

JAZZ IS A FOUR LETTER WORD:
HEGEMONY AND RESISTANCE IN BLACK AMERICAN MUSIC

by

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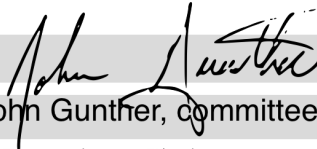
Jazz is a Four Letter Word: Hegemony and Resistance in Black American Music

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Jazz is a Four Letter Word: Hegemony and Resistance in Black American Music

Thesis directed by Dr. John Gunther

This thesis focuses on four musicians: Charles Mingus, Max Roach, Yusef Lateef, and Nicholas Payton, in order to examine colonialism and hegemony in black American music and investigate the various ways in which musicians have made peace with the problematic elements of the label and genre. Some musicians have remained vocal in their rejection of injustice, some have turned to a message of spirituality in music above all else, and some took their music abroad to a European environment where race relations were not quite as volatile as in the United States.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A Few Problems With Jazz

In the United States, the history of jazz is closely associated with the history of hegemony and race relations. Since its recorded origins in 1917, jazz has been a genre that reflects appropriation, class and race inequality, and the commercialization of black art for white financial gain. Though the music is undoubtedly African-American in its origins, white figures have tried to claim the invention of the music since the beginning, and history books have mostly been complicit in allowing this to become canon. An all-white group (The Original Dixieland Jazz Band) is credited as the first jazz recording, disregarding several live performances and unreleased recordings by black musicians. Fast forward one hundred years to 2017, and the issue of misrepresentation still exists. According to data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), out of 586 jazz degrees awarded, 310 were earned by white students while black students earned only 42.¹ There is a lot at play systematically and culturally here. However, this statistic may be recent evidence of an underlying hegemonic inequality in the art form that stems from the music's colonialist roots.

It is not difficult to see evidence of colonialism daily in the United States. Even in 2020, there are Confederate monuments across the South, reminding us regularly that there are people

¹ DataUSA, "Jazz and Jazz Studies," January 16, 2020, datausa.io/profile/cip/jazz-jazz-studies#demographics.

in this country who daydream about an era when they could openly and without shame exploit marginalized people. One of the modern-day results of this exploitation comes in the form of the hegemony that allows whiteness to go unnamed as a kind of “default” setting. At the same time, people of color, facing cycles of repression, are forced regularly to acknowledge their own racial identity. This simple designation, jazz, is an example of this. The roots of the label are racist and limiting, and numerous figures throughout music history have rejected the moniker and the hegemony in which it is rooted. This thesis focuses on four individuals who reject the label “jazz”: Charles Mingus, Max Roach, Yusef Lateef, and Nicholas Payton in order to examine colonialism and hegemony in the genre of jazz. It also investigates the various ways in which these musicians have made peace with problematic elements of the music in a country that largely treats them as second-class citizens.

Important Considerations

In doing research and composing this thesis, I feel the need to draw attention to a few crucial elements of my writing. First: my use of the word jazz. I am hesitant to continue using this word to describe the music, as all of the figures discussed reject the label to some degree due to the symbolism of racial injustice and recording industry compartmentalization that it carries. The only reason I do continue to use it is for the sake of clarity and familiarity. Second, I feel it is important to acknowledge my identity as a white woman, who has privileged from a system that allows whiteness to go mostly unnamed for those who benefit from it. This privilege is apparent to people oppressed and marginalized by the system, but many academic publications and

society, in general, tend to imply this as a “default setting.” It is my goal to acknowledge the oppressive systems in place that have led to black art’s exploitation, and how many white writers and critics have homogenized, even exoticized, this music.

Recognizing race as a cultural construct is imperative in understanding this hegemony found in the United States, especially in the music recording industry. In Chapter four of *Theory for Ethnomusicology: Histories, Conversations, Insights*, Maureen Mahon quotes the American Anthropological Association (AAA) saying, “[R]ace’ was a mode of classification linked specifically to peoples in the colonial situation...devised to rationalize European attitudes and treatment of the conquered and enslaved peoples.” The AAA statement goes on to address the ways that proponents of slavery have used this construct of “race” to justify upholding the conventions of slavery.² The construct of “race” is still used in the United States to justify brutal actions by those in positions of power. Acknowledging race as a construct allows us to address the general hegemony that benefits white citizens in the United States, specifically.

Colonialism and Hegemony in Jazz

It is this systematic racism in part that may contribute to a lack of diversity in postsecondary jazz programs, as well as a general sense of ignorance among musicians regarding race relations. Additionally, it is this system of oppression and justification that has exploited black American music since the recording industry’s beginnings. White producers hold

² Maureen Mahon, “Constructing Race and Engaging Power Through Music,” in *Theory for Ethnomusicology: Histories, Conversations, Insights*, ed. Harris Berger, Ruth Stone (New York, NY: Routledge, 2019) 99-113.

systematic power over musicians of color, which historically has allowed for exploitation and appropriation/claiming ownership of certain types of music.

The word “colonialism” can take on a variety of different contextual meanings. In many instances, this word describes the act of colonizing and expanding territories under the control of Western powers. This definition falls under the category of “settler colonialism.” Along with this act comes the seizure of material resources and land, and the displacement, even enslavement, of indigenous peoples, known as “extractive colonialism.” In many different instances, Europeans demonstrated colonialist seizure and inhabitation of the land that is now the United States. For this writing, though, it is most important to focus on the extractive type of colonialism demonstrated by colonizers. For example, this is how early American settlers stole the lives and appropriated the cultures of enslaved Africans transported to North America during the slave trade. These acts established a structure of power in the country in which African-American people do not have the same freedoms that most white Americans have—even in a post-civil rights era.³ Evidence of this colonialism still lingers in the United States today and it can be observed in the early recordings of jazz, specifically in the recording that historians accept as the definitive first jazz recording: “Livery Stable Blues,” by the all-white group The Original Dixieland Jazz Band.⁴

In 2020, Nicholas Payton is one of the most vocal critics of jazz as a colonialist label. Payton is an essential figure in this thesis further on, but on the topic of the Original Dixieland

³ Jeremy Wallach and Esther Clinton, “Theories of the Post-colonial and Globalization: Ethnomusicologists Grapple with Power, History, Media, and Mobility.” In *Theory for Ethnomusicology: Histories, Conversations, Insights*, edited by Harris M. Berger and Ruth M. Stone. New York, NY: Routledge, 2019.114-140.

⁴ Original Dixieland Jazz Band. Livery Stable Blues. Nick LaRocca, Larry Shields, Tony Sbarbaro, Henry Ragas, Eddie Edwards. Victor 18255, 1917. Vinyl.

Jazz Band, he muses in an Instagram video from December 1st, 2019, about the beginnings of this label and the minstrelsy of the early recordings by the Original Dixieland Jazz Band. In his video, Payton claims that not just the name, but jazz itself is an example of minstrelsy. On the topic of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, he says,

“Let’s just look at their name. ‘Original.’ They’re not original. Black people were doing this shit already, so they’re not the first. ‘Dixieland,’ we know ‘Dixie’ ties to the confederate south and the people who wanted slavery not to be abolished. ‘Jazz’ was originally spelled ‘J-A-S-S’ which is a hybridization of ‘jackass.’”⁵

Of the actual recording of “Livery Stable Blues,” Payton says,

“Livery Stable Blues, which is ya’ll making animal and jungle sounds... It’s minstrelsy. It’s the same thing as Al Jolson was doing in *The Jazz Singer* where he had blackface and was doing “Mammy.”⁶

The Original Dixieland Jazz Band’s recording did not only claim ownership of black music for white commercial gain, but they did so in a way that drew from influences of minstrelsy, making use of the musical tropes that Payton described in the above quote. These animal sounds, jungle sounds, and the overall aesthetic of the Dixieland (precisely, one that glorifies the confederacy) all are considered characteristic musical elements of minstrelsy. The entertainment form originated as a type of comic show put on by white entertainers that made use of offensive and outright racist portrayals of African Americans. The minstrel show is yet another example of hegemony in action as it allowed white entertainers to exploit black culture

⁵ There are varying claims about the history of this spelling “jass.” While Nicholas Payton claims it is a hybridization of “jackass,” Max Roach in his article “What Jazz Means to Me,” cites “jass” as a sexual term that is applied to Congo dances in New Orleans. Either way, it was a name created by white people with the intent of demeaning black musicians and New Orleans style of playing.

⁶ Nicholas Payton (@nicholaspayton), “KOTB: Jazz Memes and the New Minstrelsy. I’m not going to keep giving this attention, but I have just a few more things to say. Directed, produced and edited by,” Instagram, December 1, 2019, <https://www.instagram.com/p/B5iuDx1Aa70/>.

in a way that propagated harmful and hateful stereotypes and depicted African Americans as “lesser.”

Additionally, within this band, the element of musical authenticity frequently comes into question. Jelly Roll Morton insisted that jazz had to have the element of improvisation. According to Morton, without this musical element (along with several others, including ensemble-style presentation, solo breaks, stop time, and original composition), the music could not be considered jazz.⁷ The ODJB, for the most part, did not improvise and presented a corny, stiff version of ensemble-style playing. So if we follow Jelly Roll’s definition of jazz, we can see that the ODJB does not precisely fall in as the mark of authenticity in this music.

In an article titled “Jazz’s Great White Hype,” the family of Original Dixieland Jazz Band leader, Nick LaRocca, defends the position that he (and the band) created jazz. The family argues that LaRocca, as a Sicilian immigrant, did not have the same social status as an American-born, white citizen, so he was considered a marginalized member of society. Though this may have been true, he still profited off of a less-authentic version of black American music and attempted to claim ownership of said music. Though recordings exist of black musicians (Jelly Roll Morton and Buddy Bolden, for example) playing this music nearly a decade before, author Michael Patrick Welch speculates that LaRocca might be responsible for popularizing the word “jazz,” though not inventing genre itself. The white origins of the word jazz can be awkward to confront in academia and have contributed to discomforts with the label now. Welch says, “It carries the connotation of meaning *the white man’s version of the black man’s music*.”⁸ This connotation is a

⁷ Jelly Roll Morton, “The Inventor of Jazz,” in *Keeping Time*, ed. Robert Walser (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1999) 16-22.

⁸ Michael Patrick Welch, “Jazz’s Great White Hype,” *Narratively*, August 25, 2014, <https://narratively.com/jazzs-great-white-hype/>

clear description and example of white musicians appropriating and commercializing the music of African Americans—all while portraying them as a joke in the popular minstrel shows.

CHAPTER II

Charles Mingus and the Evolution of “Fables of Faubus”

Composer and bassist Charles Mingus, while recognized for his historic compositional and improvisational genius, is also known for his outspoken protest pieces and occasionally abrasive personality. Often referred to as “Jazz’s Angry Man,” there are plenty of stories about him chastising his listeners and reacting outrageously on and offstage in response to what he perceived to be a lack of respect.⁹ While there are records of his temper, and a few famously questionable outbursts, he spoke his mind on the injustices of society. To call him angry for punching his trombone player in the mouth is one thing, but to call him angry for being disillusioned by corruption or refusing to compromise musical integrity, is to reduce complex emotions to a racial stereotype¹⁰ and oversimplify the messages that Mingus may have been trying to send.

In addition to speaking out on issues of race in the United States, Mingus was also vocal about the commodification of jazz as an art form. In his book *What Is This Thing Called Jazz*, Eric Porter brings up Mingus’ rejection of the word jazz, due to “its association with the

⁹ 2 Paul Bernays, dir. 1959: *The Year that Changed Jazz*, Television program (London, UK: BBC, 2009).

¹⁰ This mention of a racial stereotype refers to the ways that the media tends to portray African Americans, especially men as being “angry.”

limitations imposed by race,” but also in order to reject the genre categorization that separates jazz, classical music, and popular music. It was this categorization, or so Mingus argued, that led to the “problem of making a living,” which would drive many black musicians to “sell out” to meet industry demand, or conversely struggle to make any money, often falling into cycles of addiction.¹¹ This categorization is an issue that still exists, and is brought up by Nicholas Payton in an essay where he comments about “poor, scuffling jazz musicians.”¹² In rejecting the boundaries of genre, Mingus blurs lines between classical music and jazz, along with folk forms, and the avant-garde. This blurring is one way he resolves this potential issue of selling out to make a living: by blending influences until genre is nearly unrecognizable. Mingus’ piece “Fables of Faubus,” is an excellent example of music that both subverts industry expectations by incorporating quirky folk allusions, and serves as a cutting protest work, directly singling out racial injustices in the United States.

This piece is a political critique that directly singles out and criticizes specific government officials by name in reaction to the 1957 Crisis in Little Rock.¹³ “Faubus,” survived censorship by the record companies in order to evolve into an intricate work with sardonic musical motives, harsh lyrics, and unique improvisations by a notable list of avant-garde jazz musicians. There are several recorded versions of “Fables of Faubus,” and it is intriguing to trace

¹¹ Eric Porter, *What Is This Thing Called Jazz* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press) 103.

¹² Nicholas Payton, “On Why Jazz Isn’t Cool Anymore.”

¹³ The crisis in Little Rock, was an event during which Arkansas governor Orval Faubus attempted to keep Little Rock Central High School from being desegregated by calling in the Arkansas national guard, blocking the “Little Rock Nine” from enrolling in school. A federal judge ordered him to remove the guard but doing so prompted violent protests from over 1,000 of Little Rock’s white citizens. After nearly a month of violence and discord, President Eisenhower finally sent in the federal national guard to ensure that the students could safely enroll. This crisis and the delay of action on the federal level prompted outrage from many public figures.

the evolution of the piece from a more hard bop-characteristic style on *Mingus Ah Um* (1959) to the half-hour-long, free-improvisation version on *The Jazz Workshop Concerts (1964-65)* recorded in Amsterdam. “Fables of Faubus” displays several elements pertinent to this thesis dealing with the rejection of colonialism, government corruption, and music industry commodification.

“Fables of Faubus” was recorded several times on different albums, initially without the lyrics. Though the album *Mingus Ah Um* contained the first recorded version of the piece, Columbia Records did not allow Mingus to record the spoken word sections at the risk of isolating any listeners who may have supported the politics of Faubus or any of the other mentioned public figures. Even so, including the name “Faubus” in the title of a piece with such sarcastic musical motives was still a political statement on Mingus’ part.

One central line occurs when Mingus calls out, “Name me a handful that’s ridiculous, Danny Richmond?” to which Richmond (his drummer) responds, “Bilbo, Thomas, Faubus, Russel, Rockefeller, Byrd, Eisenhower.”¹⁴ All of these people were politicians, mostly from southern states. Many of them were known white supremacists, several were affiliated directly with the Ku Klux Klan, and several would go on to filibuster against the 1964 Civil Rights Act in Congress. Those few names that were not active white supremacists worked for one reason or another to maintain segregation, thus furthering the racist culture of the time. (See Appendix B for the full lyrics to “Fables of Faubus.”)

While Mingus’ lyrics may have been cutting at the time, they do a great job of putting the composition in context historically. In his article “Songs of Freedom: The Politics and

¹⁴ Charles Mingus, “Original Faubus Fables,” on *Charles Mingus Presents Charles Mingus*, Candid CJM-8005, 1961, LP Record.

Geopolitics of Modern Jazz,” Robert Bennett refers to the piece as “A clear example of hard bop’s explicitly politicized engagement with the civil rights movement,” and “less satire than all-out cultural assault.”¹⁵

The lyrics, while censored out of the original *Mingus Ah Um* recording, were not the only thing “toned-down” about the version. While the music still swings and has jeering, carnivalesque motives, the recording leaves much to be desired in the way of free expression and improvisatory quips. Bennet describes it as being “highly sanitized.” He continues with the take that, “The revised ‘Fables of Faubus’ completely excises the song’s provocative lyrics and largely whitewashes its jagged hard-bop sound, carnivalesque spirit, and demented playfulness, ultimately turning Mingus’s trenchant political engagement into a high- production-value musicianship that still swings and bops but delivers few punches.”¹⁶ Though this version censors the lyrics, it is essential to include an analysis to show contrast with the later recordings as the piece evolved.

When Mingus recorded “Original Faubus Fables,” (renamed to avoid copyright conflict with Columbia) on *Charles Mingus Presents Charles Mingus*, and later “Fables of Faubus” on *The Jazz Workshop Concerts*, the composition and improvisations begin to shift away from being characteristic of hard bop and move toward having more elements of free jazz. After moving to Candid records, an independent label, Mingus faced less pressure from the record company in regards to offending or isolating potential audience members, and he was able to include the lyrics for the first time. As a result, the mood of the music is immediately more

¹⁵ Robert Bennett, “Songs of Freedom: The Politics and Geopolitics of Modern Jazz,” *Mosaic: A Journal for the Interdisciplinary Study of Literature* 42, No. 1 (March 2009): 61

¹⁶ Bennett, “Songs of Freedom,” March 2009, 61.

energetic and mocking than on *Mingus Ah Um*. The spoken word on “Original Faubus Fables,” functions musically as much as semantically, creating a dichotomy of tone with the call and response, in which Mingus calls out in a calm, collected voice, and Richmond responds in a yelling tone, angrily. Additionally, the band chimes in throughout the form with schoolyard-like jeers and calls, creating a sense of unease and chaos. This unease develops further in the live version of the tune from 1964 in Concertgebouw, Amsterdam.

These musical motives that have been described by many as being dark or sarcastic include influences from circus and minstrel music and are as important a part of the protest of “Faubus” as the lyrics are. These callbacks to music riddled with racial stereotypes serve as a kind of witty tongue-in-cheek satire, reminding listeners not to forget the tense origins of the genre. The solos in the thirty-minute recording of the piece from Amsterdam in 1964 illustrate this concept beautifully as the musicians onstage each abandon form and begin improvising freely, quoting various folk melodies, many of which are associated with the confederate south and the white nostalgia for the geographical Dixieland.

A great example of a quote and the interactive reaction with which the rhythm section responds occurs during pianist Jaki Byard’s solo. He begins to quote “Yankee Doodle” and Danny Richmond comes in with a military-style snare drum pattern, which goes on for about twenty-five seconds before Byard transitions to another quote—this time a reharmonization of the ballad “Danny Boy.” One other notable quote occurs when Charles Mingus references “When Johnny Comes Marching Home,” (something Eric Dolphy also does on his solo). It is in these free, open solo sections that “Fables of Faubus” evolution is most apparent. Where in the first recording, soloists took few risks and played the chart directly, this recording seems to be

the complete opposite. Each soloist's statements and references, along with the group improvisation and avant-garde instrumentation, expressively communicate the musician's displeasure and hostility toward the cultural climate of the U.S. at the time.

Additionally, it is vital to recognize the significance of Mingus and his band, allowing the improvisations to flow most freely when they are abroad, in front of an audience for whom the racial tensions of the United States do not exist. Mingus was quoted in *The New York Times* considering moving abroad for this reason.¹⁷

CHAPTER III

Max Roach, "We Insist!"

Max Roach is one of the most influential figures in the history of black American music for several stylistic innovations, as well as his work during the civil rights era. Raised on gospel music in the Baptist Church in Newland, North Carolina, his spirituality early on had significant impacts on his musical development as well as his involvement with speaking out on the racial injustices of the 1960s.¹⁸ Among the topics, Roach was vocal about is the label "jazz." It seems that Nicholas Payton gets many of the arguments that fuel his Black American Music movement from the writings of Max Roach. In these writings, he touches on jazz as a colonialist word, forced on black musicians by white industry leaders.

¹⁷ Gene Santoro *Myself When I Am Real* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000) 260.

¹⁸ Gareth Dylan Smith, "Roach, Max," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2013–), accessed April 18, 2020, <https://doi-org.colorado.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2257948>

Additionally, he emphasizes a need to reclaim the music of the African diaspora by name. This reclamation is also what Payton is doing with the BAM movement. Both emphasize the importance of giving credit where credit is due, explicitly mentioning that people from all races and ethnicities can play black American music, but we as a collective society need to acknowledge from where and with whom the music originates.

Throughout his career, Max Roach recorded several albums considered to have overt political and spiritual themes, but perhaps the most famous is *We Insist! The Freedom Now Suite*. This suite is composed as a comprehensive work and is performed from beginning to end in its entirety. According to Nat Hentoff in the liner notes, the work's initial intention was to premiere at the hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1963. However, due to the increasingly heated political climate of 1960, the record ended up being produced earlier than anticipated.¹⁹

Many significant events of the Civil Rights Movement occurred in the months leading up to the album's recording, but a few specific incidents have strong ties to the music of *We Insist!*. On February 1st, 1960, in Greensboro, North Carolina, four students from North Carolina A&T (also known as the Greensboro four) sat in at a segregated lunch counter in nonviolent protest.²⁰ This was a crucial moment in the desegregation of the American South, and a photograph of the event appears on the album cover of *We Insist! Second*, on March 21st of the same year, South African police fired bullets into a crowd of around 7,000 nonviolent protestors, killing over 60 and injuring over 100 more in what would come to be known as the Sharpeville

¹⁹ Max Roach, *We Insist! Max Roach's Freedom Now Suite*, Max Roach, Candid CJM8002, 1960, LP Record. Liner notes by Natt Hentoff.

²⁰ Ingrid Monson, "Revisited! The Freedom Now Suite," *Jazz Times*, (September 2001).

Massacre.²¹ Though there were a lot of important events of the civil rights movement happening in 1960, these two are relevant in that they situate *We Insist!* as a cry for justice that reaches around the globe from the United States to South Africa. The music of the album further projects this idea, as the first two tracks have musical imagery strongly tied to the American south and slavery, while the final two tracks feature elements of traditional African music: native drums, call and response, and polyrhythmic devices. The last track's title, "Tears for Johannesburg" is also a direct and explicit reference to South African civil rights. The piece in the middle, a freeform improvisation between Abbey Lincoln and Max Roach, represents all oppressed peoples, not in any one country, but across the globe.

Max Roach's collaboration with the lyricist, Oscar Brown Jr., on this record eventually ended due to political differences. Brown was preaching love and non-violence (the message of Martin Luther King Jr.), while Roach was calling for racial justice by any means necessary—a mindset much more in line with the values of Malcolm X and black nationalism. The two wordless pieces in the suite were composed after Roach and Brown parted ways, and provide perhaps the most political and profound moments on the record. Despite this differing of values, Max Roach performed the suite at several benefits for pacifist organizations during the '60s. He even went so far as to provide free copies of the album to any fundraising organization requesting it, proving himself to be involved in the movement as an activist in more ways than just musically.²² This altruism is significant to recognize as we consider how these black

²¹ Commission of Enquiry into the Occurrences At Sharpeville (And Other Places) On the 21st of March, 1960."

²² Max Roach was also an activist in his collaborative organization of an alternative Newport Jazz Festival with Charles Mingus, among others. The alternative festival, known as the Musician's Festival at Cliff Walk Manor, was an effort to protest the conservative and commercialized practices of Newport Jazz. This event was significant in that it gave musicians an opportunity to organize and create art without all the commercial middlemen.

American musicians navigate a culture that systematically treats minorities as second class citizens. Though Max Roach provides striking commentary and critiques on the racial injustices of the era, he is also showing through philanthropic actions that he cares strongly about marginalized groups getting a fair seat at the table.

Musically, the album contains many vital statements worth investigating here. As referenced above, this suite tells a story that starts with slavery, moves to freedom, and eventually addresses global race issues. The tracks divide up evenly, two songs for American civil rights (“Driva’ Man,” and “Freedom Day”), and two for African civil rights (“All Africa” and “Tears for Johannesburg”) with Triptych placed in the middle to represent the struggles and fight of all oppressed peoples everywhere.

“Driva’ Man” depicts the brutality of slavery, lyrically and musically. This song personifies a white overseer who “forced women under his jurisdiction into sexual relations,” with lyrics, found in appendix 1, that make vivid references to physical violence and the horrors of slavery.²³ Beyond the lyrics, this piece contains a lot of significant musical elements that work to create this image of slavery in the American South. This transformed blues form is played as six bars of 5/4. The melody is first stated by Lincoln and is accompanied by tambourine hits on the downbeat of each measure. As the band comes in with the second statement of the melody, the tambourine hits become rimshots, played by Roach. This consistent downbeat evokes imagery of the driver man’s whip, which is also presented with the lyric, “When his cat’ o nine tails fly, you’d be happy just to die.”²⁴

²³ Monson, “Revisited!”(September 2001).

²⁴ Max Roach, “Driva’ Man,” on *We Insist! Freedom Now Suite*. Candid CJM8002, 1960. LP Record.

The appearance of 5/4 time signatures throughout this suite may not be an arbitrary musical decision by Max Roach. It very well could be another level of protest within the music of the piece. In 1959, Dave Brubeck's album *Time Out* was garnering much attention for its use of odd time signatures, including on the famous tune "Take Five." This album received high praise for what white mainstream audiences considered to be metric innovations, even though these innovations borrowed elements from the music of various non-western cultures, and that African American musicians were employing odd time signatures far earlier than 1959. In her article "Revisited! The Freedom Now Suite," Ingrid Monson says, "The amount of attention devoted to Brubeck and other prominent white West Coast musicians in the press was a sore point among African-American musicians in the '50s and early '60s." Though this statement is mostly speculation, Monson's writing provides a convincing argument that Roach's use of 5/4 time could very well be a statement and a protest rather than just an arbitrary musical choice.

The second track, "Freedom Day," moves us to a point in time where African American people are now "free." On the topic of this song, Max Roach says, "We don't really understand what it really is to be free. The last song we did, 'Freedom Day' ended with a question mark."²⁵ The song's opening line expresses this idea: "Whisper listen, whisper listen Whisper say we're free. Rumors flyin' must be lyin' Can it really be?"²⁶

The third track on the album, "Triptych" is the freest, most profound, and most controversial movement of this suite, perhaps because of the explicit programmatic meaning assigned by the subtitle, "Prayer, Protest, Peace." The piece promotes protest by any means

²⁵ Monson, "Revisited!," (September 2001).

²⁶ Max Roach, "Freedom Day," on *We Insist! Freedom Now Suite*. Candid, CJM8002, 1960. LP Record.

necessary—including violence. In the album’s liner notes, Nat Hentoff captures the artistry and emotion behind the music, written to be presented as a ballet, complete with accompanying improvised dance performance. He says,

“Prayer is the cry of an oppressed people, any and all oppressed peoples of whatever color or combinations of colors. Protest is a final, uncontrollable unleashing of rage and anger that have been compressed in fear for so long that the only catharsis can be the extremely painful tearing out of all the accumulated fury and hurt and blinding bitterness. It is all forms of protest, certainly including violence. Peace, as Max explained to Abbey before the take, “is the feeling of relaxed exhaustion after you’ve done everything you can to assert yourself. You can rest now because you’ve worked to be free. It’s a realistic feeling of peacefulness. You know what you’ve been through.”²⁷

This track is entirely duo between Abbey Lincoln and Max Roach, with the drums tuned to match the tonality presented by the voice. Though most of this piece is free of meter, fully embracing the avant-garde, Roach once again moves into 5/4 time during the final movement, “Peace.” With each section of “Triptych,” Lincoln presents different vocal timbres, evoking some striking imagery and emotion. She shifts from hauntingly beautiful cries in “Prayer,” to cathartic shrieks of rage and desperation in “Protest,” to sighs of exhaustion in “Peace.” Even without lyrics, these shifting vocal timbres work to tell the story described above by Hentoff. It becomes apparent on this track that Lincoln’s voice in her “strength, conviction, and expressivity,” as Alisa White puts it in her article for *Jazz Education Journal*, is the instrument that carries the album’s message throughout each song, as it is always present while the band, for the most part, plays a more supportive role.

²⁷ Max Roach, *We Insist! Max Roach’s Freedom Now Suite*, Max Roach, Candid CJM8002, 1960, LP Record. Liner notes by Nat Hentoff.

“All Africa,” the fourth track, is a celebration of the music of Africa. The lyrics list off African ethnic groups, as well as proverbs about freedom from each tribe in Yorùbá.²⁸ In addition to the use of this language, the music employs polyrhythm, percussion ensembles, rhythmic ostinatos, and open-ended modal frameworks to make reference to the music of West Africa. Ingrid Monson says, “An African diaspora sensibility is musically enacted in the percussion solo...through the use of a well-known seven-stroke bell pattern that is found not only in West Africa but also in the sacred music of the Caribbean and Brazil.”²⁹

“Tears for Johannesburg,” is the final track on this album and is dedicated to the victims of the Sharpeville Massacre. *We Insist!* was banned in South Africa because of this reference. Musically, this piece combines the previously discussed elements of African music with conventions of western jazz. This amalgamation is seen, for example, in the combined instrumentation of African drums and horns, in the orchestration of the backgrounds during the improvised solo sections.

The critical reception of this work was varied. Some audiences fell in love with the artistry and bold statements, while others considered it to be too bitter for their liking. The most critiqued movement by far was “Triptych,” as many found it overtly violent and did not care for the screams in the second section presented by Abbey Lincoln. One reviewer for *Variety* Magazine claimed the work had too much of a “bitter mood,” describing it as “new-frontier club stuff and most likely a little too far out in uncut timber for most tastes.”³⁰ The limited viewpoint of this take brings up an important point regarding white critiques being made about black art

²⁸ A language and ethnic group from West Africa

²⁹ Monson, “Revisited!,” (September 2001).

³⁰ Monson, “Revisited!,”

without working to contextualize the music. This context is perhaps most needed when looking at the music of the Civil Rights Era, but is necessary in analyzing any music and will be discussed in greater depth later.

As bold and beautiful as this work is, the significance of *We Insist!* reaches far beyond its musical elements. The album is Max Roach's platform for speaking unapologetically about the racial injustices in the United States and across the world. There are levels to the protest as well as celebration in this music. Additionally, this represents Roach's outreach work and activism in the United States as he donated time and resources to fundraisers and civil rights organizations, also performing this music at fundraisers to spread his message of justice.

CHAPTER IV

Yusef Lateef, "Autopsiopsychic Music," and Critical Reception

Though many quintessential figures in black American music have been incredibly outspoken, both musically and in their public statements, it is essential to recognize that there is more than one way to resist and innovate. One dangerous thing that authors can get caught up in is providing only one type of example instead of portraying diversity within a movement. Yusef Lateef is an example of a musician who chose to express his resistance in a slightly different way than Max Roach, Charles Mingus, or Nicholas Payton. He approached injustices in the world with messages of peace and love, and with a deep sense of spirituality. His approach proves to us that resistance comes in many flavors, and is not limited to those who chose to speak in more

politically-forward ways. Musically, it is significant to note the presence of the avant-garde in Lateef's playing and composing. Though much of his discography falls into the realm of hard bop or soul jazz, a significant area of his improvisational and compositional style incorporates elements from both world music and the avant-garde—both of which can tend to be rejected by critics of Western music.

Born in Chattanooga, TN and raised in Detroit, Yusef was a student not only of the saxophone, but also of flute, oboe, bassoon, and several Middle Eastern, Asian, and African woodwind instruments. On top of being an active and innovative musician, he also was known to be a scholar, receiving his B.M. and M.A. in music education from the Manhattan School, and later a Doctorate in education from the University of Massachusetts.³¹ This element of his life is an interesting one because some might suggest that the world of academia is counterproductive to things like art, free expression, and rebellion. Lateef proves that this is not true and that it is possible to express art through resistance and spirituality in a space that usually is defined by its rigidity, standardization, and rule-following. These elements are especially present when academics adopt a Eurocentric analytical approach to working with music that is not Eurocentric, like black American music.

This way of analyzing can tend to ignore context, the problematic nature of which is discussed in more detail later in the context of Amiri Baraka's "Jazz and the White Critic," published in the book *Keeping time: Readings in Jazz History*. This ignoring of context does not typically lend itself to an appreciation of free jazz, or the avant-garde. In *Keeping Time*, the essay directly before Baraka's is about the critical reception of Ornette Coleman's *Free*

³¹ Eric Porter, *What Is This Thing Called Jazz* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press) 103.

Jazz. This section features several critiques by authors with different opinions, one of which is scalding. In this review, John A. Tynan calls the improvisation an “every man-jack for himself in an eight-man emotional regurgitation. Rules? Forget em.” This same critic, who was an associate editor for *DownBeat Magazine*, wrote negatively about the avant-garde concerning several other notable musicians as well—specifically of John Coltrane and Eric Dolphy. In the November 1961 issue of *DownBeat* he wrote,

“At Hollywood’s Renaissance Club recently, I listened to a horrifying demonstration of what appears to be a growing anti-jazz trend exemplified by these foremost proponents [Coltrane and Dolphy] of what is termed avant-garde music. I heard a good rhythm section... go to waste behind the nihilistic exercises of the two horns.... Coltrane and Dolphy seem intent on deliberately destroying [swing].... They seem bent on pursuing an anarchistic course in their music that can but be termed anti-jazz.”³²

Tynan’s use of the term “anti-jazz” is significant here because he is situating himself as someone whom he thinks is the decider of what, within the genre he calls jazz, is worthy of attention or study. A less problematic and more ethnomusicological approach would consider all music to be worthy of study. This approach, instead of critiquing based on the musical standards of what is essentially a different culture (i.e., swing, cool jazz, and other genres that were popular among mainstream white America), would delve beyond the notes and sounds on a record and look at the cultural context in which the work situates, as well as the artist’s significant influences. The critical reception of the avant-garde is vital in understanding the significance of Yusef Lateef’s music to the resistance of the era. Just like Duke Ellington subverted the norms that white critics and mainstream audiences held when it came to the roles of black bandleaders

³² Don DeMichael, “John Coltrane and Eric Dolphy Answer the Jazz Critics.” *DownBeat Magazine*. (April 12, 1962).

of the 1930s, Yusef was part of a movement that subverted the norms of academic critics in regards to what is considered to be “art” or “worthy of study.” Lateef stood out for freeing his mind and soul in his improvisation while working within an institutionalization of music in academia.

Though he was active as a scholar, Yusef Lateef was not complacent when it came to the quest for racial justice and the rejection of the name jazz. He has many philosophical essays that support this message, one of which is called, “The Pleasures of Voice in Autophysiopsychic Music,” and does not mention jazz, but instead focuses on his alternative label of “autophysiopsychic music.” This music, he says, “comes from the physical, mental, spiritual, and intellectual self.”³³ This idea of the self situates his music as a source of beauty, healing, and spirituality, where the name jazz to him was instead ambiguously associated with racial stereotypes and sexual behavior. In her article on Lateef, Ingrid Monson states, that the name’s “voyeuristic association with illicit activities became racially offensive.”³⁴ Additionally, he believed that labels like jazz have the power to divide people. On the matter, he says, “Mankind has said white man–black man and thereby divided mankind, instead of looking at men as being just men.”³⁵ This idea of removing divisions relates back to Mingus’ statements about blurring the lines of genre. In this statement and others, Lateef acknowledges the racial divide and some general injustices in the United States, but a lot of the time, his message focuses more on the soul

³³ Yusef Lateef, *Method on How To Improvise Soul Music*.

³⁴ Ingrid Monson, “Yusef Lateef’s Autophysiopsychic Quest.” *Daedalus*. Vol.148, no. 2 (March, 2019): 104-14. doi:10.1162.

³⁵ Eric Porter, *What Is This Thing Called Jazz: African American Musicians as Artists, Critics, and Activists*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2002. 242-46.

and the healing power of music than it does directly combatting specific occurrences of injustice.

This focus on opposing division while embracing spirituality and healing brings up another element of Yusef Lateef's identity: his conversion to Islam. Lateef converted in the 1940's to become a member of the Ahmadiyya Muslim community. This form of Islam stresses inclusivity and multiracial practices, searching for peace by following the path of God. These religious and spiritual beliefs make it clear where Yusef drew inspiration for his life and musical philosophy. His 1970 book, *Method on How to Improvise Soul Music*, bridges the gap between the healing and soul elements, and concrete musical practices. This method book also serves as a philosophical essay that focuses on this idea of "autophysiopsychic music." Before introducing musical exercises, there is a breakdown of several musical building blocks—some of which are quite abstract. The contents cover the soul, the blues, sound, rhythm, and emotional memory.³⁶ The way that the method combines elements of self-evaluation, spiritual and emotional consciousness, and physical playing ability outline the meaning of "autophysiopsychic," and how it is significant when thinking about improvising music beyond just playing licks, patterns, chord substitutions, or any other strictly academic aspect of music.

In many ways, Yusef Lateef both challenges and upholds the systematic institutionalization of music and art. His incorporation of non-western music styles and instrumentations, and the avant-garde are not precisely characteristic of music in the academy—at least not until recent years. His self-evaluating and highly conscious connection to the soul in music is something that, when combined with academic musical learning, is a highly effective

³⁶ Yusef Lateef, "Method on Improvising Soul Music."

way of thinking and talking about improvisation. If we consider his elements of emotional memory and consciousness when analyzing music, it is impossible to ignore cultural and social influences and how they impact the music.

CHAPTER V

Nicholas Payton, the History of BAM and the Current Debate

Though rejection of the label jazz is as old as the music itself, the trumpeter Nicholas Payton is a prominent figure, representing the current debate as we navigate the politics of the internet age. As an outspoken social media presence, he spreads the message of his Black American Music (often shortened to BAM) movement across various internet platforms. In 2011, Payton published an essay titled, “On Why Jazz Isn’t Cool Any More.”³⁷ The essay, written for his blog, expresses some of the issues that Payton takes, not necessarily with the music itself, but rather with this label “jazz.” This take of his sparked a movement in which he seeks to identify black music with its roots instead of labels or genres that have been assigned—primarily by colonizers—to sell records and appeal to white audiences.³⁸

Though he is widely vocal about his opinions, Payton most likely did not come up with these ideas himself, but instead potentially drew inspiration from many sources, including the

³⁷ Nicholas Payton, “On Why Jazz Isn’t Cool Anymore,” *Nicholas Payton* (blog), November 27, 2011, <https://nicholaspayton.wordpress.com/2011/11/27/on-why-jazz-isnt-cool-anymore/>.

³⁸ Sam Deleo, “The Know: Nicholas Payton and What We Mean When We Say Black Music,” *The Denver Post*, February 19, 2015, <https://theknow.denverpost.com/2015/02/19/nicholas-payton-mean-say-black-music/100609/>.

writings of people like Max Roach and Charles Mingus, as well as from the original BAM, (the Black Arts Movement of the 1960s).³⁹

Even so, Payton has many thought-provoking quotes on the power structures and issues within jazz in his essay. One of the most striking points that he brings up is on the topic of colonialism and hegemony. He says, “With all due respect to the masters, they were victims of a colonialist mentality ...it’s the colonialist mentality that glorifies being treated like a slave. There is nothing romantic about poor, scuffling jazz musicians...The elite make all the money while they tell the true artists it’s cool to be broke.”⁴⁰ This statement brings to the surface several essential points on the topic of colonialist power struggles, including the commodification of black art for commercial and financial gain, and the systematic repression of black American musicians, despite fame or musical acclaim.

It is the age-old stereotype, the struggling jazz musician, falling into drugs, alcohol, or financial trouble. How many legends of black American music have died from their addictions while society sadly shakes their head and considers it the norm? In another essay, Nicholas Payton says, “The media typically vilifies black artists with a history of substance abuse without acknowledging the systemic reasons why said abuse might have occurred.”⁴¹ It is an occurrence that is rooted in racist assumptions and has dire consequences on black lives, in and outside of the music industry.

³⁹ The Black Arts Movement of the 1960’s was an afro-centric arts movement that focused on creating art that reflected black culture and the reality and struggle of African-American history in the United States. The movement balanced art with the politics of black nationalism and incorporated contributions by artists and academics in a variety of fields. This movement is important in understanding the significance of Yusef Lateef’s contributions, as well as Nicholas Payton’s.

⁴⁰ Payton, “On Why Jazz...” November 27, 2011

⁴¹ <http://www.nicholaspayton.com/essays>

Payton also states that “jazz is a label forced upon the musicians.”⁴² So many significant figures throughout the history of black American music, as we have seen, have so blatantly rejected this label. In a television interview with Miles Davis that Nicholas Payton posted on his Instagram account, Miles expresses his aversion to the word jazz. When asked by a reporter about the future of the music, Miles suggests that instead of jazz we should be calling the music, “New music or some other name,” because “jazz” is something that he associates with racial slurs that white people may use to degrade black musicians and the art that they create. Later in Payton’s video, there is a clip of Charles Mingus expressing this same sentiment. In an article titled, “Duke Ellington, Black, Brown, and Beige, and the Cultural Politics of Race,” by Kevin Gaines, Ellington is quoted saying, “I don’t write jazz,” instead, choosing to brand his music as “African-American folk music.”⁴³ The point in bringing these three musicians up is to acknowledge that rejection of jazz as a musical label is not new, but instead spans eras and styles of the music.

This label, like all musical genres, has been used by the recording industry to sell records to specific demographics and often has historically created the problem of “selling out,” or compromising art in order to appeal to mass audiences so that musicians can make a living with the music. Music industry corruption in regards to black music’s commodification for white financial gain becomes even more apparent when one realizes that historically, most critics of jazz have been white.

⁴² Payton, “On Why Jazz...” November 27, 2011

⁴³ Kevin Gaines, “Duke Ellington, *Black, Brown, and Beige*, and the Cultural Politics of Race.

The main problem with white critics deciding what is or is not worthy of the public's attention when it comes to black American music, as previously mentioned, is an issue of context. In his 1963 essay "Jazz and the White Critic," Amiri Baraka addresses an absolute lack of context that white critics tend to consider when concerning themselves with black American music. He writes of white critics who are mostly from a different society and cultural background than those who created jazz. Too often, these critics review within their circumstances instead of considering the artist's circumstances in which they created the music. On this subject, Baraka writes, "Usually the critic's commitment was first to his appreciation of the music rather than to his understanding of the attitude which produced it." He continues later, "The major flaw in this approach...is that it strips the music too ingeniously of its social and cultural intent."⁴⁴

This intent is a crucial aspect to keep in mind when analyzing the music of another culture. Knowing the intent behind the music helps us to get a full picture of the art, rather than just bits and pieces. Baraka uses the example of Ornette Coleman, saying, "Ornette Coleman's screams and rants are only musical once one understands the music his emotional attitude seeks to create." This attitude is the idea that the notes on the page only tell half the story. In this sense, "A printed musical example...tells us almost nothing except the futility of formal musicology when dealing with jazz."⁴⁵ We cannot analyze jazz through the same lens that we analyze European music, because situationally they are not the same. When musicology seeks to do this, especially in the academy, black American music can be considered less legitimate than

⁴⁴ Amiri Baraka, "Jazz and the White Critic," Chapter 44 in *Keeping Time: Readings in Jazz History*. Edited by Robert Walser, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1999, 255-61.

⁴⁵ Baraka, "Jazz and the White Critic."

European music. Instead, there needs to be a cultural, anthropological approach to the music in which systematic power structures, emotional philosophy, and a general understanding of the artist's attitudes must be considered before the music's value, be it artistic or commercial, can be discussed.

A majority of this discussion on Nicholas Payton has revolved around his writing and outspoken social media presence, but it is essential to also look at his music to observe how he brings the message of BAM to life. His 2017 album *Afro-Caribbean Mixtape* features a lot of open-ended vamps behind extensive improvisations woven in with sampling and manipulation of voice clips from a variety of influential black American musicians and public figures like Max Roach, Dizzy Gillespie, Miles Davis, Dr. Greg Kimathi Carr, and Dr. Johnnetta B. Cole among several others. The voice samples are essential to the message of the album. There are a few notable quotes from these figures that work to tie the various movements of the record together. There is a sample of Dizzy Gillespie talking about how “playing an instrument is a form of worship,” a Miles Davis sample tells us, “I don't like that word: jazz. It's social music — all the social melodies out in the air. There's no jazz anymore.” One sample of Duke Ellington presents, “Jazz doesn't mean anything,” and one from Max Roach says, “I'm dealing with the ingenuity and the genius of black folks. I don't separate Charlie Parker from Michael Jordan. I don't separate Michael Jordan from Michael Jackson. I don't separate Michael Jackson from Aretha Franklin. But we have to put it in the proper perspective because all of it exemplifies the genius of black creativity. Jazz doesn't exist.”⁴⁶ These quotes work together to present a celebration of African-American culture and spirituality while arguing against the name “jazz.”

⁴⁶ Nicholas Payton, *Afro Caribbean Mixtape*. Paytone Records PAYTONE006, 2017.

Musically, the album incorporates many elements of African and Caribbean music like open repeated vamps, ostinato patterns, Afro-Cuban rhythms, and full percussion sections. The soundscape that is created by the open-ended jam sections (particularly on the titular track) is reminiscent of parts of Miles Davis' *Bitches Brew*, especially with Payton's subdued trumpet tone and embrace of space in his improvisations. He begins his improvisation by quoting the spiritual "Wade in the Water," along with a vocal sample alluding to the spirituality at the core of black American music.

Nicholas Payton's significance to this thesis comes from his active use of social media platforms to spread awareness of the BAM movement. He represents the present-day fight against the word jazz and does so in a modern setting in the age of social media. Because of the lack of conversation surrounding this topic, many fans of this music may not know about or understand the significance of Payton's movement. He is using his platform as a recognizable improvising musician to educate toward change. Though his artistic medium is first and foremost music, the personal essays and blog posts are just as much a form of self-expression and are just as significant to the BAM movement.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

This collection of figures is by no means a comprehensive list of all historically impactful black American musicians, nor does it cover the full scope of hegemonic issues within the

musical genre we tend to refer to as jazz. It is instead merely a survey of several impactful men whom all reject the label jazz, and have spent their careers working toward a more racially equal and musically accepting society through their resistance to colonialism and power structures. Numerous other musicians like Duke Ellington, Mary Lou Williams, Miles Davis, John Coltrane, Eric Dolphy, Nina Simone, Christian Scott, Ron Miles, and so many others have worked hard across history to subvert the expectations of mainstream audiences and make impactful statements with their art. Some of these figures were more politically active, while others chose to let their music and theoretical innovations speak for themselves. It is essential to recognize the diversity of opinions and approaches of musicians who have worked hard to innovate and educate.

Another specific way that this writing could be made more inclusive and comprehensive would be to discuss the ways that other marginalized groups within the genre, specifically women, have had to fight to be heard and recognized. This thesis has focused on a few principal musicians that have been most prominent historically—a statement that highlights how history books tend to write out women contributors. A more intersectional approach would allow this topic to be covered more thoroughly in the future.

The history of this music in the United States is also a history of race relations. Race relations can be a tricky topic of conversation in classrooms that are, as mentioned before, overwhelmingly white. If so many African-American musicians across history have rejected this name jazz, then why does society ignore this? Why does the academy ignore this? The academy must recognize this systematic oppression and combat it by having conversations and exploring ideas and writings like those from Max Roach and Nicholas Payton, among so many others. For

example, it is our responsibility to look past the notes and rhythms of Charles Mingus' hard bop-era compositions and bring attention to the cultural significance behind his work. There needs to be more emphasis on situating music in the social and cultural contexts of the time—especially when it comes to the music of the 1960s as our country was undergoing a significant movement toward civil rights. Educators could also stand to introduce the more abstract elements of music, like those presented by Yusef Lateef. All of these things stress the importance of looking beyond the technical elements of the music, and would only make students more thoughtful, conscious, and socially aware of the music that they are studying.

It is essential to recognize the contributions that white groups, like the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, may have had on jazz, but it is even more important to recognize the real African-American roots of the music. Hegemony is not always easy to observe by those benefiting from the system. For that reason, as academics we need to acknowledge the systems of oppression that have been present for hundreds of years, and acknowledge the ways in which we may have benefited from such a system. We all must look further than the reviews and writings by white critics and academics to understand how this music situates in society and history and how to embrace this art form free of its colonial bonds.

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APPENDIX A

Max Roach, "We Insist!" Lyrics

Driva' Man

Driva' man he made a life,
 but the mamie ain't his wife.
 Choppin' cotton don't be slow,
 better finish out your row.
 Keep a movin' with that plow,
 driva' man'll show ya how.

Git to work and root that stump,
 driva' man'll make ya jump.
 Better make your hammer ring,
 driva' man'll start to swing.
 Ain't but two things on my mind:
 Driver man and quittin' time.

Driver man de kinda boss,
 ride a man and lead a horse.
 When his cat o' nine tail fly,
 you'd be happy just to die.
 Run away and you'll be found,
 by his big old red-bone hound.

Pateroller bring you back,
 make ya sorry you is black.
 Driva' man he made a life,
 but the mamie ain't his wife.
 Ain't but two things on my mind:
 Driver man and quittin' time.

Freedom Day

Whisper, listen, whisper, listen. Whispers say we're free.
 Rumors flyin', must be lyin'. Can it really be?
 Can't conceive it, don't believe it. But that's what they say.
 Slave no longer, slave no longer, this is Freedom Day.

Freedom Day, it's Freedom Day. Throw those shackle n' chains away.
 Everybody that I see says it's really true, we're free.
 Freedom Day, it's Freedom Day. Free to vote and earn my pay.
 Dim my path and hide the way. But we've made it Freedom Day.

All Africa

The beat has a rich and magnificent history
Full of adventure, excitement, and mystery
Some of it bitter, and some of it sweet
But all of it part of the beat, the beat, the beat
They say it began with a chant and a hum
And a black hand laid on a native drum

Bantu, Zulu, Watusi, Ashanti, Herero, Grebo, Ibo, Masuto, Nyasa, Ndumbo, Umunda, Bobo,
Kongo, Hobo, Kikuyu, Bahutu, Mossi, Kisii (Kissi/Kisi), Mbangi, Jahomi, Fongo, Bandjoun,
Bassa, Yoruba, Gola, Ila, Mandingo, Mangbetu, Yosee, Bali, Angoli, Biombii, Mbole, Malinke,
Mende, Masai (Maasai), Masai, Masai

APPENDIX B

Charles Mingus, "Fables of Faubus" Lyrics

Fables of Faubus

Oh Lord! Don't let them shoot us!

Oh Lord! Don't let them stab us!

Oh Lord! Don't let them tar and feather us Oh Lord! No more swastikas!

Oh Lord! Don't want the Ku Klux Klan!

Mingus: Name me someone who's ridiculous?

Danny Richmond: Governor Faubus!

Mingus: Why is he so sick and ridiculous?

Richmond: He won't permit us in his schools!

Mingus: Then he's a fool!

Boo! Nazi Fascist Supremists!

Boo! Ku Klux Klan with your Jim Crow plan!

Mingus: Name me a handful that's ridiculous, Danny Richmond?

Richmond: Bilbo, Thomas, Faubus, Russel, Rockefeller, Byrd, Eisenhower

Mingus: Why are they so sick and ridiculous?

Richmond: two, four, six, eight.

Together: They brainwash and teach you hate!