly enough to develop a musical identity. However, the trend for opening venues to jazz musicians meant that Westbrook's 1970 project *Earthrise* was inspired by the use of the Mermaid Theatre in London as a jazz venue. The work was a collaboration with John Fox, an advocate and practitioner of experimental theatre. *Earthrise* 'consisted of music being played by a very big band, filmstrips, still photographs and visual effects projected onto a screen behind the band, and the dramatic use of lighting in the theatre.'¹³⁵ The influence of venue on the development of jazz here is two-fold: first, Westbrook was able to experiment with different lighting and staging techniques because he could rehearse his band

¹³⁴ Carr, 18.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 38.

in a theatre; and second, the extra-musical effects he incorporated had allusions to the staging of repertoire from the classical canon, such as Schoenberg's *Die Glückliche Hand*. Westbrook was involved with several other jazz-rock ensembles in the 1970s and '80s (with groups and projects such as *Cosmic Circus*, *Solid Gold Cadillac*, *Henry Cow* and *The Orchestra*), and is still active as a performer and composer at the time of writing.

Jazz musicians suffered during the popular-music explosion of the 1960s, as pop gigs replaced jazz gigs in several existing jazz venues. Williams recalls:

We used to play at the Station Hotel in Richmond. I think I've still got the photograph—there was a poster up there, because the Rolling Stones were doing another night.¹³⁶

Harvey felt the financial impact of declining numbers of jazz gigs through the 1960s, and decided to transfer his skills to teaching: 'by 1962 the Beatles had hit, and jazz clubs were closing every week.'¹³⁷ He later undertook a BEd course in order to qualify to teach in classrooms.¹³⁸ Harvey's career change is symptomatic of many of his contemporaries, as jazz musicians that were displaced by the rock and pop boom made the transition to teaching. However, as Fordham comments, the increasing popularity of the Beatles did have one positive effect for British jazz musicians. 'As British rock'n'roll boomed, the [Musicians'] union [and Ministry of Labour] quota system applying to transatlantic exchanges of players

¹³⁶ John C. Williams, interview with the author, Ratlinghope, 27 February 2010.

¹³⁷ Harvey, interview with the author. Harvey made the transition into teaching smoothly, beginning by coaching the City Lit rehearsal band in 1961, and taking up a post at Leeds College of Music, which began the first higher-education jazz course in Britain in 1965.

¹³⁸ Harvey's textbook, *Jazz in the Classroom* (London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1988); is still in common usage in secondary-school jazz education at the time of writing.

became irrelevant. For the first time, Americans wanted British musicians as fast as they could be packed on to the planes.’¹³⁹

Rise in Concert Jazz Performances and Decline in Informal Venues.

After the 1940s Hot Club of London performances at the King’s Hall, concert-hall performances of jazz became a more frequent occurrence in Britain. An important side effect was the adoption and manipulation of (relaxed) classical-music systems of reception, which prove that connotations of venue affected audience response.

All of my interview subjects have performed in prestigious concert halls to seated audiences using classical-music systems of reception. I asked each interviewee whether they preferred playing to large audiences in concert halls or to smaller audiences in jazz clubs. The only interviewee to state explicitly a preference for concert-hall performances was Ashton, who has the commercial and promotional interests of NYJO to consider as well as artistic satisfaction. A musical reason for this preference may be the fact that NYJO plays complex and challenging original arrangements, so a focussed environment is beneficial to both musicians and audiences.

Long, Barnes and O’Higgins all profess to prefer playing in the more intimate and informal setting of jazz clubs. Long states that this is not for aesthetic reasons or

¹³⁹ Fordham, 22.

due to nerves, but because of the reduced distance between himself, the other musicians, and the audience in clubs:

If I'm playing jazz, I'm just playing it for the guys in the band ... I'd prefer to do it in a club than in a concert hall. Because you've got intimate contact with the people you're playing it to. You can actually ... feel something from them. You can't do that in a concert hall.¹⁴⁰

Barnes concurs, adding that: 'the bigger the venue, the harder it is to ... do the sort of jazz that I want to do, because it's a small-room music ... all the subtleties of things can get lost in bigger halls.'¹⁴¹ O'Higgins, too, prefers the intimacy of smaller club settings 'when the band plays close together and the audience is near to you' to larger concert venues like the Barbican Hall in London, where 'the stage is thirty metres across, and the front row is five metres away from you ... it feels a bit austere to me.'¹⁴² The opinions of these musicians support Berliner's statement that—in contrast to the formal setting and audience responses of concert-hall jazz—'nightclubs have the greatest potential for an intimate performer-audience relationship.'¹⁴³

As performances of jazz in concert halls have increased in recent decades, the number of jazz club performances has decreased. The latter is not dependent on the former, but both of these shifts in venue and reception style can be attributed to changing economical and audience demands upon jazz musicians. Life as a jazz musician is notoriously underfinanced,¹⁴⁴ and the financial incentive for performing in a concert hall to a paying audience is considerable. In contrast the

¹⁴⁰ Pete Long, interview with the author, Berkhamsted, 20 October 2009.

¹⁴¹ Alan Barnes, interview with the author, Sheffield, 13 November 2009.

¹⁴² Dave O'Higgins, interview with the author, Brixton, 20 February 2010.

¹⁴³ Berliner, 452.

¹⁴⁴ Long jocularly recalled: 'The first time I got money for playing was pretty soon after I'd started playing, about four or five months in ... I got *two pounds*. So nothing's changed.' Interview with the author.

2003 Licencing Act meant that UK venues wishing to host informal performances had to apply for (and pay for) performance licences in advance.¹⁴⁵ Financial incentives and disincentives in both types of venues affected the types of jazz performance that could be held in Britain, and the changing desires and tastes of audiences and industry officials have reflected this development. A consequence of this shift in performance venue and the resulting reception style is a reduction in the communication that is possible, both between musicians within an ensemble, and between musicians and their audiences.

Long also emphasised the educational importance of jazz clubs, viewing them as important places for young musicians to play frequently and meet other musicians. O'Higgins, who recalls spending many evenings at the 606 Club in London doing just that, echoed this opinion:

It's been very formative for me ... The thing I've always loved about the 606 Club as a venue is that it's run by a musician, Steve Rubie, who's always had a great attitude towards musicians ... He's really nurtured musicians, and encourages them to come, and to feel part of the family. I've spent many hours at the 606 Club, jamming with other musicians, meeting people ... I've met a lot of people that I've subsequently worked with by hanging out at the 606 Club. And it's great. Anything I want to put on, Steve's up for it. So that's really good and encouraging ... kind of like your dream jazz club should be, commitment wise. Not always the best room to play in because it's noisy and the P.A.'s not great, but you know—the place with the best energy and the best commitment to it.¹⁴⁶

Two important points are raised in this quotation. The first is the distinct nature of each jazz venue, which is described by Berliner as the 'vibe' of a room. Berliner writes:

¹⁴⁵ O'Higgins comments further upon the impact of the Licencing Act on jazz musicians, cited on p. 140.

¹⁴⁶ O'Higgins. The 606 Club is situated at 90 Lots Road, Chelsea (after its 1988 move from King's Road, a location made famous by the punk movement). The club was officially founded in 1976 by its current owner and manager Steve Rubie. Steve Rubie, <http://www.606club.co.uk> (accessed 20 March 2008).

From nightclubs to concert halls to recording studios, the design and acoustics of a particular venue contribute to the ‘vibrations’—the general atmosphere—of music making, influencing the nature of musical invention. At every site, local management imposes unique conditions on the presentation of jazz, and correspondingly upon its formulation.¹⁴⁷

The second important point made by O’Higgins is the idea that a venue can be important to a musician’s career for the opportunities it presents to meet other musicians, rather than simply for the characteristics of the venue. Another of my interview questions focussed on whether the musicians felt that performing at any particular venue represented ‘making it’ in jazz, or marked a positive turning point in their career. I received two types of response to this question: the first explaining that career turning points took place at certain gigs, suggesting that the people present were more important than the venue itself; and the second stating that playing at certain established jazz clubs with a long and successful history represented an acceptance within the past and present jazz community. (Ashton gave a third type of answer, simply listing prestigious venues at which NYJO had performed.)

Harvey, Williams and Long all gave the first type of answer, focussing on career turning points rather than the prestige of the venues. Just as Long and O’Higgins emphasised the importance of young musicians having access to a venue in which to jam, Harvey recalls establishing such a venue when practising with clarinettist Wally Fawkes in the Sidcup Liberal Hall:

The two of us went down this hall to play ... [and] suddenly people started coming out of the woodwork and saying ‘I hear you’re having a play, can we come along?’ So we very quietly and quickly had sort of formed a band.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Berliner, 449.

¹⁴⁸ Harvey, interview with the author.

His first gigs with George Webb's Dixielanders were important for the emergence of New Orleans-style performances in Britain, and The Red Barn in Barnehurst is now commemorated with a blue plaque. Later in the 1940s, Archer Street in Soho played an important role in Harvey's career, for it was where he bumped into his future band mate and employer John Dankworth. (Archer Street was 'where all the musicians went [to meet and network] because nobody had telephones in those days.')¹⁴⁹ Dankworth invited him to Club Eleven, which he refers to as 'my university' for learning the bebop style.

For Williams, a turning point came in the form of a residency at the Marquee Club with his big band in 1963. He was asked to take the place of Dankworth, who had founded his own jazz club on Oxford Street. Williams explained that playing at the Marquee gained him and his band publicity and greater prominence, paving the way towards future employment.¹⁵⁰

Long expressly stated that specific venues were less important to him and his career than the people he met:

I don't really see any of them as more important than others ... In terms of my career, all the important leg-up moments came at ridiculous places, like at a Jewish wedding, and I've bumped into somebody, and they get me onto something else. I mean, I got into Itchy Fingers because I was doing a panto ... So [in terms of] career development, there's no real clear structure.¹⁵¹

O'Higgins falls partly into this first category of answers with his emphasis on the role of the 606 Club to his career, as stated earlier. He also cites supporting legendary American jazz musicians at Ronnie Scott's as a crucial learning

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ John C. Williams.

¹⁵¹ Long, interview with the author. Itchy Fingers is an award-winning jazz saxophone quartet that played an important role in the 1980s jazz resurgence in Britain.

experience. However, he also falls into the second category of answers, explaining that he gets a ‘great sense of occasion [from] walk[ing] onstage at Ronnie’s.’¹⁵²

Barnes, too, cites the first time that he played at Ronnie Scott’s Jazz Club as:

a pivotal moment. In fact, I couldn’t play a note the first night, because of all the ghosts! You know, all the people that had been there before me ... I was very aware of who’d played there. And whose footsteps you were [standing in]... you’re standing in the same place [that] you saw Zoot Sims stand, you know? It’s got to change a room ... if you get the greatest musicians in the world playing in a room night after night, it has to do something to the atmosphere of the room.¹⁵³

Barnes also felt a sense of acceptance within the existing jazz community the first time he played at the Bull’s Head in Barnes Bridge. He emphasised the prestige of playing at that venue at an early stage (he was fourteen at the time), stating that it ‘meant you’d been accepted at a certain level’ within the jazz circuit.¹⁵⁴ This idea resonates with Berliner’s statement that:

The presence of great artists—and, at times, simply their association with particular venues and band positions—may create a special edge on the pressure of performances. Many recall their initial panic and rush of adrenalin when, as aspiring players, they first looked out at an audience to discover their own idols seated before them.¹⁵⁵

The idea of performance at certain venues (such as Ronnie Scott’s or the Bull’s Head) representing a level of acceptance within the jazz community can be seen to mirror the cultural acceptance of jazz indicated by jazz concerts decades earlier. Indeed, an example of how inter-related the jazz and classical musical worlds had become by the 1980s can be seen in the fact that Loose Tubes were the first jazz ensemble to perform in the classical Promenade concert series at the Royal Albert Hall in 1987.¹⁵⁶ The fact that this jazz ensemble was invited to perform not only

¹⁵² O’Higgins.

¹⁵³ Barnes.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Berliner, 471.

¹⁵⁶ The Promenade Concerts (Proms) were established by Sir Henry Wood in 1895, and the performances were initially held at the Queen’s Hall in London. The location was moved to the

within a traditionally classical venue, but as part of a traditionally classical concert series represents a shift in the attitudes of concert administrators and the general public. However, the accommodation of jazz within the Proms series seems surprisingly late when one considers the early acceptance of jazz in British concert halls, and the fact that the first Promenade concert featuring non-Western music took place eight years previously.¹⁵⁷ A jazz-influenced rock band, Soft Machine had also appeared within the series in 1970. Additionally, since the beginning of the BBC's association with the Proms in 1927, radio broadcasts of the concert series had often been immediately followed by 'a lively coda of popular dance music.'¹⁵⁸ Non-Western and jazz-influenced music was not unheard of within a Proms context, but Loose Tubes' 1987 performance marked the first appearance of jazz on the main stage.¹⁵⁹

Reviews of the Loose Tubes Prom focussed primarily on visual and performance aspects that differed from traditional classical Promenade concerts, and the musical complexity that rendered the ensemble an appropriate addition to the programme. The performance was a late-night Prom on Sunday 30 August 1987, and a reviewer for *The Times* commented that: 'the 21 members of Loose Tubes

Royal Albert Hall in 1941 after the former was bombed in the Second World War. Jenny Doctor, 'A New Dimension: The BBC Takes on the Proms, 1920–44', in Doctor and Wright (eds.), *The Proms: A New History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2007), 74.

¹⁵⁷ David Wright explains that the Gamelan music of Indonesia first appeared at the Proms in 1979, Indian and Thai music was heard in 1981, and Korean in 1984. 'Reinventing the Proms: the Glock and Ponsonby Eras, 1959–85', in *ibid.*, 197.

¹⁵⁸ Doctor, in *ibid.*, 94.

¹⁵⁹ In recent years organizers of the Proms series have expanded its scope further still, with Dr Who Proms (27 July 2008 and 24–5 July 2010), featuring incidental music from the science fiction television series alongside classical repertoire. On 13 August 2011, a comedy Prom was hosted by 'musician, actor, comedian and rock'n'roll superstar Tim Minchin ... [who wove] his way through a spectacular evening of comedy, musical fun and surprises.' Anonymous, <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/whats-on/2011/august-13/46>> (accessed 24 March 2012). This wide-ranging departure from the classical roots of the series suggests an impetus to attract a wider and younger audience, as well as being representative of a renegotiation of traditional cultural hierarchies.

played down the Goonish humour in favour of a concentration on the musical virtues that led to their invitation to ... appear at the Proms.¹⁶⁰ Clive Davis' review of the concert for the same newspaper underscores some of the established traditions and audiences that still needed to be won over by jazz:

In August the group achieved recognition of sorts when they performed at a late-night Prom at the Albert Hall, an occasion at which Sir Henry Wood's bust was seen sporting a Loose Tubes sweatshirt. One classical music critic from a national newspaper was seen to doze off during the concert. Among the rest of the predominantly young audience, however, the show was a success, blending jazz improvisation with reggae, pop, African high-life and even an Andy Williams ballad.¹⁶¹

In general, however, the critical conclusion was that after this performance, 'there was no doubt that Loose Tubes had added the Proms to their list of conquests.'¹⁶² Features of Loose Tubes' repertoire that may have contributed to this acceptance within classical-music reception frameworks are explored in Chapter 3.

The rise in concert-hall performance opportunities for jazz ensembles provided visibility and employment for established soloists and groups performing at a high level. However, as this brief examination of the history of important British jazz venues has indicated, informal opportunities for less experienced jazz musicians declined over the decades between 1950 and 1990. Despite the significance of the Red Barn, the Marquee Club, Ronnie Scott's Jazz Club, the Bull's Head and the 606 Club to the musical development of countless British jazz musicians over the years, several of these venues are now defunct or exist in different forms. The Red Barn still functions as a pub, but no longer hosts live jazz, and the Marquee Club ceased to exist in 2008.

¹⁶⁰ Richard Williams, 'Emphasis on real talents—Review of 'Loose Tubes' At the Albert Hall and on Radio 3', *The Times* (1 September 1987).

¹⁶¹ Clive Davis, 'Kind of brassy—The 21-strong band Loose Tubes is among the brightest hopes of British jazz', *The Times* (11 January 1988).

¹⁶² Richard Williams.

After Ronnie Scott died in 1996, his co-founder Pete King continued to run the club in the same way. In 2005, however, he sold the club to theatre impresario Sally Greene. Greene oversaw an extensive renovation of the venue, which was re-opened in 2006 as an expensive and exclusive jazz club. Under her direction, ticket prices now reach £150 for some performances. There is no student discount available for the main performances, and few student musicians can afford such prices. The club now caters for a predominantly business and tourist audience, rather than welcoming in local jazz musicians. Although the club hosts a late-night jam session once a week, Long stated that this is under-attended.

The Bull's Head continues to operate in much the same way since its opening. It offers neither a student discount nor a membership scheme, but prices are relatively low, ranging from £5 to £12 per visit. The club's management ethos seems to be in line with that of pre-renovation Ronnie Scott's Jazz Club, but because of its suburban location and lower entry prices, it does not attract the same calibre of musicians or audience demographic.

The 606 Club is a restaurant club, at which audience members contribute a music surcharge to their food bill. Unlike Ronnie Scott's Jazz Club and the Bull's Head, the 606 Club began as an informal venue for jazz musicians to meet and play. Owner and manager Steve Rubie maintains a policy of only booking British-based musicians, in order to support the local scene. An Arts Council Jazz Review from 2005 evinces the club's popularity with musicians, stating:

The 606 Club ... is a rare example of a commercial nightclub promoting two bands a night (one at weekends) as well as maintaining an 'after-

hours' jamming policy ... the 606 is defined by proprietor Steve Rubie as a 'musicians' club'.¹⁶³

O'Higgins' positive experiences of 'jamming' and 'hanging out' at the 606 are reinforced by the ongoing jamming policy, in which musicians are invited out of the audience to join the onstage band. The 606 also features student ensembles on Wednesday nights, and student big bands on the last Sunday of every month.

Despite the positive policies in place at the Bull's Head and the 606, it is possible to see a decline in the opportunities for young musicians to hear jazz and perform in club settings. All of my interview subjects noted a reduction in the number of available and welcoming venues for young musicians to play in since they began performing themselves. Barnes recalled his early professional gigs in the late 1970s and early '80s:

I could play in a jazz band every night when I was at college. There [were] lots of pubs that had Dixieland bands, bebop bands, jazz-funk bands—there [were] all kinds of things going on. When I moved to London in 1980 there was a *choice* of Sunday lunchtime sessions to go and sit in on. There was much more sitting in, places to do that. And now ... [there's] so few on that circuit, that kind of pubs and clubs circuit. There's so few opportunities to play jazz right now.¹⁶⁴

He cites economic reasons for this phenomenon, suggesting that modern pubs and clubs would rather entice more drinking customers than clear space for and pay a live band.

O'Higgins concurs with the view that the number of jazz venues welcoming young musicians has declined, and also suggests economic reasons:

One of the main problems is with all the licencing laws ... A pub can't just say to some young musicians 'hey look, if you want to play in here on

¹⁶³ Arts Council of England, *Review of Jazz in England: Consultative Green Paper*, (London: Arts Council of England, 1995), 25.

¹⁶⁴ Barnes.

Friday night, please bring your band along, we'll set something up, and if we do well behind the bar we'll give you a hundred quid.' Which is exactly the kind of arrangement I used to make with places back in 1980 ... They were perfectly happy to do that, and it didn't contravene any laws. You could just be spontaneous about it. They didn't need to make sure they had a fire escape there, and a ramp there, and pay ten grand a year to PRS. It gave us a chance. And I'm afraid to say that all the bureaucracy and the legislation has completely killed that. And I think that's a really, really bad effect ... It's squeezed the bottom end out, like that. It's made it very very difficult for people coming up just to hustle something. Because then they have to go through all these channels that already have this stuff in place, and that means that it's already costly, and that means that they have to have some money to be able to put on a gig. It means that you have to pay to play. And that makes it very difficult for young musicians starting up.¹⁶⁵

There was a general consensus among my interview subjects that the number of informal jazz venues has declined in recent years. The economic reasons cited by O'Higgins and Barnes play a large role in this—while jazz clubs in the 1950s could take place informally in an empty room behind a pub, or above a cinema, in recent decades licencing laws have made presenting live music in a non-purpose built venue costly and time-consuming. As such, more jazz gets performed in established venues such as concert halls and upmarket jazz clubs. These venues already have mechanisms in place to make ticket prices high, and an increase in demand due to the decrease in other venues offering jazz forces the prices yet higher. Many inexperienced jazz musicians looking for inspiration and informal places to play have been priced out of listening to live music and playing alongside jazz masters.

¹⁶⁵ O'Higgins.

Conclusion

In the early years of jazz performance in America and Britain, there was a clear polarisation between the physical characteristics and audience behaviour in venues intended for classical music, and those used for the performance of jazz. The auditoria of purpose-built classical concert halls housed audiences seated in tiered rows, facing the stage. The unspoken behavioural code of these audiences developed in the nineteenth century, and meant that audiences focussed their attention on the stage, listened in reverent silence, and applauded only at the end of complete works. In contrast, the first jazz in America was heard in contexts—often in nightclubs and speakeasies—where it ‘did not command the center of attention before a quiet and respectful audience’.¹⁶⁶ In Britain, too, the first jazz performances differed from classical-music concerts, taking place as part of music-hall shows. British jazz audiences therefore responded in a tradition established for a different entertainment form.

The emergence of an American dancing audience for jazz ensured yet another form of jazz reception and venues (dance halls) that did not mirror classical-music venues and appreciation. However, in England the removal of live performances by American jazz musicians enforced by the 1935 Ministry of Labour legislation led to different forms of jazz reception. Rhythm Club gatherings at venues such as public-house function rooms resulted in an informal concert-style reception of jazz, in which seated jazz fans focussed their attention upon gramophone ‘performances’ of the latest American jazz records. Rhythm Club audiences

¹⁶⁶ Crease, 699.

listened to the music in ‘a sort of sanctified silence’,¹⁶⁷ a clear mirror of the ‘group of mute receptors’ that formed audiences of classical music.¹⁶⁸

Many successful jazz musicians and bandleaders adapted their performances to exploit the constraints of 78 rpm records, and a similar example of the shaping of jazz style by technological media can be seen in the influence of radio broadcasts. Benny Goodman’s performances on the *Let’s Dance* radio programme enabled him to develop a faster, more improvisation-focussed swing style. This in turn led to the emergence in 1930s America of ‘subcultures like the “alligators,” who liked to stand in front of the bandstand just to listen’,¹⁶⁹ which paved the way for concert-hall performances of swing repertoire, and an adoption of classical-music audience conventions. As in Britain it is possible to see that jazz performances and audiences were beginning to take on certain elements of classical-music performance, conditioned in part by the connotations and organiser expectations of performance venues such as Carnegie Hall.

In both America and Britain, jazz clubs specialising in bebop promoted a modified reception format, that fell between the by-now established conventions of classical and jazz performances. While these performance spaces are not as grand as purpose-built classical auditoriums, they are purpose built for the performance and appreciation of small group jazz. Seating is arranged (albeit informally) to focus audience attention on the stage, and although silence is not enforced, a respect for the performances can usually be detected, through hushed environments.

¹⁶⁷ Harvey, interview with the author.

¹⁶⁸ Levine, 195.

¹⁶⁹ Crease, 702.

In addition, the continued prevalence of jazz concerts featuring high-profile, well-paid ensembles has led to an adoption of this modified classical-music reception style for most jazz performances. In conclusion, jazz venues and audiences in both Britain and America have adopted many characteristics of classical-music reception. While the adoption of practices and venues from classical music provided a much-needed cultural legitimacy for jazz in the first half of the twentieth century, it has provided a different outlet for jazz performance in the decades since. The nature of communication within a jazz ensemble, and between jazz musicians and their audiences, has been mediated by these changes in performance venue.

Chapter 3: Intra-musical Meetings of Jazz and Classical Music

This chapter explains the multiple ways in which musical features of jazz and classical music have intersected between c. 1950 and c. 1990. Although exchanges of style and technique between the two idioms have been common since the 1920s, ideological fusions such as those promoted by Gunther Schuller's third stream of the 1950s often conflicted musically. As Terry Teachout explains:

The relationship between jazz and classical music has often been close—at times surprisingly so—but is ultimately equivocal. Though the two musics employ the same harmonic system, they arise from different conceptions of rhythm and form, and attempts to amalgamate their characteristic features in a single coherent style have thus proved problematic.¹

I begin the chapter with a detailed study of three third-stream works, in order to demonstrate some of the tensions and issues surrounding fusions of classical music and jazz: George Russell's *All About Rosie*, Gunther Schuller's *Concertino for Jazz Quartet and Orchestra*, and John Dankworth's and Mátyás Seiber's *Improvisations for Jazz Band and Symphony Orchestra*. In each case study I consider jazz and classical musical features that have traditionally caused tension when combined: instrumentation, rhythmic interpretation, formal design, use of improvisation, and harmony. I draw upon contemporaneous writings and statements made by Schuller and his colleagues to assess the aims and achievements of the movement using the listed criteria. I then use retrospective scholarship in order to explain the musical conflicts and tensions involved in attempting to unite the two musics.

¹ Terry Teachout, 'Jazz and Classical Music: To the Third Stream and Beyond', in Kirchner (ed.), 343.

I use the ideologies and examples of the 1950s third-stream movement as a springboard for the remainder of this chapter, and take the identified areas of musical disunity as a focus for a chronological study of styles that integrate aspects of classical and jazz. I assess the ways in which jazz composers have negotiated these areas of musical tension to positive effect. I have chosen case studies from several of the main stylistic epochs of jazz, with detailed analyses from the swing era (Duke Ellington's *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue*), jazz-rock fusion of the 1960s and '70s (Chick Corea's 'No Mystery'), and composer-led jazz orchestras of the 1980s and 1990s (Django Bates' *Tentle Moments* and Maria Schneider's *Wyrgly*). I alternate between American and British case studies for each style examined, in order to set a context within the jazz world and illustrate the inter-relationship of the jazz scenes in each country. The above listed form my main analyses, but I briefly discuss other pieces and styles that combine elements of classical and jazz music, in order to provide a smooth musical chronology. Cool jazz, which emerged in post-World War II America, utilised traditionally orchestral instruments and homophonic arrangements, and the balance of planned and spontaneous material in late-1950s free jazz provides a parallel to the third-stream negotiation of composed and improvised sections. I also consider an early European example of third-stream style composition, Rolf Liebermann's 1954 *Concerto for Jazz Band and Symphony Orchestra*, in which formal divisions underscore disjunction of performance style between jazz and classical musicians. It is useful to consider these earlier styles to show that it was not the ideas behind third stream that were new, but its naming and promotion.

There has been little musicological study into the direct influence of features of classical music on jazz repertoire (despite the initial use of nineteenth-century classical critical values as an evaluative system for jazz detailed in Chapter 1). However, the writings of Gunther Schuller provide an informative comment on swing repertoire, and David Joyner and Graham Hair have conducted analyses of third stream.² Stuart Nicholson has provided an extensive survey of the development of jazz-rock, and Alex Stewart's book on contemporary New York big bands is a storehouse of contextual and musical information.³ I draw upon these texts alongside more theoretical studies (such as Bruno Nettl's treatise on improvisation) to situate this study within its discursive context.⁴

Third Stream

Gunther Schuller (b. 1925) was known as a French-horn player in both the classical and jazz fields, and was also active as a critic, musicologist and educator by the 1950s. He had achieved prominence in both disciplines through his roles with the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra (1945–59) and on Miles Davis' *Birth of the Cool* recordings (1949–50, released collectively 1957). Schuller developed an interest in fusing the two sides of his musical personality—an interest he furthered by founding the Modern Jazz Society (later the Jazz and Classical Music Society) with pianist John Lewis in 1955. Lewis was already utilising classical forms and

² Schuller, *The Swing Era*; David Joyner, 'Analyzing Third Stream', *Contemporary Music Review: Traditions, Institutions, and American Popular Music* 19 (2000): 83–88, Graham Hair, 'Matyas Seiber's Improvisations for Jazz Band and Symphony Orchestra', http://www.n-ism.org/Papers/graham_Seiber3.pdf (accessed 3 May 2009).

³ Nicholson, *Jazz-rock: a history* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1998); Stewart.

⁴ Nettl.

techniques in his performances with the Modern Jazz Quartet (founded in 1952). In 1957, Schuller combined his educational affiliations and musical interests by commissioning six fusion works for the Brandeis University Festival of the Creative Arts. The works were intended to bring together elements of classical and jazz styles, and the featured composers were George Russell (*All About Rosie*), Jimmy Giuffre (*Suspensions*), Charles Mingus (*Revelations*), Milton Babbitt (*All Set*), Harold Shapero (*On Green Mountains*) and Schuller himself (*Transformations*).

At an introductory lecture for one of these concerts Schuller coined the term ‘Third Stream’, describing a new style of music in which the first stream of classical and the second stream of jazz were equally blended. Four years later Schuller expanded upon his intentions, in his first formal written statement on the idiom:

I thought it best to separate from these two traditions the new genre that attempts to fuse ‘the improvisational spontaneity and rhythmic vitality of jazz with the compositional procedures and techniques acquired in Western music during 700 years of musical development.’ I felt that by designating this music as a *separate, third* stream [emphasis in original], the other two mainstreams could go their way unaffected by attempts at fusion.⁵

The adoption of elements of classical music in jazz and vice versa was not a new musical development—Schuller explained that his intention in using new terminology was to describe works that drew *equally* from both musics. He also wished to avoid ‘the old prejudices [and] worries of the two main streams that have greeted attempts to bring jazz and “classical” music together.’⁶ By defining third stream in 1957, before it had emerged, and by re-affirming the definition in

⁵ Schuller, ‘Third Stream’, 115.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 115.

1961, Schuller deviated from the standard historical and musicological practices of retrospective categorisation. The following analysis of three examples of third-stream repertoire indicates that the blending of styles mandated by third-stream ideology proved problematic. Without wishing to fall into the trap of intentional fallacy, it is reasonable to assume that Schuller's ambitions for third stream were too optimistic to be met with universal critical agreement.⁷ The following exploration of disjunction between classical and jazz style in early examples of the idiom suggests that 1957 was too early to proclaim a fusion that was entirely separate from its sources.

Third-stream repertoire poses a problem for the analyst, for it contains both aspects of classical music (often a symphony orchestra and long sections of composed and notated material) that suggest that the *score* should be the primary analytical text, and aspects of jazz (such as improvisation and big-band instrumentation and articulation) that suggest a specific *recording* should be the primary analytical text. In order to circumvent this difficulty, I refer to both the published scores and to specific moments on identified recordings.⁸

George Russell's *All About Rosie* was composed for an integrated classical and jazz ensemble consisting of flute, alto and tenor saxophone, bassoon (or baritone saxophone), horn, two trumpets, trombone, guitar, drums and piano. *All About Rosie* takes a standard three-movement form of fast-slow-fast, and is thematically

⁷ W. K. Wimsatt, Jr., and Monroe C. Beardsley 'The Intentional Fallacy', in *The Verbal Icon: Studies in the Meaning of Poetry* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1954), 3–20.

⁸ *The Birth of the Third Stream* (1957, reissued New York: Columbia Legacy, 1996. CK 64929); *The Modern Jazz Quartet and Orchestra* (USA: Atlantic, 1959); *John Dankworth and the London Philharmonic Orchestra: Collaboration!* (London: Roulette Records, 1960, R52059).

constructed around ‘a motif taken from an Alabama Negro children’s song-game entitled *Rosie, Little Rosie*’⁹ and a long, quaver-based countermelody (see Examples 1 and 2). Schuller’s *Concertino for Jazz Quartet and Orchestra* was first performed in April 1959 by the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the Modern Jazz Quartet (which at the time featured pianist John Lewis, vibraphonist Milt Jackson, drummer Kenny Clarke and bassist Percy Heath). Alongside modern classical orchestral writing, the piece contains many opportunities for the vibraphone improvisation of Jackson and the solo piano of Lewis. A little-known but fascinating example of third-stream music is the collaborative composition of British saxophonist and bandleader John Dankworth and the Hungarian-born composer Mátyás Seiber,¹⁰ *Improvisations for Jazz Band and Symphony Orchestra*. The piece was first performed by Dankworth’s own big band and the London Philharmonic Orchestra at London’s Royal Festival Hall on 2 June 1959.

Trumpet in Bb

Trombone

mf

Example 1. *All About Rosie*, Rosie, Little Rosie melody, bb. 1–5 (George Russell).

B

Solo

Electric Guitar/Bassoon *f*

Example 2. *All About Rosie*, accompanying theme, bb. 31–42 (Russell).

⁹ George Russell, introduction to *All About Rosie* (Massachusetts: Margun Music Inc., 1984).

¹⁰ Seiber settled in London in the early 1930s, and became a British citizen in 1935. Anonymous, <<http://www.seiber2005.org.uk/biographical.html>> (accessed 23 July 2011).

Rhythmic Interpretation

The combination of instrumentalists with experience in classical music and jazz often resulted in disjunctions of performance style. In his article ‘Analyzing Third Stream’, Joyner identifies the rhythmic interpretation of musicians trained in each respective discipline as a fragmentation of style:

In employing European-style trained musicians in the performance of third stream pieces, the proper articulation necessary for the ensemble to swing has been particularly difficult to achieve. The nature of bowed string instruments seems particularly susceptible to this kind of rhythmic shortcoming.¹¹

In the first performance and recording of *All About Rosie*, Russell avoided such different rhythmic interpretations by utilising a string-less ensemble and employing only jazz musicians (with the exception of bassoonist Manuel Zeglar).¹²

Differences in performance style can be heard more clearly in the other case studies. The main melodic material for the jazz quartet takes the form of an improvised blues in each movement of Schuller’s *Concertino*, which is introduced and followed by composed orchestral material. Swung quavers are frequently present in the quartet’s material, but Schuller’s use of sustained chords in the orchestral parts when the two ensembles play together ensures that disparity in rhythmic interpretation is kept to a minimum. An example of the differing rhythmic approaches of jazz and classical musicians is evident in *Improvisations* when the same theme is notated in 4/4 for the jazz band and 12/8 for the

¹¹ Joyner, 82.

¹² The musicians performing were Bill Evans (piano), Barry Galbraith (guitar), Art Farmer and Louis Mucci (trumpets), Jimmy Knepper (trombone), Jim Buffington (French horn), John LePorta (alto saxophone), Hal McKusick (tenor saxophone), Robert DiDomenic (flute), Manual Zeglar (bassoon), Teddy Charles (vibraphone), Joe Benjamin (bass) and Ted Sommer (drums).

symphony orchestra. A footnote explains the notational differences to the musicians: ‘according to Jazz convention the rhythm [straight quavers] is played approximately [crotchet-quaver triplets]. Therefore, these bars are in *unison* with the Jazz band in spite of the different notation.’¹³ (See Example 3.) However, the differing performance styles are clearly audible on the recording.

Example 3. *Improvisations*, differences in notation, bb. 43–46 (John Dankworth/Mátyás Seiber).

Joyner suggests that these rhythmic differences are often accountable for the formal design of third-stream repertoire:

This single factor probably accounts for the reason so many third-stream pieces are formatted in a concerto-grosso format; the swinging is left to the jazz musicians, while textural filler and the ‘classical’ portions are relegated to the traditionally-trained musicians.¹⁴

Formal Design

Joyner’s suggestion is proven by a consideration of the formal design of Schuller’s *Concertino* and Dankworth/Seiber’s *Improvisations*. Joseph Brenna offers a summary of the structure of *Concertino*:

‘Concertino for Jazz Quartet and Orchestra’ is a concerto-grosso style work in three movements. Each movement consists of a jazz blues performed by the Modern Jazz Quartet, which is framed by an orchestral

¹³ John Dankworth and Mátyás Seiber, *Improvisations for Jazz Band and Symphony Orchestra* (London: Schott & Co. Ltd., 1961), 6.

¹⁴ Joyner, 83.

introduction and closing ... the quartet improvises while the orchestra reads [notation]. Schuller casts the blues in unusual forms, including a thirteen-bar blues and a blues in 5/4. Furthermore, the score calls for frequent shifts and gradual changes in tempo. These devices are inspired by the classical tradition, and intended as a fresh approach to jazz blues. But the work is unconvincing, primarily because of a lack of interaction between the quartet and the orchestra.¹⁵

The first movement, 'Slow', is based on an eleven-bar modified blues progression in 5/4. The movement consists of thirteen repetitions of the chord sequence, with the jazz quartet improvising the inner ten choruses. The orchestra plays the first eleven bars and final twenty-two bars alone. The second movement, 'Passacaglia', refers to classical repertoire in its title, but the idea of a set of variations upon a ground bass or chord sequence has an obvious parallel with chorus-form jazz improvisation (as defined by Schuller in 'Sonny Rollins and the Challenge of Thematic Improvisation').¹⁶ After a seven-bar orchestral introduction, the quartet enters and settles into a common-time swing feel. An eleven-bar notated introduction for bass and drums follows, before a thirteen-bar modified blues sequence is established. The use of a slow, bluesy, middle movement, in which the jazz musicians play notated lines, is a feature of all three case studies (see examples 4, 5 and 6 to compare these melodies). After the introductory bass solo, the remainder of Schuller's 'Passacaglia' alternates between notated and improvised material for the quartet, with occasional orchestral accompaniment. No swung quavers or jazz-inflected timbres are heard from the orchestra. This movement ends with *tacet* orchestra, and soloistic fragments and a sustained chord are heard from the quartet. In the final movement, 'Untitled', a twelve-bar blues sequence is heard for the first time. After a ten-bar orchestral introduction, a

¹⁵ Joseph Brenna, 'Third Stream Music—Its Context and Content', Senior Honors Thesis, Brown University, 30 April 1984. (In Ran Blake archive at New England Conservatory, accessed April 2010.)

¹⁶ Schuller, 'Sonny Rollins', 86–97.

notated bluesy theme is introduced by the piano (Example 7) in which both major and minor thirds are present, emphasising the influence of the blues. This movement is in 12/8, which is a common (albeit simplistic) way of notating swing rhythms for classical musicians, as indicated by the footnote to page 6 of *Improvisations*. The quartet then improvise for twelve choruses. Piano and vibraphone are backed first by stop time in the bass and drums. *Pizzicato* orchestral strings join the stop-time figures in the sixth chorus, and the final three improvised choruses feature more melodic figures. The jazz quartet stop improvising five bars before the end, and the orchestra plays two repetitions of a figure derived from the opening piano motif to close (Example 8), indicating the large-scale thematic development that surrounds the improvised quartet interlude. Although the two ensembles play together sporadically in Schuller's *Concertino*, overall it is possible to see the concerto-grosso format common to third stream as a means of avoiding simultaneous disjunction of performance style. However, by utilising this structure in some ways more attention is drawn to the different performance styles. See Appendix 2 for a tabular description of the use of musical forces within this formal design.

Although presented and performed as one continuous movement (in the manner of a classical tone poem), *Improvisations for Jazz Band and Symphony Orchestra* can be broken down into three movements. Like *All About Rosie*, it features a slow central movement between two fast outer movements. Like Schuller's *Concertino*, the classical-based material is alternated with the jazz-based, and in this instance it is even texturally separated with general pauses, drum rolls, and percussion interludes. Instead of disguising the differences in performance style

between the jazz and classical musicians, these devices serve as introductions to the new sections of material and draw attention to rhythmic inconsistency in the piece as a whole. Dankworth and Seiber use concerto-grosso form to separate different rhythmic styles of the performers, until the final section of the piece. From b. 299 to the end, both ensembles play material derived from the opening section. In this section, differences in performance style are clearly audible. Trombonist Eddie Harvey, who played in Dankworth's band for the première and recording of *Improvisations*, recently described the combination of the two ensembles as: 'not a collaboration, but a collision!'¹⁷ See Appendix 3 for a tabular description of the different sections of musical material.

Concerto-grosso form as a tool for separating aspects of classical music and jazz within the same work was not an idea new to third stream. In his 1946 *Ebony Concerto*, Stravinsky used the form to separate different configurations of choirs of instruments, with the resulting block voicings providing an aural similarity to big-band repertoire. Parsonage writes:

As Stravinsky himself stated, the 'concerto' idea manifests itself here as a 'concerto grosso'. The first movement is in a sonata-type form. The opening has great rhythmic drive and interest, and the second idea is more melodic, while remnants of the initial theme remain in the accompaniment. The soloistic flourishes for clarinet and piano occur before the repeat of the opening section, a conventional place for such 'developmental' material. The second movement is in simple binary form, and the third a loose theme and variations. Hence the piece is rooted in conventional 'classical' structures. A 'classical' approach is also evident in the instrumentation of *Ebony Concerto*, which uses extended big band orchestration incorporating harp and French horn. Although there is some sectional writing derived from conventional big band scoring, Stravinsky's approach to the constituents of the ensemble is free.¹⁸

¹⁷ Eddie Harvey, informal conversation with the author, Leeds International Jazz Conference 2011, 7 April 2011.

¹⁸ Catherine Parsonage, 'Approaching *Ebony Concerto*', *Winds*, Spring 2005, 10.

The title *Ebony Concerto* was intended to refer not to the clarinet as is commonly thought (the work was written for and first performed by clarinetist Woody Herman and his orchestra), but to Africa.¹⁹ Because the title does not therefore refer to a solo concerto, the use of concerto-grosso form is appropriate.

The first two movements (and most of the third) of *All About Rosie* are carefully notated in order to portray an improvisatory, jazz-inflected, performance style. While *Concertino* and *Improvisations* combine an ensemble from each discipline, one would expect Russell's utilisation of a predominantly jazz-based blended ensemble to negate the need for a concerto-grosso format. However, like Stravinsky in *Ebony Concerto*, Russell frequently divides his instrumental forces into choirs that resemble big-band sections. He also separates different styles of musical material by means of creating an ensemble pause by ending the first movement on the first beat of the bar (so that a segue into movement two still requires three beats rest), and by scoring an eight-bar drum solo between movements two and three. The complexity of the notated sections (such as the opening of the middle movement 'Slow', which contains polyrhythms including triplets inside triplets as indicated by Example 4) is not conveyed by the performance style, in which the melody sounds like a laid-back blues. The intricacy of the notation underscores some of the differences between classical and jazz musicians, and brings to light the problems of creating and using transcriptions of jazz solos for analysis. Rubato and swing are just some of the features that cannot be read from a score, although scholars such as Scott DeVeaux have devised methods of notating rhythmic variation. For example, in

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

an analysis of Coleman Hawkins' 1939 recording of 'Body and Soul', DeVaux rejects the complex literal rhythmic transcription favoured by other analysts—in which a delayed arrival onto the tonic D \flat may be notated as a double-dotted crotchet on the second semiquaver of the bar—to illustrate the same effect with an arrow drawn above the score.²⁰ Other analysts have attempted to quantify swing, but this is largely unsuccessful as the nature of swing quavers is not fixed, and changes depending on context and musicians' personal style.²¹ (See Appendix 4 for a tabular description of the musical content of *All About Rosie*.)

A Slow ♩ = 66

Solo

Tenor Saxophone

Example 4. *All About Rosie*, notated bluesy theme, 'Slow' b. 1–7 (Russell).

String Bass

Example 5. *Concertino*, notated bass solo, 'Passacaglia', bb. 7–18 (Gunther Schuller).

²⁰ Scott DeVaux, *The Birth of Bebop: A Social and Music History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 100.

²¹ For example, Steve Larson, 'Swing and Motive in Three Performances by Oscar Peterson', *Journal of Music Theory* 43 (1999): 283–314.

Example 6 shows musical notation for Tenor Saxophone and Violoncello. The Tenor Saxophone part includes a 'Solo' marking, an 'a tempo' instruction, and a 'Solo' ending. The Violoncello part has a 'Solo' marking and a 'mf' dynamic. Measure numbers 205 and 210 are boxed.

Example 6. *Improvisations*, notated bluesy theme, ‘Lento’, bb. 202–210 (Dankworth/Seiber).

Example 7 shows musical notation for Piano. The score is marked with a boxed 'A' and features triplets in the right hand and sustained chords in the left hand.

Example 7. *Concertino*, notated piano opening to ‘Untitled’, bb. 10–13 (Schuller).

Example 8 shows musical notation for 2 flutes, 2 oboes, and 2 clarinets. The score features triplets and sustained chords for all instruments, with a 'mf' dynamic marking.

Example 8. *Concertino*, orchestral reworking of opening piano theme to close ‘Untitled’, bb. 173–175 (Schuller).

Improvisation

All the improvisation in *All About Rosie* takes place in the third movement, 'Fast'. The texture thins at b. 80 (rehearsal mark F) for a four-chorus (each chorus is thirty-two bars long) improvised piano solo, performed on this recording by Bill Evans. Evans is unaccompanied for his first chorus, and joined by stop-time hits played by the rhythm section for the second chorus, and a walking bass and brushed snare drum off-beats for the third. In his fourth chorus, he trades fours with the band. Evans' solo is followed by one-chorus improvised alto saxophone, trumpet, vibraphone and tenor saxophone solos, interspersed with composed band figures. The improvised solos are followed by a brief recapitulation of the earlier melodic material (b. 240) and an abrupt ending (b. 309).

A hierarchy of structural significance is implied within these improvised solos by editorial decisions in the published score. Evans' solo is transcribed, as explained by a footnote:

The stop-time solo herein notated is a transcription of the one Bill Evans improvised on the original 1957 recording of *All About Rosie*. As one of the great piano solos in all jazz, we felt that it has become an integral part of this work, is hard to improve upon, and therefore [is] included for those who wish to recreate it.²²

This editorial footnote is revealing both in its description of Evans' solo as one of the greatest 'in all jazz'—thereby implying that *All About Rosie* can be categorised as jazz rather than third stream—and in the effective canonisation of the solo through its transcription. A hierarchy of improvisational importance is implied by the fact that the instrumental solos that followed Evans' are not

²² Footnote to score of Russell's *All About Rosie*, 52.

transcribed and therefore have not been granted the same historical significance. The transcription and notation of Evans' solo makes it possible to be recreated by classical musicians, thereby blurring the distinction of classical music being composed and jazz improvised.

Of the case studies under consideration, Schuller's *Concertino* contains the most improvisation, and is the only piece to feature improvisation in all movements. However, Schuller composed less jazz-inflected material than Russell or Dankworth and Seiber, instead retaining classical compositional conventions for the orchestral sections. The musical division between the two styles created by this device effectively gave the quartet an orchestral platform upon which to make their own style of music—improvised jazz. However, the musical separation of styles that could be assumed by looking at the score becomes irrelevant when listening to the recording, for it becomes apparent that the Modern Jazz Quartet (hereafter MJQ) used the melodies that they heard in the orchestra as a basis for their improvisations.

In *Improvisations*, all improvised solos occur in the latter half of the first movement; as in *All About Rosie*, all the improvised content is situated within one of the fast outer movements. At the end of the opening 'Allegro', two-bar improvised solos from alto saxophone, tenor saxophone, trombone and trumpet lead into a sixteen-bar solo trumpet chorus. A footnote in the score here suggests that the improvisations should be as atonal as possible. Hair elaborates, suggesting a similar device to that adopted by the MJQ in Schuller's *Concertino*:

What the qualities of such improvisations are to be is not specified further ... [but] they should chime well with the characteristics of the orchestral

string parts: that is, they should contain combinations of intervals similar to those of the string parts, and should try to keep as many different pitch-classes as possible in constant circulation.²³

After a brief orchestral interlude, the alto saxophone (Dankworth) plays a notated two-bar pickup derived from the melodic material heard earlier in the orchestral parts, and a twenty-four bar improvised solo. The chord sequence employed by the alto saxophone is simpler than in the earlier trumpet solo, changing every two bars, and lacking the rapid sequence of ii-Vs that formed the harmony for the trumpet.²⁴ A percussion solo leads into an orchestral string riff that accompanies a collective improvisation from members of the jazz band. Although classical- and jazz-based musical materials are closely interwoven throughout, sections containing improvised solos from chord symbols are marked out by percussion fills and general pauses, suggesting that Dankworth and Seiber also opted to use form and instrumentation to separate jazz elements from classical.

Jazz Harmony

Jazz harmonies can be heard in *All About Rosie* from the outset, when the opening melody is re-voiced in ninth chords built from stacked fourths (b. 11, Example 9). The use of multiple fourth intervals can be a reference to either the classical or jazz traditions: it can be heard as an allusion to Schoenbergian quartal harmonies (an influence that can be clearly heard in Schuller's orchestral writing); or as a

²³ Hair, 17.

²⁴ Trombonist Eddie Harvey played on the recording of *Improvisations*, and recalls the difficulties he had in reconciling the harmonic language of his improvisatory style with the twelve-note nature of the orchestral writing: 'At that stage in the game all my improvisational language had been jazz and bebop, and it sounded daft over that. You know, [Seiber] was writing sort of serial string writing and stuff like that underneath it, and it really needed a new – a different language.' Harvey, interview with the author.

reference to the dissonances of bebop. The central movement features big-band style harmonisations and a stride-piano accompaniment including sevenths and ninths. A sustained d-minor ninth chord closes the movement. The thirty-two bar chord sequence for improvisation (see Figure 14) is firmly in the tonic g-minor, but incorporates ii-V progressions.

Example 9. *All About Rosie* reworking of opening theme with jazz harmonies, ‘Fast’, bb. 8–12 (Russell).

Figure 14: *All About Rosie* chord sequence for improvisation in ‘Fast’, bb. 80–233.

Gm	-	-	-		Gm	-	-	-		Gm	-	-	-		Am ⁷⁻⁵	-	D ⁷⁻⁹	-	
G ⁹	-	-	-		Cm	-	-	-		A ⁷⁻⁹	-	-	-		D ⁷⁻⁹	-	-	-	
Gm	-	-	-		Gm	-	-	-		Gm	-	-	-		Am ⁷⁻⁵	-	D ⁷⁻⁹	-	
G ⁹	-	-	-		Cm	-	-	-		Am ⁷⁻⁵	-	D ⁷⁻⁹	-		Gm	-	-	-	
G ⁷	-	-	-		C ⁷	-	-	-		F ⁷	-	-	-		Bb ⁷	-	-	-	
Eb ⁷	-	-	-		Ab ⁷	-	-	-		Am ⁷⁻⁵	-	-	-		D ⁷⁻⁹	-	-	-	
Gm	-	-	-		Gm	-	-	-		Gm	-	-	-		A ⁷⁻⁹	-	-	-	
G ⁹	-	-	-		Cm	-	-	-		Am ⁷⁻⁵	-	D ⁷⁻⁹	-		Gm	-	-	-	

In his *Concertino*, Schuller distinguishes classical material from jazz by using quartal harmonies for the orchestral sections, and jazz sequences for the quartet to improvise over. Schuller creates a large-scale tension by featuring blues-based chord sequences in all movements, but modifying them in the first two occurrences. ‘Slow’ features an eleven-bar blues sequence (Figure 15a), and ‘Passacaglia’ a thirteen-bar sequence (Figure 15b). This movement also ends with a sustained jazz chord, like *All About Rosie*. Thirteen-bar sequences are first heard

in ‘Untitled’, followed by an unstable seven-bar pattern and chromatic (non-blues) twelve-bar sequences, before resolving into a twelve-bar sequence at bar 118 (Figure 15c). Harmonic tension and release as a compositional feature is fêted in both classical music (with a prominent example being Wagner) and in jazz (for example in bebop, where chromatic substitutions prolong cadences).

Figure 15a: chord sequence for improvising in ‘Slow’, bb. 11–132.

F⁽⁺⁷⁾ - - - | F^o - - - | B^{b6(-5)} - - - | A-9⁽⁺⁵⁾ - - -
 G^{#o} - - - | F⁶⁽⁺⁷⁾ - - - | D^{b7} - - - | G^{b7(-5)} - - -
 G^o - - - | E^{b9} - - - | ⁽⁻⁹ - ⁻⁵⁾ - -

Figure 15b: chord sequence for improvising in ‘Passacaglia’, bb. 31–93.

E^{b-9} - - - | B^b - - - | B^{b7} - - - | E^b - - -
 F⁷ - - - | B^b - G⁷ - | C⁷⁻⁵ - - - | F⁷ - - -
 G⁷ - - - | E^{b7} - - - | B^b - - - | C^{b7} - - -
 F⁷ - - -

Figure 15c: chord sequence for improvising in ‘Untitled’, bb. 23–177.

D - - - | A - - - | D - - - | D⁷ - - -
 G - - - | D⁷ - - - | G⁷ - - - | D⁷ - - -
 B⁷ - E⁷ - | B^{b7} - E^{b7} - | A⁷ - - - | E-⁹ - D⁷ C^{#o}

Jazz harmonies in *Improvisations* are primarily heard in the chord sequences of the improvised solos of the first movement (see Figure 16a and 16b), and in the accompanying chords of ‘Lento’.

Figure 16a: chord sequence for trumpet solo in ‘Allegro’, bb. 81–96.

G - - - | E⁷ - E^{b7} - | A^b - F^{#7} - | B⁶ - - -
 B⁶ - - - | G^{#7} - G⁷ - | C - B - | E^b - - -
 C^{#m7} - F^{#7} - | F^{#m7} - - - | A^{m7} - D⁷ - | C^{#m7(b9)} B^{b7} -
 A - - - | F^{#7d} - F⁷ - | F^{m7} - D⁷ - | C^{#6} - - -

Figure 16b: chord sequence for alto saxophone solo in ‘Allegro’, bb. 107–130.²⁵

F#m	-	-	-		-	-	-	-		Cmaj ⁷	-	-	-		-	-	-	-
-	-	Ebm	-		-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-		A ⁺ maj ⁷	-	-	-
-	-	-	-		-	-	-	C ⁺ (maj 7)		-	-	-	-		Ebmaj ⁷	-	-	-
-	-	-	-		-	-	F#mi ^(maj7)	-		-	-	-	-		-	-	Cmi ^{maj7}	-
-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-		-	-	A ⁺ maj ⁷	-		-	-	-	-
-	-	F# ⁺ maj ⁷	-		-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-

The use of jazz harmonies in these third-stream works can be seen in three ways: the isolated use of sustained jazz chords to mark the boundary between contrasting sections of classical and jazz-based material; close harmonisation of previously heard composed melodies in a stylistic effect borrowed from big-band arranging; and complex chord sequences for improvisation.

Of the other musical criteria considered to be problematic in the fusion of classical and jazz in third stream, instrumentation, rhythmic interpretation and formal design tend to go hand-in-hand. *Concertino* and *Improvisations* provide examples of Joyner’s concerto-grosso format, in which he suggests that the technical limitations of stringed instruments preclude the possibility of unison performance from instrumentalists of both disciplines. (A brief survey of successful jazz violinists ranging from Stephane Grappelli to Nigel Kennedy’s experiments in the genre indicates that it was the *performers* rather than the instruments that were unable to swing.) As a continuation of this, jazz improvisation almost universally occurred within the ‘swing’ sections of these pieces. On the other hand, Russell elected to use a more jazz-based ensemble for *All About Rosie* (which did not feature bowed strings), and did not have to mask differences of rhythmic interpretation with alternation of style. However, the focus on Bill Evans’

²⁵ This chord progression is necessarily spaced further apart than the previous examples, in order to illustrate the placement of chords within individual bars.

(initially) improvised piano solo in the third movement brings to light the tensions and middle ground between composed and improvised material. These boundaries can be explored more fully in a study of repertoire from the swing era.

The Swing Era: Duke Ellington's *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue*

Swing repertoire generally featured simple, memorable melodies and the repetition and development of short melodic fragments known as 'riffs' over repeated harmonic sequences that were usually derived from blues and popular song forms. Swing arrangements were predominantly notated, and an interesting hierarchy of significance between composed and improvised components could be found in the restriction of improvised solos to short pre-determined sections and in the performance of pre-decided riff-based arrangements to sound spontaneous.²⁶ A crucial composer and bandleader in the development of 1920s swing style was Fletcher Henderson. Henderson and his arranger Don Redman have since been credited with developing a formula for swing arrangements, which consisted of

harmonizing sections in close three- or four-part harmony known as 'block voicing'; dividing brass and reed sections into discrete units that played off of one another; using riffs—short, repeated melodic figures with a strong rhythmic profile—in melodic and accompanimental roles; and scoring call-and-response passages for climactic moments.²⁷

²⁶ Mervyn Cooke concurs, writing: 'When jazz is pre-composed the results need not sound unspontaneous: the big bands of the swing era and since have been characterized by complex structures designed to sound like massed improvisations, with head arrangements often transmitted and refined by experimentation and oral communication rather than by written charts.' 'Jazz among the classics, and the case of Duke Ellington', 154.

²⁷ Jeffrey Magee, *The Uncrowned King of Swing: Fletcher Henderson and Big Band Jazz* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 195.

This pattern for swing arrangements became standard for bands of the swing era, and is still popular today. The swing era is commonly defined as the decade from the mid-1930s, during which period swing was the most popular musical style in the United States.²⁸ Eric Nisenson comments on parallels between Henderson's swing formula and classical compositional style:

Henderson's take on jazz composition was not terribly different from that of the model of classical music. An arranger/composer wrote charts, detailing what every instrument should play (except for those sections where there were solos), and those charts, like the compositions of a classical composer, could be used in any band that had the instruments required. In other words, the arranger/composer was an omnipotent figure whose works were meant to be played the same way every time they were performed—with the exception, and not an unimportant one, of those sections where there were solos.²⁹

Duke Ellington's *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue* was composed and first performed in 1937. On the surface, *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue* conforms to Henderson's parameters of swing: choirs of brass and reeds are utilised, melodies are built from closely harmonised riffs, and call-and-response passages are featured. The piece is constructed out of two three-minute numbers from the band's repertoire.³⁰ Both numbers are structured around a repeated twelve-bar blues sequence, and are in a solid four-four swing feel.

However, the swing paradigm is extended when, for example, the opening three-beat riff of 'Diminuendo' is heard five times in the first four bars (Example 10). In addition, melodic ideas are passed seamlessly from section to section of the

²⁸ Wald pinpoints August 21, 1935, the night of Benny Goodman's Palomar Ballroom concert, detailed in Chapter 2, as the beginning of the swing era. Wald, 118.

²⁹ Nisenson, 85–6.

³⁰ A contemporary report suggests that the numbers were initially conceived individually. 'During his recent theater engagements in New York, Duke Ellington's orchestra spent a day in the recording studios, where they recorded among other selections, two new compositions, "Crescendo in Blue" and "Diminuendo in Blue".' Anonymous, 'Ellington Refutes Cry That Swing Started Sex Crimes', *Down Beat* (December 1937): 2; reprinted in Mark Tucker (ed.), 129.

ensemble, creating the impression of longer phrases than the four bars usually heard in blues melodies and swing repertoire.

Example 10. ‘Diminuendo in Blue’, cross-rhythms between 3/4 and 4/4 in reeds and brass, bb. 1–4 (Duke Ellington). Taken from rehearsal score courtesy of Pete Long.

A gradual *diminuendo* is created as the music decreases in dynamic level and pitch. This is followed by an interlude, which in the 1937 recording consisted of a syncopated piano bass line with rhythm section, to be faded dynamically to nothing.³¹ The fade to silence masked the break in recording as the record was turned over. Katz comments that: ‘The cessation in sound in turning the record over ... is not a break in the music but its continuation, for the *diminuendo* ends and the *crescendo* begins at the same point: silence.’³² ‘Diminuendo in Blue’ passes through the keys of E \flat , G, C, A \flat and D \flat , indicating more compositional direction than conventionally heard in blues or swing numbers. This chromaticised use of the well-known blues form before its resolution in E \flat also provides tension and relief, as seen in Schuller’s manipulation of the phrase lengths in blues. As Cooke comments:

Only in the second half of the piece do the metrical and harmonic elements begin to stabilize into more familiar schemes and coalesce into a more conventional climax, and this shift from textural discontinuity to

³¹ *Duke Ellington and His Famous Orchestra*. ARC-Brunswick: CBS 88210, 1937.

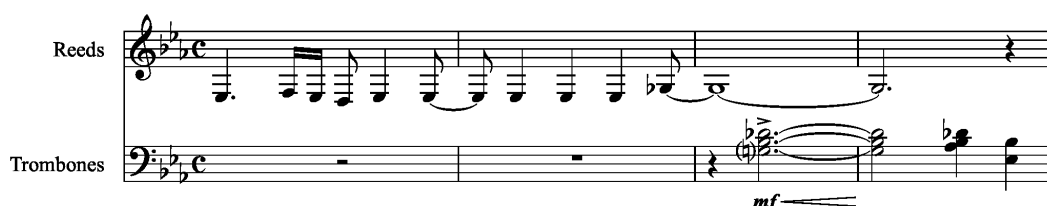
³² Katz, 77.

comforting coherence is managed with consummate compositional control.³³

(See Appendix 5 for a table giving more detail about the musical content and showing the key changes in this work.)

All of these features lead to an inversion of the by-now-standard, Henderson-style premise of swing repertoire. In place of an exposition and development of simple riff figures, the most intense passage of ‘Diminuendo in Blue’ can be found within the opening phrases, and it is only after a few disjunct choruses that the piece settles into a clearly recognisable twelve-bar blues form. Ellington can thus be seen to use the familiar (swing style and riffs) as a foil for underlying complexity (through-composition and distant modulations). As Max Harrison later commented: ‘The continuing drive of *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue* arises from the productive tension between the simple basic materials and their complex treatment.’³⁴

‘Crescendo in Blue’ opens with a low clarinet riff, answered by lower brass (Example 11). The music builds in dynamic level, pitch and texture until the whole band is playing under a high trumpet solo. Unlike ‘Diminuendo’ and the interlude, ‘Crescendo’ remains in E \flat throughout.



Example 11. ‘Crescendo in Blue’, opening reeds and lower brass figures, bb. 1–4 (Ellington). Taken from rehearsal score courtesy of Pete Long.

³³ Cooke, ‘Jazz among the classics’, 162.

³⁴ Max Harrison, ‘Some Reflections on Ellington’s Longer Works’, *Jazz Monthly* (January 1964): 12–16, reprinted in Mark Tucker (ed.), 390.

Were this number to be played in isolation, it would follow the expected riff development pattern, by opening with a simple melodic figure and building in complexity to the end. Situated as it is as here as the second half of an extended composition, it represents the reverse.

Classical compositional ideals are also demonstrated in the clear harmonic structure, complex rhythms, and extended form of the work (it was more than twice as long as the standard ‘three-minute masterpieces’ that represented the majority of Ellington’s output).³⁵ However in *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue* Schuller found fault with the use of classical compositional devices in what was ostensibly a jazz work, lamenting what he saw as a misjudged confluence of the two styles:

Thematic and accompanimental materials are traded around between choirs of the orchestra in 2- and 4-bar sequences (or even shorter). This is compounded by an analogously abrupt exchange of unison lines with complex harmonic phrases. Whereas in earlier pieces Ellington might have constructed dramatic changes of texture between choruses, here he was doing so within chorus units, some of which were already complex in asymmetric divisions. Such relatively disjunct continuity was virtually unheard of in jazz in the mid-thirties, and it was not exactly conducive to easy finger-snapping listening. Moreover, for the sheer amount of harmonic, textural, and motivic activity in the opening measure of *Diminuendo*, the thematic material was not striking or strong enough to support or justify such complexity. Perhaps ‘motivic’ rather than ‘thematic’ would be a more accurate term to describe what we perceive as melodic material.³⁶

Schuller’s criticisms of the work are greatly outweighed by favourable comments from contemporary and later critics. For example, Wolfram Knauer valorises these very same compositional devices as a means of achieving unity:

³⁵ Lambert, 215.

³⁶ Schuller, *The Swing Era*, 91.

[*Creole Rhapsody*, *Reminiscing in Tempo*, and *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue*] exceed the twelve- or thirty-two bar limit of the most common forms, so that formal unity in the arrangements is no longer achieved through the conventional means of chorus succession, but rather through compositional contrasts, and a toying with expectation and surprise.³⁷

Thematic unity has long been considered a criterion of value in classical repertoire, as explained in Chapter 1 with reference to Janet Levy's writings. Here Knauer unselfconsciously applies it to Ellington's composition.

Cooke also refuted Schuller's argument in his 2002 chapter, stating that revered classical composers such as Bach and Stravinsky as well as Ellington himself have often created intricate and interesting works from simple musical ideas. He comments favourably upon *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue*:

By a cunning distortion of jazz clichés, Ellington applies dissonance and sequence in a resourceful scheme of interlocking and unpredictable antiphonal patterns, and creates harmonic instability by founding this highly fragmentary material on the roving changes of a 14-bar [*sic*] blues progression that is transposed several times. Only in the second half of the piece do the metrical and harmonic elements begin to stabilise into more familiar schemes and coalesce into a more conventional climax, and this shift from textural discontinuity to comforting coherence is managed with consummate compositional control.³⁸

Improvisation in *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue*

As *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue* was performed by the Ellington Orchestra and did not involve classical musicians, there was no conflict of rhythmic

³⁷ Wolfram Knauer, "'Simulated Improvisation" in Duke Ellington's *Black, Brown and Beige*', *The Black Perspective in Music*, 18/1–2 (1990): 22.

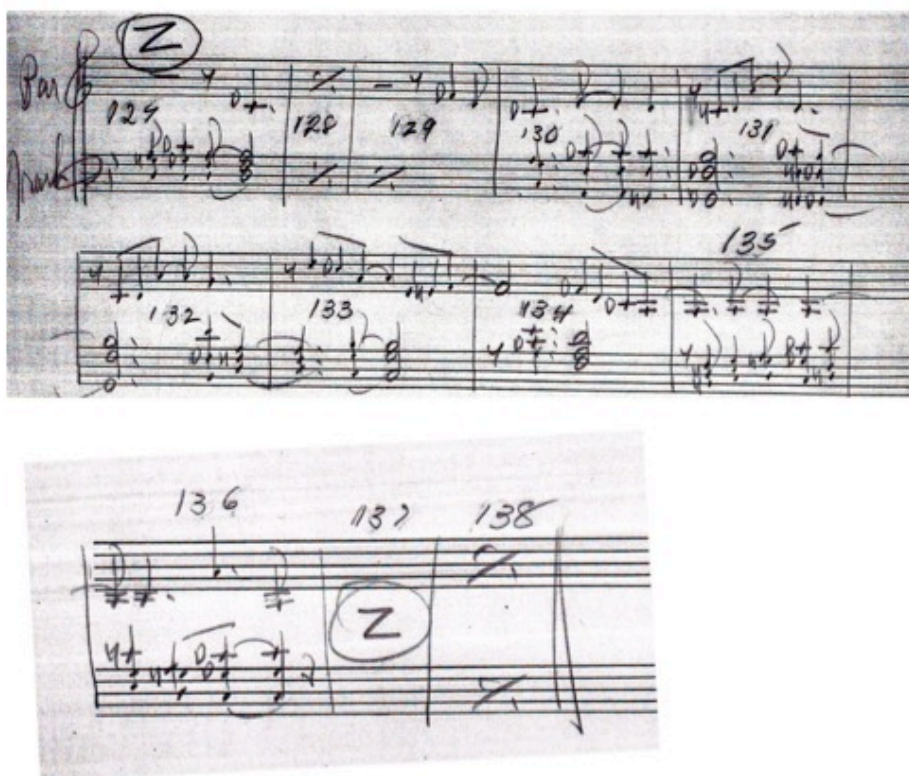
³⁸ Cooke, 'Jazz and classical music, and the case of Duke Ellington', 162. Cooke's analysis of the development of musical material is enlightening, save for his inaccurate description of '14-bar phrases'. *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue* is based around a chromaticised twelve-bar blues sequence.

interpretation between composed and improvised sections of material. However, the role of improvisation in the work suggests an alignment with classical performance values. By considering the role of a one-chorus baritone saxophone solo in 'Diminuendo', and the evolving musical material of the interlude in three recordings of the work, it is possible to see that improvisation can be a structural component of a piece as well as fulfilling the stereotypical function of spontaneous creation.

It is a well-known fact that Ellington composed idiomatically for the musicians in his orchestra, and this is highlighted by the solo spot he gave to baritone saxophonist Harry Carney in 'Diminuendo'. Study of Ellington's manuscript score of *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue* indicates that this solo was plotted in advance. (Example 12a shows the composed framework that was provided by Ellington.) Ellington often provided composed sketches for Carney's solo spots, a compositional practice that helped define the recognisable sound of the ensemble.³⁹ This Ellingtonian technique was later identified as 'simulated improvisation' by Knauer, and defined as 'those parts of his arrangements which seem to be improvisational phrases invented more or less spontaneously, but which are actually thoroughly planned in advance by the composer/arranger.'⁴⁰ Knauer claims that this technique of simulated improvisation was first used by Ellington in *Black, Brown and Beige* (1943), however the following analysis shows that the device was in use at least six years prior to that.

³⁹ Brian Priestley and Alan Cohen describe another example of this practice in *Black, Brown and Beige*: 'Carney's solo [was] the first of several solo passages which are thematic, and therefore (inflections apart) written out.' Priestley and Cohen, 'Black, Brown & Beige', *Composer* 51 (Spring 1974): 33–37; 52 (Summer 1974): 29–32; 53 (Winter 1974–1975): 29–32; reprinted in Mark Tucker (ed.), 189.

⁴⁰ Knauer, 21.



Example 12a. ‘Diminuendo in Blue’, sketch of baritone saxophone solo, taken from Ellington’s original manuscript (Ellington). Reproduced with permission of The Ellington Collection at The Smithsonian Institute.

A brief comparison of three versions of the solo recorded by Carney in 1937, 1953 and 1956 show that he strayed little from this model (Examples 12b, 12c and 12d).

Baritone Saxophone

5

9

Db7

Gb7

Db7

Ebm7

Db7

The image shows a printed musical score for a baritone saxophone solo. It consists of three staves of music. The first staff starts with a treble clef and a key signature of three flats (Bb, Eb, Ab). The second staff starts with a treble clef and a key signature of three flats. The third staff starts with a treble clef and a key signature of three flats. The score includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The staves are labeled with measure numbers 5 and 9. The key signature changes from three flats to two flats (Bb, Eb) in the third staff.

Example 12b. ‘Diminuendo in Blue’, Harry Carney’s solo, 1937 (Ellington). Transcribed by the author.

Baritone Saxophone

Db7

5 Gb7 Db7

9 Ebm7 Db7

**Example 12c. ‘Diminuendo in Blue’, Harry Carney’s solo, 1953 (Ellington).
Transcribed by the author.⁴¹**

Baritone Saxophone

Db7

5 Gb7 Db7

9 Ebm7 Db7

**Example 12d. ‘Diminuendo in Blue’, Harry Carney’s solo, 1956 (Ellington).
Transcribed by the author.⁴²**

Carney’s baritone solo in the 1956 recording is composed of figures heard in both the 1937 and the 1953 performances, drawn from both Ellington’s composed sketch and his own embellishments. The melodic shape remains unaltered, reinforcing the suggestion that this was not an improvised solo, and therefore followed the pattern of Knauer’s ‘simulated improvisation’. In his famous 1974 article, Bruno Nettl suggests that improvisation and composition can be understood as two opposite ends of the same continuum, rather than the common perception of two entirely separate processes.⁴³ In Nettl’s theoretical model,

⁴¹ *Duke Ellington: the 1953 Pasadena Concert* (GNP/Crescendo: GNP 9045, 1989).

⁴² *Duke Ellington at Newport* (New York: Columbia Jazz Legacy, originally recorded 1956/Sony Music Entertainment Inc., 1999, C2K 64932).

⁴³ Nettl, 6.

Carney's solo could be placed close to the composition end of the spectrum. A parallel can be drawn between the device of simulated improvisation and the classical device of (prepared) solo cadenzas.

In contrast to the almost fixed nature of Carney's solo, the musical material of the interlude varied over time, and served both as an indication of Ellington's long-term compositional methods and as a vehicle for more spontaneous improvisation. This can be illustrated by tracing the performance trajectory of the interlude in *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue*, alongside the changing role of Ellington's own piano playing.

Ellington's piano plays a subsidiary role in the 1937 recording, and is only heard for structural purposes in the syncopated descending riff (heard in the right hand) of the interlude. In this version, the interlude is simply used to fade the music to silence. However, this would not suffice for live performance, in which a compositional device intended to suit the recorded medium would be inappropriate. Consequently, Ellington was constantly searching for material to fill the interlude between the movements. One solution he experimented with in the 1940s consisted of using another contrasting number from the band's repertoire, *Transblucency*, as a slow middle movement. *Transblucency* was a slow blues, voiced for trombones and clarinet in the style of *Mood Indigo*, and featured the vocalese of coloratura singer Kay Davis.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ The 1946 concert in the Ellington Orchestra's Carnegie Hall series included a 'newly expanded arrangement of *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue*, entitled *Diminuendo in Blue/Transblucency/Crescendo in Blue*'. Howland, 252.

When tenor saxophonist Paul Gonsalves joined the orchestra in 1950, live performances of *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue* evolved still further. Ellington reinvented the piece as an up-tempo cut-time (2/2) feature for Gonsalves, who had developed his skills as a bebop improviser playing in groups with Count Basie and Dizzy Gillespie.⁴⁵ Ellington reinstated the interlude from 1937, and extended it into a multi-chorus improvised feature for Gonsalves. This represents another example of Ellington playing to his musicians' strengths, and editing his works to suit different performance contexts. Ellington's piano playing has a greater role in the 1953 recording, as he comps over band figures in both movements.⁴⁶ The syncopated piano interlude is constructed from similar material to the earlier version, but here the syncopated figures are featured in the left hand with accompanying block chords in the right. Ellington then plays one solo chorus, which is followed by seven solo choruses from Gonsalves accompanied by rhythm section. Gonsalves' improvisation is in the bebop style, consisting of lengthy passages of quavers, off-beat accents and complex harmonic substitutions. The solo is technically virtuosic, as demonstrated by the ease with which he plays in all registers of the saxophone (although he rarely ventures into the upper harmonics, something which other contemporaneous saxophonists such as Paul Desmond were beginning to make a feature of their performance style at this time). After Gonsalves' solo, Ellington comps for two further choruses, which covers applause for Gonsalves, and then he melodically improvises two choruses before the band re-enter with 'Crescendo'. It is possible to see that Ellington is using his own pianistic skills to provide a filler between the pre-decided sections

⁴⁵ The 1937 recording was played at crotchet = 164, while the two versions from the 1950s were played at minim = 120.

⁴⁶ 'Comping' is a term used by jazz musicians to refer to pianists playing chords to outline the harmonic progression, using no fixed rhythm.

of the performance—a mechanism that performs a similar function to the textural dividers of third stream.

The use of Ellington's piano improvisation as filler between pre-determined sections is consolidated in the recording from 1956. Here he opens the work with four choruses of piano improvisation, which in one place foreshadows the main melodic component of 'Diminuendo' (Example 13, foreshadowing the material of Example 10), providing coherence between the improvised and composed material and suggesting forward planning. Ellington introduces the interlude with the same syncopated material heard in the 1937 recording and developed in 1953, followed by two choruses of sparing piano improvisation. In the piano material of the interlude it is possible to see something that began as improvisation edging towards the composition end of Nettle's spectrum. This 1956 performance at the Newport Jazz Festival has been hailed as a milestone in jazz, due in large part to a twenty-seven chorus improvised solo by Gonsalves in the interlude. This solo was met with almost universal acclaim, and has been hailed as 'one of the longest and most unusual tenor sax solos ever captured on record.'⁴⁷ It is an unusually long improvisation, but it is interesting to reflect on the similarities between this 1956 performance and the earlier 1953 recording. Again, Gonsalves is playing in the bebop style. His improvisation is based on short motives (or 'licks'), which he typically develops for the duration of one blues chorus. The solo is clearly planned to some extent, for it follows the same melodic shape as his interlude in the 1953 version. At some points, he also syncopates quaver passages, which rhythmically seem to refer to the cross-rhythms in the opening riff of

⁴⁷ George Avakian, original LP liner notes to *Ellington at Newport*, 1956.

‘Diminuendo’ and Ellington’s musical reference to the same device (Example 14, referencing Examples 10 and 13). The solo is similar but in no place identical to the earlier version, suggesting stylistic consistency rather than strict predetermination. It is interesting to consider that while this performance as a whole is remembered for its improvised content, other aspects of it suggest the solidification of a performance routine that was designed to sound spontaneous, but was actually heavily rehearsed.



Example 13. ‘Interlude’, Ellington’s piano solo foreshadowing ‘Diminuendo in Blue’ opening motive Example 10 (Ellington). Transcribed by the author.



Example 14. ‘Interlude’, syncopated quaver passages in Gonsalves’ solo, which reference Example 10 and Example 13 (Ellington). Transcribed by the author.

Gonsalves’ solos seem much more spontaneous than either Carney’s baritone solo or Ellington’s piano interlude. Ellington’s own opinions on improvisation are well documented:

There are still a few die-hards who believe ... [that] there is such a thing as unadulterated improvisation without any preparation or anticipation. It is my firm belief that there has never been anybody who has blown even two bars worth listening to who didn’t have some idea about what he was going to play, before he started. If you just ramble through the scales or play around the chords, that’s nothing more than musical exercise. Improvisation really consists of picking out a device here, and connecting it with a device there; changing the rhythm here, and pausing there; there has to be some thought preceding each phrase, otherwise it is meaningless.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Ellington, ‘The Future of Jazz’, in souvenir programme to English tour, (autumn 1958), cited in Ken Rattenbury, *Duke Ellington, Jazz Composer* (London & New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 14.

Numerous scholarly articles and jazz musicians support Ellington's conviction that 'improvisation' actually consists of re-arranging and re-contextualising pre-learned phrases and fragments. These 'building blocks' can be of any size. The building blocks (or licks) used by Gonsalves are short, and can be re-arranged in a vast number of ways. The shorter building blocks create a more spontaneous sound than the longer phrases or building blocks used by Ellington, which came to be recognisable over time. Carney and Gonsalves are representative of soloing approaches at either end of Nettl's composition—improvisation spectrum, with Ellington's approach falling in between.

After Gonsalves' interlude, Ellington plays three solo choruses with rhythm section to connect the interlude with 'Crescendo'. Ellington's use of his own improvisation to link sections of contrasting material was not a new device. Max Harrison wrote unfavourably about the use of the device in Ellington's large-scale 1931 composition *Creole Rhapsody*, which he argued 'is at its weakest when Ellington, having got stuck, throws in bridging piano solos, almost literally to make ends meet.'⁴⁹ This device of linking classical-influenced material (as seen in Ellington's composed sections) and improvised (Gonsalves' solo) with contrasting musical material (the quasi-improvised material of Carney's solo and Ellington's piano interlude) can be seen as a precursor to the third-stream repertoire of the late 1950s.

Avakian's reverence for Gonsalves' 1956 solo shows a similar enthusiasm for 'great' improvisation as that indicated in the editorial footnote to Bill Evans'

⁴⁹ Harrison, 388.

transcribed solo in *All About Rosie*. Both celebrate ‘greatness’ in improvised jazz, but both ‘improvisations’ have been fixed to varying degrees. The romanticisation of improvisation has long been a feature of jazz writing, but this study of the mechanisms and long-term preparation for ‘improvised’ solos shows that this hyperbole can be unfounded.

This example of swing repertoire shows that classical devices were present in jazz compositions much earlier than the third-stream movement, and that, as Nettl suggests, improvisation and composition are often more closely aligned than is recognised. Ellington’s sketch for Carney’s solo indicates that solos within swing repertoire may often have been repeatedly performed in a similar fashion, thereby following a similar performance logic to the interpretation of fully notated classical repertoire. Ellington’s and Gonsalves’ use of motifs from the notated sections of the work in their improvisations shows a large-scale musical coherence, and shows a similar approach to cohesiveness to third-stream performance directions that suggested improvisers recalled orchestral melodies. However, the presence of both classical and jazz performance values in the solo sections of *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue* ensures that a range of musical materials is heard, and establishes an intergeneric creative tension. *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue* shows that the integration of elements of classical music and jazz can be a positive feature, and does not always create stylistic conflict as seen in the juxtaposed ensembles of third stream.

1940s and '50s Fusions

Further fusions of jazz and classical compositional elements occurred in orchestrated big-band jazz, cool jazz and West Coast movements of the 1940s and early '50s. The incorporation of traditional orchestral instruments and unified (rather than choir-based) arranging style was especially notable in the work of Stan Kenton and Claude Thornhill. Thornhill's influence in particular can be noted in the 'holistic sound' of Miles Davis and Gil Evans' cool period. Several of the musicians in Miles Davis' Nonet of this period went on to be influential in the blending of jazz and classical materials in their own right—not least baritone saxophonist Gerry Mulligan, who was a leading figure in the West Coast sound of the early 1950s.

The stylistic aspirations of pianist, composer and arranger Stan Kenton were suggested by the self-reflexive names he gave to his ensembles. 'Artistry in Rhythm', a fourteen-piece ensemble formed in 1941 'immediately drew public attention with its large sound and precise execution.'⁵⁰ The group's title song featured straight quavers, rigid structures, and often opened with a Rachmaninoff-style solo piano introduction that foreshadowed solo piano interludes in the same style.⁵¹ Indeed, links with classical repertoire were further forged by the group's frequent performances of Kenton's own arrangement of Rachmaninoff's *Prelude in C-Sharp Minor*.⁵² In 1949 the twenty-piece 'Progressive Jazz' ensemble

⁵⁰ J. Bradford Robinson, 'Kenton, Stan', Oxford Music Online, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14898>> (accessed 10 March 2009)

⁵¹ Stan Kenton, *Artistry in Rhythm* (USA: Capitol, 1947), BD-39, 20086, 20087.

⁵² William F. Lee, *Stan Kenton: Artistry in Rhythm* (Los Angeles: Creative Press of Los Angeles, 1980), 31.

appeared at Carnegie Hall—the classical-music connotations of which were explained in Chapter 2. Kenton’s desire to bring together aspects of classical music with jazz was evidenced further in the forty-three piece ‘Innovations in Modern Music Orchestra’, which featured a string section, a woodwind section, and two French horns as well as typical big-band instrumentation.

Claude Thornhill’s ensemble also brought together the instrumentation and timbres of classical and jazz. Thornhill had experience in both musics, having worked in dance bands as a teenager in the 1920s and ’30s, and studied piano and composition at the Cincinnati Conservatory and the Curtis Institute. From the late 1930s, Thornhill established himself as a big-band arranger, and led his own band, for whom he:

developed a striking original big-band sound that emphasized static textures, without vibrato, in the lower registers, and depended on coloristic effect on several instruments usually associated with classical music, including the French horn and bass clarinet.⁵³

In 1941, the pianist and arranger Gil Evans joined Thornhill’s ensemble. Evans contributed arrangements of bebop melodies such as *Donna Lee*, *Anthropology*, *Yardbird Suite* and *Robbin’s Nest*. The combination of jazz melodies, orchestral instruments and sophisticated arranging techniques united jazz and classical stylistic elements. Schuller comments:

In these works and others of the period Evans used two French horns and a tuba (in addition to the standard swing era big-band instrumentation); this, along with a restrained vibrato in the saxophones and brass, produced a rich, dark-textured ‘cool’ orchestral sound, foreshadowed only by Duke Ellington and Eddie Sauter. Emphasizing ensemble over improvised solo, Evans’s scores for Thornhill were far from being straightforward arrangements—they were in essence ‘recompositions’ and ‘orchestral improvisations’ on the original materials (for example, lines borrowed

⁵³ Ronald M. Radano and Barry Kernfeld, ‘Thornhill, Claude’, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline> (accessed 15 June 2009).

from Charlie Parker, popular songs and classical works such as Musorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition*).⁵⁴

The expanded ensembles and complex arrangements of Kenton and Thornhill were influential in the musical approach of Miles Davis' famous nonet, but it was the work of Gil Evans that motivated the group. Davis studied Evans' arrangements for the Thornhill ensemble, and the group of musicians that would become the nonet met several times at Evans' apartment in the late 1940s. The nonet was essentially a musical collaboration between Davis and Evans:

[The style] resulted directly from Davis's and Evans's desire not only for a lighter-textured and rhythmically subtle music but for one possessing a total coherence of design among all its elements—presentation of its thematic materials and development of their implications through the ordered succession of written and improvised parts in interestingly nuanced arrangements devised by their writers for a specific grouping of players whose capabilities were well known to them. In this they succeeded brilliantly. Among these 12 performances is to be found some of the most arresting, resourceful, richly textured and abidingly creative small-ensemble writing in all of jazz history as well as an abundance of powerful, focused, assured soloing, much of it of classic stature.⁵⁵

The Miles Davis Nonet of 1949–50 consisted of: trumpet (Davis); trombone (Kai Winding or J. J. Johnson); French horn (Gunther Schuller or Junior Collins); tuba (John Barber); alto saxophone (Lee Konitz); baritone saxophone (Gerry Mulligan); piano (Al Haig or John Lewis); bass (Joe Schulman, Nelson Boyd or Al McKibbin); and drums (Max Roach or Kenny Clarke). In 1949–50 the ensemble recorded and released a series of record sides, which were retrospectively released collectively as the *Birth of the Cool* album in 1957. The term 'cool' was only applied to this style after the fact, and is often used as a catch-all term for all the post-bop styles that deviated from the bebop norm.

⁵⁴ Schuller, 'Evans, Gil', <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (accessed 15 June 2009).

⁵⁵ Pete Welding, liner notes for 1989 cd issue of *Birth of the Cool*. Miles Davis, *Birth of the Cool*, (New York: Capitol Records, 1989) 7243 5 30117 2 7.

Gioia suggests that Davis' cool style was a reaction to the frenetic nature of bebop, explaining that: 'Previously large ensembles had built their music around the contrast between sections ... The Davis nonet, in contrast, offered a music of unity, a holistic sound.'⁵⁶ The melody instruments were orchestrated into close harmony, and played long melody lines moving homophonically, in a rejection of both the antiphonal nature of swing and the unison of bebop. Tempos were slower than bebop, and although improvisation was an important part of the style, the distinctions between improvisation and composition were blurred as the musicians referred to the written melodies in their solos—a gesture that was later heard in recordings of third-stream repertoire. Pete Welding makes clear the integration of elements of classical and jazz style in the output of this ensemble:

In its music, the nonet sought to realize a number of interlocking goals. Foremost of these was the development of an approach to ensemble writing that would retain the freshness and immediacy of improvised music and in which would be fused elements from bop, and Parker's music in particular, with a number of jazz practices, such as light, vibratoless tonality and a more subtle approach to rhythm that the boppers largely had eschewed, as well as an attempt at achieving the broadened coloristic and textural palette of the large orchestra while using a relatively small number of instruments. A corollary goal was the production of a balanced, more seamless integration between the music's written and improvised elements than was characteristic of bop; the arrangement in effect leading and anchoring the soloist who was, in turn, expected to return his improvisation and resolve it in reference to the written segment that followed.⁵⁷

The musical characteristics of the ensemble can be seen to address many of the factors that were considered to be problematic aspects of third stream. The homophonic nature of the melody lines blends typical classical and jazz instruments. All melody instruments play in rhythmic unison (everything is swung), so there is no discrepancy in rhythmic interpretation. The close

⁵⁶ Ted Gioia, 'Cool Jazz and West Coast Jazz', in Kirchner (ed.), 335.

⁵⁷ Welding.

relationship between improvised and composed melodies ensures a seamless transition, as seen in Ellington's preparation of solo material for Harry Carney. Although cool jazz did not disrupt the jazz world at the time of its inception in the late 1940s (indeed, Ted Gioia dubs the movement 'a *cool* revolution'), the compositional complexity and classical-influenced instrumentation left a considerable musical legacy.⁵⁸ John Dankworth recalls the impact the late 1940s Nonet recordings had on his musical development:

Arranging and composing had always been at the very forefront of my interests, even more than playing in some ways, and I welcomed any opportunity to indulge my love of writing music as well as playing it. In fact the one drawback of Club Eleven was that, enjoyable though extended improvisation has always been, there was practically no opportunity for the skills of writers to shine. This became particularly galling when we heard on record the first sounds of an American band which featured extremely sophisticated scoring and composing tactics in an entirely new way. The salt was rubbed in the wound when we learned that the band had consisted almost entirely of prominent jazz soloists of the time, many of whom we had never heard in such organized musical surroundings before—Miles Davis (the instigator of the group), Gerry Mulligan, Lee Konitz, John Lewis and so on.⁵⁹

Harvey concurs, explaining that 'we were all very much affected by Miles's band'.⁶⁰ He also attributes his desire to develop his writing and arranging skills to the inspiration he gained from cool jazz. The influence of cool on European jazz was not limited to British musicians, for as Gioia explains: 'the classically tinged jazz music which came to the fore in the 1970s, often associated with the ECM label, was a clear heir of the cool tradition.'⁶¹

Baritone saxophonist Gerry Mulligan moved to Los Angeles in 1952, and formed his famous 'piano-less quartet' with Chet Baker (trumpet) later that year.

⁵⁸ Gioia, 'Cool Jazz and West Coast Jazz', 335, 341.

⁵⁹ Dankworth, 71.

⁶⁰ Harvey, interview with the author.

⁶¹ Gioia, 'Cool Jazz and West Coast Jazz', 341.

Mulligan's contrapuntal arranging style and unconventional jazz sound continued and expanded the classical influences of jazz heard in cool. The West Coast of America became a geographical focus for this learned and contemplative style of jazz.

The pianist and composer Dave Brubeck was another key figure in West Coast jazz. He grew up in Northern California, and studied music at the College of the Pacific in Stockton (now the University of the Pacific), California, before returning to Mills College Oakland to study composition with the French classical composer Darius Milhaud and briefly (and unsuccessfully) with Arnold Schoenberg.⁶² With Milhaud's encouragement, Brubeck formed an octet in 1947 that united jazz and classical features.⁶³ The other members, all students of Milhaud, were as follows: Cal Tjader (drums); Paul Desmond (alto); Bill Smith (clarinet); David Van Kriedt (tenor); Jack Weeks (trombone/bass); Dick Collins (trumpet); and Bob Collins (trombone). Gioia comments upon the jazz-classical fusion that took place within the ensemble:

In arrangements such as Brubeck's 'The Way You Look Tonight,' Bill Smith's 'What Is This Thing Called Love?' and Van Kriedt's 'September in the Rain,' the diverse classical, jazz, and popular song elements blend together in a manner that combines the best quality of each discipline: The strong melodic material of popular song is wedded to the broad harmonic palette of classical music, the resulting hybrid drenched in that irrepressible rhythmic vocabulary that only comes from jazz. The next decade, of course, would witness a glut of Third Stream works purportedly trying to mix the self-same jazz and classical ingredients, but few of these later works succeed half so well as these 'student' attempts made without the benefit of manifestoes of 'Third Streamism,' without financial incentives, record contracts and the like—above all without a clear received tradition on which to build. The main impetus behind the octet's experiments was simply the musicians' fascination with new sounds ... When Brubeck weaves together the bridge and main melody of 'The Way

⁶² Gioia, *West Coast Jazz*, 74.

⁶³ Anonymous, <http://www.davebrubeck.com/live> (accessed 18 August 2011).

You Look Tonight’ in an ingenious counterpoint, he reflects not just another manifestation of the avant-garde, but as much an openness to hearing the music in fresh ways.⁶⁴

In 1949, economic instability forced Brubeck to shrink his ensemble to a trio with bassist Ron Crotty and drummer Cal Tjader. Brubeck continued his avant-garde experimentation within this reduced format, drawing upon classical compositional techniques such as polytonality, unexpected modulations from major to minor, rapid alternations between eighteenth-century and twentieth-century harmony, and the ‘rumbling, dissonant block chords that transformed “Laura” and “Tea for Two” into biting Bartókian vignettes.’⁶⁵

Brubeck expanded the group to a quartet in 1951 by reintroducing saxophonist Paul Desmond and continued in this musical vein, often featuring complex melodies and arrangements, unusual time signatures, and even re-workings of well-known classical melodies (for example Mozart’s ‘Rondo alla Turca’ became ‘Blue Rondo a la Turk’). Brubeck’s style became known as ‘college jazz’, an epithet granted partly for the educated connotations of the classical influences, and partly for the tours of universities and colleges that helped bring the quartet notoriety and financial success.

The Modern Jazz Quartet (mentioned earlier for their involvement in the third-stream movement) was another important ensemble in the fusion of jazz and classical compositional styles. The ensemble (founded in 1952) brought together contrapuntal and fugal arranging techniques, and sophisticated improvisations.

⁶⁴ Gioia, *West Coast Jazz*, 80–81.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 87.

Rolf Liebermann's *Concerto for Jazz Band and Symphony Orchestra*

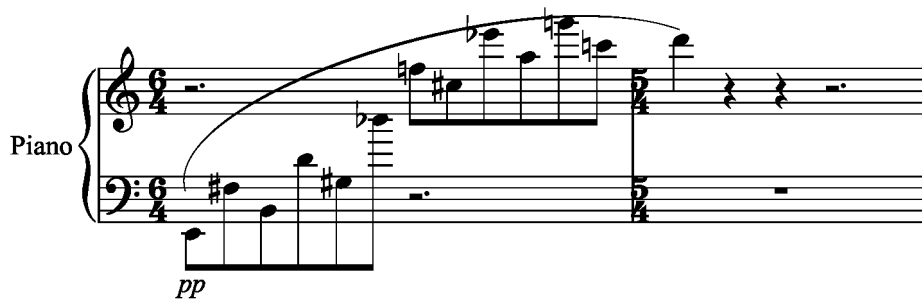
The Swiss composer Rolf Liebermann's *Concerto for Jazz Band and Symphony Orchestra* was first performed in 1954, after the swing era and the beginnings of the cool jazz movement, but before the release of *Birth of the Cool* and the classification and formalisation of third stream by Schuller and his colleagues. Liebermann's *Concerto* is a useful case study, for it displays many compositional features that later became common to third stream.

As its title suggests, the work utilises a jazz band (consisting of four trumpets, four trombones, five saxophones, piano, drums and double bass) and a standard symphony orchestra (two flutes, two clarinets, bass clarinet, two bassoons, four horns, timpani, piano, and a 'large number of strings').⁶⁶ The piece consists of eight contrasting sections, which alternate classical-based material and jazz-based material played by the respective ensembles: 'Introduction (*Allegro*)', 'Jump (*Allegro vivace*)', 'Scherzo I (*Allegro molto*)', 'Blues (*Lento*)'; 'Scherzo II (*Allegro vivace*)', 'Boogie-Woogie (*Allegro*)', 'Interludium (*Andante-Presto*)', 'Mambo (*Allegro*)'.

Liebermann based the piece on a note row, which is first heard in the piano at bb. 2–3, and then appears both horizontally (melodically) and vertically (harmonically) throughout the piece. The note row provides thematic coherence

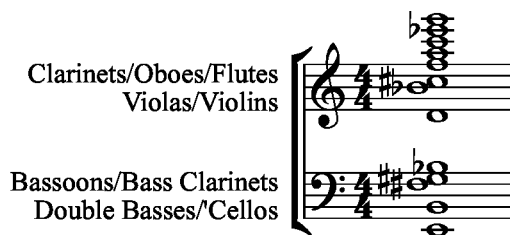
⁶⁶ Rolf Liebermann, introduction to score, *Concerto for Jazz Band and Symphony Orchestra* (Wien: Universal Edition A-1015, 1954).

and reference to twentieth-century classical compositional technique (Example 15).⁶⁷



Example 15. ‘Introduction’, first exposition of tone row, bb. 2–3 (Rolf Liebermann).

Liebermann verticalises all or most of the note row to close ‘Introduction’, ‘Jump’, ‘Boogie-Woogie’ and ‘Mambo’ (Examples 16a–d). This cluster chord contains the added harmonies common to bebop, but also references French Impressionism and contemporaneous classical music. While dissonances were common to bebop, they were more commonly used for melodic accent than for harmonic foundation. The seventh and ninth chords that Liebermann uses to close ‘Blues’ (F^{7+5+9}) and ‘Scherzo II’ (B^{-7+9}) are more common to the jazz idiom.



Example 16 a. ‘Introduction’, verticalisation of note row, b. 31 (Liebermann).

⁶⁷ The composer commented that: ‘The whole work is composed on a 12-note row, which is introduced at the beginning of the piece, and is constructed with the strictest 12-note technique.’ *Ibid.*

Saxophones

Trumpets

Trombones

Bass

Example 16b. 'Jump', verticalisation of note row (all notes except E and B \flat are heard), b. 103 (Liebermann).

Saxophones

Trumpet in B \flat

Trombone

Double Bass

ff

Example 16c. 'Boogie-Woogie', verticalisation of note row (all notes except A and B are heard), b. 53 (Liebermann).

Clarinets/Oboes/Flutes
Saxophones/Trumpets

Bassoons/Bass Clarinets
Trombones

Horn in F

Violas/Violins

Double Bass/Cellos

ff

Example 16d. 'Mambo', verticalisation of note row (all notes except C \sharp , D \sharp and G are heard), b. 165 (Liebermann).

The sections (or movements) segue into one another, connected by a sustained jazz-inflected chord (at the end of the jazz movements), or a drum and percussion solo (at the end of the classical movements). The alternation of musical styles is reflected in the movement titles, which all consist of a stylistic description (in English, or Italian for the classical-based movements), followed by an Italian tempo marking. A further musical distinction between the two styles is created by Liebermann's use of common time for all the jazz movements, while the classical movements are assigned compound, uneven, or alternating meters. The sonic barriers (either sustained chords or percussion solos) between sections of material here function as an introduction to the next section of material, underscoring the differences in performance style between musicians trained in either style.

Performance distinctions between the two ensembles are clearly audible, although this can be attributed as much to Liebermann's writing as to stylistic traits of the musicians. The material he provides for the jazz band is syncopated or dotted, as in the piano part to 'Boogie-Woogie', which provides another horizontalisation of the note row (Example 17). Although the musicians are never instructed to swing quavers, it can occasionally be heard in the performance on this particular recording.⁶⁸ The material provided for the orchestra, on the other hand, consists entirely of straight quavers—albeit sometimes in compound or uneven time signatures. The two ensembles play together for the first and only time in 'Mambo', and these rhythmic differences are still written into the score, ensuring that two distinct ensembles are audible even when playing simultaneously. The

⁶⁸ John Dankworth, *John Dankworth and the London Philharmonic Orchestra: Collaboration!* (London: Roulette Records, 1960), R52059.

compositional device of alternating ensembles until the final section of the final movement was later used by Dankworth and Seiber, with equally disjointed results.



Example 17. ‘Boogie-Woogie’, dotted rhythms and horizontalisation of note row, bb. 1–2 (Liebermann).

Dankworth’s big band and the London Philharmonic performed the *Concerto* on 2 June 1959, and it immediately followed the premiere of *Improvisations* in the programme. Such programming was logical for the works’ use of the same instrumental forces, but unfortunate, for it prompted negative reviews of the former, and invidious critical comparisons between the two works. For example, in his review of the concert for *The Times*, Desmond Shawe-Taylor commented that ‘Liebermann simply uses the jazz band for colour contrast, and the music he makes them play is both dull and unsuited to a jazz musician’s manner of playing.’⁶⁹ The musicologist Charles Fox commented upon the piece in that year’s meeting of the Royal Musical Association, suggesting that Liebermann ‘tried to solve the problem [of uniting jazz and classical music] by putting the jazz ensemble inside the symphony orchestra, but allowed it only to play clichés.’⁷⁰ In 1961, Leon Crickmore described the *Concerto* as ‘a confused mix of twelve-note technique, blues and boogie-woogie.’⁷¹ Shawe-Taylor continued his review by stating:

⁶⁹ Desmond Shawe-Taylor, ‘Long Ago And Up To Date: Music of the 1950s’, *The Times* (7 June 1959): 7.

⁷⁰ Charles Fox, ‘Jazz since 1945’, *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 86th Sess. (1959–1960): 25.

⁷¹ Leon Crickmore, ‘Third Stream or Third Programme?’, *Musical Times* 102 (1961): 701.

It was a pity that [*Concerto*] was placed last in the programme, for it came as an anticlimax after the brilliant improvisations for the same two combinations which Mr. Dankworth and Mátyás Seiber had devised in collaboration ... Seiber and Dankworth are concerned with the idioms and effects of advanced jazz as well as its timbres: and the mind as well as the sound of jazz is contrasted and integrated with modern tonal and atonal music, so as to take care of sense and sound at once. After 30 years the union of jazz and symphonic music has been blessed with healthy issue.⁷²

Liebermann's *Concerto* contains no improvisation, which contributes to its position as a predecessor to, rather than an example of, the third-stream movement. 'Blues' is an improvisatory alto saxophone solo, but the material is fully written out, and constructed from reworkings of the opening note row (Example 18). The solo is clearly pre-composed, for the original angular saxophone line is later played in counterpoint, unison and canon with solo trombone. A composed bluesy slow movement is a feature of all third-stream works under consideration, and as such, Liebermann can be placed firmly in this lineage.



Example 18. 'Blues', opening bars of alto saxophone solo and horizontalisation of note row, bb. 1–2 (Liebermann).

Free Jazz and Jazz-Rock

Features of classical music were present in many of the stylistic developments of jazz that took place over the following decades. For example, the late-1950s British free-jazz movement that emerged simultaneously to its American

⁷² Shawe-Taylor, 'Long Ago and Up To Date'.

counterpart reflected classical music in several ways. The combination of forward planning and spontaneous improvisation in alto saxophonist Joe Harriott's free jazz provides an example of this. Hilary Moore writes:

All [Harriott's] albums are divided into short tracks, which differ from one another in mood, texture and musical approach: Harriott was in essence a minimalist, each track being an intricate explication of one idea or mood. The central body of the performance is spontaneously composed, but bound by a pre-composed introduction and conclusion.⁷³

The balance of the planned and the spontaneous in Harriott's free jazz is comparable to the balance of composition and improvisation in the third-stream works of a few years previously.

Other British exponents of free jazz included the Joseph Holbrooke Trio (formed in 1963), the Spontaneous Music Ensemble (1965) and the AMM (1965). The Joseph Holbrooke Trio included Derek Bailey (guitar), Tony Oxley (drums) and Gavin Bryars (bass). Connections with classical music were underscored by the ensemble's name, which had been appropriated from an obscure twentieth-century London composer (affectionately referred to as the 'Cockney Wagner')—although the group did not play Holbrooke's compositions. The group took a progressively free approach to jazz standards, but conflicts of ideology within the trio caused its eventual dispersal. Bailey and Oxley saw their music as an extension of the free experiments of Coltrane, while Bryars was influenced more by the music of Stockhausen, Boulez and Messiaen (and became known as a modern classical composer later in life, alongside his jazz performance career).

⁷³ Hilary Moore, 68.

The sound world of the classical avant-garde was also achieved in the music of the Spontaneous Music Ensemble (SME), which comprised John Stevens (drums), Trevor Watts (saxophone) and Paul Rutherford (trombone). Despite the SME's insistence on spontaneous and free improvisation, Simon Monfredi suggests that the end result was more akin to contemporary classical composition than free jazz:

This atomization came close to the aural world of the most extreme serial compositions of Webern, and the complex, mathematically pre-determined structures of integral serialism of the classical avant-garde exemplified by Boulez. The results, however, were achieved by precisely the opposite means, improvisation on indeterminate material.⁷⁴

More links between free jazz and the classical avant-garde were forged by the AMM,⁷⁵ which comprised drummer Edwin Prévost, guitarist Keith Rowe and saxophonist Leslie Gare. Monfredi explains that the AMM took a different route to free music than that of SME, a route 'which brought them into contact with the classical avant-garde and in particular composer Cornelius Cardew.'⁷⁶ Cardew's bohemian lifestyle and privileged upbringing, alongside Rowe's art-school background, created an educated and upper-class ensemble that became fiercely anti-establishment, and could perhaps be positioned as part of the contemporary art-music tradition that came out of the Darmstadt Art School. As Monfredi notes, Cardew's classical training led to the ensemble introducing practices from the concurrent American classical avant-garde.

Similar interplay between British and American musical developments can be seen in the emergence of jazz-rock fusion in the 1960s. At this time there was a simultaneous downturn in the popularity of jazz and a growing rock and pop

⁷⁴ Simon Monfredi, 'Free Music in Britain: 1965 to 1970', MA dissertation, Leeds College of Music, 2008, 18.

⁷⁵ This acronym is deliberately elusive, and a full name has never been documented.

⁷⁶ Monfredi, 23.

audience. While some jazz musicians attempted to retain their audiences and capture the rock market by performing and recording covers of rock songs, a longer-lived fusion of the two idioms blended the electric instruments and straight rhythms of rock with the blues harmonies and extended improvisation of jazz. Nicholson situates the origins of this movement firmly in Britain, suggesting that Alexis Korner's Blues Incorporated and the Rolling Stones paved the way for a widespread jazz-rock fusion: 'Many musicians claim that [Blues Incorporated] pointed very strongly to a confluence between jazz and rock as early as 1962.'⁷⁷

Other British groups that blended elements of jazz and rock included Cream (formed 1966), Mike Westbrook's ensembles (active in jazz-rock from the late 1960s), Colosseum (founded 1968), Nucleus (1969) and Centipede (1970). As well as combining jazz and rock influences, these groups drew upon elements of classical music. Nicholson comments on classical elements brought to jazz-rock by Colosseum and their contemporaries:

While Colosseum comprised musicians versed in jazz applying themselves to rock, by the end of the 1960s rock groups were emerging with musicians whose improvisational aspirations drew from their classical background. Both Pink Floyd and Soft Machine dallied with a variety of concepts that evoked twentieth-century composers such as Stockhausen, Boulez, and Terry Riley while making extended improvisation a feature of their performances.⁷⁸

These British jazz-rock fusion groups were symptomatic of a concurrent trend in America. American musicians such as Frank Zappa and Miles Davis produced successful jazz-rock albums. Davis' early output in the style included *Miles in the Sky* (1968), *In a Silent Way* (1969), and *Bitches Brew* (1969). Davis hired the British guitarist John McLaughlin to play on *In a Silent Way*. McLaughlin went

⁷⁷ Nicholson, *Jazz-rock*, 17.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 23.

on to feature prominently in the fusion movement, both through his collaboration with Davis and with his own ensemble, the Mahavishnu Orchestra, which he formed in 1972. *Bitches Brew* again featured McLaughlin, and Davis also hired British bass player Dave Holland. Other musicians that played on *Bitches Brew* included keyboardist Joe Zawinul, saxophonist Wayne Shorter, pianist Chick Corea and drummer Jack DeJohnette—all of whom went on to develop influential jazz-rock ensembles of their own.

Nicholson emphasises the role of British musicians in jazz-rock, suggesting not only that the movement took place in Britain before it took place in America, but that British musicians were better equipped than Americans to succeed in the more fusion-orientated jazz scene of the 1970s. While it is important not to neglect the British contribution to jazz-rock, the sheer number of American fusion bands and their considerable commercial success at this time undermines Nicholson's argument.

'No Mystery'

Miles Davis introduced Chick Corea to electronic instruments, and played with him on the jazz-rock albums *Filles de Kilimanjaro*, *In a Silent Way*, *Bitches Brew*, *Live-Evil* and *Live at the Fillmore East*. In 1970 Corea left Davis' group along with bassist Dave Holland to form the co-operative avant-garde quartet Circle with drummer Barry Altschul and saxophonist Anthony Braxton. By the end of 1971, Corea had assembled his jazz-rock ensemble Return to Forever (RTF),

which would reappear in many guises throughout his career. RTF underwent several personnel changes before a fixed quartet was established in 1974, comprising Corea (keyboards), Al Di Meola (guitars), Stanley Clarke (bass, organ), and Lenny White (drums). Although earlier manifestations of the group had released two albums, this combination of musicians produced *Where Have I Known You Before* (1974), *No Mystery* (1975), and *Romantic Warrior* (1976). This period of RTF is relevant to this study for its use of both jazz and classical musical influences. Nicholson explains:

On *Where Have I Known You Before* (1974) Corea refined a technically demanding style of pomp and discourse that drew on his classical training, describing it to *Rolling Stone* as ‘combining all the most beautiful forms of music, classical, rock and jazz into a form that doesn’t go over people’s heads.’⁷⁹

The Grammy-award winning *No Mystery* is arguably the RTF album that contains the most classical influences.⁸⁰ Side A of the record contained heavily funk-influenced material composed by each member of the group, while Side B focussed solely on Corea’s compositions. The title track, which appears at the beginning of Side B, is heavy on predetermined composition and light on spontaneous improvisation, as record reviewer Walter Kolosky comments:

‘No Mystery’ is a beautifully realized composition. Interwoven with the delicate fluttering of Corea’s keys and Di Meola’s strings, the tune is performed in several movements. It is filled with highly elaborate flights of joy and more somber tones as Clarke bows his upright. Percussionist Lenny White provides rhythmic texture while never pounding away on a single drumbeat. Sure, lots of this music was written out and improvisation was at a minimum. ‘No Mystery’ is even more classical than it is jazz.⁸¹

Influences of classical music can also be discerned in the sound world of ‘No Mystery’—the track is entirely acoustic, and the timbres of Corea’s piano and the

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 201.

⁸⁰ Chick Corea, *Return to Forever featuring Chick Corea. No Mystery* (New York: Polydor Records, 1975) 827 149-2

⁸¹ Walter Kolosky, review of ‘No Mystery’, <http://www.jazz.com/music/2008/2/13/return-to-forever-featuring-chick-corea-no-mystery> (accessed 12 April 2011).

Clarke's *arco* bass are prominent. However, although these instruments provide a timbral reference to classical music, the traditional conflict of rhythmic interpretation created by combining bowed strings with jazz instruments is absent due to Corea's use of straight-ahead funk, rock, and syncopated Latin-tinged rhythms in place of swing quavers. Bowed strings had previously been heard in jazz-rock, notably in the violin of John McLoughlin's Mahavishnu Orchestra. In this example it is again possible to hear a creative combination of features of classical music with jazz.

Composer-led Jazz Orchestras of the 1980s and 1990s

The use of straight quavers as a reflection of funk influences in jazz (and perhaps as a rhythmic reminder of bebop) provided an alternative rhythmic integration of jazz and classical musicians to the differing rhythmic interpretations present in third stream. Another example of this can be seen in the output of British pianist and composer Django Bates.

Bates came to prominence for his role in the eclectic jazz group Loose Tubes, which emerged from a series of jazz workshops put together by the bass player, composer, and educator Graham Collier in 1983. Bates' personal relationship with classical music is chequered: he enrolled to study composition at the Royal College of Music in 1979, but famously left after just two weeks, having discovered a notice on a piano declaring that 'This piano should not be used for

playing Jazz music'.⁸² Despite the affinity with jazz suggested by this action, much of his output features classical forms and techniques, and he attributes this to a desire to be accepted by the classical world:

[It's] probably something to do with being in this country where various establishments and class structures are powerful. Sometimes it feels like they mean quite a lot actually, and it's only natural to want to be accepted by all of them, and it's probably impossible, and probably unimportant. It's hard not to feel like that, to feel that you want to be part of everything, because you've put the work in and are appreciated in other countries.⁸³

After Loose Tubes, Bates assembled various ensembles as vehicles for his compositions. One such ensemble, Human Chain, tended to have long-term members, and so (in the jazz orchestra tradition begun by Duke Ellington), he was able to compose idiomatically for instrumentalists. In 1996 Human Chain recorded a collaborative album with the Docklands Sinfonietta, for which purpose Bates reworked his 1989 composition *Tentle Morments*.⁸⁴ Bates describes his aims and anxieties in his programme notes to the piece, stating:

Tense mortals, tender morsels, gentle moments, mental torment. This began life for an early incarnation of Human Chain. It was then just the melody, the bass line, and 'angry young men' improvised section in the middle. I rewrote it for a Docklands Sinfonietta/Loose Tubes collaboration in 1989 with the misguided intention of proving to the classical music world that I could write in various classical styles and must therefore be acceptable. I managed to rescue myself five-eighths into the piece, shaking some sense into me through the use of several badly executed Mozart trills which by their very ridiculousness reminded me how ridiculous I was being. In this piece I humbly raise a question about the Orchestral tradition of tuning up on stage.⁸⁵

As suggested by this statement, the piece opens and closes with overt references to classical music, starting with a parodic reference to orchestral tuning and ending with a series of Mozartian piano cadences. The central sections of *Tentle*

⁸² Django Bates, cited in Elizabeth Haddon, *Making Music in Britain: interviews with those behind the notes* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), 33.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁸⁴ Django Bates, *Good Evening, Here is the News* (Distribution t.b.a, 1996).

⁸⁵ Anonymous, <<http://easyweb/easynet.co.uk/~jemuk/django-mp3.home.html>> (accessed 16 November 2010).

Morments incorporate a syncopated funky dance groove embellished by Schoenbergian string flourishes, the collective ‘angry young men’ improvisation described by Bates, and an improvised tenor saxophone solo. Although written as one continuous movement, *Tentle Morments* is in three clearly defined sections, for the dance rhythms return before the ‘badly executed Mozart trills’ heard in the solo piano. In this way it is similar to *Improvisations* in its formal characteristics. See Appendix 6 for a more detailed summary of the musical content.

The theme and rhythms of the syncopated dance section emerge organically from the opening material. Modern jazz influences are heard here in the bass line, rhythmic syncopation and use of electronic effects on Bates’ keyboard, while French horn swoops (bb. 30–31), rhythmic tremolo in woodwinds (bb. 53–55), and string *glissandi* (bb. 74–76) create exaggerated examples of orchestral rhetoric. (See Examples 19a, 19b, 19c and 19d.) At b. 96, Bates creates the effect of a general pause before the ensemble improvisation begins, thereby echoing the device used by third-stream composers such as Dankworth and Seiber.

The musical score for Example 19a consists of three staves: Tenor Saxophone/Jazz bass, Drum Set, and Keyboards. The music is in 4/4 time. The Tenor Saxophone/Jazz bass part features a melodic line with syncopation and a key signature of one flat. The Drum Set part provides a steady rhythmic accompaniment. The Keyboards part includes a bass line with syncopation and a melodic line with gliss. and sim. markings. The score is numbered 5 at the beginning of the second system.

Example 19a. *Tentle Morments*, modern jazz influences, bb. 18–25 (Django Bates).

Horn in F

Horn in F

ff

ff

Example 19b. *Tentle Morments*, orchestral rhetoric in French horn, bb. 30–31 (Bates).

Piccolo/flute/
ob. 1/clarinet 2

Clarinet 1/ob. 1

ff

ff

6

6

6

6

6

6

Example 19c. *Tentle Morments*, orchestral rhetoric in woodwind, bb. 52–55 (Bates).

Violin I

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Double Bass

arco sul D (different speeds)

arco *f* sul D or G (different speeds)

arco *f* sul A (different speeds)

f arco sul G (different speeds)

f arco sul D (different speeds)

f arco sul D (different speeds)

f

Example 19d. *Tentle Morments*, orchestral rhetoric in strings, bb. 55–56 (Bates).

At b. 110, a sustained lower woodwind note is heard—again providing a textural division between sections of musical material—followed by an ascending harp arpeggio and an improvised ballad-style tenor saxophone solo. This section provides a bluesy, slow, ‘middle movement’ such as those heard in all the third-stream examples cited. The difference here is that the solo is improvised, by long-standing Human Chain member Iain Ballamy. Ballamy plays over slow-moving string chords and a slow swing rhythm on the drum-kit. Although the tenor is given hashed lines and chord symbols for improvisation, the notated solo lines that appear elsewhere in the orchestra—heard first in solo violin from b. 113, and second in oboe d’amore from b. 131—are provided as cued notation. (See Figure 17 for the chord progression provided for improvisation.) As per instructions in Schuller’s *Concertino* and Dankworth/Seiber’s *Improvisations*, the improvised solo exhibits thematic coherence with orchestral melodies. Ballamy plays a continuous solo for the first chorus, and then takes a sparser, obligato role in the second. This is instructed on the score with ‘full solo’ (b. 113, b.139) and ‘sparse’ (b.131) respectively, before the direction ‘use your ears from here on, getting more dissonant’ at b. 148. The solo ends at b. 156. Bates later expressed his opinion about the importance of a close relationship between composed and improvised material:

I write down loads and loads of notes for that band [Human Chain], and I always feel a bit guilty when I go to rehearsal with a new piece and so much of it is on the paper and I want to hear what I’ve written; I don’t want it to be interpreted straight away. It can be interpreted later on, and it can change gradually over time, but I want what I’ve written to be a starting point, and for musicians like Iain Ballamy, who are getting more and more into playing totally improvised things, I can feel there’s this kind of friction between us, but it’s a positive friction. Given that I feel conscious of that, I also make sure there’s space for everyone to really

express themselves through their own music, but at the same time, there's some subtle directing force, let me put it that way.⁸⁶

By giving such complex and chromatic chord symbols, Bates dictates the melodic path of the improvisation to a certain extent. His explicit reference to the 'positive friction' between his composition and Ballamy's improvisation indicates that the conflict created between composed and improvised sections in third stream is consciously used here for creative tension.

Figure 17: chord progression for first chorus of tenor saxophone solo, b. 113–131.


G^b13sus4 - Fm⁷ F⁷ | Bbm^Δ F^{7(#9#5)} Bbm^Δ Bbm⁷ | Bbm⁷ - Ab^{13(#11)} G^{13sus} | F⁷ Bb^{Δ#5} Eb^{Δ(#11)} Ebm⁷ Ab^{7#5}
D^b13sus4 - E^{13sus4} - | A^{7(p9)} D^Δ Ab^{13(p9p5)} G^{7(#9#5)} | G^{7(#9#5)} - Db/C C^{13(p9p5)} | E^Ø G^{7(#11)} Gm⁹ C^{7(#9#5)}
B^{13sus4} - F^{7/B} - | Em⁶ E^Ø Bbm^Δ/E C#m^(mel)/E | Fm^(blues) C⁷ G^{b(#9p5)} - | F⁷ F^{Δ(#5)} F^{7(p9)} G^{7(p9)}
C^{7(#9#5)} A^Δ - F^Δ | Dm⁹ Bb^Δ G^Δ E^Δ | C^{Δ(#5)} A^Δ D^{Δ(#11)} - | Bm⁷ Gm^{Δ6} Eb^{Δ(#11)} E/Dm
Fm^(blues) Db^{7(#9)} A Dm | Dm Cm¹³ A E⁷

At b. 156, the music returns to the dance rhythms, with strings playing material based on the earlier syncopated figures. Classical elements can be heard in occasional punctuating figures from the orchestral instruments, which again references both a Schoenbergian sound world and bebop improvisation through the use of quartal intervals—as heard in Schuller's *Concertino* and *All About Rosie* (Example 20). At b. 171 the tenor begins a sustained trill, which transforms the role of this instrument from jazz-based improvisation to classical cadential material. The trills are joined by more orchestral instruments, and foreshadow the 'badly executed Mozart cadences' heard on solo piano at bb. 192–4, bb. 196–7, and b. 213 (Examples 21a, 21b, and 21c). The overt classical reference in the cadential piano trills therefore had its origin in the jazz-based saxophone

⁸⁶ Bates, cited in Haddon, 38.

improvisation, showing an integration of musical forces from each style. Indeed, Cooke suggests that these trills reinforce the parallels between jazz and classical repertoire, ‘because the formulaic trills are precisely those that invariably brought *improvised* cadenzas to an end.’⁸⁷ Large-scale thematic coherence can also be heard, for each cadential resolution is overlaid by a recapitulation of earlier material—either the dance-based rhythms played by the ensemble (b. 195, 197), or the tenor saxophone solo (bb. 200–207). The final trill (b. 213) is resolved by an accented *tutti* A \flat spanning four octaves to end the piece at b. 221.

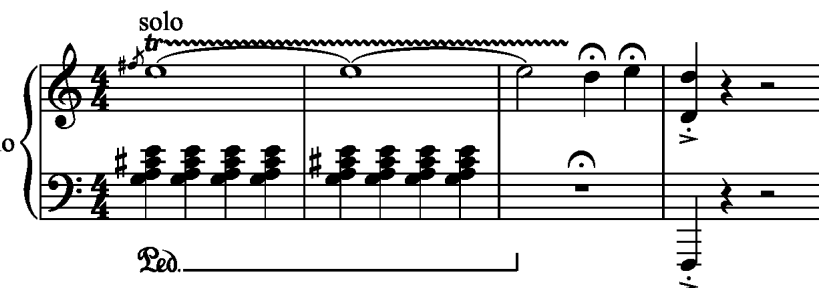
Trumpet 1 and 2/B. Trombone/tuba/bassoon/
contrabassoon/xylophone/harp/keyboard



mp

Example 20. *Tentle Moments*, classical elements in quartal figures, b. 156 (Bates).

Piano



ff

Ped.

Example 21a. *Tentle Moments*, first piano trill, bb. 192–4 (Bates).

Piano



ff

Ped.

Example 21b. *Tentle Moments*, second piano trill, bb. 196–7 (Bates).

⁸⁷ Cooke, ‘Jazz among the classics, and the case of Duke Ellington’, 156.



Example 21c. *Tentle Morments*, final piano trill, b. 213 (Bates).

Tentle Morments represents a different negotiation of the problematic aspects of classical and jazz fusion identified by Joyner in third-stream repertoire. Firstly, by drawing upon funk as well as jazz in his musical catalogue, Bates avoided the difficulty classical musicians may have had in swinging quavers. Swung quavers are not a feature of funk, so this was to a large extent circumvented. The only instruments to swing quavers in *Tentle Morments* are the drum-kit and the tenor saxophone, both of which are stereotypical jazz instruments in their own right. In drawing upon a larger variety of musical styles, *Tentle Morments* is also representative of the plurality of the British jazz scene in the 1980s.

Tentle Morments contains clearly defined sections of musical material, like many third-stream works, but Bates does not utilise the concerto-grosso style of alternating ensembles. Instead, each section is a development of musical material that preceded it, and incorporates both ensembles. The closing cadences provide dramatic textural shifts, but come across as a self-assured reference to and manipulation of classical compositional techniques.

Bates is known for his eccentricity and sense of humour,⁸⁸ and he transforms the potential musical conflict of the two styles into an effective satire on the institutions of classical music with panache.⁸⁹ An objective listener could understand *Tentle Moments* to be a satire on jazz styles rather than classical, but Bates' biography, his positioning of himself as a jazz musician, and his statements on the subject make clear his intentions to parody the music and institutions of classical music. His exploitation of the creative tension possible between the two musics underscores the original identity of jazz as a hybrid music, which thrives upon absorbing elements of existing musical cultures.

Maria Schneider's *Wyrgly*

A final example of a large-scale composition for jazz orchestra will allow me to explain further that formal design and incorporation of improvisation—components of musical style deemed problematic by Joyner with reference to third stream—could provide fertile ground for creativity in 1980s big-band jazz. American composer Maria Schneider's 1989 composition *Wyrgly* is the first track on her debut album *Evanesence* (1994), and provides an example of the creative use of traditional classical forms and the integration of improvised solos within a composition.

⁸⁸ Examples of Bates' eccentric sense of humour can be found on his website, which contains satirical sketches and flights of fancy, as well as tongue-in-cheek responses to negative criticism. Available at <<http://easyweb.easynet.co.uk/~jemuk/django-mp3/home.htm>> (accessed 16 November 2010).

⁸⁹ Bates acknowledged an element of cultural anxiety as his starting point for writing the piece. His long-standing bandmate Tim Whitehead suggests a more satirical intention, claiming that in *Tentle Moments* Bates was making a tongue-in-cheek comment about the privileges and funding opportunities that were available only to classical musicians at the time of writing. Comment made in a paper session at Leeds International Jazz Conference 2011, 7 April 2011.

Schneider is part of the American lineage of composer-led jazz orchestras: after her graduate study at the Universities of Miami and Eastman, she worked as Gil Evans' assistant in New York while studying with Bob Brookmeyer. At this time (1985) she also led a band with her then-husband John Fedchock, which served as a vehicle for her compositions.⁹⁰ *Wyrgly* is a complex composition, constructed from a lyrical first theme and an aggressive second theme, both of which are derived from a thirty-nine note row. Much is made in existing discourse of Schneider's utilisation of programmatic techniques in her compositions, and Alex Stewart suggests the thematic representation in *Wyrgly*:

During live performances, [Schneider] draws the audience into her musical narratives by relating the autobiographical content of a piece. Her music frequently concerns triumph over fears, from overcoming childhood anxieties to casting aside more rational fears surrounding the dangers of hang gliding ... In 'Wyrgly' ... Schneider juxtaposes and overlays two musical streams ... to portray the 'metamorphosis' of a monster 'from a mesmerizing vapor to an embodiment characterized by a dramatic display of multiple flailing limbs.' These two distinct musical ideas, or what Schneider calls 'embodiments,' contrast in musical style, harmonic structure, chord voicings, and most important, time feels. The first musical stream ... is more lyrical and more harmonically complex and played with a lighter swing feel. The second theme ... is a short, hard-driving, eight-to-the-bar boogie shuffle figure.⁹¹

Schneider avoids chorus form in *Wyrgly* by constructing a complex, expanded, sonata form out of these two melodies. (See Appendix 7 for Stewart's sonata-form reading of this piece, in which the lyrical first theme is labelled 'A' and the hard-driving second theme 'B'.) Stewart suggests that Schneider subverts both the norms of classical sonata form and the discourse of feminist musicology through her use of a lyrical first theme followed by an aggressive second theme (instead of the traditional strident first subject with a contrasting second subject).⁹² He writes:

⁹⁰ Maria Schneider, liner notes to *Evanescence* (New York: Enja, 1994).

⁹¹ Stewart, 135, quoting Schneider's liner notes to *Evanescence*.

⁹² Stewart, 142. The role of women in jazz is a fascinating and under-explored topic, but space forbids further development of these ideas in this dissertation. Stewart's analysis of *Wyrgly* and

First, material based on the gentler, more lyrical A idea opens the piece. The hard-driving boogie shuffle figure intrudes on this space by imposing its meter and eventually, near the end, by establishing the most tonal section of the piece ... Unlike the developmental strategies common in European art music, one theme does not establish its dominance over the other through motivic transformation or tonal resolution.⁹³

This manipulation of a device common to classical music in order to pursue the creative aims of jazz was also seen in *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue*, in which the eventual stabilisation of a temporally unsettled swing riff also represented the inverse of expected conventions of swing repertoire. Schneider adopts and subverts classical formal convention to create peaks of musical intensity through the layering of composed thematic material.

Perhaps the most fascinating compositional device used by Schneider is the deliberate combination of two different swing feels, which creates a jarring birhythmic effect not dissimilar to that of classical musicians playing straight quavers while jazz musicians swing in third stream. Again, it is possible to see the tensions between classical and jazz musicians exploited and extended for creative purpose.

In addition, Schneider's treatment of improvisation within her composition deserves consideration. Although she respects the individual interpretation of improvisers within her ensemble, she takes care to explain the programmatic ideals of her pieces, in order to convey her expectations for each solo:

Although she finds that 'assigning too much responsibility to the soloists can be risky,' Schneider often depends on improvisers to 'carry the piece to a contrasting place. The soloist needs to help that arrival feel inevitable.' In 'Wyrgly' the tenor saxophonist Rick Margitza constructs a

examination of all-women big bands provide sensitive evaluations of the subject, as does Sherrie Tucker's *Swing Shift*.

⁹³ Stewart, 142.

solo setting up the double-time interlude at m. 161. Leading to the final climax of the piece, Ben Monder's guitar solo grows out of John Fedchock's trombone solo.⁹⁴

The pains taken by Schneider to ensure coherency between improvised solos and composed material show yet another balance between composition and improvisation in jazz works incorporating features of classical music. While her means (describing the programmatic aims of the piece) are more abstract than Ellington's (providing a sketched solo for Harry Carney) or Bates' (providing a cued version of the orchestral melody lines for his improvising soloist), the same element of control by the composer is achieved. The thematic coherence created between improvised and composed material by these instructions means that the use of tension between stereotypes of classical and jazz can be employed at the composer's discretion.

Conclusion

Third stream was not the first meeting place of elements of jazz and classical music. Earlier stylistic intersections had taken place in the European avant-garde of the 1920s (in works such as Milhaud's 1923 *La Création du Monde*); 1920s symphonic jazz (in particular extended concert works such as George Gershwin's 1924 *Rhapsody in Blue*); 1930s Broadway musicals; 1940s American classical music (Stravinsky's 1945 *Ebony Concerto* and Leonard Bernstein's 1949 *Prelude*,

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 141.

Fugue and Riffs); cool jazz of the late 1940s (epitomised by Miles Davis' *Birth of the Cool* nonet); and in 1940s and '50s film scores.⁹⁵

By stating that third stream should be an equal fusion of classical and jazz, and by suggesting that the style would 'avoid the old prejudices [and] worries of the two main streams that have greeted attempts to bring jazz and "classical" music together',⁹⁶ Schuller expounded an advanced ideology and expectation of the style. Third-stream composers were unable to create a seamless integration of style, and areas of musical disunity were found in rhythmic interpretation, instrumentation, formal design and use of improvisation.

However, by using these areas of potential musical conflict as a starting point for considering occurrences of classical compositional devices in different subgenres of jazz, it is possible to see their manipulation for the purpose of creative tension. A thorough analysis of examples of swing, jazz-rock, and British and American big-band compositions has led me to conclude that the conflict of musical style created by adopting elements of classical music in jazz repertoire can be a creative source, not just an unwanted byproduct. The problem with third stream can perhaps be understood to be its conception in tandem with the ideology expounded in related discourse. When similar creative tensions are explored

⁹⁵ In a 2009 essay, Mervyn Cooke indicates that the juxtaposition of jazz influences and classical compositional techniques in 1950s American film scoring can be viewed as a direct precursor to the third-stream movement, using the examples of David Raksin's *Touch of Evil* (1948), Elmer Bernstein's *The Man with the Golden Arm* (1955), Alex North's *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951), *The Long Hot Summer* (1958), *The Sound and The Fury* (1959), *Sanctuary* (1961), and Ellington's *Anatomy of a Murder* (1959). 'Anatomy of a Movie: Duke Ellington and 1950s Film Scoring', in Graham Lock and David Murray (eds.), *Thriving on a Riff: Jazz & Blues Influences in African American Literature and Film* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 240–262.

⁹⁶ Schuller, 'Third Stream', 115.

without the expectations of scholars and other musicians, the potential of jazz's hybrid nature can be realised.

Chapter 4: Jazz Education

Formalised jazz education was introduced in America in the 1940s and Britain in 1965. This chapter charts the changing nature of jazz education, showing its evolution from informal social systems to its role as a culturally legitimising force through the adoption of existing classical-music pedagogical methods and establishments.

The few articles and chapters that have been published on the subject of jazz education are predominantly concerned with the phenomenon of formalised degree-level courses in America. The content of these courses is largely derived from the harmonic and improvisatory language of bebop, and the work of David Ake, Charles Beale, Stuart Nicholson and Tony Whyton provides context and opinion about the implications of these standardised systems of jazz education.¹ The history of jazz education in Britain is largely undocumented.

Two important studies concerning the methods and processes involved in jazz improvisation are of particular relevance to my focus on jazz education. Paul Berliner's epic study *Thinking in Jazz* is the result of sixteen years of research, from an initial pilot project in 1978 to publication in 1994, and is the most extensive study of jazz improvisation to date.² In order to gain understanding of the processes involved in all stages of jazz improvisation, Berliner moved to New

¹ Ake, 'Learning jazz, teaching jazz', in Cooke and Horn (eds.), 255–269, 'Rethinking Jazz Education' in *Jazz Matters*, 99–120; Charles Beale, 'Jazz Education', in Kirchner (ed.), 756–76; Nicholson, 'Teachers Teaching Teachers: Jazz Education', in *Is Jazz Dead?*, 99–120; Whyton, 'Birth of the School', in *Jazz Icons*, 153–177.

² Berliner.

York City in 1980 and devoted a year to extensive interviews with over fifty working jazz musicians. He also resumed his own studies as a jazz trumpeter, and engaged in rehearsals and performances as a participant and an observer. After cross-referencing all the information collected, he noted common methods of thinking and learning, and organised the material into a representation of the 'life cycle of a jazz musician'.³ Like Berliner, Ingrid Monson began research for her 1996 monograph *Saying Something* by talking to professional jazz musicians. Her research focuses on the interactive and communicative elements of jazz improvisation, concentrating especially upon the musical and social interplay of members of the rhythm section.⁴ Monson uses the metaphors of language and conversation to discuss improvised content, the interaction of jazz musicians, and the relationship of jazz to its cultural context. Drawing upon the sociological theories of language expressed by Henry Louis Gates Jr., Mikhail Bakhtin and Ferdinand de Saussure, she creates a theoretical framework for her findings. I make frequent reference to the writings of Berliner and Monson in this chapter, using their groundbreaking research as a point of reference for the American counterfoil to my study of jazz education in Britain. In addition, Alex Stewart's *Making the Scene* provides an insightful perspective on contemporary big-band practices, which is particularly relevant to my discussions of repertoire bands and Jazz at the Lincoln Center.⁵

In his entry on jazz education for the second edition of *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, Gary Kennedy defined two types of jazz education in America, separating methods into those that occurred pre- and post-formalised jazz education. African-

³ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁴ Monson.

⁵ Stewart.

American teachers and institutions in the first half of the twentieth century fall into the first category. These include institutions such as Reverend Daniel Joseph Jenkins' Orphanage in South Carolina, the Colored Waifs Home for Boys in New Orleans (attended by Louis Armstrong in 1913–14), and Jane Addams' Hull House in Chicago (of which Benny Goodman was a pupil in the early 1920s). However, Kennedy explains, these establishments are not usually included in the term 'jazz education', 'because these institutions and teachers usually set out to convey a solid grounding in the rudiments of music (and not necessarily a pedagogy specific to jazz)'.⁶ In contrast, the formalised high school and degree-level jazz programmes that evolved from the 1940s onwards promoted specifically jazz-orientated syllabuses, focussing on jazz harmony, improvisation, ear training, composition and arrangement.⁷

The first instances of formalised jazz education in Britain occurred twenty years later, with a degree programme in 'Jazz, Popular and Light Music' at Leeds College of Music and summer schools offered by the London Schools Jazz Orchestra (later NYJO) both opening in 1965. This emergence of formalised jazz education in Britain coincided with a large-scale increase in the number of jazz programmes offered in America, as Kennedy explains:

It was during the 1960s that the American jazz-education movement began to crystallize. There was ... a doubling in the number of high school stage bands, a threefold increase in the number of colleges offering jazz-related courses for credit, and an almost sixfold increase in the number of competitive festivals. This decade also marked the appearance of pedagogical materials in which specific and specialized jazz-education ideologies became evident ... In 1968 the formation of the National Association of Jazz Educators (NAJE) helped to codify the movement, and

⁶ Gary Kennedy, 'Jazz Education', in Barry Kernfeld (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, 2nd Edition (New York: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2002), 396.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 396.

from the 1970s the expansion of jazz education has continued at a regular pace.⁸

A similar expansion took place in Britain in the 1980s (albeit on a smaller scale, due to the respective size of the countries). The Guildhall School of Music and Drama and the Royal Academy of Music began jazz courses in the late 1980s, and the Royal Welsh College of Music and Drama and the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland have offered jazz programmes since 2009.

In order to investigate the adoption of existing classical-music systems of education within jazz learning, I consider the differences between methods of learning used by musicians before and after the introduction of formalised degree courses in both countries. I take a different standpoint to Kennedy's, by defining pre- and post-formal jazz education in terms of context rather than musical content. Drawing upon data transcribed from the interviews I undertook with British jazz musicians and information from existing scholarship on the subject, I categorise methods of jazz education into informal and formal schools of training, with the former focussing on schemes of oral learning within performance and rehearsal contexts, and the latter on codified systems within educational establishments.⁹ Furthermore, a distinction can be drawn between an education actively sought by the musician (informal learning) and an education gained within the classroom or institutionalised situations (formal learning). In each situation I consider three elements of a jazz musician's development that are both

⁸ *Ibid.*, 398.

⁹ I borrow from Lucy Green's work on popular music education in making this distinction. Green writes: 'By "informal music learning" I mean a variety of approaches to acquiring musical skills and knowledge outside formal education settings ... I will use the expression "formal music education" to refer to instrumental and classroom music teachers' practices of teaching, training and education; and pupils' and students' experiences of learning and of being taught, educated or trained in a formal educational setting.' Lucy Green, 16.

fundamental and unique to jazz: the ability to interact with other jazz musicians in performance and rehearsal situations, familiarity with jazz repertoire, and improvisational ability.

The idea of a ‘jazz mentor’ recurs frequently throughout the course of this study. Jazz mentors are a common theme throughout jazz history, as indicated by numerous accounts from respected jazz musicians. Mentorships can take different forms, as jazz pianist and educator Charles Beale explains:

Apprenticeship often involves the learner in working with key mentors rather than teachers. Armstrong had King Oliver, for example. Mentors are sometimes just friends with big record collections or musicians seen in brief but crucial encounters where advice is given. They may also be older, more experienced players in a band who guide the learner’s developing practice. At the top level, mentors who have guided sidemen in the past include Art Blakey, Miles Davis, Woody Herman and Buddy Rich.¹⁰

For the purposes of this study, I am defining a mentor as a musician in the same field, who either has more experience and is looked up to (a ‘transgenerational mentor’), or is at the same level and going through similar educational experiences (a ‘peer mentor’). In this chapter, I draw the distinction between a mentor, whose educational relationship to a student is informal, and a teacher, who offers guidance within a formal educational setting. The differing roles and significance of the two types of educator in all of the educational contexts discussed sheds light upon the differing values and rewards of informal and formal educational systems, and their similarities and differences to existing classical-music systems.

¹⁰ Beale, ‘Jazz Education’, 759.

Interaction With Jazz Musicians

Almost by definition, musical education provides sites of interaction between musicians. In the classical world, these educational situations (be they private instrumental lessons or music-college courses) take the form of a clear-cut student-teacher relationship. Interactions between musicians in the jazz world are more fluid, and examples drawn from informal and formal educational patterns indicate a variety of methods of learning.

Aside from the informal jazz education gained at the schools mentioned earlier, much early informal jazz education in America was located in urban environments. The economic and social decline of New Orleans in the early twentieth century prompted many jazz musicians to move north to find work. This resulted in localised pockets of jazz musicians, in cities such as New York and Chicago. As Ake comments, the phenomenon of older and younger musicians living and working together in close proximity facilitated the sharing of knowledge and techniques:

Most obviously, mature musicians serve as teachers in the traditional sense: guiding beginners through the earliest stages of musicianship, including selecting an instrument, learning fingerings and embouchures, note reading, technical exercises, as well as the idiomatic songs, sounds, licks and other fundamentals of jazz.¹¹

This description encapsulates the idea of transgenerational mentoring in jazz. It is important to note that, at this early stage in the development of jazz and jazz education, this was an informal system, in which budding musicians actively sought out more experienced mentors. The above quotation suggests that young

¹¹ Ake, 'Learning Jazz, Teaching Jazz', 258.

musicians learning informally in this way built a familiarity with jazz repertoire and developed their improvisational style through interaction with informal transgenerational mentors. Berliner concurs, defining the interaction of different generations of jazz musicians within these urban settings as the ‘jazz community’. He writes:

Cities comprise the interstices of the jazz community’s larger network. At its center is Manhattan, regarded both as ‘a finishing school’ and a national stage where jazz artists can interact with the field’s greatest talents ... For almost a century, the jazz community has functioned as a large educational system for producing, preserving, and transmitting musical knowledge, preparing students for the artistic demands of a jazz career through its particularized methods and forums.¹²

These processes differ from classical musical education, for while transgenerational mentoring is also an important aspect of that system, it takes place within arranged private lessons or conservatoire programmes.

Other situations in urban locales facilitated informal methods of jazz learning. Musicians could learn through playing, gaining experience through jam sessions and cutting contests. Ake comments: ‘the competitive “cutting contest” mentality frequently underlying [jam sessions] also exposes each player’s ability in relation to his or her peers, while the almost inevitable “train wrecks” that occur in a musician’s first attempts should suggest areas requiring improvement.’¹³ The inherent differences between the fluid and improvised nature of jazz performed at jam sessions and the study of composed classical repertoire shows that this aspect of informal jazz education is not adopted from classical pedagogical systems. The competitive aspect of cutting contests (in which improvising jazz musicians try to outplay each other in terms of technique and improvising facility on a jam-session

¹² Berliner, 37.

¹³ Ake, ‘Learning jazz, teaching jazz’, 259.

stage) is no longer seen in the classical-music world.¹⁴ While competition does exist in classical music, it is not lived out in real time as it is in jazz, taking instead the form of entry competitions to European conservatoires and staged concerto and ‘young musician’ contests in which musicians take it in turns to perform whole pieces and are judged after the fact.

Jazz appreciation, and the idea that jazz was a music worth studying and replicating, took place later in Britain than in America. The Ministry of Labour ban on foreign musicians performing in Britain that took place from 1935 to 1956 had both direct and indirect consequences: employment opportunities for British musicians were protected, but the opportunity for informal transgenerational mentoring of budding musicians was initially removed.¹⁵

As explained in Chapter 2, British jazz appreciation in the 1930s focussed on imported jazz recordings, and took the form of Rhythm Clubs—a network of record appreciation societies.¹⁶ For aspiring British jazz musicians at this time, the combined result of the lack of live American jazz musicians and fans’ dependency on recordings rather than live jazz was an informal system of peer mentoring revolving around records. All of my interview subjects acknowledged the importance of recordings to their musical development, and the older group (Eddie Harvey and John C. Williams) placed a particular emphasis on listening to

¹⁴ There are historical accounts of virtuosic keyboard duels in the eighteenth century, with key figures being Handel, Scarlatti, Clementi and Mozart. This practice declined in the nineteenth century, and had died out by the time of the high Classical period. Neil Fisher reports Handel’s involvement in such competitive practices in ‘How Handel became England’s national treasure’, *The Times* (10 April 2009).

¹⁵ See Lewis, “‘A Pale Imitation?’: Racism and Chauvinism in British Jazz, 1935–1956’ for more information. See also Chapter 2.

¹⁶ Parsonage, *The Evolution of Jazz in Britain*, 72–4.

recordings with friends. Harvey (b. 1925, Blackpool), a trombonist, recalled sharing jazz records with a school friend in the 1930s. This friend was clarinetist Wally Fawkes, with whom he soon began playing regularly, and whom he considers an ‘artistic mentor’ despite the similarities in their age and experience.¹⁷ The two hired a rehearsal hall in Sidcup (South London), and began playing there regularly in an attempt to reproduce the New Orleans jazz of their record collections. Harvey’s relationship with Fawkes, his equal in age and experience, differs from the transgenerational mentoring shown in early American jazz education, forming instead an informal system of peer mentoring.

As an offshoot of his sessions with Fawkes, Harvey soon became a member of the first Dixieland revival group in England, George Webb’s Dixielanders. During his time with the Dixielanders, Harvey benefited from two kinds of informal mentoring, the aforementioned peer mentoring and an informal transgenerational mentoring from more experienced bandmembers (whose experience would have been in dance-band playing rather than this New Orleans style, as this was the first revival band). He stated:

If you get in a section and shut up, people will help you. Don’t come along with an ego or anything like that, just sit there and be quiet and then the old guys in the section will be very kind and they’ll show you what to do.¹⁸

Williams (b. 1943, London) was of a slightly younger generation than Harvey, and cited the trad jazz boom—of which Harvey was a key figure—as well as recordings as his earliest jazz inspiration and influence:

¹⁷ Harvey, interview with the author. Fawkes went on to become a close friend and ally of trumpeter Humphrey Lyttelton, sharing long-term employment as cartoonists (considered their ‘day job’) and New Orleans-style jazz musicians (their ‘night-time employment’).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

It was the British trad boom ... the bands like Chris Barber, and then later Humphrey Lyttelton, in the fifties ... But also, I was living in the North Kensington/Notting Hill area [of London] ... and of course, the influences there were fantastic as a teenager, because we had a lot of Jamaican musicians, there were a lot of Irish musicians living there—and I really encountered so many different cultural things. A friend of mine, Martin O'Harran, Irish lad ... played drums, and I remember he and I were the only white lads in one particular band we played in.¹⁹

As seen in American informal systems of jazz education, and like Harvey, Williams emphasised the importance of learning from those around him, and of learning through practice. This education took place in performance environments, rather than in isolated educational institutions.

In the absence of a formalised jazz education system, Harvey and Williams boosted their learning by playing in some of the many rehearsal bands that emerged in 1950s London. As their name suggests, rehearsal bands provided a place to play in a big band, working on technique and improvisation without working towards public performance. Both musicians highlighted the importance of working alongside more experienced members of these groups. Williams stated: 'when you start playing in bands, you've got the more experienced people in the sax section, and they can be quite helpful.'²⁰

Their experiences suggest that, until the 1960s, musicians that wanted to learn jazz in Britain had to be self-motivated, and teach themselves by watching, listening and actively seeking playing opportunities with other musicians. Indeed, Williams commented that '[I] didn't have any lessons until I started to earn some money [from playing jazz]. I thought that it was a good investment, that some of

¹⁹ John C. Williams.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

my gig money should go back into [private jazz lessons].²¹ This idea of informal jazz education being an active rather than a passive process can be noted in both American and British early jazz education, and is supported by a statement by Berliner: 'The jazz community's traditional educational system places its emphasis on learning rather than on teaching, shifting to students the responsibility for determining what they need to learn, how they will go about learning, and from whom.'²² The emphasis in both American and British informal jazz education was on learning from those around you, while playing jazz. The key difference between approaches in the two countries was dictated by the fact that American musicians could learn from their elders at an earlier point in time, while the first British jazz musicians had to rely on recordings.

The first examples of formalised jazz education took place in 1940s America, and took the form of jazz degrees offered at Schillinger House (later Berklee College of Music) in Boston, and the Westlake College of Music in Los Angeles in 1945 (now defunct), and North Texas State Teachers' College (later University of North Texas, but still frequently referred to as 'North Texas State') in 1947. Rather than offering specialised training in improvisation technique, at this stage these courses provided institutionalised sites in which jazz students could meet and play. Stewart writes: 'the two colleges with the oldest jazz programs, North Texas and Berklee ... emphasized big band performance and became recruiting grounds for bandleaders such as Woody Herman and Maynard Ferguson.'²³ The focus was therefore on peer mentoring and on gaining familiarity with jazz repertoire. The course at the University of North Texas in particular offered a

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Berliner, 51.

²³ Stewart, 42–3.

focus on big-band performance and repertoire. In 1944, M. E. Hall, a postgraduate student, completed a dissertation on a proposed dance-band curriculum. The emphasis on ensemble performance can be understood from the way the course was fashioned:

[Hall] returned in 1947 to institute a degree program in dance band. The program included the formation of the Two O'Clock Lab Band, the first performing dance band for which students were permitted to receive credit hours. As the jazz program grew, additional laboratory bands were needed to accommodate the numbers of students desiring to enrol.²⁴

Another facet of the mainstreaming of American jazz education at this time took the form of university lectures on the socio-historic context of jazz. The first of these lectures was given by Marshall Stearns at New York University in 1950, and was followed by Schuller at the Lenox Jazz Summer School later that decade.

In the late 1950s, the Lenox School of Jazz brought together practical and academic approaches to teaching jazz. It took the form of a summer school held in Lenox, Massachusetts, for three weeks each year from 1957 to 1960. In many ways, it grew out of established classical-music phenomena: the School began life as a derivative of the Music Inn, which was a music festival that ran from 1951 to 1960; took place in close proximity to the summer home of the Boston Symphony Orchestra at Tanglewood; and continued a series of roundtable discussions on the origins of musical styles given by Stearns through both incarnations of the festival/school.

The organisers of the Music Inn, Philip and Stephanie Barber, collaborated with modern jazz pianist and third-stream proponent John Lewis to organise the

²⁴ Anonymous, <<http://www.jazz.unt.edu/node/119>> (accessed 31 January 2011).

School. Its teaching staff included Gunther Schuller, Lennie Tristano, Bill Evans, George Russell, Bill Russo, Kenny Durham, Jim Hall, Jimmy Giuffre and Dave Brubeck. Classes included ensemble playing, composition and jazz theory, suggesting that students learnt both through peer mentoring from their associates and formal student-teacher relationships.²⁵ The informal transgenerational mentoring that was characteristic of early jazz education is absent from this formalised school of jazz. Russo, Tristano, and Schuller taught classes on the history of jazz. Schuller's courses in particular indicated a university-style focus on academic study, with titles such as 'The Analytical History of Jazz', 'The Relationship of Jazz to Classical Music', and 'Modern Music and Jazz'. The inclusion of history and analysis lectures aligns jazz education at Lenox with existing methods of teaching classical music.

In addition, each student received at least two private instrumental lessons a week. After the first year, these were given on an instrument different to the student's—a fact Michael Fitzgerald attributes to the predominance of piano students in 1957 (19 out of 36) and tutor Oscar Peterson's complaint that there was a tendency of piano students to concentrate too much on imitating their instructor's style, instead of gaining a solid grounding in jazz musicianship.²⁶ The practical focus on all-round jazz musicianship rather than instrument-specific virtuosity is a differentiating factor between this style of jazz education and classical conservatoires.

²⁵ A more extensive list of personnel, and more detail about the educational content of the Lenox School of Jazz is provided in Darius Brubeck, '1959: the beginning of beyond', in Cooke and Horn (eds.), 188–9.

²⁶ Michael Fitzgerald, 'The Lenox School of Jazz', <<http://www.jazzdiscography.com/Lenox/lenhom.html>> (accessed 7 April 2009).

From the late 1940s, jazz programmes in American high schools also burgeoned, with most schools forming a coached big band (known as a ‘stage band’). Within a few years, music publishers were producing graded arrangements for these ensembles—categorised into beginner, intermediate and advanced—which contained little if any room for improvisation.²⁷ By the 1950s, a tradition of regional and national big-band competitions (known as ‘stage band festivals’) had been established, in which school groups travelled to compete against one another in judged competitions. Again, it seems that the informal methods of learning on the street had been replaced with a formalised system. Interaction with musicians at the same level could occur, but the positioning of high-school band teachers as bandleaders meant that informal transgenerational mentoring no longer took place.

The beginnings of formal jazz education in America resulted in a geographical shift from purely urban locations. Alongside high school jazz bands (which existed all over America in the multitude of suburban high schools established in the early 1960s), many of the college jazz courses that were founded in the 1950s and ’60s were in rural locations. Ake terms the common understanding of jazz as a purely urban genre a ‘jazz myth’, and goes some way towards dispelling it in his 2010 monograph *Jazz Matters*. He explains that many alternatives to urban jazz learning exist, especially within formalised jazz education programmes:

America’s nonurban colleges and universities have long provided such ‘alternatives’. Names like Denton, Texas; Valencia, California; Bloomington, Indiana; Oberlin, Ohio; DeKalb, Illinois; and Greeley,

²⁷ Kennedy writes: ‘instrument makers and publishing companies began to hire professionals to conduct jazz workshops at educational institutions ... and to compose and arrange “school charts” (published scores and charts); such charts began to be “graded” in terms of difficulty, so that different versions of the same piece might be matched to variant levels of student performance skills within the jazz education market.’ Kennedy, 397.

Colorado, may not stir the jazz imagination in the way that New York City and other major metropolitan areas do, but campuses in these and other small towns now support and utilize jazz in ways that many larger cities don't.²⁸

In Britain, however, the urban location of jazz was crucial to the beginning of jazz education. The initial incarnation of NYJO as the 'London Schools Jazz Orchestra' betrays the significance of a city base. NYJO can be seen as the equivalent of the American high school and college bands, for although they are not a standard feature of British high schools, many counties and regions have youth jazz orchestras. The upper echelon of musicians aspire to play with NYJO, and many members travel across the country to attend rehearsals and performances.

NYJO began in 1965 as a weeklong summer school at the Marquee Club in London, with masterclasses held by established jazz musicians. In its early years, Graham Collier taught the arranging class, while John C. Williams instructed in improvisation, and Tubby Hayes advanced improvisation. It later became a weekly evening class, before adopting the coached Saturday morning rehearsal and frequent gig format that it retains today. During its history, the band has been coached by such American jazz greats as Maynard Ferguson and Phil Woods. NYJO's founder Bill Ashton adamantly emphasises that the band does not audition, and is not competitive:

We don't audition, people just come and play. People have tried to get us to audition in the way that the National Youth Orchestra audition, and you have a fixed band, and you've got a *place* ... Our best player that we've

²⁸ Ake, *Jazz Matters*, 110. Ake identifies four jazz mythologies that he believes underlie many understandings of jazz, and that he believes need shattering before a thorough jazz education can take place. The first is the idea that jazz developed only in urban locations; the second that an aesthetic of hipness is necessary for 'true' jazz to take place; the third the idea of nature versus nurture, that jazz musicians are born with their talent and cannot learn it; and the fourth the belief that jazz takes place outside the marketplace. *Jazz Matters*, 102–119.

ever had—Nigel Hitchcock, he said ‘if there had been auditions, I wouldn’t be a musician today.’ The good thing, when he first walked through the door, I said ‘sit down’, and he was sitting between Jamie Talbot and Dave Bishop. You know, he said, ‘you can’t buy that’. You learn by listening to the people next to you ... this is what jazz people have *always done*, the difference [from classical] being that the people are not very much older than you ... because you’re playing with people at your level, you get brought up to that level, that’s the way it works, and that’s the way it’s always worked for us.²⁹

Ashton actively and forcefully promotes the idea of peer mentoring as an educational force in NYJO, an opinion that is supported by Pete Long’s experiences in the band:

I started [rehearsing with NYJO] when I was at college, and I think that’s where the real upward curve in my development started, because ... I used to get to sit next to Nigel Hitchcock, which was worth more than any amount of time in any college. Because, he could—the thing about it is that ... you learn an instrument, you hear the guys on the records, and you know it sort of sounds different to how *you* sound, and there’s just this fourteen-year-old lump sitting next to you *making all those noises* and you can see him do it, he’s two foot away, and his saxophone is the same as yours, and you can actually watch him doing it, and you ask him—you know, it’s something—you can learn an enormous amount by that. Also, of course, you start building your contacts, and stocking little deps here, little gigs there ... this and that and the other, and it all starts to swell up.³⁰

While the opportunities for peer mentoring in NYJO are undeniable, it remains an educational institution, organised and overseen by older and more established jazz musicians in a prescribed educational role. The high levels of administration and the presence of more experienced musicians in a tutorial role provides an institutionalised space for peer mentoring.

Of the three younger musicians whom I interviewed (Long, O’Higgins, and Barnes), only Barnes studied on a jazz programme at a music college. He studied classical clarinet privately as a child before enrolling on the Leeds College of

²⁹ Ashton.

³⁰ Long, interview with the author. ‘Dep’ is a short-hand version of ‘deputising’, a word commonly used among musicians for hiring a substitute for a long term musical commitment.

Music jazz and light music degree in the 1980s. It is possible to differentiate his training from the aural-based learning of Harvey and Williams, for he learnt to read music from the outset, and claims to have been ‘tied to the paper’, although he does clarify that later ‘the ear became more important’.³¹ In the environment of the music college jazz course, Barnes had a ready-made peer group of like-minded musicians. Interestingly, he is also the only one of the younger group of interview subjects *not* to have attended NYJO, a fact he attributes to having had enough musical stimulation at college. Barnes recalls ‘in those days, it was entirely professional musicians teaching there’,³² belying Stuart Nicholson’s eccentric claim that only failed musicians teach at conservatories.³³ His interaction with more experienced jazz musicians was therefore formalised within an educational institution. While studying and afterwards, Barnes actively sought out older musicians, stating:

I’ve always latched onto people—even now, when I’m fifty. I guess I sort of look for father figures in music. I view it as a life-long apprenticeship, and you’re learning from the people around you.³⁴

O’Higgins and Long both studied classical clarinet at London conservatoires in the 1980s, and followed their jazz interests outside formal educational circumstances. O’Higgins explained that the decision to study classical clarinet was secondary to his desire to live in London, and to meet and play with jazz musicians outside college. He rejected the idea of attending the only existing British jazz course in Leeds:

³¹ Barnes.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Nicholson, *Is Jazz Dead?*, 115–16. Incidentally, the staff at Leeds College of Music remains primarily made up of professional musicians and composers who devote only part of their working lives to teaching.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

There were no courses in London at that time that did jazz. The Guildhall subsequently began a postgraduate one-year jazz course initially, but that was after [I left]...

The only place that did a jazz course was the Leeds College, and I just didn't want to be in Leeds. I wanted to be in London. I didn't see Leeds as being much of a progression from [his home-town] Derby, in terms of going to where it's happening.³⁵

Both musicians emphasised the importance of playing with and learning from their peers informally. O'Higgins commented:

I've learnt a lot—I still learn a lot—from my peers, guys who are very good saxophone players. It's great when you sit in a section with them, you're always swapping ideas, and ... that process never stops really, so long as you're open-minded enough and have enough humility to take it all on board.³⁶

Long also underscored the importance of peer-group mentoring, recalling:

I got to know a few fellows my age [while at college], and so we all used to hang out and do Aebersolds, and listen to stuff, and somebody'd buy a Goodman, somebody would buy the new Brecker record—I remember the one that came out with the EWI on it ... I remember just listening to that over and over again at somebody's house ... so it was all done through the grapevine really, my jazz education.³⁷

It is fascinating to consider that in all three of these examples of successful jazz musicians that undertook formalised conservatoire training, the educational influences that they found the most inspiring and rewarding took place within informal mentoring systems. Barnes, within a formal jazz programme, looked to more experienced musicians for (transgenerational) mentorship, while O'Higgins and Long, training classically, looked to their peers for guidance. The experiences of these musicians underscore the educational importance of Berliner's 'jazz community'.

³⁵ O'Higgins.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Long, interview with the author. Long's mention of 'Aebersolds' refers to the practice books and CDs produced as part of an improvisational method produced by saxophonist and educator Jamey Aebersold. Aebersold's method, and other codified methods of jazz pedagogy, are explained in greater detail later in this chapter.

The experiences of the musicians described here suggest that the adoption of classical styles of teaching in terms of classroom-based college tuition and formalised youth orchestras did not negate the need for informal mentors when learning jazz. While jazz courses at British music colleges did provide *peer* mentors, British jazz students still actively sought transgenerational mentors outside the institution.

Familiarity with Jazz Repertoire

I use the term ‘jazz repertoire’ to refer to the canonical big-band arrangements of the swing era. These arrangements are played and performed, and listened to on recordings, in many different contexts throughout America and Britain. Familiarity with this repertoire provides jazz musicians with the skill and confidence to play it in many different settings.

The commonly acknowledged idea of a ‘jazz canon’ resonates with classical music, in which numerous symphonic and chamber concerts worldwide draw repeatedly upon a relatively small core repertoire for performance and study. In this section, I first address the formation of the jazz canon, considering the musical features of canonical works and the decisions and processes that place them in the canon, before evaluating the changing environments and attitudes contributing to jazz musicians’ familiarity with jazz repertoire in informal and formal educational systems.

Historically, the idea of a musical canon came from the emergence of a repertoire of repeating ‘classics’. William Weber offers a historical survey of the development of the canon, explaining that the three main musical canons (the ‘scholarly canon’, the ‘pedagogical canon’ and the ‘performing canon’) were united by overarching themes of craft, repertory, criticism, and ideology.³⁸ Marcia Citron explains the nineteenth-century division of the classical musical canon into disciplinary and repertorial canons, in which the former takes a material form (scores and recordings) and is analysed and discussed within the academy, and the latter is perpetuated through repeated public performance of the same repertoire.³⁹

The canonical status ascribed to certain jazz artists and performances suggests an alignment with classical music values. Writing in 1995, Gabbard suggests a shift in the ways that jazz canons were formed and re-inscribed over the twentieth century. He suggests that the first canonisation of the music occurred in the 1920s when King Oliver replicated Louis Armstrong’s improvised solo on ‘West End Blues’.⁴⁰ This approach promoted the idea of a single artist, or *auteur*, in jazz, which echoes the ‘great man’ narrative found in classical music, and discussed in Chapter 1. Jazz discographies in the 1930s reinforced this idea, as Delaunay and his counterparts catalogued ensemble recordings under a single artist’s name. Gabbard also emphasises the celebration of romanticised jazz musicians in

³⁸ William Weber, ‘The History of Musical Canon’, in Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (eds.), *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 336–355. Don Michael Randel’s chapter ‘The Canons in the Musicological Toolbox’ suggests that musical works gain canonical status due to their suitability for musicological study, rather than for their appeal as compositions or performances. In Katharine Bergeron and Philip Bohlman (eds.) *Disciplining Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 10–21.

³⁹ Citron, 23.

⁴⁰ Gabbard, ‘The Jazz Canon and Its Consequences’, 8.

educational situations—a phenomenon that displays many characteristics of classical-music history and education.⁴¹

Educational systems define and reinforce musical canons, and in this respect jazz education again borrows from classical music. Citron comments on the endurance of the classical-musical canon in education:

Publishers of classroom anthologies wield considerable power ... publishers assist in the perpetuation of the academy's notion of canonicity, which in turn reflects the professoriate's value systems, which in turn reflect their own training and the myriad social components that make up their world view.⁴²

A parallel formation and repetition of a jazz canon can be seen in the existence of repertoire bands as a pedagogical tool. Certain arrangements (almost always in the big-band idiom) are considered a necessary part of a jazz musician's education, and are taught and performed as a fixed historical entity within formal jazz educational situations.

In 1940s Britain, Harvey and Fawkes became familiar with jazz repertoire by playing in George Webb's Dixielanders. Harvey recalled:

Wally and I rehearsed with George. We used to go over to his house, for a year and a half, at the weekend. We played [New Orleans-style, Eddie Condon and King Oliver repertoire]. We learnt these tunes by heart. I learnt the language of jazz through doing that ... the experience of doing it aurally was a terrific education.⁴³

In addition, the rehearsal bands that Harvey and Williams played with in 1950s London provided the opportunity to learn standard jazz repertoire. Williams recalled rehearsing regularly with a group run by tenor saxophonist Kathy Stobart

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴² Citron, 20.

⁴³ Harvey, interview with the author.

and her husband Bert Courtley, and explained the value of playing with musicians his own age as well as those with more experience:

They took us through standards and the big band charts. Don Weller was in the band, and lots of young aspiring jazz players. I remember Ronnie Ross came to take the saxophone section once. You'd got some of the finest British jazz players doing that, and it was completely organised from the grass roots. There was no funding going into it in any way at all.⁴⁴

It is therefore possible to see that as well as providing familiarity with core repertoire, British rehearsal bands provided an informal site for both peer mentoring and transgenerational mentoring.

The first jazz courses at American colleges offered a focus on ensemble performance. The jazz degree at the University of North Texas grew out of a dance-band course. Today, there is still a focus on ensemble performance, and students have the opportunity to play in a variety of ensembles for credit, including 'lab bands',⁴⁵ Latin jazz ensembles, small groups, and a Jazz Repertory Ensemble. The latter places an emphasis on learning existing, 'classic' jazz repertoire, and is described as

a learning and performing group dedicated to the collection, study, preservation, and recreation of classic music from the entire history of jazz. The group is committed to playing compositions and arrangements or recreations of classic recorded performances by such jazz legends as Fletcher Henderson, Count Basie, Duke Ellington, Benny Goodman, Woody Herman, Gil Evans, and Charles Mingus.⁴⁶

In this syllabus, it is possible to see a parallel with the construction of the classical canon from the works of a core group of esteemed composers. The adoption of existing classical-music frameworks through the construction of a jazz canon was

⁴⁴ John C. Williams.

⁴⁵ The nickname 'lab bands' is a truncation of the original term 'laboratory dance bands', reflecting the educational and stylistic purpose of the groups. The 'dance' part of the name was dropped in the 1960s, to reflect a diversification of musical content.

⁴⁶ Anonymous, <<http://www.jazz.unt.edu/node/119>> (accessed 31 January 2011).

evident through the 1970s repertory bands headed by Chuck Israels, George Wein and Martin Williams, as discussed in Chapter 2. The phenomenon was brought to mainstream attention by Wynton Marsalis in the late 1980s, as he became the artistic director and figurehead of the Lincoln Center's Classical Jazz programme.⁴⁷

Marsalis was born in New Orleans in 1961, and showed musical aptitude from a young age. His musical education was balanced between jazz and classical: he grew up playing New Orleans jazz in his home city, and performed the Haydn Trumpet Concerto with the New Orleans Philharmonic at the age of fourteen. In 1979 he began studying classical trumpet at the Juilliard School in New York, but dropped out the following summer to join Art Blakey's Jazz Messengers.⁴⁸

Blakey, alongside other experienced jazz musicians, provided informal mentorship to Marsalis. In addition, Marsalis benefited from intellectual mentoring from the musical and social critics Stanley Crouch and Albert Murray, who contributed to the formation of his controversial views on American jazz history.⁴⁹

Marsalis continued his classical and jazz performing careers simultaneously, becoming the first musician ever to win simultaneous Grammy awards in the two genres, both in 1983 and in 1984. The values of his classical training are exhibited

⁴⁷ Marsalis' actions in this field were followed in 1991 by the establishment of the Smithsonian Jazz Masterworks Orchestra, directed by Gunther Schuller and David Baker, and devoted to the repertory performance of the archived works held within the Smithsonian Institute.

⁴⁸ Anonymous, <<http://www.jalc.org>> (accessed 8 February 2011).

⁴⁹ Leslie Gourse, *Wynton Marsalis: Skain's Domain, A Biography* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1999), 104–8.

in his preference for reproducing older styles of jazz rather than promoting new styles.

In 1987, he became the musical director of a series of concerts at the Lincoln Center, entitled 'Classical Jazz'. Concerts in the first season included tributes to the music of Charlie Parker and Thelonious Monk, and an evening celebrating the contributions of women to jazz. Marsalis continued his musical agenda by filling the schedule with repertoire concerts, promoting the idea of jazz as a composed, fixed, historical entity. His biographer Leslie Gourse comments on the reasons for the alignment of jazz with classical music through the use of venue and the name of the programme:

The center wanted to use the name Classical Jazz, [George] Weisman [chairman of the Lincoln Center board at the time] recalled, to 'get it by the other constituents' who were eager 'to keep up the image of Lincoln Center as a place where classical [works] were presented' with a nice orderly group of people performing and attending.⁵⁰

The establishment in 1988 of the Lincoln Center Jazz Orchestra, a top-level ensemble under the direction of Marsalis, ensured that musicians and the listening public remained familiar with Marsalis' favoured repertoire. The high-profile nature of his position at Lincoln Center, and the publicity generated by his performing activities, enabled him to promote older styles of jazz. As Gourse comments, 'fame gave him a forum to air his views about what was important in jazz history; with great certainty, he expounded upon the value of the tradition from the early days of the century to about 1965.'⁵¹ In 1996, Classical Jazz was voted a full constituent of the Lincoln Center, 'equal in stature with the ten other organizations on campus including the New York Philharmonic, Metropolitan

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 191.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, ix.

Opera and New York City Ballet—a historic moment for jazz as an art form and for Lincoln Center as a cultural institution.’⁵² At this time, the programme was renamed ‘Jazz at Lincoln Center’. Similar programmes were founded elsewhere in the years that followed—for example, Carnegie Hall gained its own jazz orchestra under the direction of trumpeter Jon Faddis in 1990—indicating that this classicised repertorial method of performing and hearing jazz was widespread in America. A distinction can be made between repertory bands such as these and the rehearsal bands used as training grounds for musicians in Britain—‘repertory bands’ were an American phenomenon, which were often tied to an established cultural institution (such as the Lincoln Center or Carnegie Hall) and comprised a group of high-level professional musicians, working towards performances of the historic repertoire.⁵³ British ‘rehearsal bands’ provided opportunities for aspiring musicians to gain the technical and reportorial skills of playing in a big band, without the pressures of working towards public performance. I use a third term, ‘repertoire bands’, to describe coached bands within educational programmes, which combine the rehearsal function of rehearsal bands with the performances of repertory bands. Repertoire bands are a British equivalent to lab bands.

In addition, Marsalis’ activities in the field of jazz education promote the repertorial philosophy of jazz. Educational programmes at the Lincoln Center invite students to workshops and recitals, and Marsalis founded the Essentially Ellington High School Jazz Band Competition and Festival, which involves the

⁵² Anonymous, <<http://www.jalc.org>> (accessed 8 February 2011).

⁵³ Stewart provides a detailed and informative account of the emergence and popularity of repertory bands in America. ‘The Rise of Repertory Orchestras’, *Making the Scene*, 61–89.

mentoring of the most talented groups drawn from than 3500 high school jazz bands playing Ellington's repertoire.⁵⁴

While there is no institutionalised jazz repertoire movement on the scale of Jazz at the Lincoln Center in Britain, the London rehearsal bands of the 1950s marked the beginning of the British movement towards formalised jazz education. In 1961, Harvey took over the leadership of the rehearsal band at City Literary Institute (an establishment that still functions as a part-time adult education centre in Holborn, central London). He recalls this being a fruitful time for British jazz: 'I built [the band] up, and we had people like John Surman, Kenny Wheeler, Mike Gibbs—they were all in this band. It was a fantastic band.'⁵⁵ Before the emergence of jazz degrees at music colleges, rehearsal bands were an important site of jazz education, providing a place to learn standard arrangements, and to meet and network with more experienced musicians and one's peers (enabling both informal transgenerational mentoring and peer mentoring).

Like American college jazz courses, British conservatoires offer coached big bands, which rehearse and perform a mixture of standard repertoire and original material. There is a tendency at this level for repertoire bands in both America and Britain to become a site for reproduction rather than reinterpretation of canonical

⁵⁴ Stewart juxtaposes Marsalis' respect and admiration for older jazz musicians, and his reliance upon Murray and Crouch as mentors, with his controversial decision to replace many older musicians in his Lincoln Center Jazz Orchestra with musicians under the age of thirty in 1993. *Ibid.*, 278–308. These aspects of Marsalis' musical philosophy suggest a paradoxical and inconsistent approach to jazz, in which he valorises existing repertoire but not the musicians who play it.

⁵⁵ Harvey, interview with the author.

big-band arrangements, a phenomenon Long describes as ‘identical in its root morality’ to classical concerts of orchestral or chamber works.⁵⁶

When asked about the role of repertoire jazz in their professional lives after college, the three younger interview subjects displayed differing attitudes and opinions. The music of Duke Ellington recurred frequently in the conversations, a fact that can be attributed to the complexity and sophistication of his compositions (as explained in greater detail in Chapter 3), and the extensive library of Ellington/Strayhorn arrangements that exists.

Long emphasised the educational value of performing and listening to canonical jazz repertoire. He stressed the difference between consciously absorbing and learning from stylistic traits of different arrangers, and simply reproducing the notes on the page in a modern style:

You can hear things in the arrangement which maybe the recording engineer on the session missed. A lot of Ellington enthusiasts coming to my concerts would say that although they’re very familiar with the music, it was great to sit in front of the trombones and hear mainly trombones on *Cottontail*, because they heard all kinds of colours that the record doesn’t possess. And I think that’s a very valid reason for playing repertory jazz ... [As a musician] it’s good fun, it’s great study, and you get that superficial little rush of sounding like a genius.⁵⁷

It is possible to see echoes of the classical-music idea of the fixed musical work in Long’s reference to ‘the record’—an example of the classical-music bias exhibited by Lambert and discussed in Chapter 1, but here from a jazz musician’s perspective. Long was alone amongst the musicians interviewed in valuing the verbatim reproduction of repertoire. While O’Higgins and Barnes both spoke of

⁵⁶ Long, interview with the author.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

the value of jazz repertoire, they felt that the performer should rework material to reflect contemporary jazz values. Barnes comments:

I think if you can take music from the past and play it in your own way, then that's totally valid, but if you try and recreate [the music exactly] then it's completely pointless.⁵⁸

O'Higgins commented that recreating repertoire jazz 'straitjackets the improviser', thereby removing what he deemed the 'essence of jazz'. He added:

If you're doing the Ellington repertoire and you're playing an alto feature then you're kind of obligated to try and sound like Johnny Hodges ... If someone tries a completely different approach, it's probably just going to sound wrong.⁵⁹

Like Barnes, O'Higgins expressed the positive value of reworking jazz repertoire in a modern context, citing the Mingus Big Band as an example. In summary, the use of repertoire bands in formalised educational contexts can therefore be understood to serve a useful purpose—familiarising students with the repertoire and providing places for mentoring—but the value of jazz repertoire in professional life after study is limited. Familiarity with jazz repertoire is an ideology adopted from the classical music world, but its use in jazz differs by being predominantly an educational tool.

NYJO resembled a rehearsal band in its early years. Ashton explained that before the group became established and gained sponsorship and Arts Council funding, it relied upon donations of music from magnanimous 1960s British jazz band leaders. This had the dual effect of ensuring that the band played existing repertoire, and shaping the group's instrumentation. Ashton recalled:

We added flute because Harry South's library, which he gave us, had a flute as well as the saxes. So we had a flute ... and when people wrote new

⁵⁸ Barnes.

⁵⁹ O'Higgins.

things [for NYJO], they had a flute. French horn came because we were given one or two new charts from the New Jazz Orchestra, and one or two American charts had a French horn part, so we had a French horn from then. It meant a lot of work for me *adding* parts, because quite often you'd find that you were getting a chart from Woody Herman, who had three trombones, and Ellington had three trombones, and Basie used three trombones, and Buddy Rich used three trombones, and we use *five*. So you've either got to leave lots of people not playing anything, or you've got to create two more parts.⁶⁰

Harry South was a British jazz pianist, composer and arranger, who ran his own big band in the 1960s, comprised of such musicians as Tubby Hayes, Dick Morrissey, Phil Seaman, Ronnie Scott and Ian Carr. South arranged many original compositions for the band, so although the library NYJO inherited had been played by another ensemble, it did not belong to the canonical tradition of Ellington and Basie. Similarly, the New Jazz Orchestra, which was active from 1963 to 1970, contributed their library of original pieces.⁶¹ The modification of the instrumental line-up both enabled performance of these donated arrangements, and allowed more young instrumentalists to gain from the educational experience of NYJO. The group was never intended to be a rehearsal band in the long term, and the weekly rehearsal schedule is now punctuated by frequent paying gigs around Britain and overseas.

Once the reputation and stability of the group had been established, Ashton began to build up a library of original repertoire. He explained that anybody can bring along an original composition or an arrangement, which will be played by the band. He describes the self-selective process by which these arrangements are chosen for repeated rehearsal and performance:

⁶⁰ Ashton.

⁶¹ Carr describes the New Jazz Orchestra in the 1960s as 'a band of player-composers, its express purpose to perform the works of new writers, and so it became a crucible for some of the strongest talents of the British scene.' Carr, 7–8.

If the band don't like it, they're going to vote with their feet. At the end of the day, they're not being paid to be at that rehearsal. My players are coming there because they want to believe in the music that's in front of them.⁶²

NYJO original repertoire usually takes the form of original melodies using standard chord sequences (as with much of the bebop repertoire, these sequences are drawn mainly from the blues and Broadway songs). The arrangements are often given humorous titles that refer to the standard from which the sequence is drawn, for example 'U-turn', based on 'There Will Never Be Another You', and 'Have You Seen Them Cakes?' based on 'Have You Met Miss Jones?'. While NYJO does not provide a site for students to familiarise themselves with existing jazz repertoire, the use of standard chord sequences for original arrangements provides another crucial aspect of a jazz musician's education: a way of learning and practising improvisation.

Improvisational Ability

Improvisation can be defined as the construction and performance in real time of a melody (or in the case of rhythm-section players, chords and rhythms) usually over a given harmonic sequence, but in the case of certain styles (such as free jazz) without reference to a pre-determined chord progression. The process of improvisation draws upon the musician's facility on their instrument, their knowledge of the harmonic sequence, their ability to recall practised phrases and figures, and their ability to respond in real time to the music occurring elsewhere in the ensemble. From this description, it would seem that improvisation can only

⁶² *Ibid.*

be learnt through an assimilation of skills learnt through experience, but since the 1960s codified methods of teaching improvisation have been devised and taught. This section considers the implications of different methods of learning and teaching improvisation.

In 1930s Britain, Harvey recalled learning his improvisatory style from recordings, explaining that due to wartime restrictions on shellac production, he and his friends could only obtain one jazz recording a month:

I think this is really important in music, in jazz education in particular—you got one record a month, which meant that by the time you'd had it for a week, you'd played it lots of times, and you could sing it ... particularly the improvisation. And that's where I got my language from in jazz, from listening to early Basie and a lot of Duke Ellington things. It was all done by ear.⁶³

Williams also remembers the importance of recordings to his jazz development—in particular, citing an instance when he realised that by transcribing recordings of American jazz musicians, he could understand the improvisational patterns used. He explains that a typical practice session would consist of:

Playing along with records, and trying to work out what people were doing over chords, and I remember it was in 1960 I discovered ... how the altered dominant chord works from listening to Dexter Gordon playing 'Willow Weep for Me' on *Our Man in Paris* ... I realised he was just using all the upper [tones]—you know, sharp ninth, flattened ninth. Then that began to click. So I managed to sort of work it out by [ear]—I'd seen these chords written down, but I hadn't sort of realised how you could play effective things over them. So it was Dexter Gordon that turned me on to that.⁶⁴

In America, several codified systems of teaching improvisation emerged from the educators and musicians who attended the Lenox Jazz Summer School in the late 1950s. Notable Lenox students included Ornette Coleman, Don Cherry, Freddie

⁶³ Harvey, interview with the author.

⁶⁴ John C. Williams.

Hubbard, Chuck Israels, Don Ellis, Steve Kuhn, David Baker and Jamey Aebersold.⁶⁵ The presence of jazz academics and theoreticians alongside young practical jazz students enabled the testing and promotion of new systems of jazz education. Schuller disseminated his ideas on third stream at Lenox, while George Russell was able to explain and promote his Lydian Chromatic Concept of Tonal Organisation. Russell had published his theories in 1953 in a textbook of the same name, which was the first documented example of the ‘chord-scale system’, whereby a scale for improvisation is suggested for each chord that occurs in a progression.⁶⁶

Standardised systems for teaching jazz improvisation almost universally draw upon the harmonic language of bebop, and mostly utilise the chord-scale idea.

Ake explains:

Since the 1970s, the ‘chord-scale system’ has stood as the most widely used method for teaching jazz improvisation in college. This approach enables students to identify quickly a scale or mode that will offer the fewest ‘wrong notes’ against a given harmonic structure ... While this pedagogical approach does succeed for the most part in reducing ‘clams’ (notes heard as mistakes) and building ‘chops’ (virtuosity), it ignores important conceptions concerning timbre, rhythm, and musical interplay among players.⁶⁷

Several textbooks explaining the chord-scale system were published in the 1970s by Lenox-trained musicians such as David Baker and Jamey Aebersold.⁶⁸

Saxophonist Jamey Aebersold has built a commercial empire upon the concept of ‘play-along’ jazz practice books promoting the chord-scale system. In each volume, ten or so jazz melodies are provided alongside chord symbols and (in

⁶⁵ Brubeck, 188.

⁶⁶ George Russell, *The Lydian Chromatic Concept of Tonal Organization* (New York: Concept Publishing, 1953).

⁶⁷ Ake, ‘Learning Jazz, Teaching Jazz’, 266–67.

⁶⁸ For example, Baker’s *Advanced Improvisation* (Chicago: Maher Publications, 1974), and *Advanced Ear Training For the Jazz Musician* (Lebanon, IN: Studio PR, 1977).

volumes featuring simpler or modal harmonies and chord progressions) suggested scales for improvisation. Each book begins with a written introduction, explaining the nature and possible uses of different scales employed by bebop musicians. The books are accompanied by a backing CD featuring an all-star rhythm section playing the chord sequence a specified number of times. Each tune is transposed to the correct keys for all big-band instruments, and the bass and drums can be muted by playing only the left or right channel to convert the backing into a rhythm section practice tool. The books, and the summer school that was developed to teach this method in 1972, have proved phenomenally popular as a teaching and practice aid. At the time of writing, there are 113 volumes available. Examples 22a (bebop) and 22b (modal) show examples of Aebersold lead sheets with suggested chords and scales for improvising.

The melodic basis of the chord-scale system can be seen to sideline one of the key innovations of the bebop style, Charlie Parker's device of using the upper extensions of underlying chords to construct licks. In effect, the provision of such guidelines for jazz students simplifies the nature of post-bebop improvised jazz, for the elimination of 'wrong notes' also eradicates the extended harmonies created by meaningful placement of chord extensions.



12. Donna Lee



PLAY 8 TIMES (♩ = 192)

By Charlie Parker

Chord changes: AbΔ, F7, Bb7 3, Bb7, Bb-, Eb7, AbΔ, Eb-, Ab7, DbΔ, Gb7, AbΔ, F7, Bb7, Bb7 3, Bb-, Eb7, AbΔ, F7, Bb7 3, Bb7, Gø, C7+9, F-, C7+9, F-, C7+9 3, F-, Bø, C-, F7, Bb-, Eb7, AbΔ, Bb-, Eb7.

SOLOS

Chord changes: AbΔ, F7, Bb7, Bb-, Eb7, AbΔ, Eb-, Ab7, DbΔ, Gb7, AbΔ, F7, Bb7, Bb-, Eb7, AbΔ, F7, Bb7, Gø, C7+9, F-, C7+9, F-, C7+9, F-, Bø, C-, F7, Bb-, Eb7, AbΔ, Bb-, Eb7.

Abrupt ending on 1

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Example 22a. 'Donna Lee' in *"Bird" Goes Latin...*, Vol. 69, Jamey Aebersold Jazz Play-a-Long.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ (New Albany: Jamey Aebersold Jazz, Inc., 1995).



9. Maiden Voyage



PLAY 3 CHORUSES (♩ = 96)

By Herbie Hancock

Quickly memorize the four Dorlan chord/scales. Try thinking long, lyrical melodies. Improvise over the chord tones, too. Use repetition. Try singing with this track over and over.

Famous Recording: Herbie Hancock (Blue Note BST-84195/B21Y-46339)

The musical score for 'Maiden Voyage' is presented in three systems. The first system contains two staves of music with chords B-/E and D-/G. The second system, labeled 'BRIDGE', contains two staves with chords C-/F, Eb-, and B-/E. The third system, labeled 'SOLOS', contains three staves with chords B-/E, D-/G, C-/F, Eb-, and B-/E. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. A 'Repeat Twice & Fade Out' instruction is at the end of the solo section.

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25

Example 22b. 'Maiden Voyage' in *Maiden Voyage*, Vol. 54, Jamey Aebersold
Jazz Play-a-Long.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ (New Albany: Jamey Aebersold Jazz, Inc., 1992).

The advent of the chord-scale system, combined with the decline of commercial interest in jazz explained by Beale, inevitably led to a change in the ways in which musicians learnt and practiced improvisation. Not only did bebop become the common jazz language, but informal transgenerational mentoring declined. As aspiring jazz musicians could study chord-scale textbooks and practise privately with the accompanying recordings, interaction with more experienced musicians on the bandstand became less imperative. Beale sees a mirror of classical-music education in the codification of pedagogical methods for teaching improvisation and in the inevitable canonisation of jazz repertoire that is studied and taught, which leads to an inevitable and lamentable decline in ‘on-the-street’ experience:

The first bebop-related flowering of jazz education established important and influential norms. The tunes, arrangements, and later tape and CD ‘Music minus one’ style accompaniments from this era are still a key part of the world of jazz education repertoire over thirty years later. For some, this has tended to codify jazz education and slant the players it produces toward the mainstream styles and tunes of the United States and toward tunes that are deemed educationally useful as well as those that remain musically significant. Learners today are now faced in these materials with a set of specialized educational models and improvising methods deemed valuable ‘in themselves,’ as happened in classical music with Bach chorales. More formal methods have also sometimes led to current musicians becoming ‘star’ bandleaders and getting record deals before they are ready. Because they lack gigging experience and that crucial worldly wisdom that can only be gained on the road, they find it harder to control the musical and personal aspects of their careers.⁷¹

Monson extends this idea, explaining:

It is not enough for a musician to play through a tune with only its melody and harmonic structure in mind, as many jazz pedagogy books would have us believe; the player must be so thoroughly familiar with the basic

⁷¹ Beale, ‘Jazz Education’, 760–61. The idea of young musicians gaining more fame and notoriety than is justified by their experience is expanded by Nicholson, who writes of the jazz scene in the early 2000s: ‘The demands of the marketplace meant some young musicians had record contracts thrust upon them in advance of artistic maturity ... This tended to reinforce a narrowing of the perceived mainstream to the extent that the casual jazz follower in the late 1980s and for most of the 1990s could be forgiven for thinking the only show in town was the young lions.’ ‘The Jazz Mainstream 1990 to 2005’, in *Is Jazz Dead?*, 8–9.

framework of the tune that he or she can attend to what everyone else in the band is doing.⁷²

The basic premise of the chord-scale system is the idea that there is a ‘correct’ way to improvise. This falls into line with educational ideals of classical music, in which uniformity and stylistic conformity is valorised—in contrast to the unique and distinctive sounds and original ways of negotiating chord sequences that were previously prized in jazz.

The chord-scale system also allows mediocre jazz students to improvise to a competent level without a thorough understanding of theoretical and harmonic constructions. The widespread use of this pedagogical method in conservatoires has been criticised among musicologists and older jazz musicians. For example, London-based author and musicologist Stuart Nicholson states that the system leads to a ‘homogeniz[ing] effect of jazz education, because most students follow broadly similar pedagogic routes to graduation while at the same time following broadly similar sources of stylistic inspiration.’⁷³

European musicologists offer solutions for this perceived homogenisation of improvisatory style. Nicholson suggests that American methods of jazz education understand and encourage the notion of jazz repertoire and the chord-scale system as a fixed historical entity that has already taken place. His implication, that American jazz education is looking backwards rather than developing in new ways, assumes similarities with classical-music education in which existing repertoire and techniques are taught—an idea that brings the teaching of

⁷² Monson, 83.

⁷³ Nicholson, *Is Jazz Dead?*, 101.

improvisation in degree-level courses into line with the use of repertoire bands as an educational tool. His criticisms are undermined by his undeniably Euro-centric approach, in which he advocates European methods of jazz pedagogy, which ‘hungrily absorb[s] the American vocabulary of jazz’ while ‘modify[ing] it from a European perspective.’⁷⁴ Nicholson overtly exhibits a classical-music bias, suggesting that jazz students could benefit from studying classical music in parallel.

Whyton suggests that the stasis in jazz education seen by Nicholson could be resolved by an acceptance of the social nature of educational institutions among students, teachers, and commentators. He suggests that while jazz geniuses will not be born from the academy alone, institutionalised programmes can provide musicians with many of the tools for becoming a jazz musician. The following comment refers to both British and American jazz education:

Jazz pedagogical institutions are, on the one hand, linked to the fabric of society, in that they are funded by the government to provide training for students, and yet they are criticised for not being part of ‘real life’ ... the authentic jazz artist is portrayed as a product of the social, *not* the institution. Paradoxically, pedagogical institutions cannot be seen to be creating ‘artists’ as the genius figure is born out of nature; the institution is a *social* phenomenon, not a conduit for the divine to speak.⁷⁵

Rather than offering a solution, the American musicologist Ake suggests that critics and commentators need to accept that jazz education within colleges is the future, and the old systems of informally learning through performance and transgenerational mentorship are over. He emphasises the transfer of jazz education from the urban nightclub to the rural college:

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 118.

⁷⁵ Whyton, 161–2.

[schools are] where jazz musicians, good and not-so-good, now gather to learn from and play with one another; where audiences listen; where individual and communal identities are formed, tested, challenged, and reformed ... Ultimately, the fact that so many institutions now provide a home for widely differing understandings of and approaches to teaching, playing, and learning this music is a cause for celebration, not despair.⁷⁶

A different approach to teaching improvisation was adopted at the Third Stream Department at New England Conservatory (NEC) in Boston, Massachusetts. Gunther Schuller was president of the NEC between the years of 1967 and 1977, and during his tenure established the first degree-granting jazz course at a major classical conservatory in 1969, and in 1973 established a separate third-stream department in order to promote the fusion of jazz and classical music.⁷⁷ From its foundation, the third-stream department was chaired by pianist and composer Ran Blake, and had an educational focus on ear training and the development of a unique personal improvisatory voice. Blake has published several articles on this subject, and advocates an approach in which jazz melodies are memorised, internalised, and sung before the introduction of improvisatory elements from jazz and other musics.⁷⁸

In an introductory lecture to the third-stream course, Blake described the syllabus:

The curriculum includes three years of theory, musical literature, electives, private instruction on both the instrument and improvisation, and a four-year Third Stream Seminar. Most of the Freshmen obtain intensive ear training during the First Year. At first, many new students are surprised to discover this study extremely difficult because as mentioned earlier, a different mechanism of the body—the ear—is flexing its muscles for the first time.

⁷⁶ Ake, *Jazz Matters*, 119–20.

⁷⁷ Anonymous, <<http://necmusic.edu/archives/gunther-schuller>> (accessed 1 February 2011).

⁷⁸ An example of Blake's writing on this topic is Ran Blake, 'The Primacy of the Ear', *MENC Journal*, 1988.

Lessons are given via the Cassette. Single melodic and bass lines are reproduced by the voice. Later the student is encouraged to absorb both lines simultaneously. Rhythmical phrasing is emphasized. Still later the recognitions of chord qualities and chord quantities are introduced.

The Second Year attempts to widen the ear and also to promote a better developed passion for more sophisticated 20th Century musical [pieces]. Attention is also given to authentic rural and personal cabaret repertoire and to separate these from AM commercial duplications.

During the Third Year attention is given to structural hearing as well as to the development of the student's own color and dialect which are to be a part of his style.

During the Senior Year, he will concentrate on structuring his improvisations. These efforts take a relaxed, yet focused concentration. The Seminar also considers the future and possible occupations open to the student and how techniques he has studied at New England Conservatory might be employed.⁷⁹

The educational focus is clearly on ear training, vocal replication and improvisation, rather than the notation-heavy chord-scale system employed by many conservatoire jazz courses. In many ways, this represents the reverse of what might be expected from a classical-jazz fusion degree: in focussing on the aural internalisation of melodies and intervals, the ideology of the third-stream department indicates a return to learning through experience, in contrast to the notation and theory based chord-scale systems present in many contemporaneous jazz programs. A fascinating dichotomy is evident between the creative and progressive approach of NEC's third-stream programme and the retrospective adoption of codifications of bebop systems in jazz courses.

From an early stage in the history of the department, Blake encouraged students to explore their own musical heritage in their improvisation, and the ethos of the

⁷⁹ Ran Blake, 'Third Stream Lecture', *Academic Files and Course Syllabi*, Ran Blake Archive at the New England Conservatory of Music (accessed April 2010).

course shifted from a classical-jazz fusion to world music-jazz fusion. In a 1978 review of the department, Lisa Tabor explained:

Though not completely definable, third stream is, basically, the assimilation of jazz and classical techniques, adding folk or ethnic flavor. It is then internalized by the performer or composer to create something highly individualistic and completely different—from either jazz, classical, or folk.⁸⁰

It is ironic that the programme that initially sought to integrate classical forms and techniques with those of jazz should prove in many ways to be a more creative and progressive educational system. Unlike the numerous college jazz degrees that relied on the codified systems of bebop to teach improvisation, Blake urged students to synthesise styles in a new and creative way. He explains his understanding of third stream as process rather than product:

‘I stopped using Third Stream as a noun a few years ago,’ Blake notes, ‘because it had become a label for an anti-label music. Now I am more likely to simply talk about streaming, or to use the verb ‘to stream.’ I’ve come to appreciate that Third Stream is a process—*how* to create music, not what to call the music after it has been created.’⁸¹

The emphasis on creative improvisation and the development of an original voice represents an opposing ethos to the homogenising effect of the numerous bebop-influenced jazz degrees at other US conservatories. This ideological shift was compounded in 1991, when the third stream department was redesigned and renamed the ‘Contemporary Improvisation Department’. Despite the emphasis on ear training and internalisation of style, the third-stream program still represented a *taught* degree and therefore is part of formal American jazz education. While the content and approach is similar to that of earlier informal learning styles, the fact that it occurred within a formalised pedagogical environment changes its nature,

⁸⁰ Lisa Tabor, ‘Review: The Third Stream’, *Simmons Janus* (3 April 1978): 4. Ran Blake Archive at the New England Conservatory of Music (accessed April 2010)

⁸¹ Bob Blumenthal, ‘Third Stream at New England Conservatory’, *Jazz Educators Journal* (Dec/Jan 1987), R34. Ran Blake Archive at the New England Conservatory of Music (accessed April 2010).

meaning that students could passively absorb knowledge rather than actively seeking it.

In British formal jazz educational systems, the chord-scale approach seems to have been used as a practice aid but not as an educational route. The younger musicians that I spoke to all emphasised the importance of the mentors they worked with rather than chord-scale textbooks. Barnes, within a jazz college course (and therefore surrounded by jazz-playing peers), actively sought out more experienced musicians outside the institution. He spoke out against the harmonically-inclined system, stating that when he improvises, he:

[draws] from the melodic aspect of it, the actual *tune*. Generally, especially in bebop, you're tending to just play on the harmonies, with no reference to the melody, but I think it's really important that you're *playing the tune*.⁸²

Long remembered playing through Aebersold recordings with his informal peer mentors (outside his classical college course). Despite being on a classical clarinet course at the Guildhall, O'Higgins managed to persuade the college to organise some jazz lessons for him with clarinettist Tony Coe. Although these lessons took place as part of a formalised degree course within an educational institution, O'Higgins recalls his relationship with Coe resembling that of an informal transgenerational mentor:

Lessons with Tony were very interesting because he wasn't a literal teacher by any stretch of the imagination. Despite being such a well-schooled musician, his concept of teaching was just to shrug his shoulders and say 'I don't know, what can I do to help you?' ... And so we'd end up jamming, and I'd try to stop him, and isolate [interesting phrases].⁸³

⁸² Barnes.

⁸³ O'Higgins.

From the experiences of these musicians, it is possible to see that the chord-scale system was not such a defining aspect of British jazz education in the 1980s. Methods of learning and teaching improvisation in Britain resisted the classical values suggested by the chord-scale system until the turn of the twenty-first century, and the introduction of a uniquely British method of jazz education.

ABRSM Jazz Examinations

The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM) was formed in 1889 by Sir Alexander MacKenzie and Sir George Grove (principals of the Royal Academy of Music and the Royal College of Music respectively), in order to provide a non-commercial examining board for young musicians. At this stage, the examinations focussed purely on classical repertoire and were divided into Junior and Senior categories. In 1920 an examination of candidates' aural skills was added to the process, and in 1933 the examinations were re-categorised into the eight graded tiers that continue today.⁸⁴

Today, the examinations are available for vocalists, pianists and all orchestral instruments. The examination involves a recital of three pieces from a prescribed syllabus (focussing on canonical repertoire for the instrument, and modern technical studies), a test on scales and arpeggios, sight-reading and a test of aural skills. The graded examinations are accepted as a standard marker of ability in

⁸⁴ Anonymous, <<http://www.abrsm.org/about/beginning.html>> (accessed 10 February 2011).

classical music by ensembles at local and national levels, universities, and music colleges.

In the 1990s, a division of the ABRSM began work on a prospective jazz examination syllabus. The adoption of such a rigorous existing classical-music framework presented challenges. Harvey was one of the musicians working on this project, and he recalls:

When we were doing the trials for the grades, they gave us the pieces for the classical grades, and we looked at them, and wrote the [jazz] pieces and did some trials. And we found that in actual fact the preparation for the jazz grades was a lot longer than it was for the classical ones. In other words, the background training that you needed even at Grade 2 [jazz] was a lot longer.⁸⁵

Nonetheless, a syllabus was devised and published, and the first ABRSM jazz examinations for piano and ensembles took place in Spring 1999. (Examinations for flute, clarinet, saxophone, trumpet and trombone were added in 2003.) Mike Garrick, another musician in the project group, explained that jazz examinations were a legitimising force for the music:

This is real recognition that jazz has equal musical value to the whole of the Western classical tradition. Unlike others who pay ample lip service to this fact, the Associated Board is putting its money where its mouth is.⁸⁶

The requirements of the jazz examinations represented an amalgamation of the American chord-scale system and the existing classical examinations. Candidates were required to prepare and perform three pieces—a blues, a standard, and a contemporary jazz tune—from a published anthology. Each piece consisted of a printed head arrangement, with a set number of bars allocated for improvisation. The length of the improvisation varies from a few bars to several choruses. (See

⁸⁵ Harvey, interview with the author.

⁸⁶ Mike Garrick, quoted in Anonymous, 'New Jazz Syllabus Hits the Right Note', *Libretto* (May 1998): 3.

Example 23 for an example.) Candidates are also tested on scales and arpeggios—adapted for the jazz idiom by the inclusion of modes and dominant sevenths, and performed in both straight and swung quavers. A ‘quick study’ provides sight-reading assessment, although the candidate can choose to replicate it by ear if they prefer. The candidate is required to continue the quick study with improvisation—and a suggested scale is provided on the written version and stated before the beginning of the test for students playing by ear. Aural tests are clearly modified from the classical syllabus, with students required to clap the pulse of a passage played, sing phrases back to the examiner, and sing or play improvised responses to short phrases.

OSCAR'S BOOGALOO

Charles Beale

Straight 8s ♩ = 104 Funky

HEAD



5 1 5 3 2 1 E7 5 2

f

A7

to Coda ⊕

4

6

B7 Bb7 A7 E7

2 1 2 3 3

Break

9

7

SOLOS

E7 A7

13

E7 B7 Bb7

18

A7 E7

22

1 (2 etc.) last time only
Solo 24 bars in exam

⊕ CODA

B7 Bb7 A7 B7 Bb7 A7

25

(E blues) (E blues)

B7 Bb7 A7 E7 A7 A#° E/B B7 E7 E7

29

1 2

ff

• NOTES: Also try improvising using the blues scale on E throughout.

• RELATED LISTENING: Horace Silver Quintet: 'Song for my Father' from *Song for my Father* [Blue Note]

Example 23. Jazz Piano Pieces Grade 4.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ (Norfolk: Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, 1998).

While the formalisation of the study of jazz in Britain provided by these examinations provides legitimisation for the music as suggested by Garrick, an accompanying tutor book for jazz pianists and teachers advocates an adherence to old patterns of jazz learning. Harvey's introduction to *Jazz Piano From Scratch*, written by Charles Beale and published by the ABRSM in 1997, suggests that the most important tactics for improving one's jazz playing are: regular practice, listening to recordings, playing in a band with peers, finding a teacher or mentor, hearing live jazz, and working regularly on musical memory.⁸⁸ Perhaps the most interesting piece of advice concerns mentors:

Find a teacher or mentor. A 'critical friend', someone who really understands the style, can save you a lot of trial and error by inspiring you and pointing you in the right direction. If you are really dedicated, it may only take a few lessons, or one now and then, but all jazz musicians will tell you that the odd piece of advice from a respected jazz musician is invaluable.⁸⁹

The ABRSM jazz examinations represent the most obvious adoption of an existing classical-music education system for the purpose of teaching jazz. In instructing young musicians how best to 'succeed' (meaning to pass examinations) in this style, the ABRSM suggests a return to informal systems of peer and transgenerational mentoring. The paradox of formal jazz education is thus revealed: while learning chord scale systems and practicing alone can accelerate the process of learning to improvise, jazz musicians and jazz educators agree that it is not a substitute for learning through doing—seeking out jazz mentors to play with and observe in informal performance contexts.

⁸⁸ Eddie Harvey, 'Introduction', in Charles Beale, *Jazz Piano from Scratch* (Sussex: Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, 1998), vii-ix.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, ix.

Nicholson argues that the chord-scale system of teaching improvisation has led to decreased levels of spontaneity and originality in jazz students. While I can understand the rationale behind this viewpoint, I would argue that the most significant loss caused by formalised systems of jazz education is the removal of the need for interaction with other jazz musicians. The emergence and ready availability of textbooks and ‘music-minus-one’ backing recordings has made it possible for jazz musicians to practice improvisation and repertoire in isolation, referring to material resources rather than to peer or transgenerational mentors.

Conclusion

Early, informal methods of jazz education focussed on learning from those around the musician. Informal transgenerational mentoring could be seen in America in the bands headed by musicians such as Miles Davis and Art Blakey. In Britain, this educational pattern was echoed by rehearsal bands from the 1950s onwards.

A direct result of the increasing formalisation of American jazz education in the 1960s and 1970s was the replacement of jazz mentors with teachers and textbooks. A parallel formalisation of jazz occurred in Britain, but a key difference between the approaches of the two countries was that sites for informal mentoring were provided and encouraged in British institutions. NYJO encouraged peer mentoring from the beginning, and the ABRSM jazz examination guidelines suggest learning from fellow musicians in performance and rehearsal situations. In conclusion, while it can be seen that classical educational

approaches were adopted in the second half of the century in both countries, British institutions have shown a flexibility of ideology by encouraging informal systems of education within the institution.

Conclusion

The preceding chapters support the opening idea that values, features, and practices of classical music have played an important role in the development of jazz in America and in Britain. Initial differences in the emergence and establishment of jazz in the two countries—such as the temporal difference, and the cultural anxiety exhibited towards classical music in America, compared with a more relaxed attitude in Britain—led to markedly different performance and reception traditions in the earlier part of the century. Later, however, the narrowing of public and established views towards classical music and jazz in both countries, alongside the increased ease with which musicians could travel between the two countries, enabled a creative Anglo-American cultural exchange and transfer.

A major musical factor contributing to the emergence of jazz in the cultural and musical melting pot of New Orleans was the presence of classical music in the city—it was home to a French Opera House, and to regular operatic and symphonic performances. Early New Orleans jazz musicians such as Louis Armstrong, Sidney Bechet and Jelly Roll Morton all claimed to have been influenced by classical performances and recordings.¹ However, the influence of classical music on jazz was not limited to musical features—systems and frameworks borrowed and adapted from classical music include those of criticism, reception associated with concert venues, musical features of later styles, and pedagogy. This dissertation has outlined the interconnectedness of jazz and

¹ William H. Youngren, 'European Roots of Jazz', in Kirchner (ed.), 25–26.

classical music in America, and more specifically in Britain in the twentieth century, showing that once anachronistic and prejudicial views were abandoned, the relationship between modern classical music and contemporary jazz could be fruitful.

Chapter 1 showed that the spectre of classical music has always been present in writings about jazz, whether positioned as its musical and ethical opposite, or as a system of values to be upheld. Early American jazz writers criticised the associations of jazz with underground venues and different (seen as inferior) musical technique—for example the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*'s claim in 1918 that '[jazz's] musical value is nil, and its possibilities of harm are great.'² 1920s and 1930s jazz critics on both sides of the Atlantic began to see the musical worth of jazz—but it was always framed within the context of values from the classical-music world. R. D. Darrell in America highlighted the fact that Duke Ellington's compositions bore 'the indelible stamp of one mind'³—an auteurist view that was and is still common in the classical-music world but has since been debunked by jazz scholars. As early as 1940, Roger Pryor Dodge commented upon the musical contributions of trumpeter Bubber Miley to Ellington's repertoire, suggesting that the 'crystallising' of his solos formed part of the compositional process.⁴ In recent years, Walter van de Leur and John Howland have concurred, with the latter explaining that:

[A] team approach to the creative process was ... very much the norm in big band jazz where creative collaboration could include score contributions and refinements by band members, the individual improvisation components in a score, the contribution of improvised and paraphrased solos (where a player elaborated upon a precomposed passage

² Anonymous, 'Jass and Jassism', 8.

³ Darrell, 'Black Beauty', 59.

⁴ Roger Pryor Dodge, 'Bubber' (1940); reprinted in Mark Tucker (ed.), 457.

in a score) that became set score materials over time, the unique instrumental voices in any given orchestra, and so on. This was Ellington's compositional milieu.⁵

Wolfram Knauer, writing in 1990, saw this method of fixed solos with superficial elaborations as a means of achieving musical unity throughout the pieces as a whole.⁶ Musical unity has long been used as a positive criterion for evaluation of classical music, and from Darrell's reviews of Ellington's music in the 1920s was also applied to jazz. Both European and American writers searched for musical unity as a legitimising feature of jazz, as seen in Hodeir's analysis of 'Concerto for Cootie', and in Schuller's analysis of Sonny Rollins' 'Blue Seven'. Other American musicologists that have located thematic unity in jazz include Martin Williams and Thomas Owens—both of whom focussed on the bebop improvisations of Charlie Parker.⁷ Although he acknowledges the tradition of valorising jazz through the classical-music perspective of musical unity, Gabbard has recently suggested that the opposite may be true:

Parker's work might just as easily be discussed in terms of how he *destroys* the illusion of organic unity in his solos by inserting easily recognizable fragments from other musical traditions such as the Habanera from Bizet's *Carmen*, 'The Campbells Are Coming' and Alphonse Picou's clarinet solo from 'High Society'. Williams overlooked the ways in which Parker resisted recuperation into a Eurocentric aesthetic by in fact 'Signifyin(g)' upon it, as Henry Louis Gates Jr., might suggest.⁸

By bringing together these critical and scholarly perspectives on jazz, I have shown that the values and systems of classical music have always been present, whether in their original mis-fitting application, or whether reworked from a

⁵ Howland, 264.

⁶ Knauer gives as his example the first movement from Ellington's 1943 suite *Black, Brown and Beige*. He writes: 'Ellington deliberately tries to retain one motivic character for nearly eight-and-a-half minutes without establishing a relationship between the single parts through the usual chorus succession. His decision against allowing for improvisation in this section of *Black* is a conscious decision for a compositional shaping of the arrangement.' 'Simulated Improvisation', 27.

⁷ Martin Williams, *The Jazz Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970); Thomas Owens, *Bebop: the music and its players* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

⁸ Gabbard, 'Introduction: The Jazz Canon and Its Consequences', 13.

modern perspective. Recent trends in jazz scholarship have sought to eliminate the abrupt switches from ‘fan’ writing to ‘academic’ writing in jazz criticism, by placing detailed analyses within objectively narrated social contexts. The consideration of the influences that classical music had on the development of jazz has shown that classical critical systems can be appropriate for the evaluation of jazz, provided that they are derived from contemporaneous classical repertoire and placed within their historical context. As Cooke and Gabbard suggest, the use of anachronistic criteria from classical music to valorise and legitimise jazz cannot work, for jazz is a constantly evolving music, and must be considered within its contemporaneous musical and social context. Since the late 1980s, this approach has been adopted in America and in Britain, and is especially noticeable in current British jazz scholarship.

The adoption of outdated classical-music systems was also considered in Chapter 2. As Levine and Small explain, the venue characteristics and reception format of classical music that are in use today were established in the nineteenth century. I used these conventions and expectations as a framework to compare with varying venues and reception styles of jazz, presenting the idea that jazz could be mediated through the physical characteristics and audience expectations of the venues in which it was performed. Jazz and classical music venues and reception in America were strikingly different at the music’s birth, and this polarisation continued through the dancing audiences of the swing era. However, Benny Goodman’s 1938 Carnegie Hall concert signalled the beginning of a new cultural legitimisation for jazz, as the music was presented within the conventions of the classical concert hall, and the audience modified their appreciation of the music to

an acceptable format. The emergence of nightclubs designed specifically for the performance of modern jazz in the following decade saw the development of a reception style that was a modified form of the conventions of classical music.

In England, the venues in which jazz was performed and the ways in which it was received took a different path. Visiting American jazz musicians first performed as part of music hall acts, and were associated with on-stage dancers before transferring to dance halls for the benefit of dancing audiences. The removal of American jazz bands with the Ministry of Labour legislation of 1935 prompted the development of a network of record appreciation societies, and a new form of jazz reception began. Jazz fans that met in function rooms of public houses focussed their attention on the gramophones that played American jazz records, and listened to the music in silence—creating a new form of concert-style reception. When native musicians began emulating the New Orleans style jazz, they performed to the same audiences, in Rhythm Clubs and in established (classical) concert halls. Jazz concerts became more common with the growing popularity of swing and following the success of Goodman’s Carnegie Hall appearance. Humphrey Lyttelton commented in 1958 on the cultural legitimisation that performances in such venues accorded jazz:

In the thirties, when jazz was sucked into the maelstrom of the American music industry, the critics and ‘serious’ jazz-lovers undoubtedly tried to lift jazz above its station, to make a respectable woman of it, and there began a tendency to try and foist upon it all the trappings and paraphernalia of ‘serious’ music. It met with some success, especially in Britain, where we no doubt take more readily to the dignifying process. For example, the jazz concert is now a commonplace. No one seems to find it odd that dance music should be trotted out before a seated audience—no one, that is, except the musicians taking part, who look on it as a necessary evil to cater for large audiences. It is considered an extra feather in the cap of jazz if it can be presented in a hall normally reserved exclusively for serious music—like the Festival Hall in London or the

Philharmonic Hall in Liverpool. And it's fascinating to see how the jazz audience, once allowed into these august surroundings, take on an aspect practically indistinguishable from the 'classical' audience.⁹

As seen in 1940s America, the emergence of several London jazz clubs devoted to modern jazz in the 1950s provoked a more relaxed version of classical-music reception. The narrowing of the differences between classical music reception and that of jazz are clear from Harvey's recent comments on jazz in the concert hall:

I think things have eased up a little bit now, from what they used to be. The whole business of black tie, and all the rest of it, it used to be very awe-making ... it used to be that the places were so stiff with suits, and all the general aura, that it didn't seem to be a ideal place to play jazz in. But now people go in jeans and stuff, the whole feeling of concert halls has made it, from a jazz musician's point of view, much better. The difference between [jazz clubs and concert halls] is not as big now as it used to be. And of course, the well-known musicians that do more concerts feel comfortable in either environment.¹⁰

Harvey's comments show that jazz performance and reception in classical venues has become more appropriate over the decades, with the relaxing of classical-music conventions, and the development and increasing formalisation of conventions within jazz clubs. As in the writings discussed in Chapter 1, the adoption and manipulation of contemporary classical-music attitudes and practices can be suitable for jazz in both America and Britain.

The ideology and examples of Gunther Schuller's 1950s third stream provided the backdrop for the study of musical intersections of classical and jazz in Chapter 3. By proclaiming in advance that third stream would provide an equal fusion of classical and jazz, Schuller perhaps invited criticism. Using contemporaneous and later evaluations of third stream and a detailed analysis of British and American examples of the style, I identified conflicts between the scholarly expectations and

⁹ Lyttelton, *Second Chorus*, 25.

¹⁰ Harvey, interview with the author.

musical achievements of third stream. Instrumentation, rhythmic interpretation, formal design, the use of improvisation, and jazz harmony proved problematic for third-stream composers. I then used these areas of potential musical disunity as the starting point for an analysis of jazz styles containing these musical features—all of which did so without the lack of interaction of the two styles bemoaned by detractors of third stream.¹¹ By examining the role of improvisation in three versions of Duke Ellington's swing composition *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue* (1937, 1953 and 1956), the use of acoustic instrumentation in Chick Corea's 'No Mystery' (1975), and the integration of classical and jazz musical forces and rhythmic elements in Django Bates' *Tentle Moments* (1989) and Maria Schneider's *Wyrgly* (1989), I showed that such areas of musical tension could be exploited creatively, in order to create interesting and extraordinary compositions. Rather than locating the superficial adoption of features of jazz in classical music or vice versa (as suggested in Darrell's and Lambert's appraisal of Ellington's repertoire), this chapter explained that there has always been a healthy exchange of musical ideas between classical music and jazz.

Chapter 4 explained the development of formalised systems of jazz education in Britain and America, focussing on the adoption of established classical-music pedagogical systems and frameworks. I categorised methods of education into informal and formal systems in order to chart the temporal and methodological differences between developments in the United States and in Britain, before assessing the ways in which aspiring jazz musicians in each country learnt how to interact with other jazz musicians, vocabulary for jazz improvisation, and

¹¹ Brenna.

familiarity with jazz repertoire in each situation. A recurring theme of the chapter was the role of the ‘jazz mentor’ (an informal tutor) in each situation. The rise of formalised jazz education in both countries over the half-century has resulted in a relative decline in informal jazz education—which was proven to be a crucial and fundamental part of the jazz musician’s development. The adoption of classical methods in the case of jazz education proved to be less successful than those considered in earlier chapters. Although college jazz courses are extremely popular and financially viable for the institutions, they produce hundreds of ‘qualified’ jazz musicians a year that are not experienced in the defining qualities of a working jazz musician. This chapter expands and extends previous studies of jazz education by exploring British institutions, and by considering the importance of these informal experiences.

Some running themes became apparent throughout the course of this dissertation: the central decade of the 1950s encourages a focus on bebop; and the academic study of jazz is bound to be intertwined with the significance of recording technology and recordings.

The musical rules and surrounding conventions of bebop have impacted significantly on the development of jazz. In Chapter 1, I explained Gendron’s conviction that warring critical factions of ‘modernists’ and ‘moldy figs’ around the emergence of the bebop style ensured the construction of an ‘aesthetic discourse’ for jazz.¹² In Chapter 2, I detailed the development of an art-music style reception for bebop that differed from classical music—the nature and layout

¹² Gendron, “‘Moldy Figs’ and Modernists: Jazz at War (1942–1946)”, 34.

of dedicated jazz clubs in the 1950s encouraged audiences to listen to the music in near silence, but allowed a freedom of movement and seating plans that could not be seen in classical concert halls. The head-solo-head structure of bebop performances, and the musicians' focus on improvisation and virtuosity also did not mirror contemporaneous classical-music practices. The incorporation of bebop-style improvised solos into third-stream repertoire, and the verticalisation of added harmonies that could otherwise be heard as accented dissonances in bebop improvisations, indicate the importance of the bebop style to the jazz-classical fusions analysed in Chapter 3. Bebop harmonies and improvisatory patterns form the basis of the formalised pedagogical systems discussed in Chapter 4. These are but some examples of the many ways in which the bebop style has influenced the development of jazz, its interaction with classical-music traditions and practices, and the emergence of an art-music aesthetic unique to jazz.

Recordings of jazz have provided a focus for all aspects of this study. In Chapter 1, I explained the development of an early jazz criticism based on record reviews—although this often had the classicising effect of encouraging an auteuristic reading of jazz history, or a classically biased understanding of a single jazz recording as a fixed musical work. Discographies, which were a popular cataloguing method adopted by French and British jazz fans from the 1930s, also encouraged a narrative of jazz history punctuated by 'great men' figures, creating an implicit parallel with the accepted history of classical music. This classical-music style narrative was reinforced by Schuller's two-volume history of jazz, in which he claimed to have listened to, analysed, and if necessary discussed

‘virtually every record made, from the advent of jazz recordings through the early 1930s’.¹³ Recorded jazz was fundamental to the development of hot clubs and Rhythm Clubs, in which jazz music was ascribed an art-music status by different means to those seen in the classical world, as explained in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, I resolved the difficulty of analytical methods for third-stream case studies by referring both to published scores and specific recordings. This is a suitable approach to the study of music, particularly third stream and heavily composed jazz works that contain significant amounts of improvisation. Chapter 4 showed the educational importance of jazz recordings. In the early years of jazz, budding musicians studied and imitated recordings. These informal practices gave way to the development of recorded educational tools—for example the Aebersold backing CDs, which prompted a new and individualistic way for jazz students to learn their craft. All of these methods of utilising recordings rely upon *existing* recordings. However, the recording process itself and the recording studio as performance venue deserve further study.

Directions for Future Research

This dissertation has illustrated some of the ways in which classical-music traditions and practices have implicitly affected jazz in Britain and America. I have provided a succinct and historically informed case for the interaction of classical music and jazz in the four areas considered. However, the hybrid nature of jazz is not limited to the absorption of classical music features: applying the

¹³ Schuller, *Early Jazz*, ix.

same research methods to the influences of African music, Latin styles or countless other local styles would be fruitful research areas. Indeed, the evaluative framework provided in this dissertation need not be restricted to influences on jazz, but could include other musical styles and traditions. Future projects could also include the expansion of this methodology to show a wider legitimization of popular culture in the twentieth century, as exemplified by my next planned project, which will utilise a similar methodology to explain the cultural connotations of classical music influences in the independent rock albums and career choices of Rufus Wainwright.

Each chapter of this dissertation has illustrated that practices, traditions and techniques from the classical-music world can be and have been adopted to positive effect by jazz musicians, writers and fans. My approach is innovative, supplying a fresh perspective on under-studied jazz in the second half of the twentieth century. By focussing my attention on the developments in jazz and the surrounding practices, before exploring ways in which approaches from classical music have been adopted, I have turned the traditional scheme of investigation on its head. My own experiences as a performer and scholar of both musical disciplines have helped me to see the possibility of a healthy relationship between the two, and I have illustrated the crucial but under-acknowledged role of classical music in the development of jazz in Britain as well as in America. In the past, problems have arisen when jazz has been evaluated, received, composed or taught using out-of-date frameworks from the classical-music tradition. The history of jazz has been intertwined with the traditions of classical music since its birth, but while many of the classical canons and associated practices have remained fixed

in anachronistic nineteenth-century beliefs and ideologies, jazz and its traditions have developed. Once we accept that jazz is a living music and must be judged accordingly, then the continuing creative interaction of values, traditions and discourses of jazz and contemporary classical music will be assured.

Appendix 1: Biographies of interview subjects.

Eddie Harvey (b. 1925, Blackpool) is a pianist and trombonist who played an important role in Britain's post-war traditional jazz revival. In the early 1940s, he was trombonist in the first well-known trad revival band in Britain, George Webb's Dixielanders. In the later 1940s, Harvey straddled the trad/bebop divide when a chance meeting with John Dankworth prompted an interest in modern jazz. He played extensively with the Dankworth Seven during the 1950s and 1960s, alongside playing in many big bands. Harvey was also pianist in Humphrey Lyttelton's band from 1962 to 1970, alongside reinventing himself as a teacher and jazz educator during the pop and rock explosion of the 1960s. He has played an important role in the development of jazz education in Britain, in his position as Head of Jazz Studies at the London College of Music, and advisor and composer for the recent Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music Jazz Syllabus. Harvey is also a well-known and respected jazz composer and arranger.

Bill Ashton (b. 1936, Blackpool) is an erstwhile saxophonist who came to prominence when he founded the London Schools Jazz Orchestra, which was renamed the National Youth Jazz Orchestra (NYJO), in 1963. NYJO originally ran as a non-residential week-long course in school holidays, between 1964 and 1969, before the current weekly rehearsal and regular gig system was established. NYJO has played an important educational role for hundreds of young British jazz musicians, introducing them to the world of repertoire bands and jazz life, and acting as a springboard for their musical careers. At the time of this interview

(October 2009), Ashton was still active as the musical director, but the system is currently under review as he reaches retirement.

John C. Williams (b. 1943, London) is a freelance saxophonist who grew up surrounded by the sounds of the British Dixieland revival and bebop trend in London. He played with many of the London rehearsal bands as a young musician in the 1950s, and has acted as musical director and composer/arranger for many influential jazz projects. During the 1970s, Williams was a member of the fifty-piece jazz/progressive rock band Centipede, which was an important part of the jazz/rock fusion movement of the time. During the later 1970s he toured Europe with such outfits as Joe Gallivan's Intercontinental Express. Williams moved from London to Ratlinghope, South Shropshire, in 1980, and founded a jazz festival there the following year. The 'Music at Leasowes Bank' festival continues to be a major jazz draw for big names. He continues to perform regularly, in a wide variety of styles—the current economic climate does not allow for him to play solely jazz.

Alan Barnes (b.1959, Yorkshire) is a freelance saxophonist specialising in the bebop style. He began playing jazz professionally before beginning the (relatively new) jazz course at Leeds College of Music in 1977, and continued performing professionally throughout his studies. Barnes graduated and moved to London in 1980, but is the only one of my interview subjects never to have been involved with NYJO. From 1987 to 1997 Barnes led the Pizza Express Modern Jazz Sextet with Dave O'Higgins and trumpeter Gerard Presencer. He writes the majority of his own material, and works with a band to perform that material. His latest

project at the time of interview (November 2009) is an octet performing reworked versions of obscure Ellington charts. Barnes is also heavily involved in educational work with youth jazz bands nationwide.

Dave O'Higgins (b. 1960, Birmingham) is a freelance bebop saxophonist. He grew up in Derby, and moved to London in his late teens to study on the joint academic/practical music degree offered by City University and the Guildhall College of Music. While studying at the Guildhall he formed a jazz quintet with Alec Dankworth on bass and Steve Waterman on trumpet, alongside playing with NYJO. He joined the John Dankworth band in the 1980s. O'Higgins also played with the virtuosic saxophone quartet Itchy Fingers during the later 1980s. He has played as a sideman for many big names in jazz, and currently tours with his own sextet. O'Higgins is active in jazz education, running workshops in schools alongside his regular position as saxophone tutor at the London Centre for Contemporary Music (LCCM) and Goldsmiths College, University of London.

Saxophonist Pete Long (b. 1965, Croydon) trained at the London College of Music, and also cites playing in NYJO alongside his studies as a crucial part of his musical development. Long also played with Itchy Fingers in the 1980s, and performed with the Jools Holland Rhythm and Blues Band for many years. He is now musical director and MC of the Ronnie Scott's All Stars Big Band. Long is also active in jazz education, and coaches weekly rehearsals with the University of London Big Band.

Appendix 2. Alternation of classical and jazz musical material and ensembles in *Concertino for Jazz Quartet and Orchestra* (Gunther Schuller).¹

Movement/ Tempo marking	Bar	Musical features	Time on Recording
1: Slow	1	Muted strings introduction.	00:00
Crotchet = 126–132	9	Drums play swing rhythm in 5/4.	00:34
	11	Ad lib. piano.	00:40
	22	Ad lib. piano and vibraphone, accompanied by bass and drums. Orchestra <i>tacet</i> .	01:09
	33	Ad lib. quartet, accompanied by sustained syncopated chords in orchestral brass.	01:36
	44	Ad lib. quartet, accompanied by sustained orchestral chords.	02:03
	132	<i>Tacet</i> quartet except for improvised drum breaks on beats 4 and 5 of b. 136 and 138.	05:35
	143	<i>Tacet</i> quartet. Orchestral closing material and fade out.	06:00
2: Passacaglia. Crotchet = 80	1	Loud orchestral introduction.	00:00
Crotchet = 60.	7	Orchestra <i>tacet</i> . Notated drum and bass solo.	00:23
	18	Orchestra <i>tacet</i> . Quartet play notated material.	01:08
	31	Vibraphone solo pick-up. Quartet improvise.	01:57
	43	Orchestra re-enter with understated accompanying figures. Quartet ad lib.	02:44
	93	Orchestra <i>tacet</i> . Solo fragments and sustained chord from quartet to close.	05:54
3: Untitled. Crotchet = 88.	1	Orchestral opening.	00:00
	10	Notated theme (incorporating both major and minor thirds/sixths) introduced by piano.	00:49
	23	Quartet improvise, accompanied by sustained orchestral chords.	01:44
	49	<i>Tacet</i> orchestra. Quartet improvise.	03:08
	86	<i>Pizzicato</i> orchestral strings accompany improvising quartet.	03:50
	178	Quartet <i>tacet</i> , orchestral close.	05:27

¹ *The Modern Jazz Quartet and Orchestra* (USA: Atlantic, 1959).

Appendix 3. Alternation of classical and jazz musical material and ensembles in *Improvisations for Jazz Band and Symphony Orchestra* (John Dankworth and Mátyás Seiber).²

Tempo marking	Bar number	Musical features	Time on Recording
Allegro	1	Orchestral exposition of first theme.	00:00
	30	Timpani solo followed by snare drum triplet figure.	00:42
	35	Jazz band interpretation of first theme, punctuated by block chords in orchestra.	00:51
	71	Timpani roll.	01:45
	73	Improvised solos from alto saxophone, tenor saxophone, trombone and trumpet.	01:48
	130	Percussion solo.	03:16
	135	Percussion solo continues under <i>pizzicato</i> string riff which leads into an improvised trombone solo at b. 142, followed by collective improvisation from jazz band.	03:30
	171	Both ensembles play notated material based on earlier themes.	04:15
	195	<i>Lunga Pausa.</i>	04:55
Lento	196	Sustained chords in orchestral strings and woodwinds.	04:59
	202	Notated tenor saxophone solo. 'Cello countermelody, woodwinds and other saxophones join from 213.	05:21
	221	Sustained chord in both ensembles.	06:49
	227	Triplet figures in both ensembles.	07:07
	233	<i>Lunga Pausa.</i>	07:21
Allegro (tempo primo)	234	Both ensembles play material from opening section.	07:41
	248	Flutter-tongued <i>tutti</i> chord.	08:02
	296	Improvised drum solo.	08:58
	298	<i>Lunga Pausa.</i>	09:32
	299	Both ensembles play material from opening section, incorporating triplet figures.	09:33

² John Dankworth and the London Philharmonic Orchestra: *Collaboration!* (London: Roulette Records, 1960).

Appendix 4. Musical content of *All About Rosie* (George Russell).³

Movement/Tempo	Bar	Musical features	Time on Recording
1. Fast Crotchet = 240 (duple time)	1	Melody based on <i>Rosie, Little Rosie</i> tune played by brass and saxes. Syncopated accompaniment in rhythm section.	00:00
	48	Material in changing meter (alternating 2/2 and 3/2).	00:48
	61	Reworking of opening two melodies in 3/2.	01:01
2. Slow Crotchet = 66 (common time)	1	Syncopated (notated) bluesy melody featuring both major and minor thirds in tenor saxophone. Accompanied by similar figures in bassoon, piano, flute and alto saxophone.	02:15
	20	Alto/tenor saxophone harmonisation of opening melody, accompanied by stride piano and swing rhythms on drumkit. Texture builds with addition of heterophonic lines from b. 36 (rehearsal mark F).	03:31
	44	Texture thins to tenor solo (accompanied by flute and trumpet) playing slow melody. Improvisatory fragments to end.	05:04
3. Fast Minim = 120 (duple time)	1	Segues from movement 2 with syncopated drum solo.	05:48
	9	Brass play harmonization of <i>Rosie, Little Rosie (RLR)</i> theme, while saxophones play long accompanying melody.	05:55
	45	Rehearsal mark C. Swing interpretation of <i>RLR</i> melody.	06:24
	80	Unaccompanied improvised piano solo.	07:07
	208	Alto saxophone solo with brass backings. (This section is repeated twice for trumpet and vibraphone solo, but this is not marked on the score).	08:53
	250	Improvised tenor saxophone solo over band backing figures.	10:21
	283	Band recap opening melody.	10:45
	303	Ensemble dotted figures at beginning of each bar in 3/2 to end. This functions as a coda.	11:06

³ *The Birth of the Third Stream* (New York: Columbia Legacy, 1996).

**Appendix 5. *Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue*, Content of Recording, 1937
Duke Ellington and His Famous Orchestra (Duke Ellington).⁴**

‘Diminuendo in Blue’

Time on Recording	Key	Musical Features
00:00:00	E	Full band enter, with unison clarinets and alto and tenor saxophone playing a 3/4 quaver figure, and brass playing sustained 3/4 figures. The blues is referenced through the use of the flattened seventh and minor third.
00:37:00	G	Two-bar call and response between brass and saxophones, ascending and descending melodically. No piano can be heard in this section.
01:06:00	C	Short (half to one bar) call and response phrases between saxophones and trumpets. Phrases cross beat and barline divisions.
01:22:00	A \flat	Four-bar phrases outlining minor third in trombones, shorter answering phrases of similar melodic nature in saxophones.
01:36:00	D \flat	Saxophone <i>sol</i> i – lyrical melody based on four-bar phrases with syncopation across barlines.
01:56:00	D \flat	Texture thins to <i>legato</i> riffs in saxophones, over solo growling trumpet figures. Ellington’s earlier jungle style is referenced through the timbre of the trumpet and further use of the minor-third interval. No piano can be heard here, although bass and drums continue 4/4 movement.
02:10:00	D \flat	Baritone saxophone solo, accompanied by short minor-third figures. Baritone plays a six-bar improvisation within a 12-bar blues framework.
02:24:00	D \flat	Piano and rhythm section interlude. Piano plays descending syncopated two-bar figures, which decreases in volume and slows over a chorus, before vamping on the tonic riff to fade out. These figures are a foreshadowing of the interlude in later recordings of the work.

‘Crescendo in Blue’

Time on Recording	Key	Musical Features
00:00:00	E \flat throughout	Clarinets play unison low riff, answered by longer figures in trombones in simple harmony.
00:55:00	E \flat	Improvised clarinet solo in two-bar spaces between band figures.
02:24:00	E \flat	High trumpet solo over band riffs.

⁴ Harry Carney’s baritone saxophone solo takes place at 02:12 on *Duke Ellington: the 1953 Pasadena Concert* (GNP/Crescendo, 1989), and at 03:04 on *Duke Ellington at Newport* (Columbia Jazz Legacy, originally recorded 1956, re-released 1999).

Appendix 6. *Tentle Morments* musical content (Django Bates).⁵

Tempo	Bar	Musical Content	Time on Recording
Crotchet = c. 146	1	Reference to orchestral tuning: oboe plays concert pitch A, strings tune, and trumpet plays an arpeggiated figure.	00:00
	9	Syncopated dance figures emerge from opening material. Orchestral instruments play exaggerated classical figures.	00:13
	95	Effect of a general pause is created by an ensemble crescendo to a <i>fff</i> chord, which immediately subsides to a <i>mezzoforte</i> bassoon figure. Percussion <i>tacet</i> .	02:17
	102	Open-ended ‘angry young men’ ensemble improvisation. No chord symbols are given.	02:22
	103	Material derived from syncopated figures from b. 9	02:48
	110	Sustained low C in bassoon, contrabassoon, double bass and timpani. Ascending harp arpeggio of 4 octaves.	02:56
Crotchet = 70	113	Improvised tenor saxophone solo, accompanied by countermelody in orchestral strings and keyboard and notated melody line played by jazz bass.	03:02
	131	Accompanying melody is played by oboe d’amore, while tenor saxophone is instructed to play ‘sparsely’.	03:58
	148	Accompanying figures increase in intensity, and all jazz and orchestral instruments play. Saxophone soloist is instructed to ‘use your ears from here on... getting more dissonant’, and no further chord symbols are provided.	04:53
Crotchet = 146	157	Orchestral strings play material derived from solo accompaniment.	05:15
	161	Syncopated dance figures are reintroduced, now in orchestral strings and jazz bass.	05:20
	171	Tenor saxophone begins sustained trill under syncopated ensemble figures. This trill is passed around both ensembles.	05:43
	191	General Pause.	06:04
	192	Solo piano cadential trill.	06:05
	195	Ensemble syncopated dance figures.	06:13
	196	Solo piano cadential trill.	06:16
	197	Ensemble syncopated dance figures.	06:17
	200	Tenor saxophone improvisation. Slow accompanying figures in brass and strings.	06:23
	208	Ensemble syncopated dance figures.	06:32
	211, 213	Piano cadential trill, doubled by piccolo, flute, and trumpet 2. Syncopated dance figures elsewhere in ensemble.	06:37
	221	Unison ensemble accented Ab, spanning four octaves.	06:51

⁵ *Good Evening. Here is the News* (Distribution t.b.a, 1996).

Appendix 7. Alex Stewart's formal analysis of *Wyrgly* (Maria Schneider).⁶

A Opening: sonorities	AB Transition to shuffle	B Boogie shuffle
mm. 1–66	mm. 67–91	mm. 92–105

A Central theme (3×)	A Tenor solo	A Double time interlude
mm. 106–126	mm. 127–160 open, backgrounds enter 143	mm. 161–169

B Boogie—trombone solo	B Boogie—guitar solo	B(A) Ending Boogie, sonorities
mm. 170–189 Open, backgrounds enter 174	mm. 190–223	mm. 224–fade

⁶ Stewart, 134.

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