THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

“WILL YOU STILL BE MINE?”:
MEMORY, PLACE, RACE, AND JAZZ ON CHICAGO’S SOUTH SIDE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

BY

MICHAEL ALLEMANA

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

JUNE 2020

to Von and George Freeman,
who both replied
this is always

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Abstract

This dissertation, based on ethnographic and archival research, examines the entanglements of race, space, and musical practice on Chicago's South Side jazz scene. Drawing from research in ethnomusicology, jazz studies, urban geography, critical race theory, and oral history, it argues that the spatial conditions of urban centers inextricably intertwine with social relations and culture and are therefore crucial factors shaping musical practices and scenes—cultural formations that sustain such activities as live performance, artistic growth, and audience participation. Across jazz scenes, venues—in African American neighborhoods, downtown business centers, or majority-white areas of a city—are valued places where musicians, audiences, and others co-create the music's changing practices and the scene's social life. Through three case studies that highlight the interplay of space, memory, culturally grounded pedagogy and musical practice in Chicago, the dissertation shows how, through long-term social interactions, musicians and audiences negotiate changing historical and artistic currents while strengthening their ties, deepening their knowledge and remaking their social worlds. Chapter 1 analyzes the exploitative conditions that black musicians endured from the 1920s to the 1960s while working within and across racial boundaries. Chapter 2 presents a history of the contributions of the black musicians' Local 208 in empowering, and sometimes exploiting, black musicians as laborers. Chapter 3 studies how venues organize scene knowledge by using an interview method called "the stroll" where musicians are driven to the sites of bygone venues and their stories recorded. The next two chapters present a case study of the New Apartment Lounge, a South Side venue that was home to a celebrated weekly jam session hosted by saxophonist Von Freeman whose quartet included this author on guitar from 1997 to 2012. Chapter 4 examines the experiences of musicians who often participated in the jam session and

how they use what they learned from Freeman in their present practice. Chapter 5 discusses the ways in which the club's audiences co-authored performances through material, emotional, and musical support of Freeman. Four premises underlie the case studies—that race and space are mutually constitutive social processes; that these processes both constrain and enable musical labor; that place functions as an epistemology that shapes musical, social, and cultural knowledges; and that music scenes have the potential to disrupt local spatial configurations.

Acknowledgments

This dissertation, like all dissertations, took years of effort, insights, stumbling, tears, and joy, much like when I sat across the bandstand from Von Freeman at the New Apartment Lounge. The research within these pages is the culmination of my time as one of Von's horses (1991 to 1997), as a member of his quartet (1997 to 2012), and as a researcher (2013 to present) of the rich musical worlds that Von, George Freeman, Charles Walton, Red Saunders, and innumerable others in Chicago have helped build and continue to build upon and transform. I thank everyone who has shared their stories, musical insight, scholarship, brilliant advice, intellectual gifts, and heartfelt honesty to help me realize this project. I am truly privileged to have worked with, performed beside, listened to, and learned from all of you.

I am humbled to have had the privilege of working with the elite scholars who comprise my committee. To my advisor Travis A. Jackson, I thank you for always being ready to engage any topic with focus, seriousness, and precision; for your seemingly infinite knowledge of music and scholarship which you share freely and generously; for your unwavering dedication to my work as well as your other advisees; for your close readings of my chapters; and for being a model of teacher and scholar who conveys humanity and musicality in every endeavor. To Philip V. Bohlman, I am humbled and grateful to have witnessed your leadership, discovered from your scholarship, listened to your musicianship, and received your wisdom and advice in meetings and in social conversation. I thank you for showing me how to be a scholar who is open, ethical, and empathetic to all manifestations of humanly organized sound. To William Sites, thank you for the patience, insight, and enthusiasm you displayed toward my writing and my research. Our conversations about urban space, urban history, and South Side cultural life shaped this work and I hope to continue our conversations well into the future.

I am indebted to the University of Chicago faculty, present and past, who have mentored me during this journey. To the chair of the Music Department Berthold Hoeckner, thank you for your dedicated support toward my scholarly and musical work and for your mentorship in the dissertation proposal seminar. To Kaley Mason and Melvin L. Butler, thank you for being models of sensitive and humane ethnographers and always having a moment to chat. To Larry Zbikowski, thank you for showing me that being both a rigorous scholar and a skilled performer is possible and for your time and detailed attention to my job market endeavors. To Martha Feldman, Bob Kendrick, and Anna Schultz, I thank you for the pleasant conversations we had in the hallways, in your offices, and in jazz clubs—each time we spoke, I learned. I am indebted to Michael Conzen in the Geography program for guiding me to ideas of space and place in cultural geography and in whose course I developed the stroll method. I am also indebted to Thomas Holt whose lectures on African American history have shaped this project.

I could not have sustained my research without the generous financial and institutional support of a dissertation fellowship from the University of Chicago's Center for the Study of Race, Politics, and Culture (CSRPC). Thank you Salikoko Mufwene and Trayce Matthews for supporting my work, for the peaceful office, and for the vibrant intellectual environment that you support at the center. Thank you to the CSRPC staff, Tierra Kilpatrick, Jacqueline Gaines, and Marilyn D. Willis, for your kind assistance and attention, and to Kevin-Orly Irakóze for coordinating an always thought-provoking Reproduction of Race and Racial Ideologies Workshop and for being a pleasant office mate. Thank you to Stephen Baker and Anne Dodge of the Mansueto Institute of Urban Innovation for your support during the 2016–2017 Urban Doctoral Fellows program and to my colleagues Lance Keane and Sneha Annavarpu whose feedback shaped part of this dissertation. Finally, a huge thank you to the Department of Music

for the Julie and Parker Hall Dissertation Award and the Lowell C. Wadmond Awards for travel support as well as to the great Music Department staff—Peter Gillette, Trista Trone, Angela Risi, and Aaronson Bell—for your kind assistance in department matters and fun conversation in the music office.

I could not have conducted this research without the support of libraries and archives. Thank you to Wayne Winborne, Tad Hershorn, and the staff of the Institute of Jazz Studies (IJS) at Rutgers University for two weeks of gracious attention and assistance with the Jazz Oral History Archive and for awarding me the Morroe Berger – Benny Carter Jazz Research Fellowship. Thank you to the staff of the Vivian G. Harsch Collection at the Woodson Library for your kind assistance with the Charles Walton papers. The Music Department's faculty and scholars could not produce such rich research without Scott Landvatter's leadership in the music library at the Joseph Regenstein Library. Thank you, Scott, for your dedicated service to our community.

To my tiny cohort, thank you for the innumerable conversations and lively debates during coursework and at department events as well as your generous support during comprehensive exams: Pierce Gradone, Lester Hu, John Lawrence, and Tommaso Sabbatini. My deepest gratitude and thanks to my graduate colleagues Lindsay Wright, Joseph Maurer, Bradley Spiers, Chelsea Burns, Maria Rose Welch, Laura Shearing Turner, Barbara Dietlinger, George Adams, Ted Gordon, Anabel Maler, Jon Bullock, Hannah Rogers, David Wilson, Nadia Chana, John Walsh, Miriam Tripaldi, Braxton Shelley, Lauren Eldridge Stewart, and Will Buckingham. You are all brilliant scholars and, at some point, you expanded my thinking and sense of possibility. To Ameera Nimjee, thank you for your incredible scholarly insights, for guiding me through so much of this process, and for our musical collaborations. Your support has been invaluable.

I am indebted to all the brilliant, kind, and generous individuals who shared their valuable time and knowledge with me to help realize this research. To Teddy Thomas, Michael Raynor, Margaret Murphy-Webb, Laura LaFave, Greg Ward, Kurt Elling, Frank Williams, and Steve Coleman, thank you for the long, honest and heartfelt conversations about Von Freeman, the New Apartment Lounge, and your fascinating ideas about music and life. Thank you to Elouise Rhymes for sharing your life story with me. We will truly miss you, Weezie. You made our lives richer and you made the New Apartment Lounge a musical home—rest in power. I am also truly grateful for Joan van der Muehlen's assistance in helping me to keep in touch with Weezie. Without you, Joan, the world would not have learned about Weezie's beauty, charm, and strength.

Conducting fieldwork in Amsterdam was an experience full of connection and fellowship with kind and generous musicians, scholars, club owners, record label owners, journalists, and photographers who lovingly shared their thoughts about Von Freeman. To Michael Moore, Hans Dulfer, and Ab Baars, thank you for your incredible musical insights about Von's impact on your musicianship and in Amsterdam. To Huub van Reil, thank you for your honest love for Von and for sharing your philosophies of music and what Von meant to you. Thank you to Francesca Patella for your beautiful photography, love for Vonski, and for the photographs of Von and Johnny Griffin, which sit proudly in George Freeman's living room. Finally, a huge thank you to Kevin Whitehead for his rich, detailed research of the Amsterdam scene and his personal guidance which made this fieldwork possible.

. During my time at University of Chicago, several visiting professors taught me many lessons in research, music, and life. To Regula Qureshi, thank you for your kind guidance in researching Islamic cultures and toward my fieldwork with Chicago's Shiite community. Thank

you Samuel Araújo for mentoring me on the tenets of applied ethnomusicology, for hosting my family in Rio de Janeiro, and for showing us your brilliant research center Musicultura in Maré. Thank you to Sergio Assad for asking me to assist you in your Brazilian music history course, teaching me more about guitar and music, and for your gracious support of my musical endeavors.

I have been incredibly fortunate to have apprenticed with brilliant thinkers and musicians who have shaped me as a scholar and musician. Thank you, Inna Naroditskaya, for coaching me at Northwestern University, pushing me as I developed my research, and offering me my first opportunity to publish. You have been a strong, rigorous, and unremitting mentor. I could never have gotten here without you. To Dennis Carroll, you have been a musical and life mentor for three decades now. Thank you for your passion and musicality in performance, and brilliant intellectual and poetic life perspectives, all of which continue to inspire my musical and scholarly work.

I am truly grateful for my friends and colleagues from the Chicago jazz scene who saw me through this entire process: Matt Ferguson, Gerald Dowd, Brian O'Hern, Sam Macy, Manya Gupta, Paul Marinaro, Alyssa Allgood, Tammy McCann, Mike Reed, Pete Benson, Neil Tesser, Geof Bradfield, Amy M. Mooney, Hinda Hoffman, Nathaniel Braddock, Clark Sommers, Al Ehrich, Lenny Marsh, Sue and Scotty Demel, Bill Brickey, Alton Smith, and Lindsay Weinberg. Thank you all for your support, suggestions, and love. Much gratitude goes to Dana Hall, Director of Jazz Studies at DePaul University, for encouraging me in 2012 to apply to the University of Chicago program and for providing sustaining musicality as I wrote these chapters. To Howard Reich of the Chicago Tribune, thank you for your consistent decades-long support of the Freemans and more recently of my work. You have helped make the Chicago jazz scene a

better place and we are all grateful for your dedication and passion. I am incredibly grateful and indebted to Lauren Deutsch who has supported my research and music, has offered me incredible performing opportunities, and was instrumental in providing the funding and support to help me realize my composition *Vonology,* the artistic component of this dissertation. You have made people's lives better because of your love and commitment to jazz in all its improvisational diversity.

This project would never have been realized without my parents, Frank and Kathleen Allemana, who taught me in my youth what it meant to labor for your passion and to never give up, no matter the circumstances. The example of integrity, dedication, and discipline that you provided has guided me through both my performing career and my graduate studies. Thank you for all the sacrifices you made to help me realize my life dreams. To my brother Brian and sister-in-law Amy, thank you for sharing your passion for knowledge and the cosmos, which continues to expand my perspectives of the world. To my brother David, sister-in-law Angie, and niece Scarlet, thank you for your support during this long period, particularly with fun baseball conversations and sharing Scarlet's amazing intellectual and athletic achievements.

À minha família brasileira, obrigado pelo apoio constante que vocês proporcionaram à Maria, Gabriela, e a mim durante este tempo. Agradeço minha cunhada Sandra e minha sobrinha Telma, pela suas preces que com certeza me ajudaram a alcalçar minhas metas. Eu não teria vencido esta etapa e nem teria chegado ao final do meu doutorado sem suas forças espirituais.

To the Freeman family—Mark and Chico Freeman, thank you for your unwavering support of my research of your father and uncle. Thank you, Mark, for pushing me to work on Von's legacy and for the love and dedication you have for George. Thank you, Chico, for

sharing insights in music and on Von and for our musical collaborations. I look forward to many more conversations with both of you over the coming years. To George Freeman—thank you for all that you have shared during this process. This dissertation is as much yours as it is mine. You have been a generous friend, mentor, and musical and scholarly collaborator. I am truly grateful for the life and musical lessons you continue to teach me every day. To Von Freeman—I still miss you every day, but the more I speak with people around the world, the more I realize you are still here and always will be. I am eternally indebted for the depths of creativity, music, and humanity that you displayed at every gig; the intensity and focus you brought to your art; and the knowledge and wisdom you generously shared with me and anyone who knew you.

Lastly, the deepest gratitude and love go to my wife Maria and my daughter Gabriela. You both sacrificed your time and displayed extraordinary patience to see me through these seven years. To Gabi, I watched you grow from a ten-year-old who would write "ethnomusicology" on the blackboard while bored in my seminar classes to an accomplished musician who moves people with your angelic voice, and a brilliant young woman who works with formidable discipline and has the biggest and brightest future. To Maria, your support and love for me has been unwavering during this process in which you also earned your MSW and LSCW. I could not have made it to this point without your strength to keep our family functioning and your belief in my research. I am deeply grateful for your love and partnership.

Introduction

Musicians love to tell stories. They recall musical moments which get them going—the accompaniment techniques of a great pianist, something odd done by an audience member, or the gig where they met Herbie Hancock while performing at the airport. When musicians think about the past, they are not engaged solely in acts of remembering grand moments, but in acts of representing culture, social processes, and geography. They will tell you about venues where they used to play, who frequented them, and perhaps describe their clienteles, thus telling you about the "where" of those settings (McKittrick 2006). Surely, a club in Iowa will shape a musical experience differently from, say, a small bar in Harlem. As the musicians talk, listen—and you will gain knowledge about musical practice, social relationships, and spatial configurations.

This dissertation explores the relationship between music, society, and space by posing two simple questions. First, in what ways might these three domains mutually shape each other? And second, what do the spatial and temporal factors surrounding musical experience tells us about why music is powerful for those who perform it and those who support its live, material, and virtual forms? Jazz provides a useful case for examining how musical styles connect social, historical, and spatial dimensions of representation.[1] Think about the popular narrative of jazz

[1] I use the term "jazz" reluctantly, recognizing the controversy behind the term, its racial connotations (, and the recent debate generated by trumpeter Nicholas Payton that jazz "died" in 1959 and that it should fall under the umbrella term "Black American Music" (BAM). I am also familiar with alto saxophonist Steve Coleman's solution of using the term "spontaneous composition." As fraught as the term is, "jazz" is used by all participants interviewed here, all of my musician colleagues, and in all archived interviews studied for this project (see Roach 1972; Porter 2002; Duke Ellington's comments in Cohen 2010, 21, 164, 204, 242; Ake 2012; Payton 2014 for further discussions). One solution comes from Travis A. Jackson who argues that researchers should work to understand "jazz" as "the creation and maintenance" of a social

starting in New Orleans, moving up the Mississippi River and then to Chicago (which falters geographically since Chicago is 100 miles east of the Mississippi), and then finding footing in New York City. Geography is the context. In this narrative, Louis Armstrong is usually represented as the progenitor who brought the music from Storyville in New Orleans, to the South Side of Chicago, and then to Harlem. Race and geography conjoin. In Chicago, Louis Armstrong played for silent films with Erskine Tate at the Vendome Theater and then performed the rest of the evening at the Sunset Café, a mob-owned cabaret, where he continued to develop an innovative improvisational practice (Wilson 1977). Musical practice, race, and place intersect. Armstrong, who lives on the South Side developed a friendship with white cornetist Jimmy McPartland, who lived on the North Side, and they get together occasionally to smoke a "muggle" (McPartland 1973).[2] Social relationships, race, and space entangle. These details of Armstrong's experiences reflect the racial and spatial conditions of segregated Chicago, the music's development, and his musical practice—music, society, and space in Chicago of the mid-1920s.

Telling stories exhibits representations of positionality, of historical and musical knowledge and one's relation to those knowledges (Thomson 2011, 89–90; Berliner 1994, 201), and of meanings of place (Villarreal 2006, 47; McKittrick 2011, 948).[3] Furthermore, telling stories brings the past to the present for present, a textual and contextual event (Chamberlain and

convention comprised of varied and changing factors which inform a cultural practice that has allowed "a single, though contested, sign to denote something symbolically in differing times and places" (2016a, 384).

[2] Muggle was the vernacular term for a marijuana cigarette in the 1920s (McPartland 1973).

[3] I conceptualize positionality as "race, age, class, gender, religion, ethnicity, nationality, sexuality, personality, and other attributes that are markers of relational positions in society" (Šikić-Mićanović 2010, 46).

Thompson 1998, xiii). The following vignette involving with the late Chicago saxophonist Von Freeman (1923–2012) illustrates these points. From 1997 to 2012 I was Freeman's guitarist at the New Apartment Lounge (NAL), a black jazz club located at 504 E. Seventy-Fifth Street on Chicago's South Side.

On one evening in May of 2009, Freeman, drummer Michael Raynor, bassist Matt Ferguson, and I have set up on the bandstand (see figure 1). Freeman, as is usual before the set, asked Weezie, the bartender, for a pair of sunglasses. She was serving drinks to some of her regulars, so she responded, "just a minute, Von." She walked over toward the section of the bar closest to the stage. Freeman calmly strolled to the bar and she pulled out a small box and said, "I got a few here. Pick what you'd like." Freeman laughed and said, "Aw, look at these red shades. Beautiful." He placed them over his eyes and walked back to the bandstand. He paused for a moment, maybe a minute or so, with his saxophone hanging on his shoulder, appearing to be deep in thought. He came out of the incantation and said to us, "Y'all had your Wheaties? Three flats. You got it, Michael," referring to the drummer. We immediately understood that we were about to play something in E♭ at a brisk tempo with Raynor to solo for eight bars. I looked at Ferguson who shrugs his shoulders, neither of us knowing what song we were about to play. After Raynor's eight bars, I played an E♭ major seventh chord just to be safe, and Freeman started playing the melody to "Will You Still Be Mine?" by Tom Adair and Matt Dennis, and we were locked in.

After the melody, Freeman began his solo by playing several thematic ideas, developing one phrase to the next. After two choruses, he started to play pitches outside of the key. I decided to stop providing accompaniment. I listened, fascinated as the energy rose at each chorus while

he manipulated the tone of his saxophone through harmonics and screaming high pitches. When he finished, it seemed to me as though Freeman was in a transcendent state during his solo. The patrons seemed to agree from their loud, enthusiastic applause and one of my least favorite activities follows—taking a solo after Freeman improvised masterfully. After the set, Freeman introduced his rhythm section, three white men, by presenting each player as coming "all the way from the North Side."

Figure 1: Von Freeman at the New Apartment Lounge, 2009. From L-R: Von Freeman, Matt Ferguson, Michael Raynor, and Michael Allemana. Photo courtesy of Harvey S. Tillis.

As we walked away from the bandstand, I decided to ask Freeman what he was thinking during his first solo.[4] I sauntered up to Freeman who was already sitting at the bar drinking a bottle of cranberry juice that Laura LaFave, one of the NAL regulars, brought for him. I inquired, "Von, I want to ask you about the stuff you were playing on that tune. What were you thinking about? Do you think of superimposing different tonal constructions or different harmonies?" Wearing his sunglasses, I assumed he was looking at me and as he said, "Michael, you know I love you," and rubbed my shoulder, one of his routine ways of expressing affection. "Let me tell you what I was doing." He grabbed the bottle cap of the cranberry juice, and invited me, "Imagine this is the tonic. Now imagine there is a rainbow around the tonic." He waved his hand around the bottle cap and disclosed, "I play in the rainbow. But don't stay in the rainbow for too long, or it becomes chaos. You always have to come back to the tonic." I imagined the colors of the rainbow and thought about how Freeman's use of pitches and timbre could metaphorically represent color and temperature through dissonance and intensity. I walked away, partly disappointed that I had not learned some concrete theoretical equipment to add to my musical toolbox, but at the same time, stimulated by the possibilities of developing conceptual tools that his abstract explanation provoked.

I commence this project with a memory that has remained with me since 2009. The story represents historical knowledge of Von Freeman's jam session; it provided insight into improvisational practice through metaphor; it reveals a way of using geography to acknowledge racial difference; it reveals my positionality as a white guitarist; it maintained a lineage through

[4] In an email correspondence with saxophonist Steve Coleman the next day, I described what Freeman played as "other worldly" (May 13, 2009). I also speculated that Freeman was upset that the drummer, Michael Raynor, had arrived late.

Freeman's abstract music lesson, a transfer of knowledge to a younger performer from an elder who performed with the likes of Charlie Parker and Lester Young; and it shows how a moment in a significant place can give rise to stories about musical experiences for later use, in this case for research, at other times for teaching my own students.

Stories, however, are not told only from the standpoint of musicians, but also from the perspective of enthusiasts of the music who do not perform. Audience members tell stories of attending extraordinary musical events, meeting musicians, and witnessing odd social interactions. Indeed, one of the premises of this project is that musicians do not create autonomous art—they are situated beings in the world along with audiences who co-author musical events through different forms of social agency (Jackson 2016b, 41; Greenland 2016). This dissertation, then, examines musicians and audiences telling stories as a means of investigating musical practice and social life in segregated Chicago from historical, ethnographic, and oral narrative standpoints.

The local jazz scene is the focus of this research. Scenes are "particular clusters of social and cultural activity" which "may be distinguished according to their location,...the genre of cultural production which gives them coherence,...or the loosely defined social activity around which they take shape" (Straw 2004, 412; see also Straw 1991; Jackson 2012; Kahn-Harris 2009). The jazz scene consists of the places and people dedicated to sustaining the social life and musical practices of the music. The people who participate in the jazz scene, what I term its *scene participants*, are the musicians; journalists; club owners; wait staff; directors, programmers and other employees of non-profit organizations and city institutions that support jazz programming; radio personnel; and, when looking back to the mid-twentieth century, dancers,

comedians, and other entertainers.[5] Scene participants support all types of activity required for the music to survive (Becker 1982).

This dissertation argues that the spatial conditions of urban centers inextricably intertwine with social relations and culture and are therefore crucial factors in shaping musical practices and music scenes—in this case, the local jazz scene. This argument is buttressed by three case studies—one historical, one ethnographic, and one oral historical. Together, these case studies examine the Chicago jazz scene from the perspective of scene participants of diverse backgrounds who performed, hung out, made friends, dedicated themselves to artistry, committed themselves to specific musicians, endured racism, performed at high or mediocre levels, lived the city's segregation differently, cried during a ballad, enacted lineage, transmitted knowledge, gained knowledge, and told stories. By drawing attention to the messiness of lived musical practice, this work contributes an ethnomusicological study of music in culture at the nexus of race and space, and through the dynamic contributions of Chicago's jazz scene participants.

Geography, Race, and Music

As I started to perform more often with Von Freeman in the 1990s, I noticed how the stories the elder musicians told featured racial and spatial metaphors. Freeman and others would talk about how I was from the North Side, or someone would say "you cats from the North Side" when

[5] I draw the term *participants* from several scholars who use the term, including Ruth M. Stone (1982) who studies participants of what she terms "musical events," and Travis A. Jackson (2012).

referencing my whiteness.[6] Several elder musicians and audience participants who often frequented the NAL told stories about the places they performed or frequented that carried a special significance. For example, Von Freeman told stories about being in the house band with his brothers at the Pershing Ballroom in the Woodlawn neighborhood. Teddy Thomas, a local vocalist who grew up with saxophonist Eddie Harris, bassist Malachi Favors, and pianist Andrew Hill, told stories about people he met and music he played at the Archway Lounge, also in Woodlawn (Thomas 2018). At the time, I became curious about why historical, musical, and racial matters had this spatial element and why geography and place were compelling aspects of their stories.

As I embarked on this research project, I focused on what connected space, race, and music. In the second year of my graduate study, I took a geography course with Michael P. Conzen entitled "Urban Geography as Social Text" which introduced me to a wide range of scholars in the field. Thinking of space as a relational process rather than a static background to social action opened my thinking about my past experiences performing with Freeman. Thinking with geographers, then, unlocked possibilities of reading archival sources, developing ethnographic methods, and interpreting interview data.

Space, Place, and Race

What follows is a discussion of the ways this project draws from geography for the concepts of space and place and then how, using critical race theory and work in black geographies, this

[6] Freeman and other participants also explicitly pointed out my whiteness. When I started regularly frequenting the NAL, Freeman's pianist, Jon Logan, gave me the nickname "the white boy." Others would point out my whiteness while I performed such as "play your guitar, white boy!" See T.M. Scruggs (2001) on Freeman's use of Chicago's racialized geography to acknowledge racial difference.

project connects space, place, and race. Doreen Massey theorizes space as having three basic components (1992, 94; 2005, 9). First, space is the product of interactions and interrelations, whether at global or a local scale. Second, space constitutes a plurality of relations: "multiplicity and space are co-constitutive" (Massey 2005, 183). Finally, space is always part of a never-ending process of becoming. Since space is constituted of a multiplicity of material, social, and cultural relations, it is always under construction. Massey argues, "Space does not exist prior to identities/entities and their relations" (10). Therefore, she understands identities and entities in the world as relational subjectivities, not as essences, that constitute and are constitutive of space. A relational understanding of the world sees relations as "embedded practices," the social, cultural, and economic practices that shape spatial relations. Thus, her research "asks questions of the geographies of relations" (183).

While relationality is important for understanding space, (e.g. the white North Side can only be understood in relation to the Black South Side and vice-versa and to the power differentials between those parts of the city), I am interested in the specificity of places, how particular places were meaningful for jazz scene participants and how those experiences in particular places inform their present experiences of those and other places. To do this, I draw upon Tim Cresswell who defines place as "a portion of space that has accumulated particular meanings at both the level of the individual and the social" (2014, 4). In this formulation, places consist of three components.[7] The first is location, a measurable position that enables humans to

[7] Other writers have, alongside Cresswell, theorized different conceptual components of place: Anderson (2013) describes place as a position in space; sociocultural elements, "the cultural positioning and social relations of the people, processes, and practices involved in co-producing that location;" and temporal, the changes over time of a site. Cresswell (2004:7, citing Agnew 1987) argues that there are three aspects of place: a point on the planet that can be seen; its locale, or the material setting for social relations or the knowing of a place; and the sense of

locate themselves. Second is locale, which refers to the physical and social contexts "within which social relations unfold," and is the "setting for particular practices that mark it out from other places" (5). The third component is sense of place, the individual or collective meanings people attach to a place.[8]

For Cresswell, places through people do particular work in the world. Places gather materialities, meanings, and practices which can take the form of objects, memories, emotions, and discourse, and I would include sound. For example, jazz venues can gather physical objects (musical instruments, sound equipment, and recordings in the form of vinyl, CDs, or other media); aesthetic and musical meanings which intersect with social and spatial meanings; the constantly negotiated conventions of musical practice, the sound of musical performances, and stories of past experience. Furthermore, though places are material—e.g., brick, mortar, bar, bar stools, and carpet—places are the result "of the meanings that are produced through acts of representation" (11), that is, they can be represented or representational. People mark place through naming places, telling stories (e.g. collective, official, subversive, or musical stories) which also index positionality, and reiterate social and cultural practices. A web of both vertical

---

place, or the subjective and emotional attachments to experience of place. Finally, Castree's components include location, a sociocultural aspect that connects to individual and group identity, the scale of everyday life, the relationship of place to other places in local, regional, national, and global scales, which is a way of theorizing place difference and interdependence as simultaneous (2009:153).

[8] Researchers in the fields of sociology, environmental psychology, human geography, anthropology, among others, have examined "place attachment," defined as the emotional link an individual creates with a site, manifesting through social interactions (Milligan 1998, 2). Place attachment occurs when a place is experienced and becomes on object to which an individual becomes emotionally bonded (ibid, 7). Researchers study this phenomenon in a host of contexts such as work settings (Milligan 1998, 2003); attachment to different place scales, such as home, second-home, city, and country (Gustafson 2006; Gustafson 2009; Laczko 2005; Stedman 2006); and in the effects of urban renewal on African American residents displaced by those policies (Fullilove 1996, 2004; Kleit and Manzo 2006).

and horizontal perspectives constitute a sense of place—the vertical being the "here" of place, a sense of rootedness and belonging that goes with place where a place seems particular and unique, and the horizontal being how places relate to other places, deriving their identities in relation to other place identities, produced "through relations with multiple elsewheres," articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings (13).[9] The assemblage of expressive practices and material components gathered in place can stabilize or destabilize, change, or transform a place's identity, hence, places are in perpetual process, becoming and dissolving daily, with flows of people and practices entering from outside and also escaping, thus places are "constituted through their relations to the world beyond" (8).

Important for this dissertation is how stories, informed by memory, connect to place and how one can derive knowledge from those stories. Place links to memory through connections between meaning and materiality (Cresswell 2014, 15). The stories told about place, which arise out of memories, ideologies, and meanings, become hierarchical, with some aspects remembered, some erased (16). The gathering function of place links past to present through the seemingly ephemeral practices, particularly performance practices. A memory of a performance, say a memorable solo or rendition of a jazz standard, becomes a singular event, in part, through its disappearance. Since practices repeat, however, their iteration and reiteration contribute to the

[9] Cresswell thinks that a pure relational focus, which he attributes to Massey, loses the sense of place "here-ness" which can attract or resist certain types of flows (Cresswell 2014, 19). He is more interested in examining the relations between fixity and flows. For instance, when I visit the site of past places with my interlocutors in Chapter 3, the venue comes alive for them. They move from past to present in their narratives, remembering the "here-ness" they experienced performing or socializing at the venue and making connections to the current moment. They also think of the venues where they performed in relation to other South Side clubs—what sorts of social positions were in the audiences compared to other venues, what jazz styles they were allowed to play, and the sorts of working conditions were at different venues.

meaning of place. Moreover, Cresswell thinks of memory and place as mutually produced (17), therefore places are archives of practices (Turkel 2007), or, following Diana Taylor, repertories of practices (2003, 82).

Places are conceived in this dissertation as locations that gather memories and meanings of social interactions and musical experiences. As musicians talk about their experiences, they weave social histories, performance practices, and workplace conditions into their stories about places. In Chapter 3 as I drive interlocutors to the sites of bygone venues, at each location, they move back and forth from the present to the past, noting that the locale of a place today is an empty lot or abandoned structure and relating that present to the locale of rich social and musical activity. They tell stories of moving from one place to another and how one place's working conditions were exploitative while another place paid fairly. Each place we visit retrieves the ongoing stories that constitute place.

In his philosophy of place, Edward S. Casey argues that "place is the most fundamental form of embodied experience" where self, space, and time fuse (Feld and Basso 1996, 9). To be in place is to know, become aware of one's presence in the world. This perspective has been given support in recent neurological and psychological research that demonstrates that there are mechanisms in the brain which use place to construct and recall memory. The retrosplenial cortex sits in the central area of the brain and has been found by neuroscientists to form what they term "episodic memories," which lock objects and ideas to a time and a place, forming associations between different stimuli (Robinson et. al 2014). Furthermore, Miller showed that that neural representations of the content of any experience, stimulated by "place" neurons, link to spatial and temporal contexts (2013). When one considers musical experience, therefore, the

stories of places recalled by my interlocutors are part of the human process of social and musical orientation and knowledge creation in place.

Though place is vital for human orientation, space and place are not separate entities, but sit in mutual production. Space is not a generalized, abstract opposite to particularistic place—space and place need each other to fulfill each other's potential (Agnew 2005, 89–92). This study, then, examines spatiality, "how space/place enter into human lives and social arrangements" on the local jazz scene, both historically and ethnographically (81). Where this nexus informs social and cultural activity is through scale. A place, such as a jazz venue, can represent particular musical practices, social milieus, or be supportive place to perform in comparison to a club where the owner is more exploitative. That club participates in different scalar relationships. The South Side, for example, is one scale, which is constructed as African American by both North Siders, who might see the South Side as a space that represents the "where" of a racialized other, and by African American residents who produce social and cultural life in that space.

Debates about scale in geography center on whether it is an ontological, material phenomenon or an epistemological, ideational one (Herod 2011, 35–36). I argue that scale is both when considering the racial frame that surrounds interpretations of physical space, but that scale is always in process, the boundaries and what scale represents in constant process. The South Side is an example of a scale of space that, depending on positionality of the observer, would have racial, cultural, and musical meanings invested in the imagined space and the physical space, marked by actual streets, which have functioned has boundaries enforced in different ways over time. Furthermore, there are real social effects at the scalar level, which I examine as part of the local jazz scene throughout this dissertation.

The scalar imaginary presents scales as fixed and natural. The North Side has always been the North Side, the city, the city, and so on. Herod proposes three stages of scalar existence—historical formation, stabilization, and destabilization. The South Side and North Side racial imaginary is a good example in this model. The North Side was formed when the South Side grew from the first migration of WWI. After the 1919 riot, city policy, policing and Irish gang violence were the stabilizing forces of those scales. Then urban renewal, the war on drugs, deindustrialization, uneven development and more police violence would be the force that prevented or subverted destabilization attempts, such as the Black Panthers' social programs, or neighborhood protests of police violence. In the historical chapters of the dissertation, for instance, black musicians who crossed racial boundaries were subverting to some degree the racial components of spatial scale, but at the same time were stabilizing it through cultural means. Altogether, space and place are mutually produced through social relations and cultural practices, which are shaped by the "scalar fixes" that inform the social agents' actions (Herod 2011, xv).

Racialization and Black Geographies

Processes of racialization have a spatial dimension where racial dynamics project onto space "as a means of identifying individuals and posting the significance of their connection to collective orders" (Hartigan 1999, 14). Race relations are regional relations—spatial structures are the outcome and medium for those social relations suffused with racial discourse (Wade 2000, 54). Chicago is shaped by regional relations which inform the local racial imaginations (Radano and Bohlman 2000, 2), normatively mapped as South Side/black, North Side/white. These relations are fluid and historical, thus musicians' oral testimonies provide a portal into how jazz musicians

have made their lives within the changing racial dynamics of local spatial arrangements. Furthermore, as critical race theorists argue, the character of "race" is provisional, always changing, so analyzing black jazz musicians' experiences would provide insight into changes and consistencies of racial conditions as the worked on the Chicago jazz scene (Delgado and Stefancic 2017; Omi and Winant 2015, 106; Hartigan 1999, 15). Furthermore, race is a relational construct, thus the nexus of race and geography reveals the mutual construction of whiteness and blackness (Mullen 2008, 8). Geography in the end is not race neutral (Reese 2019, 3)—race maps onto geography and geography onto race. Race is both an identity marker and, under the anti-black institutional and social structures of the U.S. and other societies of the Black Atlantic, implies the "where of blackness" (McKittrick 2006, xviii) and of the where whiteness.

I draw from black geographies literature to frame the case studies herein. Scholars of black geographies (McKittrick 2006, 2011, 2013; McKittrick and Woods 2007; Ramirez 2015; Reese 2019; Bledsoe and Wright 2019) argue that dominant narratives, which have the power to shape structures and conditions, tend to represent marginalized communities as communities of lack, as nothingness, and do not consider the context, history, agency, and assets of black communities (Reese 2019, xiii).[10] Anti-blackness—the structural violence and racial terror that have historically been manifested in urban policy, policing, and vigilante actions, and the condition that produces and reinforces the expendability of black live—stems from attempts to "curtail black mobility in and access to public space" (3). Black people, however, have always contested their expendability and mobility over space and time. Therefore, McKittrick, Reese,

[10] Reese argues that the term "food desert" reinforces this notion of lack in black communities. She suggests using the term "food apartheid" because it highlights the structural causes and systematic racism behind food access in the U.S. (2019, 13).

and others want scholars to address the generative and creative activity in black communities to get out of the "all-encompassing narrative of lack" and deprivation (13; hooks 1990, 111). Focusing on black geographies makes clearer that where there is constraint, there is possibility; where there is harm, there is care; where there is destruction, there is community building (4).

Black subjects provide alternative geographies which are embedded in their neighborhoods (Ramirez 2015, 749). Therefore, "black geographies offer an alternate telling of history and a different spatial imaginary of the world, expanding geographers' conceptions of how space is produced across geographies of domination" (750). Katherine McKittrick writes that "space and place give black lives meaning in a world that has, for the most part, incorrectly deemed black populations and their attendant geographies as 'ungeographic' and/or philosophically undeveloped" (2006, xiii). Reese further argues that focusing on black geographies "reinscribes black ways of being, knowing, and doing as essential to understanding place-making" (Reese 2019, 8). McKittrick argues that a black sense of place stems from the structural workings of anti-black racism which attempt to keep black bodies and cultures in place (from the plantation to the segregated urban enclave) while at the same time tagging them as placeless (2011, 950).[11] Under this paradox, "these communities innovatively worked within, across, and outside commonsense cartographic and topographical texts." A black sense of place centers black humanity rather than focusing on "suffering and dispossession."

A local South Side jazz club is illustrative of black geographies produced through the jazz scene. The Crown Propeller Lounge, which was located at 868 East Sixty-Third Street in the

[11] McKittrick further argues, "the geographies of the racial other are emptied out of life precisely because the historical constitution of these geographies has cast them as the lands of no one" (2013, 7).

Woodlawn neighborhood, was a popular venue in the 1940s and 50s. Stories African American jazz musicians have told about the club emphasize black ways of living at certain historical moments, gatherings of black social and cultural life, and black humanity as they lived, worked, and made music within their community. Guitarist George Freeman remembered playing there with organist Wild Bill Davis and recalled that the intermission act was a female escape artist who would escape from a large aquarium (Freeman 2014a).[12] Vocalist Nancy Wilson mentioned this club as a place where the white owners, Mildred and Norman Schlossberg, had the expectation, which Wilson defied, that female singers would mingle with the male customers during band breaks (Travis 1983, 478–9). At the club, bassist Wilbur Ware met bassist Paul Chambers who was performing with Miles Davis in 1957 and who convinced Ware to move to New York after Art Blakey sent a telegram asking Ware to join the Jazz Messengers (Ware 1977).[13] Lastly, when visiting the former site of the club, vocalist Teddy Thomas recalled that when he was starting his career in the 1950s, African Americans could not go east of Stony Island, four blocks east from the Crown Propeller, without suffering violent reprisals for crossing into a white area (Thomas 2018).

Musical Practice and Place

Central to this dissertation are musical performance in and the venues of the local jazz scene. Having been a professional performer since 1992, I am familiar with the theoretical and

[12] George Freeman in discussion with the author, June 2016. When I mentioned the Crown Propeller in a casual conversation with drummer Leroy Williams who was performing with pianist Barry Harris at the Village Vanguard in New York, he seemed surprised that someone of my age would even know of the club (in discussion with the author, August 2016).

[13] Ware received the telegram at the Cotton Club, which was around the corner from the Crown Propeller, because Ware noted that he did not have a permanent address because, as Ware put it, he had been "chasing that powder like a fool." (ibid)

embodied knowledges required for professional-level improvisation. Describing musical practice and experience, however, is a difficult task (Seeger 1977) and one that is differently addressed by musicians. In the preceding post-performance vignette, Freeman used a rainbow metaphor to describe what he played during one particular solo. He might have explained how knowledge of pitch configurations or harmony guides his thinking, but he chose otherwise.[14]

Drawing from jazz scholarship and my performance experience, I approach improvised musical practice on the Chicago jazz scene through two framing concepts, one structuring and one descriptive. First, I use the term *aesthetic* throughout this dissertation to denote both the "shared normative and evaluative criteria" (Jackson 2012, 125) as well as the conceptual and stylistic interests among improvisers which together structure their improvisational practice.[15] Second, I use the term *improvisational language* to describe the stylistic or idiomatic use of musical techniques, or musical vocabulary, which is structured by an aesthetic that a musician deploys. For example, I will use a term such as "bebop language" to denote musical vocabulary that is grounded in Charlie Parker's style. Most musicians I have interviewed and most, if not all, with whom I have performed use the term language to describe different stylistic vocabularies.[16]

To connect musical practice and place, I draw from Stephen Feld and Keith H. Basso's edited volume *Senses of Place* (1996). Thinking of sense in terms of both making sense of place

[14] Chapter 4 explores Freeman's pedagogy as an interpretive one that affords students an interpretive space through abstract representation of his and others' practice.
[15] I recognize Travis A. Jackson's important term "blues aesthetic" connects to some of my interlocutors' statements, particularly meanings such as individual voice, understanding cultural foundations, blues musical vocabulary, bringing life experience to the music, and capacity for transcendence.
[16] Eddie S. Meadows (2003) examines in detail the musical languages of Charlie Parker (173–218), Dizzy Gillespie (157–72), and other celebrated performers by analyzing the modes, scales, intervals, arpeggios, melodic sequences, and repetition that they deploy in the improvisations.

and sensing place, the authors describe senses of place as the "experiential and expressive ways individuals know, imagine, yearn for, hold, remember, voice, live, contest, and struggle over place;" the ways sensation relates to emplacement—the making of and grounding in place; and the metonymic and metaphoric ties places have to identities (11).

Feld goes beyond Cresswell, arguing sound and place conjoin in an epistemology that structures conceptions of place and contributes to the naturalizing of place (Feld 1996, 91). Reflecting on his research in Papua New Guinea, he formulates the concept of *acoustemology*, "local conditions of acoustic sensation, knowledge, and imagination embodied in the culturally particular sense of place resounding in Bosavi" (ibid., 93).[17] Feld is looking here to inquire into the nexus of sound and the material and social qualities of experience (Novak and Sakakeeny 2015, 12). Espousing the position that the world is constituted relationally—that there is nothing anterior to beings in relation— the scholar concerned with acoustemology explores the ways of knowing at the intersection of musical and social practices in place.

Feld's concept converges the concepts of geographers who argue that practice and process are integral aspects of placemaking and that, by emphasizing events, researchers can understand the embodied relationship to the world that is part of place experience (Seamon 1979, Thrift 1996). Though I do not hereafter refer explicitly to acoustemology, I believe Feld's ideas combined with McKittrick's helps one to understand and analyze black musicians' stories of music and social interactions at the places where they regularly performed or socialized. For example, a musical practice, such as vocalist Teddy Thomas learning tunes to perform with his friends at the Archway Lounge in the late 1950s (see Chapter 3), intersects with the social

[17] This term conjoins "acoustic" and "epistemology" to "theorize sounds as a way of knowing" (Novak and Sakakeeny 2015, 12).

processes within the club, such as musicians conversing with customers, performing what was appropriate for the venue, helping out staff, and unwillingly being involved in union politics.

Improvisational language and aesthetics also foment a sense of place. For example, when I performed at the NAL with Von Freeman, if he implied a D half-diminished chord instead of D minor seventh chord on a ballad in the key of C, the musicians would sense what he was doing, make musical sense of it, and musically respond, and audience members might notice and appreciate both his change and our response. I heard Freeman make this move multiple times, so for me it creates an emotional effect that I still use today, something I learned and sensed in a place and which informs my present practice. The musicians in this dissertation had similar musical experiences at the clubs where they performed, with each place organizing and offering particular musical lessons and stories.

Storytelling as History, Practice, and Pedagogy

Jerome Bruner argues that storytelling is an essential life process (2002, 2004). Humans are unable to convey lived experience, he avers, outside the forms of narrative (Bruner 2004, 693). Storytellers develop frameworks for understanding the past, not in isolation nor autonomously, but as dialogic acts, interactional achievements where their interlocutors become co-authors (Bruner 2010, 3). Narratives are selections of reality, not reflections (43). Thus, stories highlight aspects of past social and musical experience as well as aspects of the subjectivity of their tellers.

The scene participants of this dissertation illustrate that storytelling is a crucial dimension to music-making.[18] The importance of place in their stories, principally at the scales of venues

[18] Storytelling could also be thought of as part of "musicking," Christopher Small's term to describe the act of experiencing music in all its dimensions including performing, listening,

and city regions (North Side and South Side), is evidenced through the intimate details of individual musical experience, which for scene participants is sedimentary and multi-dimensional, organized around the musical events one remembers, the people with and for whom one performed, and the places where these experiences occurred. Memories of performances write upon and create palimpsests that themselves leave traces of musical conception and sound that a jazz musician or other scene participant may use in the present (Jackson 2016a).

If storytelling is crucial for musical practice, then memory is also an important component. Kay Kauffman Shelemay argues that "musical experience is sustained in memory as both a sound world and an affect-laden recollection of the past" (2006, 20). Caroline Bithell further argues that there is no final rendition of the past, that people mold the past through multiple interpretations that selectively forget, erode, and invent (2006, 5-6). The scene participants of this dissertation demonstrate what they choose to remember through their stories, which when taken together, illustrate a tapestry of interpretations of place, people, and musical practice. Furthermore, oral representations of the past cannot be detached from the contexts and relationships of the tellers and their audiences, thus oral sources are always the result of a relationship—interviewers call the oral testimony into existence (Portelli 1981, 103; Tonkin 1992, 2).

---

cheering for soloists, owning venues, writing articles and promotional materials, booking festivals, and so forth (1998, 9). Greenland (2016) uses Small's idea, coining the term 'jazzing' to include" the crucial roles club owners, journalists, and jazz fans play on the New York jazz scene. Oral historians have even proposed the term "storying" (Pollock 2005, 23; Randall 2015, 4).

Methods and the Field

This dissertation is based on archival work (Chapters 1 and 2), ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Chicago (Chapter 3), and interviews (Chapters 4 and 5). My relation to this research intertwines with my career as a jazz guitarist and my racialized subjectivity. I was born and raised in a white suburb outside of Chicago to a father who owned a successful business and a mother who was a middle school math teacher. My interest in music began when I watched my mother teach guitar when I was in grade school. After taking guitar lessons in middle school, I developed an interest in jazz, particularly tunes sung by Frank Sinatra, due to my grandfather who was the son of Italian immigrants, and African American musicians such as George Benson and Wes Montgomery introduced to me by my guitar teacher. I eventually pursued a BA in Jazz Performance at Northern Illinois University and graduated in 1991. After being introduced to Von Freeman in 1990 by Fareed Haque, my guitar professor, I started to go to the New Apartment Lounge every Tuesday to hear Von Freeman and participate in the jam session. It was there that I learned how to conduct myself in a professional manner, became close to Freeman, and became acutely aware of my whiteness. Freeman nicknamed me "the white boy," spoke to me about the importance of learning to play well on slow blues and ballads, and had me perform with singers who were sitting in for the jam session so that when they chose unfamiliar tunes, I would learn how catch them by ear. People also conversed with me about being white and introduced me to racialized social perspectives with which I was not familiar because of my upbringing.

Freeman's African American pianist Jon Logan decided to mentor me and invited me to sit in on his gigs and to his home to teach me principles of harmony and ear training. Going to the South Side two or three times a week generated greater curiosity in me regarding how

geography shaped social structures and culture. For example, I was not familiar with South Side streets, so I would get lost much more often than on the North Side. Freeman and others would comment upon how I was from the North Side. Once, when stopping by the Leather Lounge, a small South Side bar that presented jazz on Wednesday evenings, to hear Jon Logan's organ group, Logan announced on the microphone that his "eldest son" was "in the house" and was going to play some guitar. Someone at the bar yelled, "yeah, he's so old he turned white" and the room burst into laughter. Thus, race and geography were ever present in my South Side experiences.

Three methods were used to compile data for this research. The archival work was conducted at the Jazz Oral History Project (JOHP) at Rutgers University's Institute for Jazz Studies and the Charles Walton Collection in the Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection at the Woodson Regional Library in Chicago. In these two archives, I gathered data from interviews with musicians who lived and worked in Chicago for some period of their career and then I coded the materials, highlighting names, places and dates and identifying recurring themes. The Walton Collection, however, assumed special significance because when I first met Freeman, Charles Walton was his drummer. Walton and I spoke often about musical techniques and local history. Furthermore, his collection holds several interviews of musicians with whom I often performed. When hearing the voices and stories of these men and women, I gathered data, but I also felt myself to be part of a lineage, making connections between my memories of these individuals and their memories of music-making. I learned of events that my colleagues, who also performed with these musicians, were not familiar with, so when telling them, we became more deeply enmeshed in that lineage through the stories.

I conducted fieldwork using method I term "the stroll." The method consisted of my driving and being guided by interlocutors to meaningful places from their musical pasts, all the while filming our conversations. Drawing from semi-structured interview methods, I did not plan the drives with musicians, though I asked them to think of places before we left, so we moved through the city as each place informed the moment. As we move, a house, a street corner, or an empty lot might remind them of people, places, and musical events, thus the urban landscape guided the telling. After each drive I wrote fieldnotes, transcribed the conversation, and coded the data by location and theme. All the musicians interviewed are players with whom I have performed for several years, thus I am familiar with their backgrounds and the trust that we have built afforded easily flowing conversations.

The interviews for Chapters 4 and 5 were conducted at a location of an interviewee's choosing, all at their homes except one. Each interviewee is a scene participant who, as a musician or audience member, often attended Von Freeman's Tuesday night jam session at the New Apartment Lounge. I used a semi-structured interview method, with a set of questions focusing on the interviewees' backgrounds, their introduction to jazz, how they met Freeman, and their experiences with Freeman. Having been a member of Freeman's quartet when the interviewees frequented the club afforded me access to them and stories of particular events that we may have both shared.

Scholarly Literatures

My interest in the relationship between musical practice and geography grew after reading Chapter 3 of Travis A. Jackson's monograph on the New York jazz scene, which argues that "space, in its geographic and theoretical dimensions, is a crucial component for understanding

and conceptualizing jazz" (2012, 53). This dissertation contributes to scholarship that investigates how space frames performance (Krims 2007; Born 2013), comments on social structures (Sakakeeny 2010; Sakakeeny and Birch 2013), explores the conception of place at different scales (home, venue, city, and nation) informs people's diverse investments of meaning in musical practice and performance (Stokes 1994; Cohen 1995; Feld and Basso 1996; Smith 1998; Duffy 2000; Shelemay 2012; Bohlman and Plastino 2016).

Equally important for this dissertation are Doreen Massey (1994; 2005) and Nigel Thrift's (2006; 2009) theorizations of space as constitutive of social relations. Tim Cresswell's already cited conceptualizations of place as location, meaning, and epistemology (1996; 2004; 2014) and Edward S. Casey's phenomenological analysis of place as fundamental to human experience (2009) have informed how music scholars have conceptualized place and music (e.g. Feld and Basso 1996; Born 2013). These writings along with work from critical race theory (Omi and Winant 2015, Delgado and Stefancic 2017; see Price 2010 for critical race theory in human geography) has also inspired inquiry into the relationships between the built environment and processes of racialization (Wade 2000; Delaney 2002; Harris 2007; Lipsitz 2007), geography and whiteness (Hartigan 1999; Housel 2009), and black geographies, particularly the work of Katherine McKittrick (2006, 2011, 2013). All of this research has enhanced my approach to the intricate ways that constraint and agency inform social justice struggles and generative community and culture in urban African American neighborhoods.

Research on music and place emphasizes the theme of belonging, an important component of black South Side musicians' experiences whether in performing in the black community or not being accepted as equal citizens in white venues. Ethnomusicological scholarship on belonging includes work on nationalism (Turino 2000; Askew 2002; Bohlman

2004; Schultz 2013; Bohlman and Herder 2017), diaspora (Monson 2000; Ramnarine 2007; Wrazen 2007; Zheng 2010; Silverman 2012; Kyker 2013; Naroditskaya 2019), and indigenous music studies (Browner 2002; Samuels 2004; Browner 2009; Hilder 2012; Dueck 2013; Sherinian 2014), all different modialties of relating to place. Furthermore, with the urban setting of my research, this dissertation converses with urban ethnomusicology literature through its examination of how people of different social groups come into contact on music scenes in one of the most segregated cities in the nation (Hemetek and Reyes 2007; Reyes 2012; Klotz, et al. 2018).

Scholarly literature on music and race focuses on the racial imagination (Radano and Bohlman 2000; Hansen 2006; Hutchinson 2016); integration and separation (Radano 2003); black music and cultural memory (Floyd 1995; Ramsey 2003); the mutual connections between race, music, and nation (Wade 2000); and Asian Americans' musical contributions in North America (Wong 2004). Ethnographic studies of African American musical practices such as work by Charles Keil (1966), Cheryl Keyes (2002), Glenn Hinson (2000), Kyra Gaunt (2006), and Alisha Lola Jones (2019) provide insight into the ways individuals in African American communities, both urban and rural, negotiate segregation, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and discrimination through musical training and performance practice.

Ethnographic work on jazz in ethnomusicology, what Gabriel Solis (2014) terms "jazz ethnomusicology," is an important area of study from which I draw. Paul Berliner's work on musicians' informal apprentice system (1994), Ingrid Monson's study of musician interaction (1996), Travis A. Jackson's discussions of scene, blues aesthetic, and processes of ritualization (2012), Greenland's study of audience participants (2016), and Gabriel Solis's work on Thelonious Monk's past music interpreted in the present (2008) inform this study. This

dissertation also contributes to jazz studies literature that uses interdisciplinary methods, particularly work by Eric Porter (2002), David Ake (2010), Patrick Burke (2008), Sherri Tucker (2000), and Scott DeVeaux (1991, 1997),

Scholarship on the rich history of black music in Chicago has focused on the early twentieth century (Holly 1990), black women composers (Walker-Hill 1992), blues (Carney 2003; Whiteis 2006; Terry 2013; Whiteis 2019), soul (Pruter 1991; Cohen 2019), gospel's emergence after the first Great Migration (Harris 1992), doo-wop vocal ensembles (Pruter 1996), black musicians' working conditions (Absher 2014), house music (Rietveld 1997), and record labels (Collis 1998; Iglauer and Roberts 2018). Though jazz was a precursor to several of the mentioned styles, contributions that focus on black Chicago as well as the white scene have been relatively scant. Important works include research on early black jazz scene (Hennessey 1974), black clubs (Travis 1981), the early history of South Side and North Side venues (Kenney 1993), South Side jazz musicians of the 1970s and 1980s (Cromwell 1998), black experimental musicians post WWII (Sites 2012), the Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians and its ensembles (Lewis 2008; Steinbeck 2017), white Chicago bands and venues (Sengstock 2004) and an essay about Von Freeman (Scruggs 2001).

This dissertation also draws on cultural histories and ethnographic studies of the South Side. Adam Green's study of post-WWII Chicago examines the spatially constrained and dynamic cultural practices generated on the South Side through publishing, black music, and entrepreneurship (2007). Thomas Bauman (2014), Bill Mullen (1999), Amy M. Mooney (2004), and Davarian L. Baldwin (2007) provide insight into the black artistic work and South Side politics that coexisted in the cultural milieu where jazz musicians cultivated their artistry up to mid-twentieth century. Simon Balto's recent book on the history of policing and police culture

(2019) has immensely helped me to put police presence into view for Chapters 1 and 2. Michelle R. Boyd's (2008) research challenging narratives of a golden era of the South Side has also provided necessary context. Finally, this project would be all the poorer without the panoply of rich ethnographic work in the social sciences: Bronzeville life of the 1930s (Drake and Cayton 1993), social life in a small bar (Anderson 2003), and the effects of gentrification on the location of blues venues (Grazian 2003; Wilson 2018) are important examples.

This dissertation also contributes to the vast scholarship in scene studies through its examination of the spatial and historical contexts of musician and audience experience as they reproduce and sustain the local jazz scene. This scholarship describes scenes as collectivities that form around a genre (Shank 1994) where participants presuppose specialized knowledge of that genre and its social environs (Blum 2001) where alliances are forged (Straw 1991, Jackson 2012). Scenes are articulated through their spatial and historical particularity which indexes identities (Olson 1998) such as the South Side jazz scene (black) or DIY entrepreneurs in suburban America (white) (Gaines 1994). My research challenges the notion that the term lacks any concrete meaning and is solely a rubric for music in a particular city (Hesmondhalgh 2005) in large part because musicians and audiences use the term and because separate scenes articulate identity differently as well as overlap. Furthermore, race is a constitutive force in music scenes, thus my work problematizes social science work that has ignored race (e.g., Silver and Clark 2016).[19] In the end, scene in this dissertation harmonizes well with two important works. First, Travis A. Jackson's focus on the jazz scene being a product of participant interactions in and

[19] II also argue with Omi and Winant (2015) that racial formation is a fundamental force in the U.S. and thus I argue that racial formation is necessarily a constitutive factor for scene interactions, maintenance, and experiences.

through space and time (2012, 54) and second, Keith Kahn-Harris's work on the extreme metal scene, where scene describes a type of space, group membership, performance venues, genre affiliation, a tension between artistic and commercial spheres, and a collection of people and institutions (2007, 13).

Chapter Outline

This dissertation assembles three case studies across five chapters. Chapters 1 and 2 are a case study of black musicians' performances in South Side and North Side venues that examines the musical, racial, and spatial contexts of their experiences from the 1920s to the 1960s. Drawing from archived interviews, Chapter 1 examines the exploitative and empowering conditions of working in white-owned and black-owned South Side venues and North Side white venues through the words of musicians who lived and worked in Chicago during this period. Musicians' agency in developing their musical practice, cultivating relationships with both black and white scene participants, and advancing their careers is coupled with the social, spatial, and labor constraints they endured as black subjects. I argue that as policed as racial boundaries were through vigilante violence in the 1920s and 1930s, urban renewal in the 1940s and 1950s, and over-policing of African American neighborhoods through this entire period, the boundaries were porous for some, and when black jazz musicians crossed, they exercised cultural agency to experiment with possibilities in artistry and social relationships.

Chapter 2 examines the labor conditions of their work through the control of the all-black Local 208 of the American Federation of Musicians (hereafter Local 208) over black musical opportunities. As musicians performed in clubs throughout the city, Local 208 both enabled and constrained musicians' work through union politics and policy. President Harry Gray, who rose

to power in 1937, socialized with musicians at Local 208's headquarters, was a fierce negotiator with South Side clubs in support of musicians, and helped provide social programs and infrastructure for struggling musicians. At the same time, he played favorites, actively prevented some black musicians from working, and frustrated several musicians to the point that they strategized secretly to subvert his power through joining the white musicians' local and struggling for integration. I argue that rather than relieving the segregated workplace, the merger reproduced the racial conditions of Chicago's spatial regime of the 1960s, and black musicians overall lost considerable power in the AFM which was never recovered.

Chapter 3 demonstrates the multiple meanings scene participants invest in place through the stroll method described previously. The chapter offers three case studies of encounters with former venue sites and analyzes each musicians' recollections. As we moved around the South Side, each musician reconfigured the South Side into his subjective experience, showing how jazz musicians construct space as a palimpsest of present and past meanings and experiences (Huyssen 2003, 7).

Chapters 4 and 5 further examine how place and participants co-constitute the scene through the case study of saxophonist Von Freeman and his Tuesday night jam session at the New Apartment Lounge. The two chapters argue that a scene's places have the potential to become a nexus of contact and mediation of diverse cultural practices and social identities through the ritualized activities of the scene's social actors. The New Apartment Lounge was one

such place because of the unique format Freeman constructed for his jam session.[20] Drawing from my experiences as his guitarist from 1997-2011 and from interviews with musicians and

Figure 2: Von Freeman and Elouise "Weezie" Rhymes before the gig starts at the New Apartment Lounge, 2004. Photo courtesy of Michael Jackson.

[20] Saxophonist Steve Coleman told me that he has yet to encounter a jam session format and social environment that is similar to what Freeman constructed (personal communication, April 16, 2020).

other scene participants, I position the NAL as a contact zone (Pratt 2008) where scene participants of diverse social backgrounds and musical skill gathered to listen to Freeman, perform on the jam session, and hang out with Freeman at the bar. I use the term contact intermediary, a synthesis of Bourdieu (1984) and Pratt, to describe his role as a mediator of the different subjectivities in the club. Chapter 4 examines musicians' experiences with Freeman and how they interpreted interactions and musical learning with him. Chapter 5 examines audience participants' roles in supporting the club and Freeman, showing how audiences and musicians co-author musical experience.

Will You Still Be Mine?

The song that titles this dissertation illustrates the boundaries of past and present through Von Freeman's past performances with the song and an interpretation of the song in the present moment that looks toward the future. "Will You Still Be Mine?" was composed in 1940 by Matt Dennis and Tom Adair. The story of the song presents a lover who asks of the beloved in a host of different ways: if the world suddenly changed and did not bring the delight it once had, would their relationship endure? The lyrics reference such 1940s topics as Elsa Maxwell's parties and Greta Garbo's inclination to avoid interviews. I chose this song because Von Freeman often opened our sets with it at the New Apartment Lounge. This would have been the first song club patrons would have heard on their initial visit. I think of this song as a door into a place where Freeman asked the listener to be part of his musical, social, and spatial worlds, welcoming the listener's contributions to those worlds. Freeman would then ask the question of the others in the club, such as the young musicians who would gather to learn from him and play at the jam

session, and the bar patrons who would converse with him, shake hands, and respond to his musical and social gestures, each person answering in the affirmative.

Two lines from this song invoke the 2020 COVID-19 global pandemic in which I wrap up this dissertation: “When landmarks fall and institutions crumble” from the verse and “When this familiar world is through” from the first A section. This interpretation, much like an improvisation, refashions the song for the present in order to ask of the future: will you still be mine? What will happen to place now that all venues are closed? How will scene participants engage with this music without places? Will the scene still be ours? One possible answer to the question that this song poses comes from my research collaborators in this dissertation: yes, we are still part of this musical culture; yes, we will still remember South Side clubs; and yes, we will still be with Von Freeman, with Red Saunders, and with all the others who have provided meaningful music. We will continue to be with you as we search for musical history and knowledge, and as we confront this current crisis, we will pursue a more just place and a more musical future.

Chapter 1

Exploited Empowerment:
Jazz, Race, and Geography in Chicago from the 1920s to the 1960s

> If we were good enough to entertain you, we were good enough to sit among you and talk.
>
> —Horace Henderson 1975

Ware of Black Music

When jazz musicians tell stories of working in past venues, their recollections tell us about the music's history, musical knowledge, and knowledge of local spatial and racial conditions that intersect with musical practice. Their talk tends to focus on the clubs where they performed, the location of the venues, who employed them and with whom they performed, the social groups they associate with a particular venue, and what meaningful musical and social activities occurred. In the following vignette, reconstructed from African American bassist Wilbur Ware's recollections of growing up in Chicago (1977), Ware tells of the ways he navigated the racial boundaries of Chicago as a teen in the late 1930s while trying to develop musical skills and gain experience. He depicts the spatial and racial conditions of the time through the places he performed, of the musicians and audiences with whom he had social and musical interactions, and of specific incidents working in black or white areas of the city.

Born September 8, 1923, Ware grew up on Chicago's South Side playing bass and drums in the "sanctified" church (Ware 1977). He dropped out of Wendell Phillips High School at the age of fourteen because he was often performing with friends and with established professionals.

In 1937, he secured his first professional job with saxophonist Buster Bennett at the Tuxedo Inn performing five nights a week, about two blocks from his residence at Thirty-Second and State Streets. The hours could be long because the owner, "Mr. Robinson," required the band play until all the customers had left, extending the gig well into the morning (Ware 1977). Robinson liked Ware, and noted that he had a poor-quality instrument, so he bought him his first double bass.[21] The pianist, Martha Davis, mentored Ware on the gig, demonstrating to him how to construct and identify by ear the chord progressions of the songs they performed. It was a significant opportunity for Ware to learn musical skills and how the music business functioned in small South Side venues.

Also, at this time, Ware and his neighborhood friends formed a "tramp band" called the Chicago Maniacs. Tramp bands were common on the South Side in the 1930s—"novelty bands" made up of teenagers who played stringed instruments, kazoos, washboards, and a five-gallon oil drum with nails pressed in to simulate a snare drum (Ware 1977; Shipton 1999, 39; Travis 1999, 14).[22] The Maniacs removed horns from Victrola phonographs and played them like saxophones, stole brass from old Buicks and attached kazoos to simulate trumpets, and Ware played a "homemade" bass. Each tramp band had a leader, called a "mugger," who performed vaudeville-

[21] The bass Ware had been playing was built by the pastor of his church and was in terrible shape (Ware 1977).

[22] There is little scholarship that specifically studies tramp bands, which were an important part of African American youth culture in the 1930s. Alyn Shipton writes about a tramp band included in a 1937 touring show to Paris called the "Cotton Club Revue" which was led by Teddy Hill, and was one of Dizzy Gillespie's first touring gigs. In 1937, Redd Foxx dropped out of DuSable High School to form a tramp band with Steve Trimble ("washtub gut string bass"), Lamont Ousley (dancer), and Pete Carter (guitar) (Travis 1999, 14). They performed in the summer of 1939 on Major Edward Bowes's Radio Amateur Hour show broadcast on Thursdays at 9pm on CBS. This opportunity lead to a week at the Apollo (ibid., 27). These bands have also been called "spasm" or "skiffle" bands (Roth 1952, 307).

style comedy and antics while wearing outrageous clothes "to look funny," clothes which, Ware noted, were the only ones the mugger had. One musician, mainly Ware, would tap dance (Ware 1977).[23] Their repertoire included then-popular songs such as "The Lamp is Low," "The Sheik of Araby," and "Tiger Rag."

The Maniacs played in dance contests, amateur shows, and bars. They would sometimes relieve Erskine Tate's orchestra during dance marathons at the Vendome Theater.[24] They also once performed in an amateur show at the Regal Theater as part of a fundraising benefit for victims of a flood in Pennsylvania.[25] Most of their performances, however, involved "hustling"—going to bars in and outside the city, asking owners whether they could perform a few songs for the customers and pass a hat for tips. They would hustle "tavern to tavern and roadhouse to roadhouse," picking up whatever tips they could and sometimes catching performances.[26] In the Uptown neighborhood, for instance, they would see white entertainers such as Danny Thomas and Dick Buckley.

[23] Ware recalled that, at a tavern near his home, friends would ask him to tap dance for the customers to earn tip money for them to spend (1977). Saxophonist Von Freeman often recounted to me Ware's advanced skills in tap dancing.

[24] Erskine Tate's band would accompany dance marathons where people would dance for long periods. According to Ware, most certainly an exaggeration, people would "dance for weeks" for a $1000 prize. Since the band could not stop playing, Ware's band would relieve them so Tate's band could rest (Ware 1978).

[25] Since Ware said that he started performing gigs in 1937, most likely he is referring to the Ohio River flood of 1937 which damaged Pittsburgh. He might also be referring to the Great St. Patrick's Day flood of 1936 which was one of the worst in Pittsburgh history (Smith 1975, 5).

[26] Ware would have been performing after the repeal of Prohibition, so the term roadhouse, which had been illegal bars in the outlying suburbs of urban centers during Prohibition, would mean bars outside the Chicago city limits.

In the fall of 1939, while the group was hustling outside the Panther Room at the Hotel Sherman, the white bandleader Harry James heard the Maniacs and noticed Ware.[27] Featured that night were a set of stride pianists—Meade Lux Lewis, Albert Ammons, and Pete Johnson with vocalist Joe Turner—and the Harry James Band with Frank Sinatra.[28] Toward the end of his band's set, Harry James invited Ware to sit in. Backstage afterwards, Frank Sinatra walked up to Ware and asked if he would like to eat. Sinatra handed him some sausages and confided that his career as a singer was about to take a big leap forward. Ware was shocked at how kindly and respectfully Sinatra had spoken to him, even offering some food. Sinatra was the first white person whom Ware could remember doing so. Harry James then put the Maniacs in contact with his manager who found them a gig at Victor Hugo's restaurant in Los Angeles. They were not able to take the job, however, because the restaurant ownership "wouldn't accept no coloreds" (Ware 1977).

The Maniacs would also hustle outside the city by hiring a "touring car," a late 1930s Buick in which someone from the neighborhood would drive them. They would go to taverns in Cicero and on Mannheim Road, about twenty-five miles west of Ware's residence.[29] The Maniacs would often encounter bar owners and customers who would threaten them with violence. For instance, while they were hustling at a tavern in Cicero, an owner wanted them to leave, but the customers protested. After they performed "Tiger Rag," the owner came out with a

[27] The Hotel Sherman was located at 100 W. Randolph, the corner of Clark and Randolph. The City of Chicago razed the hotel in 1980 to construct the State of Illinois Center, now known as the James R. Thompson Center (Sengstock 2004, 89).
[28] Ammons, Lewis, and Johnson were billed as the Boogie Woogie Trio, whose records had become popular with white college students (Levinson 1999, 75).
[29] Mannheim Road runs from Des Plaines in the North to Cermak Road, 2200 South where it changes names to LaGrange Road. Thus, the Maniacs could have been going to taverns in Des Plaines, Franklin Park, Stone Park, Bellwood, or Westchester.

machine gun, shot it in the air, and the Maniacs hurriedly left. Further west on Mannheim Road, the Maniacs would hustle a venue called Club Spanish where customers tipped them by throwing coins. Once, a male customer tossed coins he had heated up over a candle so the boys would burn their hands. Club patrons would also use racist language with the young musicians. Ware and his bandmates would roll their eyes—as Ware explained, "it was the times."[30] Afterwards, the Maniacs would encounter Roma musicians from Spain and France and jam with them. Then they would return to Chicago around 3:00 a.m. to visit the Club DeLisa and hear drummer Red Saunders's band. Though these experiences could be dangerous and were often racially charged, they were valuable because he was learning to perform by doing through gaining street knowledge which Ware felt was the superior way to learn.

Wilbur Ware's experiences with the Chicago Maniacs provoke some historical and musical questions about the racial and spatial conditions of Chicago in the late 1930s. At the time, racial boundaries were rigidly enforced through anti-black policing and Irish gang violence (Tuttle 1996; Abu-Lughod 2007; Diamond 2009; Balto 2019; Green 2019). The Maniacs and other black musicians often crossed these boundaries to perform and earn income. To what extent were these porous boundaries for black musicians in relation to other South Side residents? How did crossing racial boundaries shape their experiences and inform their practice? Though young black musicians had access to formal music education in the high schools with black instructors, particularly at DuSable High School, a large part of their musical training was informal via listening to records and performing with established musicians in South Side venues where owners exploited musicians' labor through requiring them to work long hours. How did

[30] Ware called having to navigate derogatory language directed at the Maniacs "progressive jeppin'."

they negotiate the racial conditions and labor exploitation of this time while developing their artistry? Furthermore, what kinds of musical learning occurred in white areas?

Negotiating Race, Practicing Music

A century has passed since the 1919 race riot of Chicago—a terrorizing incident where white men, laborers, union members, sailors, and police physically assaulted black men, women, and children in the South Loop and at the borders of the Black Belt (Tuttle 1996; Balto 2019; Green 2019; see Reed 2011 on fluid social structure). As scholars review the carnage, the riot's historical contexts, and the contemporary meanings of the riot, particularly as it shaped policing in Chicago since that time (Green 2019; Clegg 2019; Balto 2019), it is important to note that the racial violence that continued afterwards was the state of affairs that black jazz musicians faced, whether they were Chicago natives or recent migrants from New Orleans.[31] Political leaders from the Democratic party supported the Irish athletic clubs who terrorized African Americans in the 1919 riot and enforced the racial boundaries afterwards (Biles 1995; Diamond 2009).[32] White youth violence was also behind many of the house bombings and attacks on black residents in the 1940s who tried to integrate white areas (Hirsch 1983; Diamond 2009). Jazz musicians were acutely aware of these events and tactics as they went about their work.[33]

---

[31] This was also the situation for African American musicians who performed European art music traditions. The National Association of Negro Musicians had to postpone its first meeting, scheduled for July 29, 1919 in Chicago, due to the 1919 riot (McGinty 2004, 22).

[32] The Irish athletic clubs were youth gangs which were quite violent, including the Hamburgers of which Mayor William Daley was a member (see Biles 1995; Black 2019).

[33] For example, Julian Priester recounted a story from the early 1950s when his brother and sister-in-law went to finalize the purchase of a home in a white neighborhood. A group of white men badly beat up his brother as a white police officer looked on, doing nothing (2008). Priester emphasized the harm to his brother's dignity in pointing out that this violence occurred in front of his wife who could do nothing while she watched.

The lasting effects of the violence shaped black musicians' employment environments, musical experiences, social interactions, and their mobility. Saxophonist Dave Young told drummer Charles Walton that blacks were "confined to the black community" (Young n.d.). Walton and Young shared personal stories of police harassment due to having white female partners, alleging corruption since police did not bother "pimps" who had white girlfriends. Drummer Vernell Fournier, who was light-skinned and identified as Creole, was so frustrated with police harassment and confusion over his racial identity that he wanted to title his autobiography "Too White to Be Black and Too Black to Be White" (ibid.).

Using archived interviews of musicians who lived and worked in Chicago, this chapter argues that black musicians in Chicago navigated spatial barriers, racism, and restrictions on mobility by taking risks in both the social and musical dimensions of their work. They challenged the limitations they endured to earn a living, where they could go, what music they could play, and with whom they could cultivate relationships, thus complicating dominant white spatial regimes through exercising their social and cultural agency.

This chapter starts during a fertile moment of the development of black music and ends where jazz musicians found themselves soon after the passage of the Civil Rights Act. Over this period, racial separation was enforced beyond those already noted. The KKK had a strong presence in the city from 1921 to 1925 which included large rallies such as a 10,000 member rally near Garfield Park in 1921 (Jackson 1992, 94–126).[34] Urban renewal, which commenced in the 1940s and accelerated after the 1954 decision in *Berman v. Parker* (Pritchett 2003, 1), is

[34] According to Jackson, the KKK claimed 100,000 members the city and 150,000 in outlying areas at its peak around 1923 (1992, 103). They were strong on the South Side during this period in the areas of Woodlawn, Englewood, Hyde Park, South Shore, and Kenwood (126).

probably the most significant as the eminent domain actions taken by the city government destroyed many African American businesses and cultural institutions on the South Side (Bluestone 2004; Fullilove 2004, 16; Smith 2012).[35] In the music sphere, the white musicians' Local 10, run by James Petrillo, used structural force and threats of violence to make sure that black musicians were paid less and did not work the more lucrative downtown gigs (Walton 1993; Halker 1989).

With all of these structural barriers in place, however, black musicians crossed boundaries to work in white clubs and black and white musicians cultivated musical and social relationships. Musicians such as Charles Elgar, Roy Eldridge, Dinah Washington, and several others performed for white audiences who wanted to see them perform, but the owners would not allow black patrons into these venues. Friendships across racial lines were also cultivated. For example, Louis Armstrong, in 1924, would visit Jimmy McPartland while he performed at the White City Ballroom, a white dance hall located at the Southwest corner of Sixty-Third Street and South Parkway, while Armstrong was on his way to the Sunset Cafe. On their days off, they would enjoy smoking marijuana together at McPartland's apartment (McPartland 1973).

The historical parameters of this chapter are important for two reasons. First, in 1922, two important figures arrived on the Chicago scene whose presence had wide-ranging musical and social impact—Louis Armstrong came to join King Oliver at the Lincoln Gardens, symbolic of the possibilities of the new music that he and other black musicians were developing; and James Petrillo who was elected to the presidency of Local 10, a powerful, staunch segregationist

[35] The District of Colombia Redevelopment Land Agency won the case, allowing government agencies broad latitude and without check in declaring urban areas "blight," which then saw a vast expansion of the use of eminent domain over land in African American neighborhoods (Pritchett 2003).

who diligently worked to keep the Chicago scene racially separated. Second, 1966 was the year musicians' Local 208 and Local 10 merged, after years of infighting among black musicians, secret discussions between white and black musicians who supported the merger, and the machinations of the national office of the American Federation of Musicians (AFM). This framework provides a means to understand the "changing same" of segregation that continues to plague the Chicago jazz scene, and it informs the ethnographic data examined in later chapters.[36]

The chapter proceeds by analyzing musicians' discourses on race, segregation, workplace conditions, and musical practice as they worked in different social settings. First, the chapter provides a brief theoretical lens through which musicians' stories are examined. Next, it gives an overview of the places where black musicians worked during this period. Then the chapter journeys through musicians' experiences of working across racial boundaries, focusing on social and musical themes that emerge from their stories of different clubs. Close attention is paid to two South Side institutions where the racial and musical themes examined in this chapter coalesce—at the white-owned Swingland near Washington Park in the late 1930s and at South Side jam sessions of the 1950s, particularly at the Cotton Club, a black musician-owned venue in the Woodlawn neighborhood. The North Side and South Side settings of this chapter show how black musicians navigated different social and spatial constraints while exercising different degrees of social and cultural agency as they pursued their profession and developed their artistry. This chapter demonstrates the changing and persistent ways that racial stratification over time has affected cultural production, the lives of African American culture producers, and how,

[36] Amiri Baraka's term the describes the changing but similar aesthetic frameworks and meanings in African American music over time and space (2010, 205). This term has been used by other scholars in relation to black music, e.g., Gilroy (1993, 101) and Kajikawa (2015, 8).

as social actors, they used their agency to develop musical practice and live within and move about the local cultural landscape (Delgado and Stefancic 2017, 8).

Geography, Race, Empowerment, and Exploitation

Space is constructed out of the simultaneous existence of all social relations and interactions at all spatial scales. Spatial scale shapes the spatial imaginary, via culture, race, and other social engagements people attach to space. Place is location in space that people and society imbue with meaning through acts of representation, articulations out of the multiplicity that is space, what Doreen Massey terms "stories-so-far" (2005, 130). Sense of place, how people use, transform, and move toward, through, and beyond places, shapes experiences with others and with culture, and thus with musical practices. The chapter examines black musicians moving through different spatial scales of South Side, North Side, the city, and the suburbs, racialized in the spatial imaginary as black or white spaces where black musicians sense different degrees of belonging. From the stories they tell, I focus on the spatial arrangements surrounding social and labor constraints of working in different venues, and the social and cultural agency black musicians exercised as they performed across segregated Chicago.

I frame these musicians' stories as geographies of empowerment—the differing potentials of musical and social agency that black jazz musicians exercised—and constraint—the social and spatial limitations put on black and musically laboring bodies that took the form of explicit racist talk and differing levels of labor exploitation.[37] On one hand, South Side jazz clubs were more

[37] Musically laboring bodies includes white musicians who either hired black musicians in white clubs, such as drummer Gene Krupa in the 1930s or pianist Lou Levy at the Blue Note, a downtown club, in the 1940s. In addition, black musicians in the 1950s hired white musicians in South Side clubs, particularly drummer Red Saunders at the Club DeLisa.

than places to enjoy entertainment—in these establishments African American residents cultivated black community. Historian Timuel Black argues that for African Americans, the musical activities in South Side clubs from the 1920s to the 1950s "united those of us in the community and brought us together, unified in terms of politics, in terms of education, in terms of all those social and cultural factors that help people" (Black 2019). When black jazz musicians developed their musical practice individually and with their bandmates—forms of self and communal agency—they were sustaining black community.[38] Musicians developed innovative musical languages, cultivated professional skills, composed new songs, and produced extensive revues that included music, dance, and comedy. They also socialized with other performers, cultivated relationships with audiences, and conversed about employment opportunities, politics, mundane topics, and other social issues.

On the other hand, though there were opportunities for black musicians to make a living performing meaningful music in South Side clubs, these opportunities were constrained through limitations imposed by three primary factors. First, the city's white power structure, particularly James Petrillo and white Local 10, limited remuneration and musical opportunities through threats of violence and restricting access to lucrative hotel and studio work. Second, South Side clubs could be either black-owned or white-owned, thus exploitation took fluid forms. Some white club owners were flexible and afforded degrees of empowerment whereas some black club owners highly exploited the musicians they hired. The third actor was the black Local 208 which also constrained and exploited black musicians to different degrees, which will be discussed in

[38] South Side jazz clubs could also be thought of as places where blacks reinforced linked fate sentiments, group lessons in how to interpret and act according to how race shaped black life chances (Dawson 1994, 57–62).

Chapter 2. Thus, the dynamics of racial politics surrounding black musicians were shaped by interracial contestation—struggles to work lucrative gigs controlled by whites—and intraracial conflict, exploitation among some black club owners and political struggles within Local 208 (Boyd 2008, xxv).

The dominant geographies—racist domination enforced through carceral power (Shabazz 2015), housing constraints (Hirsch 1998), and police enforcement of segregation (Shabazz 2015; Balto 2019)—not only shaped how African Americans lived, but also those who benefited from racist domination, the city's white residents. Whites frequented South Side clubs from the 1920s to the 1950s to experience the black "Other," for underworld crime socializing, to experience urban night life, and to hear black music. Among them were businessmen, college students, sex tourists, members of the Italian-American mafia, and the like (Kenney 1993, 16; Morris 1980; Mumford 1997, 19–36). White musicians, who were mobile in ways that black musicians were not, crossed racial boundaries as a means to observe black musical practices to incorporate into their own performance settings. These "rebel white Chicagoans" (Kenney 1993) felt that they had found a new and freer mode of expression in the musical expression of musicians such as King Oliver and Louis Armstrong as a means of escaping constraints of commercialism and whiteness (McPartland 1973; Freeman 1977). Considering the differences in power, mobility, and access to societal benefits, this chapter also asks in what ways whites who benefited from local spatial arrangements participated in black geographies.

Locational Overview

The following are the areas of concentrated musical activity in the archived interviews, starting with the South Side (see figure 3). The Stroll, State Street from 2200 south to 3900 south, was active from the late 1910s until its demise in the 1940s due to exercise of eminent domain under

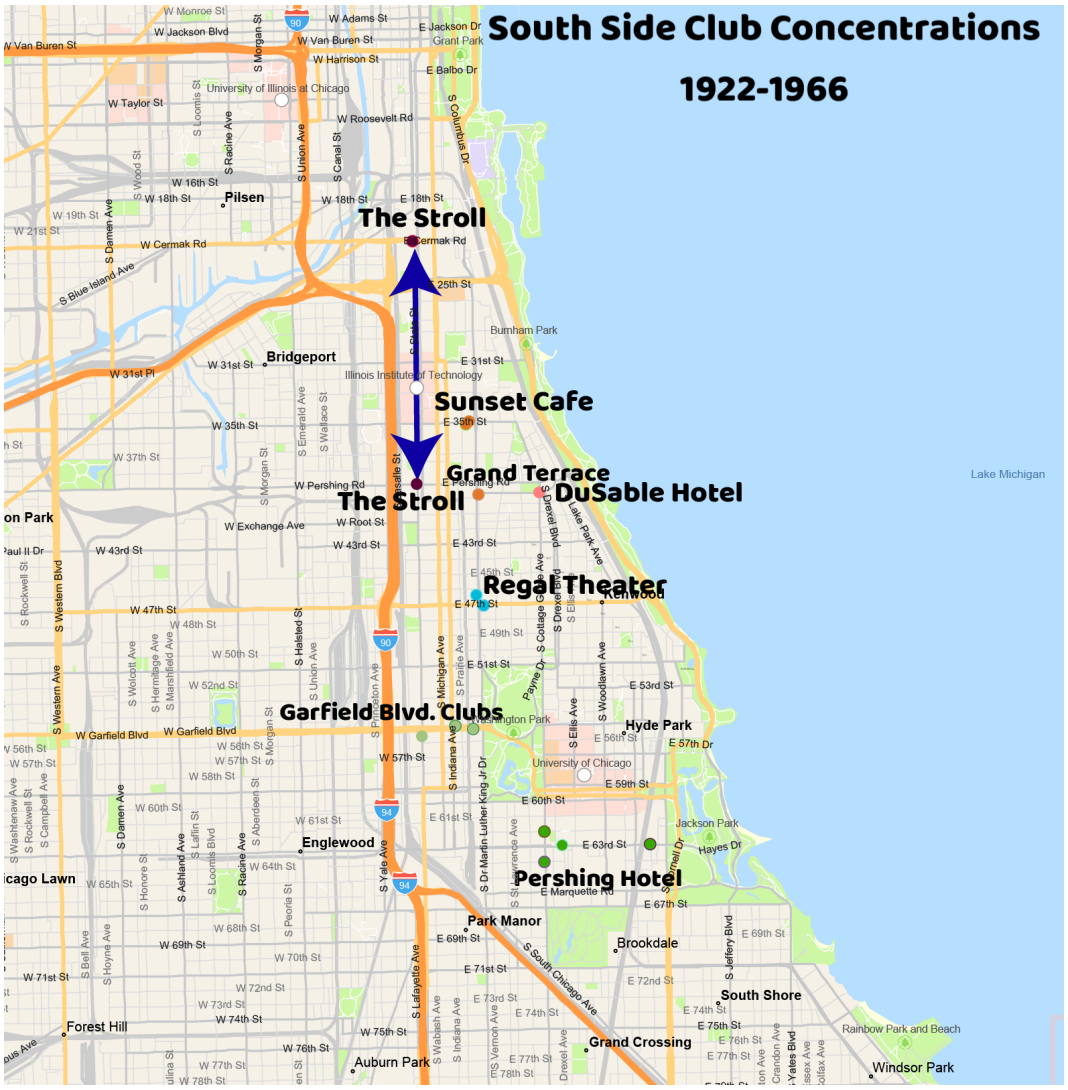

Figure 3: Concentrations of South Side venues, map by ArcGIS, data annotated by Michael Allemana.

urban renewal for the Armour Company's construction of the Armour Institute (Kenney 1993, 15; Bluestone 2004; Bauman 2014, xv).[39] The area near Thirty-Fifth Street and South Parkway was active from the 1910s with King Oliver's arrival at the Sunset Café and Plantation Café in 1918, until the Grand Terrace moved to the site of the Sunset in 1937 and closed in the late 1940s.[40] The Regal Theater, Savoy Ballroom, and the Metropolitan Theater were the center of activity at Forty-Seventh and South Parkway which was active from the late 1920s until the 1960s when Red Saunders led the house band at the Regal Theater (Saunders 1978; Semmes 2006).[41] Garfield Boulevard from State Street to South Parkway contained a set of clubs and restaurants that were active from the 1930s to the early 1960s, bounded by South Parkway on the east and State Street to the west.[42] The DuSable Hotel, located at Thirty-Ninth Street and Cottage Grove, centered activity for a host of clubs from the late 1930s to the 1950s. Finally, Woodlawn was active site of African American culture in the 1940s until the 1960s with the Pershing hotel as its center.

White clubs where African American musicians performed were mainly focused in five areas. Downtown Chicago, the Loop, Navy Pier, and a cluster of clubs near the Hotel Sherman on Randolph Street from State Street to Clark Street (see figure 4). The Uptown area, on Broadway Avenue, had a set of clubs which operated from the 1920s to the 1950s, centered

[39] The Armour Institute is today the Illinois Institute of Technology.
[40] In 1961, Joe Glaser, Louis Armstrong's manager, sold the building to the Meyers family who opened an Ace Hardware that closed in 2017 (Freeman 2014b). The site of the building is now a hair products store.
[41] The original Grand Terrace, located at 3955 South Parkway, sat almost equidistant between the Thirty-Fifth Street corridor of clubs and the Forty-Seventh Street theaters.
[42] Dempsey Travis termed these clubs the "Jazz Joints Along East Garfield Boulevard" (1983, 111). Travis writes that in the mid- to late 1930s, the venues that were on Garfield Boulevard or north or south of the boulevard on cross streets were mostly open twenty-four hours. (ibid., 113).

around the Green Mill in the 1920s, the 5100 Club in the 1940s and 1950s, and Argyle Street and Broadway from the late 1940s to the 1950s. There were a set of clubs on Howard Street at the northern border of the city with Evanston. On the West Side, Black musicians worked in the

Figure 4: Concentrations of North Side venues, map by ArcGIS, data annotated by Michael Allemana.

1920s at the Dreamland Ballroom at the corner of Van Buren and Paulina Streets.[43] Finally, black musicians worked in the outlying areas of Chicago which were primarily white-ethnic. During Prohibition, young black musicians would travel to play different roadhouses. Musicians also played in suburban show rooms post-Prohibition that were connected with crime syndicates, particularly the Italian-American mafia. Calumet City housed a set of strip clubs where black musicians worked in the 1950s.

White owned South Side clubs

White ownership could take two forms. First were business groups, such as the Ascher Brothers who owned the Metropolitan Theater, O. C. Hammond and Sons who owned the Vendome Theater, or Balaban and Katz, who owned the Tivoli and the Regal Theater (Schiecke 2006, 139, 184; Semmes 2006). Second were white proprietors who were mostly immigrants with some level of connection to organized crime. Ed Fox owned the Grand Terrace (though from 1928–1931 it was effectively run by Al Capone). Ralph Buglio, a member of Capone's syndicate, owned and managed the Sunset Café and in 1940 took over the new Grand Terrace, which had moved in 1937 into the site of the Sunset Café. The DeLisa brothers, three Italian immigrants, opened the Club DeLisa in 1933. Benny Skoller owned several clubs including the Swingland from 1936 to 1940, located at 343 East Garfield Boulevard near Washington Park; the Circle Inn in Woodlawn the 1940s, which was located at the Northwest corner of South Cottage Grove Boulevard and Sixty-Third Street; and the Strand Hotel Lounge in the 1940s to 50s, located at

[43] Paddy Harmon, a white entrepreneur, often hired black bands for white audiences. He pulled together funds to build in the Chicago Stadium on that site, which opened in 1929 (see Sengstock 2004, 62–63).

6321 South Cottage Grove Boulevard (Randall; Henderson 1975; Towles n.d.; Smith n.d.).[44] White-owned clubs could cater solely to white audiences, to a mixed clientele, or only to black audiences.

Each owner engaged exploited black musicians in different ways. Working conditions, particularly the hours of performance and salary, were one sphere of exploitation.[45] Black musicians worked long hours, usually every night of the week, and had only short breaks. Though the employment conditions could be grueling, the musicians were explicit about what they gained musically performing in these contexts. Furthermore, musicians understood well the restrictions on mobility, and they negotiated those constraints to further their careers and experiment musically.

In white-owned ballrooms that catered to white audiences, musicians discussed how they had to present themselves as black through their ensembles' names. Tuba player and bassist Quinn Wilson, while still attending Wendell Phillips High School, had his first gig in 1925 with Baby Dodds on drums playing opposite white bandleader Art Kassel's Orchestra at the Midway Gardens Ballroom, a Frank Lloyd Wright building which was located at the corner of Sixtieth Street and Cottage Grove Avenue near the University of Chicago. Wilson observed that the white management billed black bands as "creole bands" and white bands as "dance bands" (Wilson 1977). The Club DeLisa in the 1940s and 50s promoted the black entertainers they hired

[44] Skoller bought the Swingland from Dave Heighley in 1936 when the club was called Dave's Café. Heighley came back to manage the club for Skoller in 1940, who renamed it Dave's Swingland. It closed in 1942. Both Heighley and Skoller had connections to organized crime (Chilton 1990, 188; Semmes 2006, 120; Pruter and Campbell 2018).

[45] By hiring black musicians, owners necessarily had a business relationship with Local 208, thus the black local was complicit to some degree with the exploitative conditions black musicians endured.

by describing the venue as “The Harlem of Chicago” with an “all colored revue” (see figure 5). Musicians were constrained in controlling how these clubs represented them, with blackness presented as novelty for white audiences.

Musicians, particularly young players, also developed their practice at white-owned venues. At the Vendome, Erskine Tate’s ensemble accompanied silent films. Quinn Wilson, who

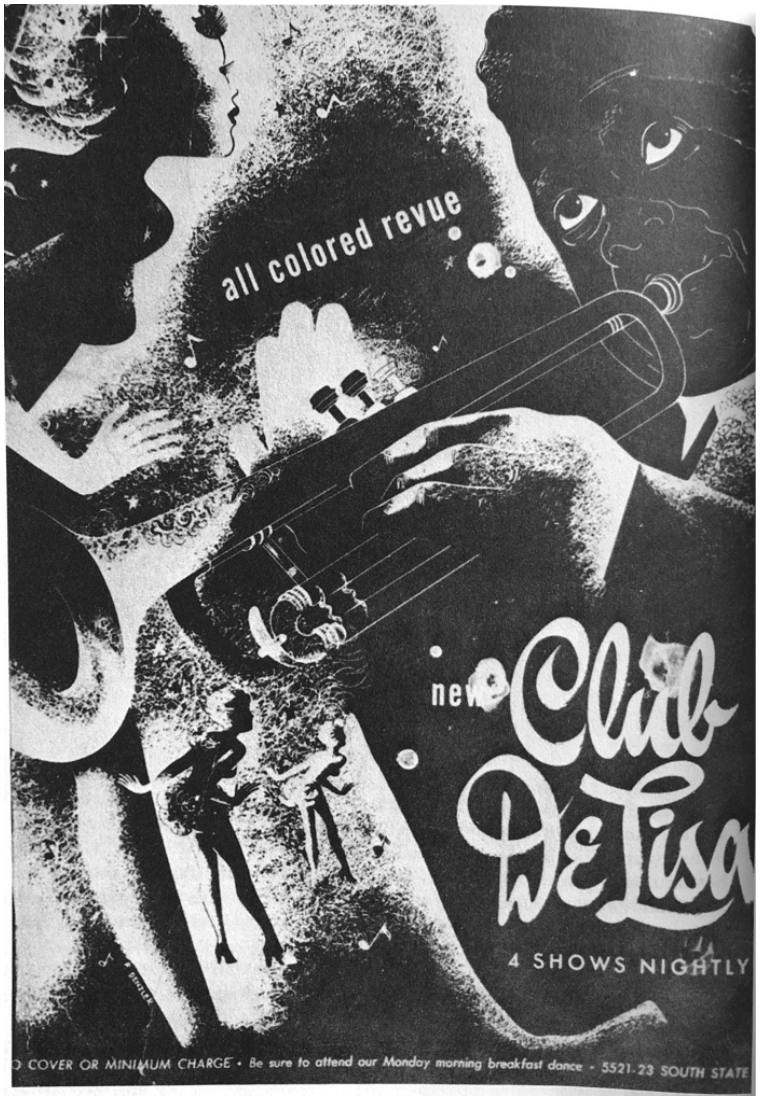

Figure 5: 1941 menu from the Club DeLisa (Travis 1983, 122).

worked with Tate in the mid 1920s, described the repertoire they performed as "jazz, classical, overtures, and music sent with the film," which was accompanied by a score. Tate would flash a set of hand signals for each piece, while the musicians hurriedly searched through the music that was piled on their music stands. Wilson noted that these types of gigs were good training for young players, making it possible to learn to read music well and follow a conductor. Young players also learned by going to hear established players perform. Clarinetist Happy Caldwell would frequent the Sunset Café with his fellow high school clarinetist colleagues to listen to Jimmy Noone, Buster Bailey, and other clarinetists (Caldwell 1976). The musicians in Carroll Dickerson's band would ask the young players to sit in, once even asking Caldwell to cover for Bailey who was absent.[46]

The owner of the Grand Terrace, Ed Fox, exploited musicians through low remuneration, long hours of employment, and club policy toward employees. In 1931, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) commenced nightly broadcasts of Earl "Fatha" Hines's band of two half-hour performances, one on WMAQ for the East Coast and one on WENR for the West Coast (Dance 1977, 62). These broadcasts made Hines one of the most popular jazz bandleaders of the 1930s and the Grand Terrace one of the most famous venues (Ginell 2013, 22).[47] Even so, Fox made them work often, sent them on grueling tours through the South where they endured

[46] Saxophonist Rudy Jackson asked Caldwell to sit in and play Buster Bailey's part on "Toot, Toot, Tootsie Goodbye," which Caldwell could play exactly from the recording (Caldwell 1976).
[47] Supposedly, the white radio announcer for NBC for these broadcasts, Ted Pearson, gave Hines the "Fatha" nickname. Pearson was a bad alcoholic and Hines castigated him once for being so drunk before a broadcast that he could not perform, so Pearson hid under a table and called Hines his "fatha" for yelling at him about his drinking (Ginell 2013, 22)

harsh Jim Crow conditions, and kept a large portion much of the band's fees.[48] The mafia also controlled Hines, many of whom viewed him as Al Capone's "property" (Dance 1977, 61).[49] And, even with all the money and attention that Hines brought to the Grand Terrace and the grueling hours that Fox demanded they work, he still charged them for their meals.

Fox also exercised a degree of control over the band's repertoire. His son, a song publisher, would pay Quinn Wilson to arrange tunes from his own catalog so they could be broadcast on NBC (Wilson 1977). This situation raises the question of the extent to which black bands in the 1930s had a say in the repertoire they would perform and arrange. Quinn Wilson and others would have been remiss to decline publishers' offers to arrange new published tunes, which was one arena Wilson could develop his practice and earn extra money. This situation, however, was not necessarily greeted positively by the musicians. While Hines was on the road during the winter months, Fox would hire other orchestras. In 1935, he booked Fletcher Henderson who hired trumpeter Roy Eldridge. Eldridge hated this situation. He saw it as a way for Fox's son to make a lot of money by forcing Henderson to play tunes from Fox's son's catalog. Eldridge thought this practice diminished the band's musical potential. Eldridge commented,

> They'd have somebody make an arrangement, make the introduction, and play the first melody to establish the melody, then they'd either give me a chorus or Chu [Berry] a chorus, and then they'd take it on out. (Eldridge 1983)

[48] Hines claimed that Fox would get $3500 per week while they were on tour in the 1930s, paying Hines $150 per week and the band members around $80 (Dance 1977, 67). Using Hines's numbers, Fox would have netted around $2300 per week.

[49] Hines took the stance "see no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil," not to reveal what he saw witnessed. Hines felt the police were also involved in mob operations, so he and his band kept quiet, worried about their safety (Dance 1977, 61).

He was furious because Fox was forcing Henderson to neglect the music that was already in his book. Eldridge turned to smoking pot and drinking on the gig, which Eldridge commented, "turned me into Peck's Bad Boy."[50] He quit and then received an offer to lead a band at the Three Deuces in downtown.

The Swingland

Michael "Benny" Skoller emigrated from Russia with his family in 1906 (Watson 1966). After serving in the first world war, he entered the restaurant and bar business, owning and operating several clubs that hired black bands, including the Swingland, the Circle Inn, the Panama Café, and the Strand Lounge (ibid.). During his ownership of the Swingland, located at 343 East Garfield, which lasted from 1936 to 1940, Skoller booked solely black acts. The seeds of the rich black night life that developed in the 1940s after he sold the club and it became the Rhumboogie were planted under Skoller's ownership.[51] Skoller employed several of the black entertainers who stayed on at the Rhumboogie and went on to larger careers, including Nat King Cole's Trio, shows produced by Sammy Dyer, and comedian Dusty Fletcher (Henderson 1975). Skoller was a

[50] "Peck's Bad Boy" was a character created by George Wilbur Peck published in newspapers, a child who would get into trouble with adults while playing practical jokes. His stories were part of a larger late nineteenth century fad of child heroes and heroines (see Trensky 1973, 503). The character of Bill Peck, the "bad boy," was popularized in a 1934 film by Edward F. Cline, with the "bad boy" played by Jackie Cooper.

[51] Musicians called Skoller "the Little King" for his height and ownership of multiple South Side venues (Randall n.d.). This nickname may also refer to his rule over his staff. For instance, Skoller fired all the male waitstaff and hired all women for the 1940 National Democratic Convention and the Negro Exposition of the same year ("In Chicago: Benny Skoller Runs Amuck with Axe," June 15, 1940).

slightly more flexible club owner than Fox, though he was also connected to organized crime, evidenced by his close relationship to Joe Glaser who helped Skoller find talent.[52]

Skoller hired pianist Horace Henderson in 1937 while Henderson was a member of his brother Fletcher's orchestra at the Grand Terrace (see figure 6). For the Swingland, Henderson hired a black band—drummer Alvin Burroughs, bassist Israel Crosby, saxophonist Bob Crowder, trumpeter Walter Fuller, saxophonist Willie Randall, trombonist Ed Fant, vocalist Arthur Lee Simpkins, and clarinetist Omer Simeon (Henderson 1975). The band worked seven nights per week, and each musician was paid between $75 to $85. Henderson's band worked long hours and had to learn considerable repertoire. The band started at 9:00 p.m. and played a forty-five-minute dance. They took a fifteen-minute break and then played a show with dancers, singers, and a comedian for seventy-five to ninety minutes depending on how the audience received the performance. They would then perform two more dance numbers and have an intermission. Afterwards, Henderson played an entirely different show to keep customers in the club.[53] Most of the dance music was in the Swing style so that customers could perform popular dance steps. Henderson hired saxophonist Bob Crowder and pianist Spencer Odum to help with arrangements so that he could concentrate on directing the orchestra and write more, which brought him more money in arranging fees, particularly for Sammy Dyer's shows.

At the beginning of the Swingland residency, Henderson showed how he navigated the exploitative conditions that Skoller set. They worked long hours for moderate pay, and Henderson used a lot of his personal time to compose and arrange, and then, out of necessity,

[52] For example, Glaser booked Coleman Hawkins in 1940 at the Swingland (Chilton, 1990, 188).
[53] Henderson rehearsed the band "at the boys' convenience," which most likely meant, since his book was quite large, that they were at the club early to rehearse new material (Henderson 1975).

Figure 6: Horace Henderson (right) and his orchestra in Chicago ca. 1940. The photo was taken by James L. Guishiniere, an African American photographer whose studio was located at Thirty-Fifth Street and South Parkway (Balton, Brewer and Gellman, forthcoming). Image courtesy of Archives Center, National Museum of American History.

asked his musicians to help. Henderson also supported Harry Gray's rise in 1937 to the presidency of Local 208. Henderson implored Gray, who had played bass in the Swingland band, to improve working conditions at the Swingland. Gray used Local 208's power over the South Side scene to get Skoller to reduce the band's workload to five days a week with the same pay. Thus, Henderson, with black community support, was able to transform his band's situation while sustaining his and his band's musical practice.

Another sphere where Henderson had to navigate racial and musical constraints was in his relationship with WBBM, a local radio station which broadcast Henderson four nights a week at 11:30pm from the Swingland. Henderson prepared eight tunes for each show. He had to submit his selections for approval from the WBBM music librarian, Helen Keppler Brooks, who would check publishing rights and to see if there was content "that couldn't be broadcast at that time" (Henderson 1975).[54] Henderson understood the power of broadcasting to cross racial lines and expand his reach, noting that Lawrence Welk broadcasted at 11:00 p.m. from "across town" with a seven-piece band. From the influx of fan mail as a result of the broadcasts, he would organize the letters by location and then schedule tours to those places. Additionally, publishers approached Henderson about performing their latest published songs. Henderson liked to compose originals for the broadcasts, but "song pluggers" would offer to pay him to arrange and perform their tunes and pay Henderson for each time they performed the song on the air. Henderson took advantage of this opportunity since "they would make any type of deal to get it on the air."

Thus, Henderson navigated racial constraints by gaining more work opportunities through white-controlled broadcasting networks and arranging songs of white-owned publishing houses.[55] I think it is important, however, to see that as he navigated these constraints, he was dedicated to his artistry, which he expressed through the ways he fashioned songs into his aesthetic. For example, some of the songs that publishers pushed had what Henderson felt were

[54] Brooks worked for WBBM as their music librarian and in 1937 promoted female casted shows with a committee of WBBM female employees ("Behind the Mike," December 1, 1937).
[55] Whether he shared these gains with his musicians is another question of exploitation on the part of bandleaders that I will not address here, but I understand adds complexity to the frame of constraint and empowerment in black musicians' working conditions.

well-crafted melodies, but the harmonies often did not make sense to him, so he changed them. He explained, "Some of the chords didn't strike too well, but naturally, you can change the chords" (Henderson 1975). Henderson, then, used the opportunity at the Swingland to experiment and develop his art, particularly in the spheres of accompaniment practice, arrangement possibilities, and orchestration techniques.

Henderson modeled his piano accompaniment style after Earl Hines, who was performing at the time at the Grand Terrace. He interpreted Hines's style as "playing a lot of things in swing with minor riffs." Using swing rhythmic structures and repetitive minor melodies in major keys would "work out like mad"—when he accompanied soloists or ensemble sections of an arrangement, using minor melodies would get a "Hines" sound and go over well with the audience. He also copied Hines's use of octaves in his accompaniment, noting that this technique only worked for lyrical melodies at slower tempos. Together, these examples demonstrate that Henderson was aware of the musical techniques circulating at this historical moment, and that he was attentive to how he deployed them in his accompaniment practice.

When arranging, he was interested in how key changes made arrangements sound "more brilliant." He partly was inspired by his brother Fletcher who arranged in non-standard keys, especially sharp keys like F# and B.[56] Horace Henderson tended to compose in standard keys like B♭ and E♭ but after two choruses of a song, he would move up a whole step or minor third.[57] The key changes added to the story of the song, but also offered challenges for his musicians.

---

[56] Roy Eldridge complained about Fletcher Henderson's use of sharp at the Grand Terrace. Reflecting on the experience, he credits Henderson of teaching him how to gain total control of his instrument. "It was just like a breakthrough. The cloud was away. I spent a lot of time trying to get it together. And from then on I was cool" (Eldridge 1977).

[57] Henderson did not like writing in keys like A or D because, for him, these keys sounded "like scrambled eggs" (Henderson 1975).

This arranging technique, then, served a dual purpose—to fulfill his aesthetic vision and to keep his musicians engaged.

Henderson was particularly careful in how he orchestrated harmonies among the instruments of the ensemble. He found that the second alto saxophone did not have a pleasant sound, so he voiced that instrument's pitches in the middle of the chord with an important pitch that defined the harmony he was looking for, but a tone that did not stick out. Blend was an important aesthetic for Henderson. For example, he complained often to saxophonist Willie Randall about not blending well with the other musicians. He was very specific with Randall about what he wanted for his voicings, "a chord is supposed to be built like this, like an angle. The first man on top, then there you are and then there's your tenor support, and then it would sound mellow." After playback of a studio recording, Randall adjusted. The Swingland, therefore, provided a structure that Henderson used to generate meaningful art and for material gain while negotiating racial constraints of segregations and the labor constraints the band endured while employed by Skoller.

Across white-owned South Side venues, we can see different degrees of exploitation and empowerment. Ed Fox exploited Hines's popularity by keeping much of the band's touring fees, charged them for their meals, and had them working grueling hours. Hines, however, exercised agency in his performances and through broadcasts. Henderson used his connections at Local 208 to support the musicians and improve working conditions at the Swingland. White publishers afforded opportunities for Quinn Wilson and Horace Henderson to earn wages and further develop their practice, though this practice was received negatively as several musicians saw the songs as inferior to the repertoire they were already performing. These musicians' stories reveal how black musicians navigated social constraints, exercised social and cultural agency,

and endured exploitation from white owners on the South Side during the 1930s and 1940s. The next section examines the constraints and empowering musical activity at black-owned South Side venues.

Black-owned South Side Venues and Black Sociality

Black musicians also endured different degrees of exploitative business relationships and empowering performance practices in black-owned venues. As in white-owned venues, exploitation took the form of pay scale and employment hours, and musician agency included spheres as choosing repertoire, developing improvisational artistry, and mentoring young black musicians. Black-owned venues, however, provided environments for the practice of black sociality away from whiteness. Though black ownership was often connected to some form of organized crime or political corruption, several owners thought of their businesses as profit-making endeavors *and* as important nodes in supporting black cultural and social life. As black ownership increased in the 1940s and 1950s, these clubs became central places for the cultivation of black musical practices and knowledge transmission in the form of sociality and the jam session. White musicians were also present, particularly at jam sessions.

Black Ownership and Playing Gigs

The black owners of South Side clubs were in general either part of the policy racket, other gambling circuits, or Bronzeville entrepreneurs (Thompson 2003; Chepesiuk 2007).[58] The

[58] Policy was a type of numbers lottery common in African American communities (Thompson 2003, 12). It was huge business for the owners, who were called "policy kings," averaging $100 million of annual sales and employing thousands across U.S. cities (ibid., 13).

Dreamland Café, which was located at 3520 South State, and the Apex Club, located nearby at 330 East Thirty-Fifth Street, both of which operated in the 1920s to 1930s, were owned by policy kings—William Bottoms owned the Dreamland and Julian Black, who managed boxer Joe Louis, owned the Apex (Thompson 2003, 51; Chepesiuk 2007, 85). In the 1940s, businessman Charlie Cole owned the DuSable Hotel and the Pershing Hotel (Sites 2020; Hinton n.d.; Thompson 2003, 266). Black entrepreneur Charlie Glenn and boxer Joe Louis owned the Rhumboogie, the former site of Skoller's Swingland. In the late 1950s, Robert Cherry—known as "Cadillac Bob"—a restaurant entrepreneur and business partner with Dan Gaines, an underground crime figure, bought the DuSable and Pershing Hotels and managed several other venues.[59] The Cotton Club, a popular venue among black musicians in the 1950s, was owned by three musicians. Black musicians, therefore, worked for powerful African American politicians, entrepreneurs, policy kings, and colleagues.[60]

Several black-owned clubs were significant because of the black social life they supported. LaRue's, owned by ex-dancer Lovey Taylor and located behind a drugstore on Garfield Boulevard between South Parkway and Prairie, was a spot for post-gig socializing (Saunders 1978). Art Tatum, while at the Three Deuces downtown in the mid-1930s, went there every morning after his gig to drink boilermakers and would stay until daylight playing the house piano (ibid.). Floyd Campbell performed often at the Parkway Ballroom, located at 4455 South

[59] Gaines managed several shady businesses such as leasing most slot machines, vending machines, and juke boxes across the South Side (Randall, n.d.).
[60] In example of musicians working for powerful black elite, clarinetist Zilner Randolph often performed in the 1920s at the Appomattox club with Louis Armstrong and saxophonist Budd Johnson (Randolph 1977). Located at 3236 South Parkway, it was a private club for prominent black Republicans in the early 1900s, and was a place for black professionals, politicians, and policy kings to socialize, including Representative Oscar DePriest (Thompson 2003, 65).

Parkway, which he called "the finest ballroom built by colored people for colored people." Campbell and other black musicians often performed at popular black night spots such as Bacon's Casino, located at 4859 South Wabash (Campbell n.d.).[61]

Some black owners were explicit about supporting black social life with their venues. Businessman Charlie Cole opened the DuSable Hotel in 1939 explicitly cognizant of the black community building that the hotel's entertainment lounge would serve, demonstrated through the links he made to different community and entertainment figures. Located at 764 E. Oakwood Blvd, the DuSable Lounge was the focal point of a set of clubs that offered nightly performances and was crucial for the development of musicians born in the 1920s and 1930s.[62] Charlie Cole bought the hotel in 1939 with partners Ben Cohen and Harry Fields as the neighborhood was turning to majority black residents (Charlie Cole n.d.). Cole recruited chef Vernon Rose from Morris's Eat Shop on Forty-Seventh Street, a favorite eatery of black musicians for after gigs. The hotel lodged celebrated black musicians who were performing in downtown venues but not allowed to stay in white hotels. For example, bassist Milt Hinton worked New Year's Eve at the Hotel Sherman with Cab Calloway in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Calloway would pay a jitney cab for the musicians from the DuSable to the Hotel Sherman and back (Hinton n.d.). This arrangement would attract black customers to the hotel's lounge who were interested in meeting the musicians staying there (Charlie Cole n.d.).

[61] Also known as Bacon's Arena, it was a ballroom and sports arena which hosted Joe Louis's first professional fight (see Gunderson 2015).

[62] For example, pianist Jodie Christian (1932–2012) described the area around the DuSable Hotel as a "really swinging street" that provided a "real education." It was where he spent a lot of time as a young adult performing and developing foundational musical skills (Christian n.d.).

Musicians who performed in the lounge also resided at the hotel. Saxophonist and organist Lonnie Simmons lived there in 1941. When Simmons was offered a gig at a downtown club, the Garrick Lounge, Cole offered Simmons three weeks at the DuSable so his band could start strongly at the Garrick.[63] Guitarist Floyd Smith also lived at the DuSable. In 1943, he was part of a house trio that performed in style similar to the Nat King Cole Trio. Cole paid him with a free hotel room and Local 208 scale, which Smith said was "not much," but the free housing was worth it for him. He spent four and a half years under this arrangement (Simmons n.d.). Cole, however, exploited the situation with the musicians through building maintenance and remuneration even though he was earning good profits. He claimed that when sold the DuSable it was because the building was "deteriorating" and had become a "fire hazard" (Cole n.d.).[64] Cole ran a gambling operation at the hotel, so he was profiting well from the business. His success is evidenced by his purchase in 1947 of the Pershing Hotel and the opening of the El Grotto Supper Club with Cohn and Fields. Though Cole expressed an intention to "turn the Pershing Hotel black," similar to the DuSable Hotel format (Cole n.d.), his aim was profit. He worked with known crime figures and even killed a business partner at the hotel.[65] Nonetheless, he was

[63] Simmons's ensemble consisted of pianist Sunny Thompson, drummer Ike Day, bassist Dolphus Dean, and a singer named Cookie Spann. Simmons noted that Gene Krupa would stop by the club often to see Ike Day perform (Simmons 1983).

[64] Another business associate, John Simmons, bought the DuSable in 1947, but it became, according to Cole, a "low rate house of prostitution," so middle-class African Americans stopped going. South Side entrepreneurs Dan Gaines and Cadillac Bob (Robert Cherry) bought the hotel from Simmons. Gaines and Cadillac Bob later bought the Pershing from Cole in 1957.

[65] Cole shot and killed his business partner Winston Howard at the Pershing Hotel on September 29, 1949. The judge found him guilty, but Cole won his appeal from Judge Euclid Taylor who was connected to underground crime (see Thompson 2003, 282–88). At Cole's first trial, boxer Joe Louis and 208 president Harry Gray were part of a team of thirty-character witnesses who testified on Cole's behalf, even though he shot Howard in a packed club. Cole claimed it was self-defense (*Chicago Defender* Nov 5, 1949; Feb 4, 1950)

paying attention to contemporary cultural changes and supporting the new forms of black music, including booking acts like Charlie Parker and hiring the Freeman brothers—Bruz (drums), Von (tenor sax), and George (guitar)—as the house band to back visiting artists (Freeman 2014a).[66]

Cadillac Bob was another owner whom several musicians identified as an employer (see Chapter 3 for perspectives from interviewees for this project).[67] After the City of Chicago raided the DuSable Hotel in the early 1950s when Cole's former business partner John Simmons, who purchased the DuSable from Cole, was owner, Cadillac Bob and Dan Gaines bought the hotel (Cole n.d.). In 1957, Cadillac Bob and Gaines purchased the Pershing Hotel and renamed the basement club "Budland" (Christian n.d., Freeman 2014a). Several black musicians regarded Cadillac Bob as untrustworthy. For example, soon after Cadillac Bob opened Budland, he hired drummer Charles Walton to form a trio of drums, saxophone, and organ. Cadillac Bob purchased a Hammond B3 organ to keep at the club because we wanted to book jazz organ groups which had become popular (Christian n.d.). Walton hired saxophonist Clifford Jordan and called pianist Earma Thompson, but she declined because of Cadillac Bob's reputation for not paying musicians. Walton then hired pianist Jodie Christian but neglected to mention that he would be playing organ. When Christian arrived for the gig, they had to ask organist Jack McDuff, who had been living at the hotel to help them switch the instrument on. The performed for two weeks, Friday through Sunday, from 10:00 p.m. to 4:00 a.m., and then quit because Cadillac Bob did what Thompson expected—cheated them out of their agreed fee (ibid.).

---

[66] Bruz and George Freeman with bassist Leroy Jackson, pianist Chris Anderson, and tenor saxophonist Claude McLin backed Parker for a live session in October of 1950 (Parker 1976).
[67] From here I will use "Cadillac Bob" for Robert Cherry because that's how every musician, in archived interviews and research interviews, referred to him. Pianist Jodie Christian commented, "Didn't know why he was 'Cadillac' Bob. People have said when he got to Chicago from Detroit, he was driving a Chevy" (Christian n.d.).

Thus, from the 1920s to the 1960s, black musicians endured exploitative conditions with black owners, just as with white owners, on one hand and on the other hand, socialized with black musicians and audiences while furthering their artistry. Places like the DuSable and the surrounding clubs, such as the Flame Lounge at the Morocco Hotel and Pitt's Pub, were central to musicians' recollections of vibrant music-making and learning (Christian n.d.).[68] The owners musicians performed for were involved in different levels of underworld crime and political corruption; understood the importance of the recent stylistic developments in jazz as important magnets for black social life, thus good for business; and some even cheated musicians out of their salary. The next section examines how black musicians navigated exploitation and music-making through mentoring young players, socializing with other black performers, and musical practices at South Side jam sessions.

Black Sociality, Knowledge Transmission, and Jam Sessions

Though black musicians encouraged mentorship opportunities in white-owned South Side clubs, in black-owned venues, the setting was different, particularly in the 1940s and 50s as black ownership became more common. Knowledge sharing took the forms of experienced performers' mentoring young players by letting them sit in, encouraging young musicians and sustaining the music, and participating in jam sessions, where musicians would socialize, trade ideas, and exchange gigs. Clarinetist Happy Caldwell and his fellow high school clarinetists Cecil Irwin and Omer Simeon would go in the 1920s to hear clarinetists Dave Brady at the Dreamland and Jimmy Noone at the Apex to learn clarinet skills (Caldwell 1976). Caldwell

[68] Charles Walton asked most musicians in the interviews he conducted about the clubs near DuSable Hotel during the 1940s, much more so than any other club cluster.

remarked that when going with Irwin and Simeon to hear Noone and others, the established players "liked to see us make progress." The older players would ask Simeon, Irwin, and Caldwell to sit in and let them call the song they wanted to play. This case is much like when Caldwell and his colleagues sat in at the Sunset Café when Noone was there, thus was a common practice at any club that would allow. Young players, then, followed black musicians they admired to wherever they performed on the South Side.

Figure 7: Dave Young's band at the Ritz Lounge in 1947. Young is the farthest right. Image courtesy of the Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Elder black musicians took providing opportunities seriously, enthusiastic to hear young players improve. The Ritz Lounge is an example of a black-owned club where young black players would go to hang out and sit in with established performers. In the mid-1940s, the doorman from the DuSable Hotel, a Jamaican immigrant named Jimmy Cooper, took his earnings from gambling at the hotel (and possibly from skimming money off the cover charges he collected at the door) to open the Ritz Lounge in the Ritz Hotel at Thirty-Ninth Street and South Parkway (Cole n.d.). Cooper hired saxophonist Dave Young's ensemble which included singers George Floyd and Dinah Washington and an ensemble of pianist Rudy Martin, trumpeter Pee Wee Jackson, alto saxophonist Goon Gardner, and drummer Ike Day (see figure 7). Wilbur Ware in his early twenties often frequented the club with drummer Wilbur Campbell, who admired Ike Day. Young once let Campbell sit in but did not like what he heard, so he called Ike Day back to the bandstand and told him to "play some time," outwardly unhappy with Campbell's quarter-note pulse. Young's insult upset Campbell who returned home to practice (Ware 1977). Campbell, however, would return and Ike Day would show him different techniques and concepts. According to Ware, Ike Day was generous with musical knowledge and would demonstrate anything young players asked him.

Another form of knowledge exchange and black sociality important for musicians was the jam sessions at black-owned clubs which provided important training for aspiring young jazz players, common practice across different scenes.[69] As has been discussed, in the 1920s and 30s, sitting in at jam sessions or other colleagues' gigs had been a common practice at South Side, North Side, and downtown clubs. Once elected president of Local 208 in 1937, however, Harry

[69] See Berliner (1994, 36–62) on the improtance of jam sessinos as training ground for young improvisers.

Gray made it a violation of union rules if musicians sat in on other musicians' gigs or at jam sessions, and then lifted the ban in the early 1950s (Pruter et al. 2013).

The breakfast show, as will be seen in Chapter 2, was a crucial arena for musicians to meet up after gigs, socialize and learn about recent happenings on the scene. Jam sessions functioned similarly and would happen after the breakfast shows, usually around 7:00 a.m. on Saturday, Sunday, or Monday. There were jam sessions in the 1950s at both white-owned and black-owned venues, attracting black musicians as well as white musicians who visited from the North Side. Bass trumpeter Cy Touff recalled after his gigs participating in the jam sessions at white-owned venues, the Flame Lounge in the Morocco Hotel and Nob Hill in Hyde Park, and black-owned, Trocadero Lounge in the Trocadero Hotel located at 47th and Indiana and the Cotton Club located at Sixty-Second Street and Cottage Grove Avenue. At these South Side jam sessions, Wilbur Ware met several white musicians who hired him for North Side gigs, commenting on physical and racial distance, "I started getting jobs over there" (Ware 1977).

Even though white-owned South Side clubs had jam sessions, and undoubtedly black musicians socialized and exchanged knowledge with other black players as well as white musicians who visited, black-owned venues in the 1950s provided a unique arena for black sociality and knowledge sharing. The Cotton Club was a particularly important spot for young black players.[70] Opened in 1953, the venue was owned by three black musicians—pianist Harold Youngblood, vibraphonist Bobby Payne, and drummer Tony Smith (Thompson n.d.). Pianist

[70] Bassist Dennis Carroll commented, after I recounted to him stories of the Cotton Club from the Walton archive, that pianists Jodie Christian and Earma Thompson spoke often about how vital the Cotton Club was as a center of learning and sharing among black musicians in the 1950s (personal communication January 3, 2020).

Earma Thompson was in the house band which hosted a jam session Mondays through Wednesdays into the early morning.

Wilbur Ware called the Cotton Club "a clearing house of musicians" (1977). Earma Thompson described the venue as "an institution" where musicians discussed, "playing tunes, learning tunes, learning different chords and so on" (Thompson n.d.). Musicians would have detailed conversations about repertoire, different approaches to harmonic progressions, and other theoretical concepts at the venue's jam session. At one point, Detroit saxophonist Billy Mitchell performed for a few weeks at the club. Thompson pointed out that Mitchell "exposed the musicians to the Detroit and NY music philosophies" (ibid.). Cy Touff as well as saxophonist and trumpeter Ira Sullivan were white musicians who would frequent after their South Side gigs.

Musicians felt they could trust the musician ownership to assist in business matters. For example, Wilbur Ware was struggling with his drug addiction in 1957 and did not have a permanent address (Ware 1977). Drummer Art Blakey sent plane tickets to the club for Ware and multi-instrumentalist Ira Sullivan to join his group. This is notable as both a black *and* white musician trusted the owners with important business. The club owners, however, also engaged in unscrupulous practices when paying musicians. One of the owners, Harold Youngblood, was on the executive board of 208. During Thompson's tenure at the club in the mid-1950s, Local 208 voted to raise the daily pay scale from $12 a night to $15 (Thompson n.d.). Youngblood refused to give Thompson and her husband Marshall the pay increase. Since Youngblood was on the board, he did not fear reprisal from the union's executive board. Thompson noted that at another club across the street, the Basin Street Club, a white-owned venue, musicians were paid the new scale. She and her husband met with Harry Gray to file a grievance, but he refused to assist them. Thompson's experience demonstrates how musicians were empowered through the agency of

their musical practice, experimenting and developing artistry at the jam session, and how they endured exploitation from black owners who were not merely proprietors but fellow musicians.

Though the constraints musicians endured were similar in both black-owned and white-owned venues, I argue that black-owned venues provided unique moments of generative black sociality among black musicians as black ownership increased in the 1950s. Black owners that exploited musicians through pay—by paying less than scale, not paying what was agreed upon, or not paying at all—and long hours often did so with the support of Local 208. Some black owners, however, were aware of the black cultural and social life they engendered and would profit from, thus musicians had institutions in where to further their artistry, mentor young players, socialize and exchange musical information and work opportunities, and earn a living. The next section examines how black musicians crossed racial boundaries to work in the white areas of the city, enduring racialized interactions, cultivating musical relationships, and developing their practice.

White Venues and Crossing Boundaries

White-owned clubs as organized here from musicians' reflections are divided into three areas—downtown, North Side, and outlying suburbs. These venues catered to white audiences such as businessmen, conventioneers, college students, music enthusiasts, and other night revelers.[71] Performing in these locations highlights the racial boundaries that black musicians traversed, the distances they had to travel for work, and the ways they negotiated constraints of race and labor

[71] Overall, the musicians in these archives did not speak of racial encounters with audience members. Pianist John Wright recalled that white audiences at the Randolph Rendezvous tipped the musicians often and well (Wright n.d.).

practices while developing their musical practice. From working in these settings, black jazz musicians speak to the experience of African Americans crossing racial boundaries during mid-century Chicago in order to work. In most downtown and North Side venues from the 1920s to the 1950s, African Americans in general were not welcomed nor allowed to frequent.[72] These venues, however, provided opportunities for them to earn money, advance their careers, and continue growing as musicians. Black musicians exercised social and musical agency in these clubs through performance and social relationships while experiencing racialized constraints on their mobility (while not as tight as for African Americans in general, were still oppressive) and earning power, which was much lower than white musicians. Considering these dimensions of their experience, black musicians also shared knowledge and developed their practice with black *and* white musicians. This section focuses on how the experience of working in white clubs was an experiment in musical and social agency for black musicians that challenged what was possible under highly racialized and constrained circumstances.

At some downtown clubs, black musicians had moments of socializing and music learning among black colleagues. Several of these clubs had been centers for white musicians in the 1920s and then as these venues hired more black acts in the 1940s and 50s, black musicians would congregate to socialize and sit in. For example, the Randolph Rendezvous, across from the Hotel Sherman, had hired white bands in the 1920s, such as Jimmy McPartland and pianist Dick Voynow (McPartland 1973). In the 1950s, the club featured mainly black bands.[73]

[72] William Howland Kenney notes that the only way African Americans could visit downtown clubs was as musicians or wait staff (1993, 28).

[73] Memphis musicians such as trumpeter Booker Little, saxophonist George Coleman, saxophonist Frank Strozier, and pianist Harold Mabern led a Sunday jam session in the mid 1950s at the Rendezvous. Lee Morgan and Benny Golson met George Coleman at this session in

Drummer Jelly Holt, working as a bartender at the club, set up a residency which included pianist John Wright, bassist Dorothy Davis, and guitarist Frankie Rue (Wright n.d.).[74] The band, Jelly Holt and the Four Whims, performed Wednesdays through Sundays from 9:00 p.m. to 4:00 a.m. (Pruter et al. 2013). Wright recalled that black musicians would often come by after gigs to sit in with Holt's band or during the Sunday evening jam sessions (Wright n.d.).

At the nearby Blue Note, owned by Frank Holzfeind, (Sengstock 2004, 175), Wilbur Ware performed in 1952 with white pianist Lou Levy who often hired South Side musicians.[75] The club hired two bands that would play alternating thirty-minute sets. Buster Bennett's ensemble, which included bassist Israel Crosby, performed the opposite set from Levy's group. Ware called this opportunity "an education playing opposite him." Ware explicitly recounted how hearing Crosby play during band breaks taught him how to choose sensible pitches for bass line accompaniment and how to have better control with his left hand on the bass neck (Ware 1977). Thus, in environments that were at some level hostile toward African Americans, black musicians would exercise agency through their performances, learning from other players, and socializing in white spaces.

The Three Deuces, which was located downtown at 222 North State Street, furnishes an example of how black musicians worked under racial and labor constraints while socializing and making music with black colleagues. The club had been a central place for young white musicians in the 1920s, where white musicians would congregate to sit in after their gigs

---

1955 while they were performing with Dizzy Gillespie at the Blue Note two blocks away (McMillan 2008, 71).

[74] Wright claims this ensemble was the first residency of an all-black band on the Randolph strip.

[75] The Blue Note was located at 56 West Madison and, after 1953, at 3 North Clark Street (Sengstock 2004, 175). Levy performed there often and usually hired drummer Wilbur Campbell, guitarist George Freeman, and vocalist Babs Gonzalez (Ware 1977).

(Kenney 1993, 115), and presented white and black bands and "interracial jam sessions" in the 1930s (Kenney 1993, 165).[76] The owner, Sam Beers, started regularly booking black artists in the 1930s, such as pianist Art Tatum (Sengstock 2004, 174).[77] As Tatum would finish his North Side gig at the Three Deuces and go to LaRue's on the South Side, black musicians would often frequent the Three Deuces to hear drummer Zutty Singleton's band after their South Side gigs. For instance, after Roy Eldridge moved to Chicago in the winter of 1935 to play in Fletcher Henderson's band at the Grand Terrace, he and saxophonist Chu Berry would often go to the Three Deuces after playing with Henderson to hear Singleton, to eat the restaurant's barbeque ribs, and to sit in (Eldridge 1982).

Once Eldridge quit Henderson's band in 1936, Beers hired him at a higher salary than at the Grand Terrace. Singleton helped Eldridge to put the band together, hiring saxophonist Dave Young, alto saxophonist Scoops Carry, pianist Teddy Cole, and Eldridge's saxophonist bother Joe Eldridge to arrange (ibid.). Eldridge's group broadcasted from the Three Deuces, a situation Beers had already established when Tatum was in residence, which attracted black big bands who were touring by bus (Eldridge 1982). [78] Once these touring musicians finished their gigs, they would often go to see Eldridge perform. The broadcasts not only attracted musicians who wished to socialize, but these broadcasts had specific musical effects on upcoming musicians,

[76] Clarinetist Mezz Mezzrow controversially claimed that he "invented" the jam session at the Three Deuces (Kenney 1993, 115).
[77] Beers named the club after the address number 222, and in reference to a mob-owned prostitution house called the Four Deuces (Kenney 1993, 115).
[78] Dave Young said they also often smoked marijuana at the Three Deuces since marijuana was cheap due to Mexican immigrants who were railroad laborers. Marijuana was much easier to afford than alcohol, costing $5 for "one shoebox full" (Young n.d.).

such as Wilbur Ware who found Tatum's, Jimmy Noone's, and Eldridge's broadcasts influential to his conceptions of rhythm, harmony, and melody (Ware 1977).

It was, however, a situation where Beers contractually controlled outside opportunities for Eldridge. For instance, Eldridge received an offer to join vocalist Bob Crosby's group (Bing Crosby's brother) in Los Angeles, and because of the business Eldridge was attracting, Beers stepped in to stop him from leaving. In 1936, without Eldridge's knowledge, Beers sold his contract to Joe Glaser, who was powerful in New York and used this contract to control Eldridge's opportunities when he moved there in 1937 (Horne 2019, 58; Eldridge 1982). The Three Deuces shows how black musicians had some flexibility to cross racial boundaries into downtown, develop their artistry, earn income, socialize with black and white musicians, have their name spread over the airwaves, and have actual impact among musicians, but at the same time were stuck working long hours under contracts where white owners connected to organized crime could take advantage of them and restrict their movements.

The Uptown neighborhood had been an area of activity for white bands since the 1920s, in places such as the Green Mill Café and the Uptown Theater.[79] Black musicians who performed in Uptown in the 1920s included Louis Armstrong at the Rainbow Gardens, located at the corner of Clark and Lawrence, and Baby Dodds with Muggsy Spanier's band at the Montmartre Café next to the Green Mill (Kenney 1993, 80; Demlinger and Steiner 2003, 136). The Argyle Show Lounge, located at Broadway and Argyle, presented bebop acts like Charlie Parker in 1948 and was one venue Wilbur Ware would work with white musicians that he met at

[79] Balaban and Katz, the theater company from New York, built both the Uptown Theater as well as the Chicago Theater downtown and the Tivoli and Regal Theaters on the South Side (Semmes 2006, 17).

South Side jam sessions.[80] One popular spot in Uptown was the 5100 Club which presented white bandleader Mark Fisher's band, the house band in the 1920s and 1930s that backed vocalist Danny Thomas (Sengstock 2004, 1). Horace Henderson's experience in 1940 at the 5100 Club is an example of a black musician who used the contacts he built on the South Side to further his career on the North Side.

After leaving the Swingland, Henderson replaced Fisher's band and hired many of his musicians from the Swingland, including trumpeters Ray Nance (who also played violin), Walter Fuller, and Harry Jackson and clarinetist Omer Simeon. Henderson performed the same material from the Swingland for the dance sets and took over the duties backing Danny Thomas's act. He described the owner, Harry Eagle, as a "millionaire" who conducted all his transactions in cash, including purchasing the bar's supply of alcohol. After Eagle hired him, Henderson suggested that Eagle broadcast their sets to increase business. Henderson used his connections at WBBM to bring the station to the 5100, which increased customers, prompting Eagle to commend him. In all these examples black musicians challenged the spatial regimes of the 1920s to the 1950s. They crossed dangerous racial boundaries, socialized with colleagues, made music, developed their practice, and shared knowledge. Henderson while at the 5100 Club shows that he could even use his contacts at a white-owned broadcast network to increase his reach and club business.

[80] Ware recalled working there with a white tenor saxophonist named "Gypsy" who modeled his playing on Lester Young and meeting alto saxophonist Lee Konitz.

White-owned Venues Outside the City and Suburban Jim Crow

Performing in the suburbs could entail black musicians hustling for tips, performing shows for long hours and low pay, or performing in quite dangerous settings. To get to these gigs before the development of the highway system in the 1950s, they had to travel long roads that had not yet been developed (or paved), so the musicians drove slowly, thus the trips were long (Saunders 1978). In the 1920s, Red Saunders found that young players had a hard time during Prohibition breaking into the South Side scene, particularly the theatre gigs, so he would often travel to suburban mob-owned roadhouses with a band led by a pianist who called himself "Stomp King" (ibid.). Just as Ware had done, the bandleader paid someone to drive them then the Stomp King, who had "nice salesmanship about him," would talk club owners into having them play for tips (ibid.). Quinn Wilson performed in the 1920s and 1930s at the Villa Venice in suburban Wheeling, a club owned by Albert "Papa" Bouche, an Italian immigrant. Bouche booked both black and white acts at the Villa Venice. Wilson performed there with Sidney Bechet and Darnell Howard (Wilson 1977). Bouche marketed the Villa Venice as "America's best theatre restaurant," located at Milwaukee Road and the Des Plaines River (Craig 2015). There was a pier that led into the river and he provided gondola trips on the river that included singers (see figure 8). Thus, black musicians performed in a setting where Bouche promoted Venetian nostalgia for Italian immigrants. The entertainment included orchestras, chorus girls, and vaudeville acts with shows at 8:30pm, midnight, and 2:45am seven days a week (ibid.). Wilson recalled the repertoire as stock arrangements and "big symphonic arrangements" by different publishers, New Orleans tunes, Dixieland standards such as "Panama," and they "faked" some songs.

Figure 8: The pier behind Albert Bouche's Villa Venice on the Des Plaines River northwest of Chicago in the 1930s (Craig 2015).

One of the most dangerous racial environments black musicians worked was Calumet City, particularly performing at strip clubs from 1949 into the 1950s (Sites 2020, 142). The residents and businesses of Calumet City were quite hostile toward blacks—black musicians would encounter "whites only" signs and had to enter clubs through the back (144). Musicians, though they could work in Chicago, drove there, about fifteen miles from the South Side through industrial and farm areas, to work in grueling conditions of eight-hour long shows with one half-hour break (Freeman 2000; Sites 2020, 144). The musicians were forced to play behind a curtain so that the white customers would not see them during the burlesque shows. Since these

conditions were so difficult, personnel changed often.[81] Some musicians were paid in drugs, such as drummer Ike Day, who had been living in nearby Harvey (Ware 1977). Others, however, took the opportunity as a learning experience. Charles Walton said that working at these strip clubs was an important way for musicians to develop their musical skills. Von Freeman explained that he learned important musical skills at strip joints—how to learn songs quickly, perform a melody "correctly," and how to learn a large repertoire of songs quickly (Freeman 2000). In all these cases, long trips and different degrees of anti-black racism shaped the experience. The Calumet City example demonstrates how musicians navigated the racial constraints of Jim Crow, being separate from local whites, to perform long hours, but cultivate their artistry. Across these whit spaces, black musicians were challenging the spatial regimes and while enduring racism and exploitation, building and transforming musical practices of the moment.

Conclusion

There are several important themes that emerge from this overview of archived interviews. Black musicians worked under black and white owners on the South Side, crossed dangerous social boundaries to work in white clubs, and endured abuse and grueling working conditions in order to earn a living as well as cultivate artistry. There were different constraints on their bodies and music. They had to work under contracts that exploited their labor and, at times, would not even have the support of Local 208. In these disparate contexts, black musicians socialized and shared musical knowledge. They exercised what agency they could considering the segregation regime they under which they worked.

[81] For example, pianist and singer Freddie Cole only worked for two weeks and quit because of the hours and treatment (Cole 2002).

This chapter focused on black musicians' experiences of living under anti-black racism and segregation. Exploitation in South Side clubs took the form of long hours, low pay, and enforcement of this situation by Local 208. Being on the South Side, however, afforded a vibrant black social life and feelings of contributing to the development of black musical practices and to black cultural life. In clubs like the Cotton Club, black musicians performed some of the latest innovations of the time such as bebop, backed black entertainers, and mingled with local black figures. At the same time, they worked long hours and fought against both ownership and the union for better working conditions. Each place represented musical practice and social engagements with race, class, and power; and each place was representational of social position. Wilbur Ware understood the North Side as "over there," a spatial distance that imbued race and social distance that was also meaningful for his artistry. These geographies of empowerment and exploitation show how black players moved across boundaries and through spatial scales, enduring racialized environments, but also generating African American musical culture and cultivating improvisational language.

The next chapter will examine Local 208 history, black musicians' relationships to white musicians, the complex racial dynamics that coalesced at South Side clubs, particularly the Rhumboogie, and the Club DeLisa, and the integration of Locals 10 and 208 in 1966. How white musicians saw their role as jazz players and their relationships with black musicians is an important factor in black musicians' experience and what led to union integration. Intragroup contestation was also a factor in both locals. Black musicians disagreed with union leadership on solutions to inferior pay and access to more lucrative work, reflecting the tensions between assimilation and separation as the proper method of reaching equity for black musicians. White musicians who were sympathetic to black musicians' struggles fought against James Petrillo's

segregationist stance to work toward integration which they sincerely felt would not only help black musicians gain better pay and improve working conditions but would afford more opportunities to gig with black players. The history of the union integration demonstrates the complexity of social and musical relationships between white and black musicians that has been historically part of the Chicago scene and continues today.

Chapter 2

Red and Gray Politics:
Race and the Labor in the History of American Federation of Musicians Local 208

The previous chapter analyzed the constraints of segregation and black musicians' social and musical agency arguing that as black musicians negotiated racial and musical frameworks over time and space in Chicago, they subverted spatial regimes in the process. Underlying many of their experiences were the operations, politics, and structures of the segregated musicians' locals. Both the white Local 10 and the black Local 208 structured pay scales, determined who would work, constrained musical activity such as jam sessions, and both helped and harmed musicians. This chapter contributes to histories of both locals (Leiter 1953; Walker 1976; Samuels and Spivey 1984; Halker 1988; Green 2007, 54–57; House 2012; Absher 2014, 119–46) by examining how the themes of Chapter 1, exploitation and empowerment, coalesced in union policy and the struggles for and against union integration. It asks how black musicians arrived at the decision to integrate, who was for and who was against integration, and how the 1966 merger affected black musicians.

The labor conditions that had emerged and transformed under the changing spatial and racial regimes over the preceding decades informed and shaped the struggle over the merger which, in the end, strengthened Local 10's hold on constraining employment in the musical workplace, disadvantaging most black musicians. Furthermore, intragroup struggles in Local 208 revealed behind-the-scenes attempts to resolve the tensions of living under anti-black racism and segregation—whether to develop strategies of independence or of assimilation in relation to musical labor, neither of which ultimately resolved those tensions. In the end, the resulting merger reproduced the spatial and racial conditions.

From 1922 to 1966, black musicians had to join Local 208 if they wanted to work in most venues. Local 10 and Local 208 had labor and territorial agreements that reproduced the spatial arrangements of the time, thus another structure shaping the experiences of black and white musicians. These relations became visible when white musicians hired black musicians or vice-versa—black musicians were paid less for the same work. After a brief discussion of how Local 10 policed spatial boundaries of labor, the chapter focuses on Red Saunders's tenure at the Club DeLisa and the way it shaped his view of integration. After the club closed in 1958, Saunders kept fighting with Local 208 leadership, and in disgust, started organizing to integrate with Local 10, a move that the Local 208 board opposed.

History of Local 208 and Relation to Local 10

The American Federation of Musicians (AFM) was founded in 1896 (Halker 1989, 209; Leiter 1953). As was the case with other labor unionization efforts, black laborers were excluded (Roediger 2007; Halker 1989, 209). Separate unionization efforts for black musicians were instituted by Alexander Armant and George Dulf, members of the Knights of Pythias Band which had been recruited in 1898 during the Spanish-American War as the Eighth Illinois Band, a national guard regimental band (Price et al. 2010, 612).[82] Dulf was the principal cornetist. Armant conducted the band which was popular among black and white audiences throughout Illinois (Halker 1989, 210). Armant and his colleagues were responding to the poor working conditions black musicians endured at this time and their mistrust of white labor organizers. They formed Local 208 in 1902 with Armant as the first president (see figure 9).

[82] Another charter member was Henderson Smith, who earned an international reputation as "America's Black Sousa" in reference to John Philip Sousa (Halker 1989, 210).

Figure 9: The 1902 charter of Local 208. Image courtesy of the Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

At the beginning, Local 208 had a membership of twenty which increased to 300 by end of the first world war (Halker 1989, 211). In 1918, Local 208 purchased the headquarters at 3924 South State Street. After a series of leadership changes and the contentious presidency of Art Steward from 1932 to 1937, Harry Gray was elected president in 1937, and William Everett

Samuels was elected secretary in 1939, both staying in their positions through the 1966 merger. Gray and Samuels worked at making sure relations with Local 10 president James Petrillo were functional and that Local 208 controlled all South Side establishments (213). Though the wage scale in Chicago was one of the highest in the nation, the racist policies of the AFM overall and of Petrillo locally ensured that black musicians would not receive the most lucrative work.

Each local served its respective members differently. Local 10 was an archetypal labor union with officers who negotiated pay scales and working conditions with businesses.[83] Local 208 functioned additionally like a black fraternal organization providing housing, a credit union, social welfare benefits, and rehearsal spaces for musicians (Absher 2014, 123). This structure supported African American musicians in meaningful ways, providing important social activities and support alongside employment. The multi-function aspects of Local 208 meant that officers and board members needed extensive and varied skills to execute and manage Local 208's services. The extent of what they developed became apparent after the Local 10-208 merger as black members noticed the poor management skills of Local 10 officers at running 10-208.

Under Petrillo, it was potentially dangerous for black musicians to work with white musicians downtown and on the North Side. According to black musicians, in the 1920s he used threats of violence to keep the racial boundaries intact, sending "goons" to enforce those boundaries (Bigard and Martyn 1987, 32). White musicians, however, had the freedom to work anywhere in the city. This situation led to institutional conflicts, particularly for black musicians. For instance, if a Local 10 musician was hired by a Local 208 musician or vice versa, which pay scale would be followed? Red Saunders at the Club DeLisa in the 1950s and the Regal Theater in

[83] Petrillo controlled negotiations, typically over the phone, a contentious process among 10 members, especially for symphony musicians (Denov 1993; Bolle n.d.).

the 1960s would pay Local 10 musicians at Local 10 scale, while his black musicians received less for the same work (Saunders 1978). Local 208 musicians, however, received the Local 208 scale when they worked at gigs controlled by Local 10.

Guitarist Lefty Bates shared with Charles Walton an example from the late 1930s of how Gray and Petrillo negotiated employment that crossed racial boundaries (Bates n.d.). Bates had been hired to record at the RCA recording studio in downtown. To perform and receive his fee, Local 10 required that he, like all Local 208 musicians, have an approved contract signed by Gray. Bates had personally received Gray's assurances about the contract he brought with him, but the Local 10 business agent told Bates that the Local 208 contract was not valid. Bates called Gray and explained, "A white dude from 10 is down here and he says that this contract you gave me is worthless and I have to get clearance from Local 10 to do anything" (Bates n.d.). Gray called Petrillo and then Petrillo called RCA to grant permission for Bates to participate in the recording. According to Bates, this scenario was a common occurrence. What impressed Bates was that "once you got out of the Black Belt with a Musician's Union card, Petrillo controlled everything" (ibid.). Thus, black musicians understood well that the segregated workplace worked against them.

Local 208 Structure and Politics

The structural elements of Local 208 demonstrate how the union constrained and empowered black musicians on the South Side. Dues were based on earnings. Since Local 208 controlled the contracts for all South Side venues, it knew exactly how much each musician made. Lefty Bates had to pay $5.00 a week in 1937, about 25% of his salary, which a business agent collected weekly from him at the DeLisa (Bates n.d.). When musicians joined Local 208, they had to pay

membership fees which were usually much higher than their pay. For instance, pianist Jodie Christian, in the mid-1950s, had to pay a $39 membership fee to the business agent who showed up at his gig after Local 208 got word that he had been hired by saxophonist Ron Hall at Pitt's Pub Lounge on Thirty-Ninth Street (Christian n.d.). If dues were not paid, a Local 208 business agent would bar a musician from working.

Even when musicians paid their dues, doing so was not enough to guarantee work. As a young player, Red Saunders had been playing for tips at suburban roadhouses and traveling with shows in the Midwest and Colorado because Local 208 rarely hired young players (Saunders 1978). Once Gray was elected Local 208 president, it became even harder for young players to secure work. When a South Side venue or someone from Local 10 wanted to hire a Local 208 musician, they had to call the Local 208 office and speak with a union officer (Mack n.d.). Composer James Mack complained that young musicians could not get opportunities because Gray pushed callers to hire his preferred musicians rather than a young player. Mack described Gray's authority as a "fiefdom," handing out gigs to solely his friends (Walton 1993, 18).

Local 208, however, supported musicians in different ways. The building that housed its headquarters was central for its membership (see figure 10). Musicians could gain employment and cultivate musical, social, and employment networks there. The three-story building contained the offices of the Treasurer, Vice President, Secretary, and business administration on the first floor; the president's office, board room for meetings and the trial board, and a club room where musicians fraternized and played cards on the second floor; and a rehearsal hall on the third floor (Walton 1993). Playing cards was an important activity for young musicians to meet the older players, to get hired, and to interact with Gray who would often play cards with them. Musicians could go to headquarters, tell the staff their primary instruments, and the

officers would tell the musicians where to appear and when (Campbell n.d.). In 1950, Gray expanded the union property holdings, purchasing a twenty-four-unit apartment complex at 53rd and Drexel with the purpose of having affordable housing for musicians who were struggling (Walton 1993). Local 208 also had a credit union in the headquarters for musicians to open a savings or checking account or borrow money at affordable interest rates.

Figure 10: Local 208 headquarters located at 3924 South State Street. Image courtesy of the John Steiner Collection, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

The politics of Local 208, particularly with Gray at the helm, both helped and harmed its members. During the Depression, Local 208 held concerts at Warwick Hall on Thursdays with two bands working for the door to assist musicians who were struggling to make ends meet (Campbell n.d.). There was, however, a hierarchy of clubs and musicians which received preferential treatment. Local 208 supported what Wilbur Ware called the "A clubs," such as theaters and dancehalls, but not cabarets or strip clubs. Thus, many Local 208 members were put into precarious situations. Ware endured club owners, for instance, who skipped paying the band because they knew enforcement was lax for their establishment. Local 208 also took a strong stance against transfer members and ensembles from outside Chicago. When Zilner Randolph moved to Chicago in 1931, he was not allowed to work at the Regal. Randolph's situation changed when Louis Armstrong hired him, showing how the union would look the other way with some musicians, particularly someone as celebrated and profit-generating as Armstrong.

Wilbur Ware did not have that kind of cachet. He returned to Chicago in 1963 following an illness; having been a member of Local 802 in New York, he thought he might be able to get straight to work. At a gig with pianist Dodo Marmarosa at the French Poodle in the Old Town neighborhood on the North Side, a Local 208 business agent stopped Ware from working because he had not paid his dues. He was sent before the trial board and he raised his voice with it because he could not afford to maintain two union memberships. He received a fine. Then saxophonist Johnny Griffin hired him for a show at the Regal and a Local 208 business agent again stopped him from performing. Since Ware had no work, he pawned his bass, fell deeper into drug addiction, and he moved back to New York (Ware 1977).

Harry Gray was a polarizing figure. Some musicians were supportive of and grateful for his leadership, and others saw him as a corrupt figure who was concerned only about his own

glory. Trumpeter Lewis Ogletree praised Gray for using connections in the city government, particularly with Fifth Ward committeeman Marshall Korshak of Hyde Park, to find government jobs for musicians who were struggling to pay their bills (Ogletree n.d.). Gray once loaned Charles Walton his violin for a college course on string instruments in which Walton was enrolled. Walton described Gray as "a pleasant, quiet person during the times I was in his presence" (1993). He never saw Gray pull a gun or start a fight as others had claimed.[84]

One example of a Gray supporter was Horace Henderson. Harry Gray was Henderson's bassist and was a business agent at Local 208 (Henderson 1975).[85] In 1937, Gray ran against Art Steward for the union presidency because musicians had grown tired of Steward, who many felt did not work in their interests (Campbell n.d.). Henderson, drummer Floyd Campbell, Red Saunders, and others strategized their campaign at the Old Tymers Club next to the Regal Theater and Gray won. Shortly after taking over Local 208, Gray negotiated with Skoller to reduce the band's workload and increase its pay. Bernadine Samuels McCants, who worked in the Local 208 office and was daughter of Secretary William Everett Samuels, summed up Gray's supporters' sentiments: "Gray was for the underdog. Any musician in need, could come to him and get help" (McCants 1993).

Other Local 208 members believed that Gray was vindictive, intolerant of dissent, and suspected that he was in a corrupt relationship with Petrillo. Furthermore, some members felt

[84] For example, the Argyle Show Lounge, located in the Uptown neighborhood near the Green Mill, presented Charlie Parker in 1948 with Miles Davis, Max Roach, and Duke Jordan. At the performance, Parker's drug use had been excessive, so the white owner fired the band (Davis and Troupe 1989, 107). Davis claimed that when Parker went to seek redress at the Local 208 office, Harry Gray, pulled a gun on Parker and threatened to kill him if he did not leave

[85] Business agents had the power to approve contracts and check union cards at gigs. Gray also conducted the band's business and paid the musicians (Henderson 1975).

that the Local 208 leadership of Gray, Charles Elgar, Walter Dyett, and Everett Samuels was out of touch with musicians' concerns more concerned about themselves and their clique of friends than members of Local 208 (Saunders 1978).[86] For example, Floyd Campbell, who had supported Gray, felt that, because he spoke up at union meetings, Gray blocked him from getting work:

> It may have appeared. I was becoming too vocal in the union meetings and was getting\ too strong for Harry. Sometime later, Walter Dyett told me that Harry begged him to start a band and that he, Dyett, was not interested in having a band, but Gray kept after him. When Dyett started his band, with the help of Gray, he began to get the musical work I had been getting. (Campbell n.d.)

Guitarist Lefty Bates was particularly critical of Gray and the 208 leadership, arguing that the board only helped themselves and their closest associates and "shafted" union members. At one point, Gray turned Bates into the IRS while Bates was having tax trouble from his recording session work at VeeJay Records. Another time, when Bates had taken a loan with the Local 208 credit union, Gray took the outstanding balance out of Bates's savings there (Bates n.d.).[87]

Composer Marl Young was often a focus of Gray's ire in the 1940s. Lionel Hampton hired Young to arrange some pieces for a 1941 Grand Terrace show, while Ralph Buglio was owner. When Hampton's manager did not pay Young's fee for one of the arrangements, he put in a claim at 208 against the Grand Terrace (Young n.d.). Buglio threatened Young with violence

[86] For instance, Harry Gray policed jam sessions for a period, a crucial learning and social practice in jazz. He hired a business agent to police clubs to stop jam sessions. For example, guitarist George Freeman once sat in with an ensemble performing at the Flame Lounge, a white-owned South Side club in the Morocco Hotel, and a Local 208 business agent sent him to meet with Captain Walter Dyett of the trial board (Freeman 2019). Harry Gray lifted the restriction on jam sessions in the 1950s.

[87] Bates attributed Gray's contempt for him to his close relationship with Saunders, who had fallen out with Gray over the Club DeLisa pay scale.

when asked about the money, but Young was not intimidated.[88] The union allowed the claim and Young was given a hearing. Gray told Young that he could not return to the Grand Terrace to work, claiming union policy. This decision infuriated Young because the by-laws, as he read them, stated that the entire ensemble was not supposed to work during a dispute with a venue. So Young went back to the Grand Terrace and Gray fined him $25, which Young paid. Young appealed to the AFM and won the appeal, and Local 208 was forced to return his money. When Young went to union headquarters to be reimbursed, Gray was furious.[89] From that point, he sabotaged any dispute Young had and tried to impede Young from being hired.

The Rhumboogie and the Politics of Black Entertainment

The Rhumboogie was a celebrated spot in the early 1940s for black nightlife because the club programmed variety shows and featured blues, swing, and the emerging bebop style. Charlie Glenn, a businessman in automobile sales, and boxer Joe Louis purchased the club from Bennie Skoller in 1940. The club represented black cultural ownership for South Side audiences and musicians because of its black ownership and it presented the top black entertainers of the time (Semmes 2006, 121). Glenn continued using the local black acts that Skoller had the hired and also hired acts such as Horace Henderson and Los Angeles guitarist T-Bone Walker who Glenn signed to a two-year contract in 1941 (Pruter and Campbell 2018). Bandleader Carroll Dickerson also lead an ensemble in 1943 which for a time featured Charlie Parker as part of the

[88] Buglio told Young. “They're going to find you lying in a ditch.” Young explained, “I was wondering if he really meant it, but I still put in a claim against with the union. I thought If I'm going to lie in the ditch, I'm going lie in the ditch with my money in my pocket” (Young n.d.).
[89] Floyd Campbell seconded the notion that Gray disliked Young, commenting “Harry Gray hated the ground that Marl Young walked on” (Campbell n.d.).

band. From what many musicians claim, Parker appears to have lived some months in Chicago in late 1943 or early 1944 (Saunders 1978; Hinton n.d.; Ogletree n.d.; Orr n.d.).[90] He supposedly arrived without a saxophone and alto saxophonist Goon Gardner from Dave Young's ensemble lent Parker a horn (Milt Hinton n.d.). Red Saunders and trumpeters Raymond Orr and Lewis Ogletree recounted Parker performing in Dickerson's band and playing a version of "Cherokee" that Marl Young arranged in all twelve keys for Parker.[91]

For South Side musicians, the Rhumboogie was a central club in the early to mid 1940s. The Monday morning breakfast show at the Club DeLisa, which was four blocks west of the Rhumboogie, in the late 1940s was a time of the week when musicians would congregate to socialize, keep up on the politics and happenings of the scene, and exchange gigs. The Rhumboogie's Saturday- and Sunday-morning breakfast shows in the early 1940s functioned in the same way (Saunders 1978). Furthermore, the club's programming affected young musicians in the neighborhood. The Freeman bothers, saxophonist Von, drummer Bruz, and guitarist George, lived across the street (Freeman 2014b). George Freeman, while trying as teenager to sneak a look at the chorus girls dancing in Walker's shows, upon hearing Walker's tone and improvisational approach, he decided to pursue the guitar (ibid.). This circumstance also

[90] Though multiple sources cited here claim that Parker lived in Chicago around 1943, there is no explicit mention in previous scholarship, though there are clues. In Ken Vail's account of Parker's career, there is a gap of activity between May of 1943 and April of 1944 (1996). Chuck Haddix (2013) writes that around late 1943 or early 1944, Parker had left Andy Kirk's band and was living in Chicago when Billy Eckstine hired Parker (2013, 68). Brian Priestley writes that Parker left New York for the 1943-1944 winter. He had been in Kansas City, MO in the fall, and then in early 1944 was with Noble Sissle and Carroll Dickerson in Chicago. The Dickerson gig would have been at the Rhumboogie, thus, if this account is correct, Parker lived in Chicago in early 1944 (Priestley 2005, 39).

[91] Hinton claimed that Parker never return Gardner's saxophone (Hinton n.d.).

afforded Von Freeman the opportunity to perform at the club with Horace Henderson who hired him in 1942 (Outlaw n.d.).

Though Glenn and Louis could be difficult for some musicians to deal with, the owners had good relations with Local 208 and Gray both helped and hindered black musicians' labor at the club (Travis 1983, 121; Semmes 2006, 120). Local 208 was embedded at the because Captain Walter Dyett, who was director of bands at DuSable High School and who served on the Local's the executive board, was the bandleader for one of the house ensembles starting in 1940, shortly after it opened. Bassist Quinn Wilson worked under him at the Sunday morning breakfast shows, so, considering that Dyett had to work early mornings at DuSable High, he was working solely on the weekends.

In one incident Marl Young, who produced many of the shows at the Rhumboogie and to whom Gray showed enmity, was involved in several disputes with Charlie Glenn. Glenn put a claim against Young at Local 208 in 1944 and fired Young with Gray's support. In an incident where Gray supported musicians, Drummer Floyd Campbell had encountered troubles with Joe Louis, who he described as "ignorant" when it came to business operations.[92] Campbell signed a year-long contract with Glenn shortly after he had fired Marl Young in 1944. Joe Louis, without consulting Campbell, abruptly decided he wanted Erskine Hawkins's orchestra to replace Campbell before the contract expired.[93] Harry Gray in this case supported Campbell and forced

[92] In 1947, Joe Louis lost the club due to mismanagement of his tax liabilities. (Campbell n.d.; Travis 1983, 247).

[93] Campbell noted that Hawkins and Louis were friends (Campbell n.d.). Both men had been involved in Communist Party activities in Harlem in the 1930s with Ben Davis (Horne 1993, 62). Hawkins also hosted Louis's family when they visited New York for Louis's 1941 fight against Billy Conn (Taborn 2018).

Louis into a $1500 buyout and a one-month contract, which Campbell used as an opportunity to hire vocalist Sarah Vaughn.

In sum, Local 208 under Gray's leadership made several gains for musicians. Though still a lower pay scale than Local 10, he raised musicians' fees, socialized with musicians at Local 208's headquarters, and conducted a series of social projects for the members. He also was territorial in his rule, only letting musicians who were in his good graces receive the benefits of the union's power, what little it had under Chicago's harsh segregation regime. These two conflicting and polarizing dimensions of his rule—socially informed support and harsh political retaliation—informed musicians' discontent with opportunity on Chicago's music scene on the cusp of the Civil Rights Era. The struggles for integration with North Side and South Side musicians got its start with drummer Red Saunders, several of his bandmates, and some young players starting their careers in the early 1960s. The next section looks at Saunders's experiences at the Club DeLisa, one of the most important South Side clubs supporting black social life and black culture, focusing on how labor constraints motivated him to secretly organize a committee for desegregation (Saunders 1978; Walton 1993; Absher 2014).

The Club DeLisa

Of the more than eighty clubs mentioned in the archived interviews, the Club DeLisa was a central place for most musicians.[94] Musicians, celebrities, female and male dancers, comedians, and a clientele of different social backgrounds performed in and frequented the black and tan. An immigrant-owned establishment that hired mostly black entertainers and staff, the club

[94] A ProQuest search for "DeLisa" in the *Chicago Defender* turned up 1,250 results, demonstrating the club's significance to African American culture on the South Side.

functioned as a crucial node for community building on the South Side. Starting as a mob-owned speakeasy in the last year of Prohibition, it became a training ground for many black musicians and entertainers who found wider recognition, including Sun Ra, Joe Williams, and George Kirby (Travis 1981, 135; Szwed 1997, 53–58). Furthermore, since it was a central place of South Side entertainment, Local 208 politics shaped musicians' experiences there as well.

In the 1920s, the Garfield Boulevard corridor was mixed with African American residents and Italian immigrants. The Club DeLisa owners, Mike, Louie, and Jim DeLisa, were three Italian immigrant brothers who had illicitly produced and sold alcohol to both Italian and African American rumrunners during Prohibition. [95] With their earnings, they opened the Club DeLisa in April 1933 at 5516 South State Street (Travis 1981, 123–4). The DeLisa brothers were established politically and had good business relations with African Americans of the community. The club, which held about 300 customers, burned down in 1941 and reopened across the street at 5521 South State as a larger venue, with seating capacity of 800 and a "hydraulic" stage (Saunders 1978). The club featured small wood beaters at each table for customers to beat on the tables rather than clap during performances.

Mike DeLisa managed and booked the acts at the club. He was a singular figure, whom musicians both feared and liked. DeLisa, shortly after opening, started hiring black entertainers, usually a musical act, female dancing line, and tap dancers. Many of the entertainers lived near the club.[96] Hap Draper and his Arcadians, the first band DeLisa hired, accompanied floor shows

[95] Saxophonist Dave Young remembered the smell of fermenting alcohol near Fifty-Second Street and LaSalle Street in the 1920s (Travis 1981, 125).
[96] Tap dancer Freddie Cole Bates, who worked at the club starting in 1934, lived at 5512 South Michigan (Travis 1983, 127). Because Red Saunders lived at Fifty-Fifth Street and South Parkway, he left his drums at the club for the twenty-one years he worked there (1978).

(Travis 1983, 127). In 1935, DeLisa replaced them with Albert Ammons and His Rhythm Kings. Alto saxophonist Del Bright took over the leadership of the band for Ammons, who was eventually fired because he struggled reading producer Earl Partello's piano parts (Ginell 2013, 15). Bright hired drummer Red Saunders, who became the bandleader in 1937 after Bright left for Horace Henderson's band at the Swingland.[97] Saunders stayed at the DeLisa, outside of a break from 1946 to 1947 when Fletcher Henderson held a residency, until it closed in 1958 after Mike DeLisa died of a heart attack, and his brothers struggled to keep the business going (Saunders 1978).

For many musicians, the Club DeLisa was a vital place of community among the South Side venues. Pianist Norman Simmons called Red Saunders "an institution" and "an anchor in Chicago," attracting musicians for his band and to the club to socialize, including playing softball games at 6am or playing afternoon baseball games against visiting big bands (Simmons 2016; Freeman 2000).[98] Saunders helped start the careers of several entertainers, including Billy Eckstine, Joe Williams, tap dancing duo Salt and Pepper, and comedian George Kirby (Ginell 2013, 16–18; Willis 2016, 138–41). His interviewer, Don DeMichael, a white musician who was a swing-style vibraphonist and drummer, argued that "everything stems from the DeLisa." Because of Saunders's singular importance, I will be drawing heavily from his oral history interview for historical information (e.g., working hours, people who played and visited) and for his personal perspectives on musical practice, labor conditions, and racialized interactions.

[97] Roy Eldridge mentioned a "rumor" that he and his brother, trumpeter Joe Eldridge, supposedly recommended Saunders for the DeLisa gig. Eldridge countered that Mike DeLisa was looking to have a drummer bandleader, showing that DeLisa actively participated in the content of the shows (Eldridge 1983).

[98] Von Freeman saw Saunders's band play baseball in Washington Park against Count Basie's band, describing in great detail how terrible Lester Young was at pitching (Freeman 2000).

When examined from the perspective of present gigging conditions, what Saunders's band endured is striking, but similar for black musicians in other locales.[99] Most jazz gigs today, as far as I have worked since the early 1990s, consist of small groups of two to six pieces and run no longer than four hours with sets that last about sixty to seventy-five minutes.[100] Performances generally start around 8:00 or 9:00 p.m., end around midnight or 1:00 a.m., and are usually a one-time performance or a once-a-week steady.[101] Saunders's band started in 1937 with six pieces and expanded to thirteen pieces when the new club opened in 1941. They worked weekdays (Monday through Friday) from 10:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m., performing three shows, each show consisting of a jazz set, a singer set, a comedy act, and a dance revue with sixteen chorus girls.[102] Tuesday nights were what Saunders called "special guest night," where "celebrities" would be guest soloists with his band. They performed four shows on Saturday and had an especially long schedule on Sunday: the band would work private events for social organizations, particularly for black ones like the NAACP, from 5:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m., took an hour break, and then performed four shows from 10:00 p.m. to 4:00 a.m. The band took another hour-long break, and then played a Monday-morning breakfast show from 5:00 a.m. to 8:00 a.m.[103] Saunders worked this schedule for twenty-one years.

---

[99] For example, Count Basie's band performed at the Reno Club in Kansas City in the late 1930s seven nights a week from 9:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. for $18 per week per musician (Ostransky 1978, 157).

[100] For example, the Green Mill asks bands to play three sixty-minute sets with two thirty-minute breaks.

[101] A "steady" in jazz parlance denotes a gig that occurs the same day and time each week.

[102] The female dancers were dubbed the "DeLisa Chorines." Elnorah Huff-Williamson was the "captain" of the chorines in the 1950s. See https://elnorahcollection.wordpress.com, accessed January 23, 2020.

[103] Alto saxophonist Nat Jones explained that Sundays were especially grueling, "We didn't leave that bandstand again except for emergency trips to the toilet and the brief intermissions between shows" (Travis 1983, 138).

Considering these hours, sleep must have been a challenge and eating regular meals must have been difficult.[104] Norman Simmons told me that after the DeLisa gig finished, he and other musicians would have breakfast at a nearby eatery and then go to Washington Park to play tennis (Simmons 2016). They would fall sleep around noon and wake up about 7:00 p.m. to have dinner. These daily working conditions illustrate that compared to those who worked daytime hours, jazz musicians had a different, if not unique, daily engagement with the overall social conditions of the city since they could not have experienced daytime interactions. Still, musicians look back at these conditions, seemingly grueling, with nostalgia. Many of those interviewed speak about the richness of social interactions between musicians as well as audiences and of the musical skills and opportunities they gained.

The breakfast show at the DeLisa was a time when musicians would socialize at the end of their work week. Local black musicians would frequent the breakfast show to share work opportunities with one another, spread news of clubs that were closing or new ones that were opening, and they would talk about politics (Saunders 1978; Simmons 2016). Saunders called the breakfast show an "informal booking office," and pianist Freddie Cole and bassist Wilbur Ware referred to the DeLisa breakfast show as the final destination after their weekend work (Cole 2002; Ware 1977). Organist Lonnie Simmons, who performed solo between shows, pointed out that performing on the set breaks, particularly the breakfast show, was a way to meet important music industry people. Entertainers who were performing at downtown venues like the Hotel Sherman would also drop by after their shows. Ware said that it was common for drummer Ike

[104] Trombonist Cy Touff would go with pianist Earl Washington to Kyah's Restaurant located at 54th and Prairie between sets at the DeLisa to eat barbeque and hot links, a grilled, spicy sausage (Touff n.d.).

Day to sit in during the breakfast show and customers would even put down their table beaters to listen to him play (1977).[105] White musicians also traveled there from the North Side. Trombonist Cy Touff, who lived in Rogers Park, recalled the DeLisa cafeteria counter as one of his favorites. Among musicians, therefore, the breakfast show represented musician camaraderie and community as well as a productive business practice.[106]

Musicians offer conflicting representations of owner Mike DeLisa. Saunders described Club DeLisa as a "community night club," explaining that Mike DeLisa "made himself almost a part of the community." DeLisa, for example, supported important African American community events. In 1942 he sponsored an event presented by the *Chicago Defender* for the Bud Billiken parade in Washington Park (see figure 11). The paper wrote that the Club DeLisa "graciously consented to donate their revues" for the event, held at the swimming pool in Washington Park. Red Saunders was a part of the event, accompanying several "DeLisa Stars"—choreographer Sammy Dyer, singer Marion Abernathy, a "contortionist" named Jig Saw Jackson, and male singer Leroy Williams who the newspaper dubbed "the ebony Bing Crosby." The event was held on Saturday, August 8th. Thus, this event raises the question of whether Saunders and the other entertainers received extra remuneration since DeLisa "donated" the entertainment and had to go back to the DeLisa to work the usual night shows.

---

[105] Ware described Ike Day as a "legend," someone everyone respected. Ware lamented that Day "couldn't keep it together" due to terrible problems with alcohol and drugs. Day died in 1954 of tuberculosis (Ware 1977).

[106] The breakfast shows also attracted celebrities including Count Basie, Buddy Rich, Fats Waller, Sid Catlett, Woody Herman, and Stan Kenton (Saunders 1978). Dempsey Travis includes photos of Nat King Cole, Bob Hope, and Louis Armstrong visiting the DeLisa (Travis 1983, 124, 132, 142). Saunders even said that smoking marijuana was common among the visiting entertainers, using the colloquial phrase "blow the gage" (1978).

Rhumboogie And Delisa Stars Set To Entertain At Bud's Picnic Aug. 8

Two fast stepping floor shows from Bronzeville's finest bright spots—Charlie Glenn's Rhumboogie club and the Club DeLisa, will be offered those of you who attend the Chicago Defender Bud Billiken club's MARCH FOR VICTORY celebration in Washington park, Saturday, Aug. 8.

Both Mike DeLisa and Charlie Glenn very graciously consented to donate their revues for the entertainment of the picnickers and the bands which play at the spots nightly HORACE HENDERSON and RED SAUNDERS will be on hand to swing the tunes.

Red Saunders

From the Rhumboogie you will see that famous comedian, DUSTY FLETCHER; the sensational dance team of POPS and LOUIS; the very clever adagio dance team of ROSS and McCLAIN; PHYLLIS SMILEY, singer of sweet songs; WINIE and BOBBY JOHNSON, hot from Harlem; DUKE GRONER, vocalist with Henderson's band and those beautiful Rhumboogie chorines. JOE (Ziggie) JOHNSON, producer deluxe, will emcee the bill.

DeLisa Stars

You are sure to marvel at the show Sammy Dyer will bring to the park from the Club DeLisa and aided by Red Saunders' boogie woogie band, there will be plenty merry making.

Let's take a look at some of the stars who will shine: NIP and TUCK, Broadway stars; MARION ABERNATHY, whose voice rivals that of a mocking bird; JIG SAW JACKSON, contortionist; LEROY WILLIAMS, the ebony Bing Crosby and the DeLisa beauties. CHARLES ISOM, the genial master of ceremonies will handle this revue.

The site for this all star show will be the swimming pool stadium. Our advice is COME EARLY and get a seat so you can have a good time. Don't forget the date! SATURDAY, August 8.

Figure 11: Red Saunders in the *The Chicago Defender*, August 8, 1942.

Other musicians refer to DeLisa as a stern club owner. Cary Ginell (2013, 16) writes that when Billy Eckstine worked Club DeLisa in 1938, Mike DeLisa "ran the club with an iron fist." Vocalist George Floyd, who sang with Fletcher Henderson during the bandleader's 1946 residency and later with Saunders, summarized his career as having survived the "good days and bad days and Mike DeLisa, a hard taskmaster," making sure to leave DeLisa a separate category (Floyd n.d.). Arranger Marl Young, while being a target of Harry Gray's ire, worked for Fletcher

Henderson at the DeLisa and felt safe from Gray because "nobody was going to tell Mike DeLisa who could write his shows" (Marl Young n.d.).[107]

The question of DeLisa's association with organized crime and machine politics also factored in musicians' recollections. DeLisa provided regular employment for Saunders for twenty-one years. As Saunders put it, a "steady gig gives you security," which allowed him to turn down major touring opportunities with Woody Herman, Jimmy Dorsey, Stan Kenton, and Count Basie (Saunders 1978). It is not clear what terms were in Saunders's contract with DeLisa and what autonomy he had to take other musical opportunities, but Saunders took vacations in the 1940s, at times using the vacation as an excuse to work with Count Basie and Duke Ellington in New York City. Indeed, Saunders was secretive about DeLisa's business practices. For example, when DeMichael asked him about the club's connection to organized crime, Saunders responded that he was "not sure" if the club was a "syndicate joint," but it "probably" was.

There are clues, however, to the club's connections to organized crime in musicians' observations. Saunders compared the DeLisa's costs for customers to the Grand Terrace's prices—describing the DeLisa as affordable for anyone and the Grand Terrace as "expensive" for the average club-goer. At the DeLisa, patrons were allowed to bring their own whiskey into the club and purchase soda for $2. The club's advertisements in black publications such as *The Chicago Defender* and *Jet* magazine as well as photo frames sold as souvenirs promoted the nightly shows as having "no cover or minimum" (see figure 12). Furthermore, Saunders lauded

[107] To further the gendered notion of the tough, masculine owner, *The Chicago Defender* reported that DeLisa had a ban on women drinking at the bar, which DeLisa lifted in 1942 (see "Stars Make Delisa's Show Tops in Class," *The Chicago Defender* December 19, 1942.)

Figure 12: A couple sitting at a table at the Club DeLisa, undated. The title of "New Club DeLisa" means this taken at the 5521 South State Street location. In the upper left and faded is a stamped "Pictures $1.00 each, min. 2." Note that the DeLisa's marketed the club as "The Harlem of Chicago" and on the bottom right is written "no cover, no minimum." Image courtesy of Robert Langmuir African American Photograph Collection, Emory University.

DeLisa for always paying the band even if turnout was low. DeLisa "left his doors open whether two or 100 people," which Saunders said was not the case with the Grand Terrace.[108]

[108] Quinn Wilson said that Ed Fox would not pay the full salary of the band at the Grand Terrace if the take for the evening was low (Wilson 1977).

The club's seeming not to rely on cover charges or alcohol sales invites the question of how it survived. One way was through a gambling operation which DeLisa had in the basement of the club. There is no mention of gambling in the club's advertisements, but Saunders referred to DeLisa as being accommodating in regard to gambling. He said that DeLisa wanted to "please everybody," so he would allow customers to pawn their watches so they could continue gambling. Furthermore, the police were "very cooperative," so DeLisa did not have any trouble with them. Considering the violent policing of African Americans (Balto 2019, 123–53) during the years Club DeLisa was in operation, it is peculiar that a club with so many black employees and black patrons would not have been swept under this enforcement rug. Thus, DeLisa must have had an "agreement" with authorities.[109]

Finally, Saunders had to navigate a set of racialized interactions. The workplace politics were in large part racial politics. Mike DeLisa, at some degree, had control over Saunders since he would not take bigger opportunities. Saunders was very aware of the black and tan environment and acknowledged race through his performances. He said of the mixed audiences,

> During those years, there was no color barrier or anything, and the whites would come to the South Side and feel free, and there was no mugging or none of that stuff going on. And they had full protection when they come into the club. (Saunders 1978)

Whites receiving "protection" meant that there must have been some perceived threat, thus need for a bouncer to provide security, which would challenge his claim that there was "no color barrier."[110] Why would Saunders claim, during this period of active racial violence, that there

[109] For example, at the October 4, 1954 breakfast show, an off-duty police officer was murdered, and when Mayor Martin Kennelly wanted to take away the club's license, the local police captain "saw no reason to close the club just because there was a fight" ("Slaying May Close Club DeLisa" 1954).

[110] Saunders described the doorman as six feet, six inches and as someone who would walk customers to their car after shows.

was no color barrier? Saunders perhaps saw the DeLisa as a place to escape from racialized society at some level. He actively worked to represent his perspective of no color barrier by hiring white musicians to reflect the mixed clientele. Hiring white musicians, however, caused trouble with Local 208, since the pay scale was different between the two unions. In the end, the racial "harmony" that he offered was disrupted by union politics and power of his white boss.

Local 208 Politics, Resentment, and Action

DeLisa's relationship to Local 208 was an important aspect of Mike DeLisa's business practices. Musician accounts of Local 208 activities with DeLisa conflict between Harry Gray fighting for musicians and Gray taking bribes and participating in Chicago machine politics. When Saunders took over the DeLisa from Del Bright, Saunders demanded that Gray speak with DeLisa to double the band's salary, which at the time came to $42 per week, per musician (Ginell 2013, 16). Mike DeLisa threatened violence on Saunders, but Gray held strong and got the salary increase Saunders demanded. Guitarist Lefty Bates, however, claimed that Gray had a corrupt arrangement with DeLisa who had a "special pay scale" that was different from what other venues were forced to follow (Bates n.d.). According to Bates, DeLisa was bribing Gray with an annual Christmas gift—a "flunky" delivered a large collection of alcohol and "an envelope" to Gray's office at Local 208 headquarters. In the last years of the club, Saunders grew resentful of this relationship which came to be one of several motivating factors that brought him to struggle for union integration.

In the 1950s Saunders had asked for pay raises from Gray, noting the DeLisa was doing great business, and Gray did nothing (Bates n.d.). The working conditions he endured can be observed in a photo, taken for *Jet* magazine, of Saunders tearing down his drums when the

WITH CLOSING OF CLUB DELISA

The closing meant more to no one than it did to bandleader Red Saunders, who went to work at the DeLisa in 1937. "I haven't had a vacation since 1952," said Red. "I guess I'll take one now."

In its heyday, the DeLisa helped spawn the careers of such entertainers as Billy Eckstine, Joe Williams, Lurlean Hunter, George Kirby and Jo Ann Henderson.

Despite poor business among night clubs generally, the DeLisa closing was described as "a family matter."

Packing his drums, bandleader Red Saunders, after working Club DeLisa for 21 years, prepares to make final exit.

61

Figure 13: Red Saunders packing up his gear after the closing of the Club DeLisa, *Jet* magazine, March 6, 1958.

DeLisa closed in 1958 (see figure 13). In the short article, Saunders said he had not been on a vacation since 1952. With no recent salary increases, a performing schedule of seven-night-a-week, and no time off must have made Saunders frustrated with Gray and Local 208. Indeed, when Saunders moved to the Regal Theater, Gray fined Saunders twice for hiring white string

players from Local 10 to back up Josephine Baker in 1961 and again with African American concert pianist Charles Walker in 1962 (Saunders 1978).[111] Reflecting that the demands of working on the South Side were not commensurate with the pay scale and that Local 10's taxes were lower and had better benefits, Saunders began to secretly organized 208 musicians to undercut the 208 leadership and force a merger with 10 (Saunders 1978).[112]

Starting in December of 1962, Saunders started to have secret meetings at his home to organize a pro-merger movement (Absher 2014, 121). Most of the musicians involved were members of his band. He also recruited musicians by asking them what their position was on having two locals when socializing with them.[113] They called their group the Chicago Musicians for Harmonized Integration (CMHI). If a musician took the position that there should be one local, then Saunders invited them to the Sunday meetings. Saunders kept the group small so that it would be hidden from the Local 208 board (Derrick n.d.).[114] One of the musicians' primary grievances was that they were not able to speak up at meetings and challenge the board's decisions and policies without facing reprisals from Gray. Saxophonist Frank Derrick, who was in Saunders's band, stated unequivocally that they also did not trust anyone from Local 10: "no official representative of Local 10 attended our meetings, because we were not certain as to who we could trust to keep our plans from being exposed prematurely" (Derrick n.d.).

[111] It is important to note that Saunders had to face Local 208's Trial Board for his "infractions," thus meeting with Gray.
[112] Local 10 charged a 2% tax on earnings, 208 4%. Local 10 also had a pension fund which Local 208 did not (Saunders 1978).
[113] For example, Saunders recruited Walton in early 1963 while Walton was backstage at the Regal (Walton 1993).
[114] The musicians attending the secret meetings included saxophonists Leon Washington, Frank Derrick, and Bunky Green as well as Charles Walton and James Mack (Derrick n.d.).

Local 10 and Integration

While Saunders was having secret meetings, Local 10 musicians were also organizing secretly against Petrillo. In 1959, Congress passed the Landrum-Griffin Act (LMRDA), a labor law that allowed members to sue union leaders for violations of free speech and mandated a secret ballot election of union leadership every three years.[115] It was in 1962 that the first secret ballot election at Local 10 since Petrillo came into power in 1922 took place (Denov 1993). Local 10 was different from Local 208 in regard to the relationship between administration and members because there was little contact (Clair n.d.). Moreover, no one dared challenge authority because it was physically dangerous, or because one might be prevented from being hired in the future. This situation changed after LMRDA was passed, so members did not fear having their "feet anchored in cement," and they secretly organized to remove Petrillo (ibid.).

In 1960, a group of Local 10 musicians formed the Chicago Musicians for Union Democracy (CMUD) to overthrow Petrillo (Sweet n.d.). Jim Bolle, a French hornist in the Chicago symphony, chaired CMUD, and the steering committee included both symphony and jobbing musicians, including pianist Ken Sweet, symphony percussionist Sam Denov, and drummer Bob Clair.[116] There was a hierarchy within Local 10 consisting of symphony musicians, who were a small contingency and had the best paying work, and the jobbers who were the majority of Local 10 membership (Sweet n.d.). The jobbers—those who worked

[115] The full name of the act is the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (LMRDA). The act "governs the internal management of labor unions and provides safeguards to protect against potential abuses of union power by strengthening transparency and democratic rights within unions" (Roma 2014, 1).

[116] "Jobbing" is a term still used today to denote the activity of a musician, called a "jobber," who performs for corporate events, weddings, and other private events. In New York, musicians use the term "club date musicians." See Allemana 2019 on jobbing musicians and Macleod 1993 on club date musicians.

weddings and private events—did not trust the symphony musicians and the symphony musicians saw the jobbers as unsophisticated (Bolle n.d.). The jobbers were against merging with Local 208 because, as Ken Sweet recalled, many of them held racist views. For instance, when Sweet would recommend a black musician for a gig, white players would ask "can he read music?" The jazz players and symphony musicians favored the merger. Debates over integration and separation, thus, were part of the merger struggle in Local 10 as well.

The organization of opposition to Petrillo started when Petrillo proposed that his own pension be equal to his salary.[117] The CMUD met monthly and published a newsletter called "Take Ten" which informed Local 10 members of their progress with their stated goals. CMUD's objectives were to "democratize 10," merge with Chicago Musicians' Club which owned the Local 10 offices located at 175 W. Washington, and merge with Local 208 (Denov 1993). The CMUD ran bandleader Barney Richards against Petrillo because Richards was sympathetic to integration and would gain support from both symphony players and jobbers (Bolle n.d.; Clair n.d.).[118] Several Local 10 members, however, were against joining forces with black musicians, so when he ran against Petrillo, Richards did not include the merger in his campaign platform (Denov 1993).

Moving Toward Integration

Saunders already had been organizing meetings when CMUD finally decided to contact Local 208 musicians. In early 1963, several of Saunders's band members performed in the black

[117] In 1922, Petrillo set his salary at $500 a week (Denov 1993). One might compare that to Louis Armstrong's $75/week with King Oliver (Hardin 1959).
[118] Clair argued that Petrillo actively sowed division between jobbers and symphony musicians as a way to shore up his power (Clair n.d.).

National Guard band at the armory at Fifty-Second Street and Cottage Grove Avenue. The conductor, John Welch, a white musician from Local 10, contacted Saunders through them. CMUD and CMHI developed a strategy to advance an integration agenda by having Saunders and 200 musicians from Local 208 go to Local 10 headquarters to join the white local. James Mack was charged with notifying the press. The idea was that Local 10 would have to accept Local 208 members as long as they paid their quarterly dues and after six months, pay the joining fee, just as though they had moved to a different city.[119] On March 20, 1963, Saunders and 200 musicians went to the Local 10 offices and joined (see figure 14).[120]

The AFM in New York at first resisted the move. With Civil Rights in motion, however, president of the AFM, Herman Kenin, worried about how his opposition would register when the AFM's counsel, mindful of the Civil Rights movement, urged supporting the move (Denov 1993). In *Chicago Defender* coverage, both Locals 10 and 208 asserted their leaderships' respective integration and separation agendas. The AFM claimed it did not discriminate and that all members have equal rights (Hunter 1963). Gray called it a "raid" on Local 208 in order to "steal" musicians and diminish the local's power. The coverage, however, was highly slanted toward the integrationist agenda. The articles by Bob Hunter did not critically examine the

[119] Local 10 and Local 208 musicians had already been organizing social events by the early 1960s. For example, in 1960 Charles Walton organized a Local 208 softball team that would play games in Grant Park against a Local 10 team organized by pianist Ken Sweet. The following year neither team could recruit enough players, so they joined forces as one integrated team, what Walton described as the first merger of Locals 10 and 208. Ken Sweet, Cy Touff and Stu Katz played from 10 and Jodie Christian, Charles Walton, and Eddie Harris played from Local 208 (Walton 1993, 18–19).

[120] Saunders staged this event in part due to 1963 being the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation (Absher 2014, 122).

LINE UP TO JOIN INTEGRATED UNION

All musicians must pay union dues, but Red Saunders, (at the window) and 200 other members of his group did more as they lined up to pay their first fees with formerly all-white Local 10 of the American Federation of Musicians. They destroyed a color barrier that had existed for 62 years. The move could lead to the eventual merger of Local 10 and Local 208. The latter is all-Negro.

Figure 14: Red Saunders, right, and 200 musicians from Local 208 at Local 10 headquarters joining Local 10, March 20, 1963 (Hunter 1963).

AFM's policy of non-discrimination. Under Petrillo, a staunch segregationist, Hunter's position would not match Local 208 members' experiences on the ground. The articles, furthermore, portray Gray and Samuels as villains in favor of separate locals in order to keep their jobs, thus taking Saunders's view. The white resistance against Petrillo in Local 10 against integration was not mentioned. Media coverage as this pressured Local 208 leadership to merge while there were forces within Local 10 pressing for a merger.

Once Richards was in power, the AFM pushed harder for integration. The problem Jim Bolle noted was that mergers in other cities had gone quietly before Chicago (Bolle n.d.). In his view, the AFM panicked after CHMI organized to join Local 10. Soon after, Richards worked with AFM to come up with the merger terms and to put them up for a vote among members of Local 10. One of the terms was to allow Local 208 to vote for black officers without input from Local 10's board which several members viewed as "reverse discrimination," thus not affording black musicians to have any significant power. The LMRDA made black union representation even more complicated. Drummer Hillard Brown noted that LMRDA required that "all" members of a union have "equal rights" to run for office and vote, so, considering the racist views of many white musicians, there would be no chance for black members to be voted into power since they did not have the numbers—about 10,000 members in Local 10 and 2,000 in Local 208 (Brown n.d.). With this institutional bias and the revolt of their members, Local 10 voted down the merger which allowed the AFM to force trusteeship on both locals.[121]

The AFM upset both sides when they made the decision to make James Petrillo the chair of the Civil Rights committee to oversee the merger. Local 10 members interpreted the move as more union nepotism as well as a way for Petrillo to keep his salary after losing to Richards (Bolle n.d.). Among 208 members, the move was thought of as cynical considering Petrillo's long past of racist actions and his faithful support of segregation. Furthermore, there had been attempts in the 1920s by Local 208 to negotiate a merger which Petrillo vigorously refused. For Saunders and other black musicians, this decision was an insult (Saunders 1978).

[121] Ken Sweet was of the opinion that the AFM designed the terms purposefully to be unpalatable for 10 members in order to control the merger from New York City.

The Local 208 membership took a vote for an integration steering committee, voting for Samuels, Dyett, and others to negotiate the merger. They fought hard during the meetings and with Petrillo to sabotage the process (Absher 2014, 137). Gray resigned once the unions were put in trusteeship. The older guard's view was that black musicians would lose autonomy, representation at the AFM, and their assets, which included the property and cash which together were higher in value per member than Local 10's holdings (ibid.).[122] In the end, all assets were combined with Local 10's assets, the South Side property was sold, and Local 208 leaders were put into positions on the board of the newly formed 10-208, but were not granted the presidency.

The effects of the merger further strengthened white control of space, resources, and power. Black musicians did not see an increase in access to more lucrative jobs on the North Side. Pay scales were raised, but fewer musicians were hired (McCants 1993). A great number of jobs, both musical and in the union board, were lost for black members and black representation on the board was only guaranteed for six years (Bates n.d.; McCants 1993).[123] As Local 208 members moved to the Local 10-208 office downtown, they also lost the social cohesion that Local 208 had provided. Bernadine Samuels McCants moved to the business office and her husband Edward McCants became a contract manager for Local 10-208. They found their white co-workers unfriendly, unhelpful, and inept.[124] The new 10-208 did not provide the social functions of Local 208—there was no shared rehearsal space, no cheap housing for musicians in

[122] In the merger meetings, Walter Dyett asked why Local 208 was moving into Local 10 and not the other way around (Absher 2014, 137).
[123] Lefty Bates was upset that black musicians were not guaranteed forever powerful union representation.
[124] Gray reminded 208 members during the merger that 10 board members did not have the management knowledge of the 208 board members due to the difference in structure (McCants 1993).

need, and no social area to play cards with members and the board. Charles Walton summed up the change black musicians felt:

> When I started going downtown to Local 10-208 to take care of my union business, it was a cold situation. You had a place to pay bills and get your receipt, but no place to socialize like we had been accustomed to having on Thirty-Ninth Street, no exposure to other musicians. (Walton 1993)

Race, Space, and Musical Labor

The Local 10-208 merger of 1966 and the trajectories that steered toward it are lessons in the spatial and racial configurations surrounding the social and musical contexts of the Chicago jazz scene as well as broader musical employment. Red Saunders, the South Side leader for integration and a local musical icon, saw injustice. He witnessed favoritism and corruption in the 208 board. Though he had supported Gray's campaign in 1937, over time, he saw white musicians gaining advantages in multiple spheres. For Saunders, the struggle was less about integration and more about uncovering what Local 208 leadership was doing with the dues and taxes that Local 208 members paid (Saunders 1978). Additionally, Saunders felt that the opposition from the Local 208 leadership was about their dynasty rather than what was best for the musicians. As an established performer with an extensive pedigree, he was able to lead young idealistic musicians who were driven by Civil Rights principles for equal opportunity through his example of having endured decades of the racist workplace. He experienced the early days of not being able to travel north of Twenty-Second Street; how black musicians were not allowed to work nor stay in downtown hotels; and how black musicians were forced to work lower paying jobs in the cabarets and strip clubs. Saunders reflected, "Everything back in those days was musical and force. Because all the joints were all owned by hoodlums and things like

that" (Saunders 1978). Saunders had deep musical experience *and* lived anti-black racism in all its forms.

Figure 15: Charles Elgar, Edward McCants, Harry Gray, and William Everett Samuels (left to right), the leadership of Local 208 at the 60th annual AFM convention in 1957 in Denver, Colorado. Photo from the Charles Walton Papers, Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

The Local 208 leadership, however, had done so as well. They all had performed under segregated conditions, earning much less than their white counterparts. Charles Elgar had led

bands that performed on Navy Pier and the West Side Dreamland Ballroom, both under the control of white talent manager Paddy Harmon. Walter Dyett had trained generations of black musicians under a segregated education system. Harry Gray had to manage dealings with James Petrillo, a staunch supporter of Jim Crow, while trying to cultivate opportunities for Local 208 members. Gray, Dyett, Elgar, Samuels, and other Local 208 leaders took the racial uplift approach of Booker T. Washington—they were "race men" who were determined to be economically independent from whites, protesting white supremacy through self-reliance (Absher 2014, 125). They feared that in losing economic control, Local 10 would subsume Local 208. Ken Sweet, in hindsight, saw that their fears were not groundless. On December 11, 1977, former Local 208 members organized a slate of black representatives for the AFM's national convention, and the whole slate was defeated. Since black musicians were not even 20% of the Local 10-208 membership, only white representatives were elected (Bolle n.d.). Through the figures of Saunders and Gray, neither the integrationist nor separationist agendas were enough to combat the deep anti-black structures that determined resource allocation and opportunities and shaped musicians' lives.

Black musicians labored from the 1920s to the 1960s negotiating changing racial constraints, challenging constraints on their mobility, and making personally meaningful music. They exercised agency through learning by doing, sharing knowledge with younger players, using white business contacts to further their career, crossed hostile racial boundaries, befriending and collaborating with white musicians, and pursuing personal musical creativity. While supporting each other at breakfast shows, in Local 208 social events, and socializing at Local 208 headquarters, they were subject to the politics of Local 208's leadership. Thus, while struggling against the power of racist government policies, police harassment, and James

Petrillo, they also struggled with intraracial conflict. Though boundaries were supposedly removed with the merger and some black musicians benefited from the merger, white musicians continued to control the lucrative spheres of musical employment. Black musicians also felt the loss of the social environment and support that Local 208 had provided. Thus, as black and white musicians struggled for better labor conditions, segregation still held strong. The next chapter investigates the ways in which race, geography, and musical practice intersect through elder musicians' recollections of past venues, several of which were significant places for the musicians in the archive.

Chapter 3

Scene Places:
Encounters with Past Presence and Present Absence

> There is very little about today's society that is not, at some point, imbued with spatial character.
>
> —Murray Forman 2000

> The identities of place are always unfixed, contested, and multiple.
>
> —Doreen Massey 1994

> ...black matters are spatial matters.
>
> —Katherine McKittrick 2006

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, the venues and neighborhoods where black musicians performed shaped their experiences in important ways. They worked long hours, they met celebrities, they exchanged musical concepts, they learned from each other no matter the setting, and they negotiated racial and labor constraints. These places situated musicians in different social and cultural practices, and the experiences there informed their present. For example, several musicians in archived interviews and in my fieldwork speak highly of the clubs that were in the Woodlawn neighborhood in the 1940s to 1960s, particularly around the Pershing Hotel (See figure 16).[125]

This chapter ethnographically examines the role of venues in shaping musicians' experiences through a set of questions that point toward how place shapes musical practice.

[125] Von Freeman often shared with me on band breaks intricate musical details of the places he performed, like the Pershing Hotel, at times as a way to teach me about music, such as his experiences in the 1940s of performing there with pianist Chris Anderson.

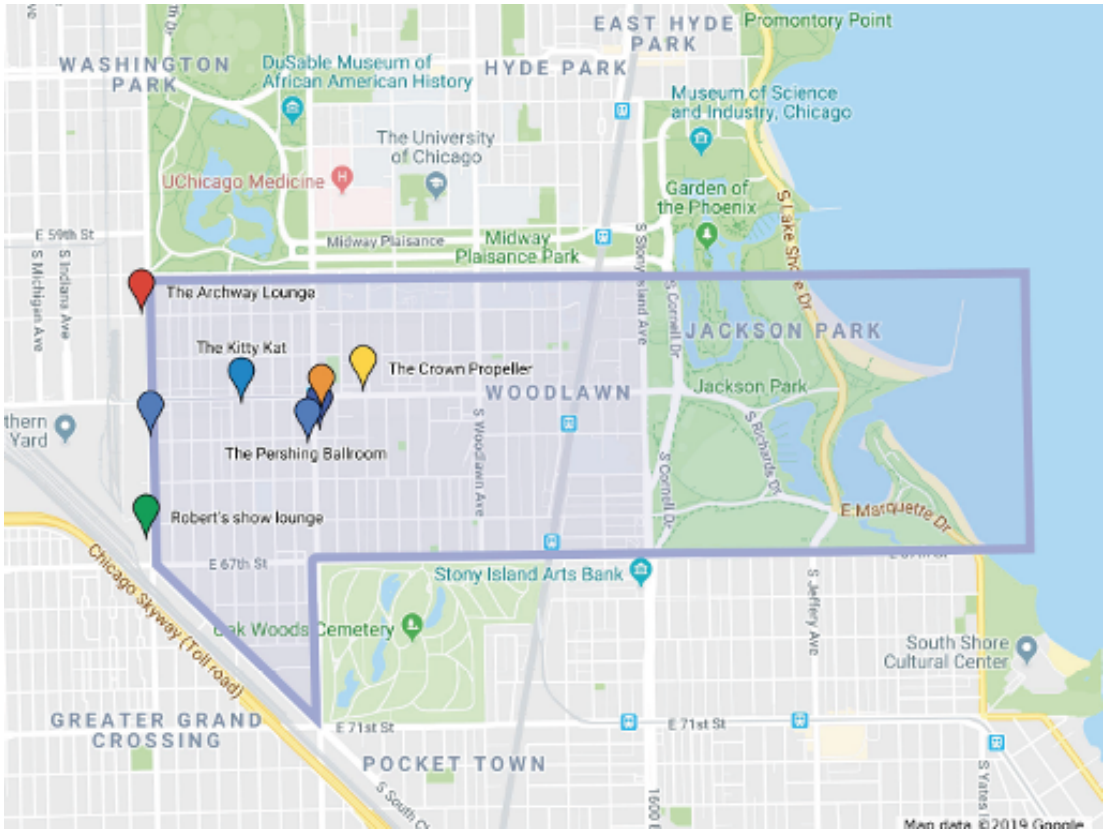

Figure 16: Area containing Woodlawn jazz clubs mentioned by elder African American musicians. Map by Google Maps, data annotated by Michael Allemana.

What roles do places play musicians' recollections? How do stories about places shape present social interactions and musical practice? To what extent do differing place scales (e.g., venues, neighborhoods, regions such South Side and North, the city as a whole) frame or affect such shaping? How are processes of racialization and histories of anti-black racism intertwined into these stories? To answer these questions, I draw upon fieldwork conducted with both South Side and North Side scene participants, focusing on accounts of the South Side venues where they have had meaningful musical experiences. Considering how segregation has shaped social and musical relations on the local jazz scene, I argue that places are essential to how jazz scene participants experience local music-making, to how they organize and interpret their memories,

and to how they construct and transmit musical and historical knowledge. Scene participants use the location and settings of past places as representations of their past participation in cultural practices and social histories. They name place and reiterate musical practices that express musical knowledge and locate the teller in time and space so that place also becomes representational.

Past venues furnish rich detail on how scene participants process and understand their experiences. For example, ask a participant about Marie's Tropical Den, a club where guitarist George Freeman performed on Thursdays in the 1990s, and that person might tell you about the volume of Freeman's guitar, the antics of the band's vocalist Lenny Lynn (b. 1941), or how the only drinks the bar served were wine and hard liquor sold in small, airplane-sized bottles. Especially for musicians, places also mobilize memories of performance—of playing with a particular musician, of hearing a memorable solo, or of remembering the way that a musician performed a specific song. For instance, the details of a chord progression one musician used in a jazz standard at one venue can inform how a musician might perform the same song in the present. Taken together, the social and musical components that shape the experiences in place are crucial building blocks of memory, storytelling, and musical practice.

For this chapter I take a granular approach to examine the significance of place for the local jazz scene by gathering data from an interview method I term "the stroll."[126] After introducing this method, I present three strolls that serve as case studies for the study of place as knowing. The first, with vocalist Teddy Thomas, demonstrates that, when he spontaneously encounters a physical site, place organizes his memories of music-making and socialization that

[126] Most sites are empty lots, recently constructed strip malls, or empty buildings.

show his connections to larger South Side social and cultural history. In the next stroll, drummer Michael Raynor demonstrates how experiences of place are also experiences of learning which inform his present musical pedagogy. The final stroll presents a moment with guitarist George Freeman as we visited the former site of the Grand Terrace. This visit highlights how places can be an articulation of differently situated meanings in a spontaneous encounter involving multiple participants: when a place important for one participant intersects with others' perspectives, the interrelations of all involved allow for meaningful moments of knowledge- and memory-sharing.

Strolling Scenes

The stroll method consists of my driving interlocutors to the sites of meaningful places from their musical past and then taking careful note of what ensues. These drives are not meticulously planned. [127] I found that these encounters act much like improvising through a song form or other improvisational framework in that our drives allow the participant's past experiences and our present interactions to determine our course over the South Side. A jazz standard is like a map: it has particular points with different technical and emotional affordances connected to musicians' knowledge of structure, possibility, and improvisational language. Extending musical practice to understanding past experience with place, one might consider how one remembers and navigates space in a similar fashion. For example, when I asked vocalist Teddy Thomas to show me where he played, as I arrived at his house in the far south suburb of South Holland, IL, he showed me folders of flyers and advertisements from venues where he had played and an email from pianist

[127] I did not draw from Benjamin's *flâneur* who leisurely strolls through the city at his or her own pace, like those of the 1840s who strolled through arcades in Paris with a per turtle (Benjamin and Jennings 2006, 24, 282n38). The stroll method looks to engage the musical individuality of the interviewee through improvised movements toward, away from, and between places.

Norman Simmons that listing all the South Side clubs where Simmons had performed in the 1950s which had helped jog his memory (Thomas 2018). Then when we arrived on the South Side, he immediately directed me to the Club DeLisa, which reminded him of his experiences at another club that involved Local 208, and then he guided me to the many clubs where he performed in the Woodlawn neighborhood from the 1950s to the 1960s.

These improvised encounters are like the carefully studied and spontaneously deployed improvisational language of the jazz improviser who connects ideas to deeper structures. Furthermore, improvisational turns occur in navigation, just as when solos go to unexpected places. Psychologists argue that memories of past events are rehearsed in two processes: "covert rehearsal," the multiple times alone that an individual reflects on an event, and "overt rehearsal," when that event is worked into conversation (Brown and Kulik 1977). It is important, then, to note that my interlocutors are not just spontaneously performing memory but have rehearsed these memories for many years. The stroll is a method of spatial engagement which allows them to intersubjectively perform these memories with me, using the urban landscape as our medium.

The term *stroll* came to me from three sources. First, the term connects to local black music and entertainment history in that the South Side entertainment district of the 1920s and 1930s, on south State Street from Twenty-Sixth Street to Thirty-Ninth Street, was called "The Stroll" and which was a point of civic pride for black leaders (Bauman 2014, xv; Absher 2014, 23). Second, the word "stroll" implies an informal movement through space—leisurely, relaxed, and even easily achieved without much effort.[128] Finally, Von Freeman often used the term when he wanted the rhythm section to lay out so he could "stroll" a few choruses by himself (he would

[128] For jazz musicians, if something seems relaxed in performance, it infers that there was most likely a lot of time spent practicing.

yell "stroll, darlings!" when about to start the next chorus of a solo).[129] I therefore use this term to connect to Chicago entertainment and spatial history, reference its improvised and leisurely associations, and connect to the discursive practice of Von Freeman and other jazz performers.[130] This method illuminates the spatial components of individual jazz scene experience, affording unique data for understanding the musical, social, and historical aspects of music-making.

Strolling to Places

Places are fundamental to embodied experience. Among the prime places on the jazz scene are its venues where musicians perform, audiences listen (or not), and others, such as club staff or sound engineers, support the event. Each venue is a physical and material context where scene participants locate themselves. Their materiality intersects with unfolding social relations, and together they provide the setting for the (improvisational) practices that distinguish the venue from other places. Scene participants attach meanings to the club where society, sound, and

[129] Saxophonist Johnny Griffin, a graduate of Captain Walter Dyett's music program at DuSable High School, yells this on the song "Nutty" from Thelonious Monk's album *Misterioso* (2002).
[130] What I'm doing here could be understood as but is not the soundwalk method from sound studies literature, developed from R. Murray Schafer's concept of the "soundscape" (1977/1993). Westerkamp defines a soundwalk as deep listening to sounds of the urban environment (1974). Schafer uses the soundwalk to score sounds of the urban environment in composition and as a research methodology in his World Soundscape Project (Paquette and McCartney 2012:138). Scholars and artists have extended his methods to research sound in urban environments, particularly in relation to the body. Dancers and choreographers use soundwalks to examine how perception of the urban environment might change through more attention to the sonic realm in conjunction with the moving body (Mohr 2007). Soundwalks are also guided tours using portable audio technology that delivers recorded oral histories or sounds of the urban environment (Butler 2007:360). As Kelman notes, the term soundscape for which the soundwalks methods are grounded is used for any sonic phenomenon, rendering the term too broad (2010—also see Ingold's critique 2007; cf. Samuels et al. in support of soundscape in anthropology [2010)] and Hirschkind 2006).

culture fuse to form an assemblage of expressive and social practices which stabilize or destabilize a venue's identity. Jazz venues are in process, continuously becoming and dissolving. Venues can be represented through practices as naming and storytelling, and they can be representational of location, race, gender, and aesthetics.

Because scene participants' senses of place are investments of meaning attached to places as structures or symbols, they necessarily invoke ideas of race in a segregated city. For many of them, jazz is black music; thus, a black jazz musician recalling past experience might be articulating particular musical practices, expressing links to geographic organization (McKittrick 2011, 947), and recounting participation in black social and cultural history. A white jazz musician recalling South Side clubs might be naming racial difference, geographic organization, and particular musical practices while reflecting on their white subjectivity and its links to musical consciousness.

When I reach out to scene participants, I explain that I would like to drive to places that were important to them and ask questions about their experiences. This request encourages the participant to make, if not a list, a mental map of significant places. However, much as during an improvisation, spontaneous memories and locations come to an interviewee. When we are on strolls, participants might navigate according to preconceived plans (of which I am not aware), yet when suddenly remembering something significant, they tell rich and informative stories. The different memories and narratives depend on the type of place, as it was in the past and as we see it in the present. Sometimes interviewees would get a location wrong, usually only by a few doors or a city block.[131]

[131] Being historically accurate is not the point here and some may dismiss this as recollection work. See Portelli 1981 on this issue in doing oral history. The value of the discourse is not its

The materialities, meanings, and practices that places gather appear in what my interlocutors say. The moment of telling is informed by the social experiences, musical practices, and learning that occurred there as well as the past and present structure of the physical site. As we approach a place, an interlocutor's narratives weave between the present (usually noticing the abundance of empty lots) and their past experiences. The scene participants one met, performed, or became friends with are integral components of their stories which also connect to other places and histories. We can see the micro relations in and across places that inform how people experience and construct space. The narratives are grounded in personal moments that include playing gigs, making music, doing business, making decisions, and participating in the trajectories of broader racial and social histories and musical and social change.

The representations of the past set forth in these narratives cannot be detached from context and relationship of teller and me (Tonkin 1992, 2). The narrator achieves authority because a musician been at and performed in these places. We are both participating at the present moment, the occasion, constructing the stories together from my interlocutors' memories and my questions. Since we also continue to participate and perform on the jazz scene, the narrator can tell me about particular people with whom I would be familiar, be they historical figures or lesser known colleagues, and I can ask questions about people and places because of my scene knowledge and status. Therefore, when either of us mentions a musician, a whole set of musical criteria and possibly even social behaviors might be implicitly linked to that individual but left unsaid. Moreover, as a white man and North Side resident who has been an active participant on the South Side scene for many years, I contribute to the character of the

---

connection to documented history but the slippages and gaps in that history, which is an important part of this dissertation.

stroll through my white perspective informed by relationships cultivated over years of performing on the South Side.[132]

The three musicians who participated in the strolls are still active players with whom I have often performed. Teddy Thomas grew up on the South Side and has had careers as a drummer, vocalist, club owner, and promoter. Many of his childhood friends, including pianists Andrew Hill and Norman Simmons, saxophonist Eddie Harris, and bassist Malachi Favors, went on to become important jazz figures. He taught high school for thirty-two years, starting in the mid-1960s, and during that time he purchased and managed Ahmad Jamal's Alhambra jazz club (from the late 1960s to the early 1970s), promoted rap artists in the 1980s, and won multiple amateur golf tournaments (2012).[133] Thomas sang often at the NAL jam session during my years with Von Freeman and hired me in the 2000s as part of his working quartet (see figure 17). Michael Raynor (b. 1967) has been a professional jazz drummer since the late 1980s. He performed with me in Von Freeman's quartet at the New Apartment Lounge from 1988 until its closing in 2011. He has also recorded with Freeman and performs often in Chicago. Lastly, guitarist George Freeman (b. 1927), the younger brother of saxophonist Von Freeman, performed in the house band at Charlie Cole's Pershing Hotel in the 1940s and 1950s, accompanying pivotal musicians such as Charlie Parker and Lester Young. He worked with

[132] My familiarity with South Side history and jazz performances practices possibly affords a more relaxed environment. Being white might afford less engagement with sensitive racial topics. One way my whiteness has been made visible is through my unfamiliarity with some aspects of South Side geography. There were a few times when an interlocutor and I were looking for an address and I made the mistake of counting addresses that were south of our location as smaller numbers, which is the way addresses work on the North Side. South Side addresses numbers increase as one moves south.

[133] Thomas taught at Carver Area High School on the far South Side, 13100 S. Doty Avenue (Thomas 2012).

Hammond B3 organists during the 1960s and was a member of saxophonist Gene Ammons's quartet from 1969 to 1974. He remains active as a performer and has recorded many albums under his own name.[134] In the following sections, I will focus on one significant moment during each stroll. I will then analyze their stories from geographical and ethnographic vantage points, asking why a place carries significance; how a particular place works for them in the present; and what work acts of representation of place do for an interlocutor.

Figure 17: Teddy Thomas sings at the New Apartment Lounge with Von Freeman and bassist Matt Ferguson. Photo courtesy of Michael Jackson.

[134] Freeman and I formed a quartet in 2013 of two guitars, Hammond organ, and drums.

Teddy Thomas and the Archway Lounge

The Archway Lounge, which was located at 364 E. Sixty-First Street, resonated deeply with Teddy Thomas during our stroll.[135] From 1959 to 1960, Thomas performed there five nights a week. The Archway afforded him the opportunities to connect to larger entertainment and social networks, to develop musical skill, to perform with canonical figures, and to be reluctantly involved Local 208 politics shortly before the struggles over integration. The club appeared spontaneously while we were driving south on Dr. Martin Luther King Drive.[136] As we crossed Sixty-First Street, he pointed to the west and said, "Whoa! That was the Archway over there. It was on the alley." I immediately made a U-turn to go back toward Sixty-First Street and told Thomas that I have been wanting to see the former site. Pointing toward it, he explained, "You won't see it, because I'm looking at it right now and it's a vacant lot over there."[137]

We parked at the curb in front the litter-strewn lot (see figure 18) and Thomas began to recall his time there. He was the drummer and vocalist for the Jazz Jets, a house quartet that performed five nights a week, Tuesday through Saturday, beginning at 9pm and continuing to 4am, except on Sunday morning, when the set ended at 5am. Each musician earned $10 per night. Eddie Harris played saxophone and piano, Donald Garrett bass, and Charles Stepney piano

[135] Harold "Killer" Johnson, of whom Thomas said had been a boxer, owned the Archway from 1949 to 1962. He ran the Sutherland Lounge after that, located at 4659 S. Drexel. He passed away in 1966 of asthma complicated by pneumonia ("Chicago's Archway Re-Opened: Becomes Smart Supper Club." 1958)

[136] I use Dr. Martin Luther King Dr. instead of South Parkway, even if the interviewee recounts an event from before the street's renaming in 1968.

[137] This was a common occurrence during the stroll with Thomas, who often noted, usually in surprise, that so many of the places where he performed are now empty lots on busy streets.

and vibes (Stepney and Harris would trade piano duties). [138] Their repertoire consisted of popular songs from Broadway musicals and film:

> We were playing jazz and pop, because I was singing, but we were playing primarily jazz. It wasn't way out because we played show tunes from Broadway shows and things like that...The musicians back then…had to play things from the movies if they wanted to work. (Thomas 2018)

Figure 18: An empty lot that was the former site of the Archway Lounge, 364 East Sixty-First Street in the Woodlawn neighborhood. Photo by author, 2018.

[138] Thomas has often mentioned to me about having performed with saxophonist Eddie Harris (1934-1996). In the mid-1990s, I once went with Thomas to the Jazz Showcase in Chicago to catch Harris shortly before Harris passed. While sitting with Thomas, Harris came over to say hello and Thomas showed him a flyer from their Archway Lounge gig.

I was curious to know more about Eddie Harris, the songs he liked to play and what he may have been practicing at the time, because of his importance among jazz musicians as an improviser who developed a distinct improvisational language.[139] Thomas recalled that they played songs by Billy Eckstine and other popular songs that Thomas could sing, and that the repertoire was meant to appeal to Archway patrons (i.e., not to be too adventurous) whom he described as "a sophisticated black crowd." Thomas reminisced, "the Archway used to be the place."

The audiences that often frequented the Archway, as Thomas remembered, were black celebrities, particularly boxers: Sugar Ray Robinson, Joe Louis, and Muhammad Ali (who was Cassius Clay at the time). Because of the fame of the boxers, Thomas said the club attracted a white clientele that came to mingle and meet celebrities. The link to Ali is an important part of Thomas's story. He explained that, when the Jazz Jets were the house band at the Archway, Sonji Roi, who would marry Ali in 1964, was a waitress there. Roi often mentioned to Thomas and the other musicians how much she liked to sing, so they would call her up at times to sit in with the ensemble.[140] Thomas explained that at one point he invited Roi to move into his coach house, near Sixty-Eighth Street, about seven blocks from the Archway, because her mother threw

[139] Harris is associated with his song "Freedom Jazz Dance," recorded by Miles Davis (1967), which experimented with using as melodic intervals perfect 4ths and 5ths, common structural elements he used in his improvisations (e.g., see Harris on "If Ever I Would Leave You," 1966). Donald Garrett also went by Rafael Garrett. He performed bass clarinet and bass on John Coltrane's 1967 release *Kulu sé Mama* on Impulse! records. Charles Stepney arranged and produced albums for artists such as Earth, Wind, and Fire, Ramsey Lewis, and Terry Callier.
[140] While Ali was living in Chicago and after Thomas left the Archway, Thomas purchased a home in 1962 in the white neighborhood of Jackson Park Highlands near Stony Island Avenue and Sixty-Eighth Street that had previously been off-limits to black residents. Shortly afterwards, the area became black middle class and Ali moved in across the street from Thomas to live with Elijah Muhammad.

her out of their home. As he spoke, he laughed because he described her as beautiful and expressed regret that they did not date.

CHICAGO'S ARCHWAY RE-OPENED; BECOMES SMART SUPPER CLUB

Chicago's Archway Lounge, famous gathering spot for celebrities and sports figures, which had been closed five months for remodeling, reopened last week with a complete face lifting that has changed it into one of the South Side's smartest supper clubs.

Playing host to the press, owner Harold (Killer) Johnson showed off such innovations as ceiling spotlights and chandeliers, wall-to-wall carpeting, driftwood planters and an angular, leather-tufted bar, set against a backdrop of an entire wall of illuminated color pictures of celebrities. Decor is gold, white and champagne.

Crowd, seated and at bar, take in new decor of Archway.

Duke Ellington embraces hostess Mimi Roberts.

Making point, Truman Gibson Jr. (l.) chats with Sugar Ray.

Welcoming guests, co-host Sugar Ray Robinson (l.), emcee Daddy-O Daylie (c.), "Killer" Johnson re-open night spot.

60

61

Figure 19: an article about Howard Killer Johnson's remodeling of the Archway shortly before Thomas started performing there, from *Jet* magazine, Jan 2, 1958. Note celebrities Duke Ellington and Daddy-O Daylie, and Civil Rights activist Truman Gibson.

In this first stroll, what was for me a sudden appearance of a place was a familiar spot for Thomas. Because of the connections to Eddie Harris, whose music I have studied and who had been Thomas's friend, we fell into deep discussion, my interest piqued because of Thomas's association with an important musician. The setting of the Archway, as I parked and we conversed, is both an empty lot in the present and a thriving social spot from Thomas's past. The club served an elite black clientele—boxers, entrepreneurs, even Duke Ellington (see figure

19).[141] Since they performed for such clientele, the owner constrained their repertoire choices. At the time (the late 1950s), they might have performed in the new modal styles that were emerging or in bebop or hard bop styles. As Thomas notes, particularly in a club which was a central nightlife spot for black elites, musicians had to play standards, and, from Thomas's descriptions, background music for diners. Furthermore, "Killer" Johnson was exploiting these young musicians, paying them $10 per night, which must have been below scale because Earma Thompson maintained that she was making $12 per night at the Cotton Club, four blocks east, in 1955, which itself was below scale. Thomas, however, performed with three musicians who went on to national careers, so this gig was a place he learned and cultivated his practice.[142] Thus, when Thomas pointed at the Archway, its physical absence elicited in our presence stories of cultural history, social engagement, and labor conditions.

Cultural ownership of place can occur at different scales, such as a venue, its neighborhood, city, country, etc., which connects race and cultural practices and engages in processes of emplacement and displacement.[143] For example, Kiri Miller describes the emplacement of racialized musical associations in the video game *Grand Theft Auto* (GTA) (2007). Associations made by game designers and players connect race and musical styles (e.g., African Americans to rap) to the places where action occurs in the game. A tension emerges between player agency and designer intentions as players pursue (emplace) or subvert (displace) what GTA presents as appropriate music for character and places, such as choosing country

[141] A ProQuest search of the Archway Lounge showed 109 entries for the club in *The Chicago Defender* from 1948 to 1962.
[142] Eddie Harris had an international solo career, Charles Stepney composed hits for Earth, Wind, and Fire, and Donald Garrett performed and recorded with John Coltrane in the 1960s.
[143] Scale is generally understood in geography as socially constructed (see Marston 2000, Brenner 2001).

music for an urban scene. In examining European notions of race, Bohlman argues that racialization functions as displacement, denying place and removing conditions of belonging, what he calls "the ultimate act of racializing." (2000, 646). When documentary evidence is used to claim that a musical practice goes back the farthest in time within a particular territory, these claims of ownership leave no place for excluded groups, such as Muslim or Jewish populations. Teddy Thomas shows that by participating musically in the black elite milieu of the late 1950s at the Archway, place symbolizes his emplacement in cultural history.

Thomas further recounted the connections of the Archway to the social and spatial conditions of the time in a story of how the Jazz Jets were drawn into the politics of Local 208. Thomas was a park supervisor during the day at a Chicago Park District facility, and Stepney had a job as a postman. The grueling hours Thomas and Stepney worked, from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. and then 9:00 p.m. to 4:00 a.m., further highlight how Johnson used his power as the club owner of a popular show lounge to exploit these young musicians. Since Harris led the group, Local 208 asked Harris and the Jazz Jets come to the union's headquarters for not having paid the band's dues. Thomas expressed feelings toward the Local 208's board and Harry Gray similar to those of Red Saunders and the CMHU fifty-two years earlier:

> Gray and them didn't want to integrate because they were running things and making all the money. We weren't making no money. How were we going to pay taxes on $10? (Thomas 2018)

Captain Walter Dyett, who was on Local 208's board, and whose reputation as a strict disciplinarian and as a community leader would have been known by the Jazz Jets, dealt with

Harris and the other musicians at the meeting.[144] Harris had studied with Dyett at DuSable, so Harris certainly was familiar. Since Harris was the leader, Dyett castigated him:

> Dyett told Eddie, "Eddie, if we took that horn out of your mouth, what would you do? You're not paying any damn taxes. I taught you that music is a business and you're supposed to handle it as a business. Teddy is working. He don't have to worry about it. Charles Stepney is a postman, he don't have to worry about it. But if we took the horn out of your mouth, you don't have a job, do you? Have you ever had a job?" Eddie said "no." He said, "then you better take care of business," and he just talked about Eddie, Eddie started crying at the table. (Thomas 2018)

Thus, not only did the Jazz Jets have to work long hours for Johnson, Local 208 used its power to extract dues from a band they must have known was being paid below scale, showing the details of how Dyett and other board officials may have treated musicians at times.

Thomas noted that Harris had always been a dedicated musician who ceaselessly experimented with new ideas. Harris, however had been experimenting a little too much for Killer Johnson. Thomas recalled that Harris composed a tune called the "Elephant Song" where Harris would remove the mouthpiece from his saxophone and make "elephant sounds" by blowing through the mouthpiece. Thomas said he thought to himself, "What the hell is this?" describing Harris as "playing way out like Ornette Coleman." After playing the song, Johnson told Harris not to play it again. Harris didn't listen and performed it a second time, so Johnson fired the band. Thomas said he was disappointed to lose the gig, but found another gig shortly afterwards, five nights a week at Roberts Show Lounge in a trio with pianist Andrew Hill.

The Archway provides an example of how an empty lot can operate in the present as a physical mark which merges traces of the past (Huyssen 2003, 7). Musical practice, labor

[144] Both Von and George Freeman expressed this sentiment. In an interview, Von Freeman said that Dyett made all the students address him as "Captain" rather than "sir," (Freeman 2000), and George Freeman said that Dyett would show a pistol and use profanity with students whose behavior he didn't like (Freeman 2014).

exploitation, and different social relations on the South Side produced a rooted sense of place that was part of a network of clubs that manifested for Thomas during the stroll with him. He tells of grueling working conditions, that they performed for African American celebrities, that there was a small celebrity-seeking white audience who frequented the club, and that within this milieu, the ownership expected a more straight-ahead jazz style than maybe Eddie Harris was willing to endure, evidenced by his subversion of Killer Johnson's command not to perform anything experimental. Place can act as a symbol for a host of purposes (e.g., Cohen 1995; Gibson and Dunbar-Hall 2000; Pegg and Yamaeva 2012). In this case, the Archway symbolizes past sociality, music-making, and conformity and resistance to social order.[145] Furthermore, music affords emplacement, being of a place (Casey 2009; Feld 1996).[146]

Likewise, being of an older generation of African Americans, Thomas's encounter with the empty lot stabilizes his identity in place and of a place, the Archway and South Side cultural history. The club catered mostly to black audiences due to its location and social milieu, but as Thomas mentions, "everyone," meaning important African Americans, came to the Archway. He dealt with Local 208 politics and aesthetic politics with Harris, struggling with the union to pay dues on low wages while having to please Killer Johnson by playing jazz standards and popular tunes, and not going "outside." Thomas invests the venue with deep significance (Feld and Basso

[145] Cohen explores the theme of resistance at the intersections of music and place, which she theorizes as a social practice "involving relations between people, sounds, images, artifacts and the material environment" (1995, 438). As she studied among Jewish residents of Liverpool, music transforms notions of place, and identity, becoming bound up with power and prestige over place, thus challenging hierarchical social orders (ibid., 442).

[146] Wrazen explores emplacement in diasporas with the musical performances of the Górale (highlanders) of Podhale in the Tatra Mountains of Poland who live in Toronto (2007). Górale musicians use music to locate themselves in a place and of a place: a concrete location that also gathers experiences, histories, and memories, thus creating place through memory and imagination as part of diasporic identity in Toronto.

1996, 8) through t intimate details of how as an African American performer he lived within particular social, spatial, and musical contexts at a particular time elicited by the stroll, bringing the Archway to the present.

Michael Raynor and the New Apartment Lounge

Places gather practices and meanings, with meanings being acts of representing place and the reiterated practices experienced in place. Jazz clubs thrive on reiteration, particularly in the case of the steady gig, the one night a week that a musician performs at the same club in the same format with the same musicians. Michael Raynor, a white drummer who lived in the North Side neighborhood of Wicker Park from 1993 to 2013, performed at several South Side venues, the most significant being the New Apartment Lounge (NAL), where he performed steady Tuesdays with Von Freeman for twenty-three years.[147]

On our stroll, when we arrived at the NAL's former site, the building still intact but the space empty, Raynor's recollections alternated between stories of past musical and social experiences, the city's spatial regime, and present social conditions. As I parked across the street, he sardonically commented, "So why don't you just park in front of this crosswalk and then we can get shot?" right after recounting a moment in the mid-1990s when he was trapped in a restaurant across the street during a gang shootout.

I asked Raynor how he came to perform with Freeman. He said he had first heard of Freeman in 1988 while a college student at Northern Illinois University. He was listening to a program on WBEZ (91.5 FM) featuring Larry Smith, a popular jazz DJ. A song came on, and

[147] Raynor and I performed together in Freeman's band from 1997-2012. Raynor has been living in Portland, Oregon since 2013.

while listening, Raynor noticed the drummer was Jack DeJohnette. A saxophonist started to improvise, and he was impressed by, as he put it, the "visceral" sound that he heard. When Smith announced that this was the album *Fathers and Sons* with Von and Chico Freeman (Freeman et al. 1982), he went to a record store and bought a vinyl copy. Reading in the album notes that Von Freeman had played the "wild shit" he heard, he was surprised because he had assumed the player to be Chico Freeman, reasoning that a younger player would be playing with such intense energy. He then asked other musicians about Freeman, and from them learned that Freeman was part of the Chicago school of tenor saxophone and that he hosted a Tuesday night jam session.[148]

One of Raynor's first entries into Chicago's racial geography came at Fred Anderson's Velvet Lounge.[149] On Raynor's first visit to the Velvet Lounge, Anderson approached the drummer in a friendly manner and asked him whether he was a musician, since, as Raynor notes, not many whites were going to the Velvet in 1988. Raynor met African American saxophonist Maulawi Nurudin and asked him about the NAL. Nurudin told him "well, that's a pretty rough neighborhood down there on 75th street. You ought to take a brother if you go down there. There's a lot of angry people down there." This comment reinforced what Raynor said was his impression of the South Side having been raised in the white west suburb of Glen Ellyn, IL. He remembered how his family would lock their car doors when visiting Chicago. Raynor tried to

[148] The Chicago school of tenor saxophone is a group of African American tenor saxophonists who studied with Captain Walter Dyett at DuSable High School on the South Side. Their musical characteristics include a large sound, a strong sense of swing rhythm, and grounding in the stylistic practices of Swing, bebop, and blues. They include Gene Ammons, Von Freeman, Claud McLin, Clifford Jordan, Eddie Harris, among others.

[149] AACM saxophonist Fred Anderson's Velvet Lounge original location at 2128 1/2 S. Indiana Avenue. See George Lewis's history of the AACM on the importance of the Velvet Lounge (2008).

get some African American friends to go with him, but after six months or so, he still couldn't find anyone to go.

His first night going to the NAL was after a rehearsal in the south suburbs on a Tuesday in 1988. On his way home he knew he would pass Seventy-Fifth Street, so he decided to go, but was surprised when he entered:

> I got off on Seventy-Fifth Street, parked about three cars from where we are here. I'm looking around the neighborhood, I'm looking at the club, and I'm looking inside the club. Man, I'm thinking there is going to be sniper fire between the car and the club. So, I've got this fear built up in me, I go across the street real quick, and the first person I see when open that door sitting on the floor like he is in his living room is Brad Goode. (Raynor 2017)

Goode, a white trumpet player who lived on the North Side, had been hiring Freeman for his Wednesday night steady at the Green Mill on the North Side. Raynor notes that Goode, of short stature and youthful appearance, was "not the most intimidating figure," and "was as comfortable as could be." Goode introduced Raynor to Freeman, who asked Raynor if he'd like to sit in on drums. Raynor said his hands were shaking, but Freeman's demeanor on the microphone, asking the bartender "Weezie" for a "taste" and saying hello to friends, helped Raynor to relax.

At this point in his recollection, Raynor has invested place with meaning through racial difference and degrees of feeling out of place. Geographers argue that identity and race are crucial to the sociocultural dimensions of placemaking (Creswell 2004, Castree 2009, Shabazz 2015). Some argue that place is an ideologically constructed symbol founded on difference of race as well as gender, sexuality, and class (Anderson 1991; Forest 1995). In musical practice,

associations of place and difference occur both socially and musically.[150] Since identity and race link strongly to place in the spatial imaginary of Chicago residents, these kinds of place and identity connections play out in the jazz scene as well.[151] Being one of only a few whites in a predominantly black space permeated most of Raynor's stories. Raynor expresses race with respect to place by (anachronistically) linking violence to an African American neighborhood in the present. Also, he was afraid to go to the NAL, a white expression of how racial formations affect thinking, and after an African American musician recommended that he go with someone black, his senses of belonging and emplacement. Cresswell (1996) argues that particular cultural practices make people feel in place or, when transgressed, out of place. An alternation between feeling in and out of place structures much of Raynor's story. He felt out of place going to the South Side because of his prior associations of race with place, but when he entered the NAL, his perception changed, a shift that shows how degrees of emplacement can transform or shift quickly.

That first night, Joanie Pallatto and Bradley Parker-Sparrow, the owners of Southport Records were present. They were in the middle of recording what would later become Freeman's CD *Walkin' Tuff!* (1989). Raynor believed that Pallatto suggested to Freeman that Raynor should be the drummer for the next recording session, and on that recommendation, Freeman asked him for his number. The next day Freeman called and the following Friday, Raynor, twenty-two

[150] For example, Astley investigates how three Cuban musical groups (one traditional, one hybrid, and one punk) use the personification of place as a means to construct, reflect on, and claim ownership of being Cuban, simultaneously questioning essentialized notions of "Cubanness" while at the same time trying to draw themselves into the fold of owning an "authentic" Cuban identity (2016).

[151] Since I understand space as a multiplicity of relations, this divide is obviously not this simplistic. It is important to note, though, that in vernacular speech and in scholarship, it is often portrayed as such (see Moore, 2016 on the North/South side racial imaginary).

years old, was recording with Freeman. Just as had he experienced at the NAL, Raynor noticed that even though he felt nervous, Freeman calmed him with his joking style of conversation.

For the next few weeks, Raynor continued to go to the NAL and sit in for the jam session, but Freeman didn't offer more performance opportunities. Then one Tuesday night, Freeman's regular drummer, Hassan Muir, who had had dropped his drums off earlier in the afternoon, hadn't shown up. Raynor happened to be there, so Freeman asked him to set up Muir's drums and play, and he played for the entire evening. The next day Raynor went to hear Freeman at the North Side club Green Mill, and Freeman explained to him that Muir had passed away. Freeman told Raynor that he was now going to be playing Tuesdays at the NAL and once a month at another venue.[152] Raynor interprets Freeman's actions:

> Von loved people and wanted to have a lot of people working. He was bringing a young guy into the fold and taking a chance on me because I couldn't really play. He liked me and he could see there was creativity there, but he started getting on me every week on how to play. (Raynor 2017)

Once Raynor joined Freeman's group, he started to perceive that his being young and inexperienced was a sore point for Freeman and that his being white was an issue for others. Raynor was aware that he had technical skill, but didn't have the detailed knowledge of swing, repertoire, and the vocabulary of introductions and endings that were common on the South Side scene. He explained:

> I didn't have a great feel unless it was fast, which is what I hear in most young drummers. They come down and they'll sound killing on something fast and then you try to play, someone calls a slow blues or something, and it just doesn't feel like anything. That would have been me. (Raynor 2017)

[152] From the mid 1980s until 2012, Freeman worked once a month at Andy's Jazz Club, 11 E. Hubbard, Chicago.

He was the only white musician in the band and usually the only white person in the club. Alvin Farrakhan, the brother of Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, was a jazz pianist who often came to the NAL to sit in for the jam session. According to Raynor (who presumed I understood what he meant because I had similar interactions with Farrakhan), Farrakhan was not "the most supportive cat." One time after playing a song with Raynor, Farrakhan commented, "Man, can we get that young brother back up here that knows what to do?" Raynor understood Farrakhan as wanting to perform with a black drummer who had more experience and knowledge of the musical vocabulary black musicians practiced on the South Side, demonstrating that musical knowledge can be perceived and understood as both locational and racial.

Some geographers theorize place as producing different intensities of feelings of safety and groundedness, on one hand, and danger and uncertainty, on the other (Tuan 1991, Seamon 1979).[153] The idea of home, of being in a safe place, was not one Raynor had at that point. Raynor wanted to play jazz at a high level, which for him meant he should perform with veteran African American musicians and be part of the South Side scene to learn the "real" information. The NAL's functioning as a symbol of racial difference for Raynor presented him with conflicting impressions. On one hand, Raynor perceived tensions about race as seen with pianist Farrakhan and on the other, Raynor felt people were mostly welcoming. He said, "it always felt cool and safe and loving in this club. I felt a lot of acceptance." The frustrating part for Raynor was his lack of ability. He was convinced that since Freeman hired him, he must be doing

[153] The notion of home has been criticized by feminist scholars because home tends to be defined as a place of rest and care, neglecting the notion of home as a place for conflict or resistance, or a place of empowerment (hooks 1990).

something right. But Freeman and others were consistently on his case about his lack of important skills.

The first musical knowledge Freeman imparted to Raynor was how to hold the drumstick. Freeman said, “Look here, baby” and held one of the sticks in his fist. This advice frustrated Raynor who didn’t think the non-drumming saxophonist knew what he was talking about. Equally frustrating was that Freeman often offered advice while Raynor was playing, upsetting Raynor’s concentration. Raynor noticed, however, different audience responses toward African American drummers who would sit in:

> …ladies at the bar would be like ‘aw shit!’, raising their hands, y'know, testifying. Von had been telling me, “Michael, you got to beat the time y'know, you got to bash” and to me bashing just meant loud, and he’d say these things and none of them were really, I couldn’t figure out what he wanted. But I kept seeing these cats come in and play and move the audience and I’d be like “shit” y'know, that’s what he’s [Von] talking about. (Raynor 2017)

There have been some transformations linked to place in Raynor’s playing approaches. He was developing a black musical vocabulary through Freeman’s complaints and advice, which were difficult for Raynor to process, and from determining why he was not receiving the enthusiastic response his African American colleagues got. The intersection of Freeman and audience response was where Raynor connected knowledge to sound, trying to transform his practice from the abstractions he heard from other musicians and from Freeman’s advice.

The intersection of social and musical phenomena in place shapes the transformational context of Raynor’s consciousness (Freire 2000, 81). Location is crucial here because of Raynor’s white racial and North Side locational identities as well as the musical practices found on the African American South Side. Freeman had been pushing Raynor to play with a stronger beat for medium swing tempos, that “fat beat” that Raynor heard with African American

drummers. Freeman suggested to him to hold the stick with a fist grip and to hit hard, something Raynor struggled to understand. Two blocks east on Seventy-Fifth Street was a club that had a band led by a South Side singer, Paula Greer. Her drummer was Bugs Cochran, one of Sun Ra's first drummers.[154] On the band breaks, Raynor and other musicians would go down there at times to listen. Being proximate to another place helped Raynor to get Freeman's rhythm lesson to click:

> I was watching Bugs and his hand was wrapped around the stick just like Von would make that fist. And there was a click to the sound on the cymbal. And I thought, "Fuck, that's it. That's that thing." And I was so attached to the way I had been taught to learn to hold the sticks, and because I play rudiments and when I was younger, I had fast hands, not good time, but fast hands. So, I was attached to that way of playing. (Raynor 2017)

Raynor ran back to the NAL, feeling he had found what he was lacking, and put it to work on the next set. He explains in detail why this observation helped:

> What it made me do is move my wrist more, in my way of thinking, I mean I still really believe this, is that it makes a more intentional motion. When you got the stick and you're holding it like this (loosely with fingers, waves fingers) and you're using all this rebound and all this stuff, then you're not really as intentional with each quarter note. It's bouncing off (the cymbal), you're putting it back down there. (Raynor 2017)

Freeman emphasized the importance of being intentional with each quarter note in a later conversation. Sitting in Raynor's car outside Freeman's home, the saxophonist used the music playing on the radio to illustrate:

> "Now listen to this music. I can clap my hands to this music like this (claps softly). And that's right. I'm keeping time, I'm clapping along with the beat. What I want you to do is (claps with hands pulling apart faster)." It was a very physical thing that he changed, a very sharp sound and so all these things were coming together and him saying that, I was like "yeah, that is different." And he (Freeman) was talking about his mom being

[154] Cochran can be heard on a 1959 recording that Sun Ra released in 1970 under the title *Sound Sun Pleasure*. (Sun Ra 1970).

> sanctified. He said, "the sanctified church." He was talking about the energy in those churches. (Raynor 2017)[155]

Interpreting Freeman and the social interactions at the club afforded transformation of musical skills, which informs Raynor's present pedagogy:

> I can talk about that with students. I've got a few students and I can say everything I've just said to you and I can tell them how important that is. And that's what Von was saying. I thought because I had some chops, I could sort of do some slick shit, that I was better than the average drummer. Really, I wasn't shit because I didn't have the beat. Like I said, all these cats that came in and would play, a lot of them couldn't play, didn't have the hands. But man, they had that beat and you could see the way it turned people on. The way it affected the music. (Raynor 2017)

For Raynor, it wasn't just that he experienced the NAL and reflected on the technique of getting the stylistic musical practices that Freeman desired, but he learned to "feel" these things, to produce the proper "feeling" that was required to "get over." The reactions of club patrons showed for him that he learned the proper skills.

> You see it firsthand and that's the thing we had being in a place like this. I can tell my students, and I feel I can articulate it, too. Because I can take all those experiences and find and sort of put them into a funnel and say this is what they were trying to say, and this is what it is and here's what you need to do. (Raynor 2017)

The audience a critical part of placemaking for Raynor. The racial context here is crucial in that the audience was for the most part African American. Not only did the audience expect certain musical outcomes, but they were part of the place's history as well, which Raynor understood as informing their knowledge of what constitutes proper practice:

> What we had was we could be in here playing for an audience that actually loved music, loved jazz, and an audience of people and I'd sit at the bar and talk to them and they'd say, "Yeah, I used to hear Von next door in the red room with Dex, and I heard him with Roy Haynes and Dexter Gordon and I heard him with Gene Ammons." All these people, they really knew this music and so you'd know if you made an improvement, they'd let

[155] During his youth, Freeman and his family were members of the St. Paul Church of God in Christ, located at 4528 South Wabash.

> you know. They didn't care how many rudiments you could play… the beat is starting to feel like something. (Raynor 2017)

It is important to keep in mind that this transformation didn't happen suddenly. According to Raynor, it took over two years of weekly performances with Freeman. Raynor's past experience of place continues for his musical practice in the present.

Furthermore, Raynor's expectations from being hired by Freeman illustrate how place enhances the transformations that take place for musicians. He had expected to learn some secrets but felt frustrated that Freeman wanted him to learn how to make the simplest part of the beat, the quarter note, feel good. He explains:

> I thought it was going to be something advanced, and like something tricky, and it was really just trying to get this sanctified beat. This click…drive the music. It's literally really about quarter notes. Truly it must be about 32nd notes or some shit I've never heard of, quintuplets over three. In my mind, I was thinking it must be complicated what is going to come next. Well, it's complicated in that not very many people can do it, that was the big lesson. (Raynor 2017)

What playing with Freeman at the NAL brings to Raynor's present is what Freeman brought to the bandstand each week.

> Just to be on the bandstand with someone that's playing at that level that's creating at that level… this other level where you just know that someone is really creating, is really connected to spirit, or whatever you want to call, a larger force, than us. Every week to get to be on the bandstand with someone that's doing that, on that level, you start getting some of that, that starts rubbing off on you and you maybe can't play like he plays, but you start reaching for that. (Raynor 2017)

Race is ubiquitous throughout his experience of the NAL. He challenged prejudiced assumptions learned in the white suburbs by going to South Side clubs and seeing the ways African American musicians participated and lived within racialized space. His whiteness clued African American musicians into who he is and where he should or shouldn't go. He also is quite aware of how Freeman brought the "real deal" to each performance, something he constantly

strives for today. Moreover, the African American audience for Raynor represented a knowledgeable one that knows when a musician is playing well, so he looked for their approval through performance. He was even introduced to Freeman, with whom he performed for twenty-three years, by a white musician and then found Freeman friendly in this space he had been told for months was too dangerous for a white man. Racial geography and place informed these social and musical interactions, making Raynor feel simultaneously different degrees of emplacement and displacement. What Raynor's narratives do is show how place on the jazz scene reinforces the larger racial geography and challenges it was well. Within this micro-context of Chicago's racial divide, there is transmission of musical knowledge and transformation of social relations, which come out of the stories Raynor tells of place.

George Freeman and the Grand Terrace

Place is also produced from a co-authoring process of interacting subjectivities defined by personal histories and experiences (Massey 2005, 184).[156] Moving around the South Side with my interlocutors affords the possibility of rich spontaneous encounters, as happened during a stroll with guitarist George Freeman. Joined by saxophonist Steve Coleman and ethnomusicologist Travis A. Jackson, Freeman kept mentioning, as we visited different sites, how the Grand Terrace, located at the former site of the Sunset Café, 315 E. Thirty-Fifth Street, was an important venue in his youth and early career.[157] He went there often as a child in the

[156] Ochs and Capps further Massey's argument by offering that storytelling itself is co-authored: "Narrative becomes an interactional achievement and interlocutors become co-authors" (2001, 3).

[157] The Grand Terrace in the 1920s was originally at 3955 South Parkway (now King Drive) before moving in 1937 to the Thirty-Fifth Street location.

Figure 20: The Grand Terrace 1940s (upper image), image courtesy of John Steiner Collection, University of Chicago and as Meyers Ace Hardware, 2014, photo still from video by Travis A. Jackson.

1930s with his father, who was a police officer whose beat was the area near the Grand Terrace. While we visited sites on Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Drive, he reminisced about how he used to listen to the NBC radio broadcasts of Earl "Fatha" Hines.[158] The conversation focused on Al Capone's relationship to the Grand Terrace and with Hines, and we would ask Freeman if we were near or maybe had passed the club. He quickly responded in the negative, obviously aware of his surroundings (which is quite remarkable since he has very poor vision). And unlike other venues, when he would ask what street we were on, he knew immediately once we arrived at Thirty-Fifth Street, asking me to turn left to go west. He noted that this intersection is where the Bud Billiken parade route begins. As we approached the site of the Grand Terrace, he exclaimed, "Ok now, go slow because this is a big deal. This is my first time down here. The Grand Terrace was right there on the corner right there," pointing at the Southwest corner of Thirty-Fifth Street and Calumet Avenue, an Ace Hardware store.

When we arrived and stood across the street looking at the building, a white man in his sixties came up to us and asked us why we were in front of his store. After he introduced himself as David Meyers, the owner, I explained that Freeman had played there in the 1940s. Meyers immediately recited a list of musicians who had performed there: Earl Hines, Louis Armstrong, King Oliver, Bix Beiderbecke, Fletcher Henderson, and Ella Fitzgerald. Meyers then expressed his desire to turn the building back into a nightclub. As we learned later, his hardware store was suffering from loss of business to larger corporate chains such as Home Depot. He was thinking of using the club's pedigree, the site of the Sunset Café of the 1920s, and the Grand Terrace of

[158] Freeman has expressed to me how Fletcher Henderson's broadcasts from the Grand Terrace influenced his concept of accompanying soloists by using repeated background figures much like Henderson scored in his arrangements (personal communication March 29, 2018).

Figure 21: Above, David Meyers shows us documents with the Grand Terrace mural behind him. Below, Steve Coleman observing Meyers, mural in background, 2014. Photos by the author.

the 1930s, to transform the building into a jazz spot.[159] Meyers wanted to show us the building, telling us to follow him, "It'll blow you away." Freeman expressed excitement and noted the spontaneity of the interaction, "Well, we want to be blown away. Isn't that something? That we met up with him like that? You never know what's going to happen out here." Freeman's experiences and Meyers's long history with the building intersected: Meyers was eager to show us his knowledge of the building's role in jazz history, Freeman was eager to re-experience this significant place from his past.

Meyers led us to his office at the back of the store. We walked up a few stairs and Meyers showed us how he kept the original mural that was part of the Grand Terrace stage (see figure 21). He showed us photos of saxophonist Franz Jackson and of Sun Ra with the same mural behind each group. He presented us letters about the sale of the building to Meyers's father that were communications with Joe Glaser, Louis Armstrong's manager. Meyers also had photos of patrons at the club, original menus with prices ($1.35 for a sirloin steak), and articles from the 1920s about the Sunset Café and from the 1930s as the Grand Terrace. He told us anecdotes of Al Capone's relationship to the building through Capone's support of Hines and through the owner, Ed Fox.[160] He also had photos of Sun Ra's Arkestra with Pat Patrick and John Gilmore, Cab Calloway, Ella Fitzgerald, and Franz Jackson as well as an article promoting Armstrong's arrival at the Sunset Café in 1922. In vivid detail Meyers explained the physical layout of the Grand Terrace stage in relation to his office. He then showed to us a *Chicago Tribune* article on

[159] Meyers's store was designated a Chicago Landmark on September 9, 1998 (Freeman 2014b).
[160] According to Hines, the relationship of Capone to Fox was "protection" and was forced onto Fox through a threat toward his children. See the film by Charlie Nairn, *Earl "Fatha" Hines*. UK, 1975, https://vimeo.com/58414566, accessed March 4, 2019.

Black History month that used a photo of his African American store manager rather than of him to index the building's South Side history.

Freeman, Coleman, and I reacted to Meyers's knowledge illustrating different perspectives in relation to the Grand Terrace. All of us were very excited to be experiencing a place with such historical importance, especially with this encounter being unexpected. Coleman had a lot of knowledge of Hines and the Grand Terrace. When Meyers showed the letters from Joe Glaser, Coleman told him that Glaser was Armstrong's manager. Meyers responded, "You are maybe the first person to ever know that off the top," with Coleman replying, "we're students of history." Then Freeman whispered to Jackson, who was operating a video camera, "C'mon, now. You got to get this, because this is history here." When Meyers spoke of Hines, Freeman was interested in whether Hines's band was the house band, impressed that Hines was there for twelve years. Coleman joked, "yeah, that's the kind of gig I'm talking about." Freeman was also impressed with the items on the menu, especially the "Welsh Rabbit." When Meyers presented a photo of the club's exterior, Freeman could see what it was before Meyers explained, even with his bad eyesight. In the photo of Sun Ra, Freeman was able to pick out Pat Patrick and I identified drummer Robert Barry with whom I often performed in the 1990s. Freeman got excited with the photo of Snub Mosley's band, able to identify Franz Jackson, who was a friend, and noticing the band had a banjo player, while Coleman observed that Jackson was holding a C melody saxophone.

This gathering of different subjectivities illustrates how a spontaneous encounter can provoke a co-authoring of place. The interactions of Meyers and Freeman are "present pasts," readings of urban structure through memory of past experience in the present (Huyssen 2003, 7). Acts of representation are also prevalent. For Freeman, who hadn't been near the Grand Terrace

in decades, the club represented his youth; for Meyers the building represented the family's decades old hardware business; and Coleman, me, and Jackson shared knowledge from history books of musicians that performed there (e.g., Kenney 1993; Dance 1977). These multiple perspectives coalesced, and the significance of place unfolded during our spontaneous interaction with Meyers. He brought us to his office and presented materials that had gathered in place—tangible history such as photos, menus, and other documents, showing us his connection to the building and its musical history. Different subject positions emerged through our interaction with the documents. The location and setting were quite present for Freeman, who knew where to go and was the one person among us with embodied understanding of the club's importance to the South Side. Furthermore, the expressive interactions surrounding this place emanated spontaneously once we met Meyers, our identities as working musician, elder African American performer, store owner, academic researcher, and professor shaped how everyone related to each other. At this point of the encounter, place was rooted as jazz scene history, but it soon transformed as Meyers showed to us more of the store.

Meyers's and Freeman's subjectivities of place interestingly interacted when Meyers took us further upstairs, into a space which was messy and dimly lit, with old stock lying around. Meyers showed a strong sense of history, explaining the structural layout and showing us original equipment that he had never taken out when his father bought the building, dressing rooms, and a social gathering area that had been for performers. Freeman had been observing the historical artifacts Meyers had left untouched and I was curious to know if Freeman had ever performed on the second floor, since there was a stage that was still intact:

MA: You didn't ever play up here, did you George?

GF: I was up here before.

MA: You were up here before?

GF: Yeah. Been up here because at that time they had a thing they wanted the musicians to join and save money.

MA: What do you mean?

GF: *[pause]* Ok. They had a game going. *[laughing]* (Freeman 2014b)

We learned that gambling was also part of his experience of the Grand Terrace.

What is crucial for our interactions is the fluid past and present experience of place during our visit to the Grand Terrace. The past awakened in the present moment through Freeman's experiences, Meyers's ownership, as well as Coleman's, Jackson's, and my interests in history. Freeman had lived the Grand Terrace on the radio, through the musicians associated with the club, and from having performed and gambled there. For Coleman, Jackson, and I, it was an abstract space that we knew primarily from history books. For Meyers, it contained his family's long history, but he keeps alive the jazz history of his place through his knowledge and the tangible history he has compiled. Meyers was impressed with our knowledge and introduced Freeman to his employees, all African American. Meyers also revealed the present state of his store when he told us that his business was dying. In fact, the store's present materialized for Freeman when after being surprised that he was going to go into the Grand Terrace, and realizing he was in a hardware store, he suddenly asked if could get his keys copied, causing another moment of laughter. These interactions and exchanges show how the physical and social marks of the present merge with traces of the past, with the building functioning as palimpsest of subjective musical and social experience.

Freeman said when we returned to the car, "Let it be said that we toured the Grand Terrace." Coleman remarked, "That's deep, man. That was history," and Freeman responded, "I

can't believe we did all this." In the subsequent years, Meyers's business declined, and he sold the store in April 2017. On March 16, 2017, before Meyers vacated the building, Freeman and I performed with our quartet at the store for jazz fans who wanted to visit the building one last time (see figure 22). While setting up, Freeman recounted visits to the building as a child with

Figure 22: George Freeman performs March 16, 2017 with Michael Allemana and Mike Schlick on drums at Meyers's Ace Hardware, the former site of the Sunset Café and the Grand Terrace, shortly before it closed. Photo courtesy of Kent Richmond

his parents, Hines's radio broadcasts, his father's police beat that was in that neighborhood, and how his father would invite musicians performing at the Grand Terrace to their house. As Freeman shows here along with Thomas and Raynor, place is powerful for jazz scene participants. Place organizes memories of pivotal experiences, shows participant links to broader social and cultural histories, functions as a pedagogical tool, and works spontaneously in the present. Musicians understand and reflect on that power, which continues to work for them as historical, social, and musical resources in the present.

Time, Space, Place, and Storytelling

The research in this chapter focuses on specific social, spatial, racial, and musical relations of scene participant experience, with place structuring practical knowledge of daily jazz scene activity. Conceiving place as particular articulations within a sum of all spatial relations, we see the richness of the stories of Thomas, Raynor, and Freeman. The interpretations, understandings, and meanings they convey show how place is unfixed, contested, and multiple. As we approach places on strolls, as we linger, share stories, and then leave, we are witnessing place as processes of becoming and dissolving. Places link to processes of racialization, carry particular symbolism, and provide a sense of emplacement or displacement in different ways for each interlocutor, evident in their stories as well as my role as fellow scene participant.

The places on the South Side that remain in these individuals' memories are fragile and historical: they come and go, the meanings change, and still these places remain in the present, as do the musical experiences in sound. They shape the spatial and temporal aspects of day-to-day experience but are contingent on each person's subject position and temporal placement. For example, on one hand, when Teddy Thomas notices how many places where he used to perform

are now empty lots, he is remembering the rich experiences he had in these past venues, but also saying something about the present, reflecting on the racial undertones of the effects of urban renewal and the current uneven economic development between the North and South Sides, as well as his place in African American cultural history. On the other hand, when Michael Raynor recounts his experiences, venues are the focus of his reflections on feeling both in and out of place, the musical learning at a particular place, and how he uses what he learned from those experiences in his present pedagogy. These two participants' diverse historical and positional experiences are presented in social discourses built around a particular musical practice but have a rich and diverse multiplicity of meanings.

When one focuses on the work that place does for participants, time and space fuse together to create particular social and musical meanings that do work in the present, which recalls Bakhtin's chronotope, the inseparability of time and space as strong cohesive elements within narratives, especially of place. Time becomes visible within the place of the musical experience expressed in narrative form: the design style inside venues; the musical style and improvisational language performed and experienced by musicians and others; the skills necessary to perform professionally and the way those are learned; the type of transportation to places; and other factors. The movements of time and history charge place—the Grand Terrace takes on a certain charge when George Freeman recounts stories from his youth at the Grand Terrace with the owner of the hardware store; the NAL takes on a particular racial charge when examined through Raynor's experiences within the club (Bakhtin 1981, 85). For the individuals interviewed here, place is central to these narratives of musical experience, illustrating how the temporal and spatial dimensions that are present are "inseparable from one another, and always colored by emotions and values" (Bakhtin, 1981: 243).

Stories of place are interpretive acts of past music-making which function as essential life process of self-making and are crucial for the continuance of jazz and its improvisational practices. The stories here include interweaving themes of identity, race, feeling in and out of place and the ways place functions as representation and as representational. After visiting the site of the Archway, Thomas recounted the boundaries where he couldn't cross as an African American, so he was quite aware of where he could be in place as a black man. When Thomas told stories of black cultural life at South Side clubs, he was emplacing himself squarely in black music-making. Raynor learned in place, both musical knowledge and how to negotiate being in and out place through music and his whiteness simultaneously, and the NAL represented being a participant in music-making with a legendary practitioner. For Freeman, the Grand Terrace represented Earl "Fatha" Hines, important moments of South Side jazz history, and his personal history in the club as youth and a professional musician. Stories about the past serve as a social arena of storytelling so as to develop frameworks of understanding the past, a collaborative tool between all involved of reflecting on one's place in life, history, and music-making (Ochs and Capps 2001, 3).

A final example ties these concepts together. One site that I visited with George Freeman was the Pershing Hotel, which was located at the southwest corner of Sixty-Fourth Street and South Cottage Grove Avenue. Now an empty lot brimming with weeds, unkept grass, litter, and a billboard, this site was where Freeman started his career in 1946 with his bebop band and where he performed with celebrated musicians like Lester Young, Coleman Hawkins, and Charlie Parker (Freeman 2014a).[161] His musical experiences activated the Pershing, bringing

[161] Saxophonist Clifford Jordan said that Freeman's bebop band at this time was "one of the best bebop bands" of that time (Cromwell 1998, 155).

presence to absence, but also give him a sense of being connected to a particular musical aesthetic and social interactions. He told a story of playing there in the early 1950s with Parker, describing the bar near the stage and relating that he told Parker that he'd like to buy him a drink, Parker ordered a triple shot of whiskey, which cost more money than he had. Freeman laughed and said "Can you believe that? A triple. And I didn't have enough cash to pay for it. Why did I do that?" (Freeman 2014a). He also explained how we was "hearing" bebop at that time and had been working on his alternate picking to "keep up" with bebop musicians like Parker. Then he reminisced about McKie Fitzhugh, an important club owner and talent manager, who booked Freeman's bebop band in 1946 into the Pershing Hotel, crediting Fitzhugh for getting his career started. He also pointed out where the door would have been for Budland, the basement club owned by Cadillac Bob in which Ahmad Jamal recorded his famous 1958 release *But Not for Me* (Jamal 1958). His storytelling crosses time, bringing the empty lot alive with the richness of his experiences, people he knew, and the aesthetics that were and continue to be important to him.

When jazz formed in the early 20th century, cabarets and dance halls were the places that facilitated artistic production, provided employment opportunities for African American musicians, and furnished spaces where African American audiences learned to hear and connect to the components of African American improvisational language, the meanings attached to them, and its vital essence as part of African American cultural expression. Minton's, the Harlem jazz club, functioned similarly for bebop musicians and their audiences, as did the Pershing Ballroom for Freeman. The multiplicity of participant relations in place consist of social interaction and improvisational practices of the scene, which are mutually constitutive with place: the scene making the place, and the place making the scene. Participants in a place practice social discourses (of taste, slang, stories of past experiences, passing musical

knowledge) and musical performance (improvisations, repertoire) which are part of a continuing process of the changing character of social interactions and individual and group musical skills and possibilities. Music and place are inseparably linked and provide an important route into further understanding the labor, thinking, knowledge construction and transmission, and storytelling essential to music-making.

` The previous chapters have examined musicians' experiences with venues, with exploitative and enabling conditions of labor, with associations of race and space, and encounters with physical locations that elicit past experience. The following two chapters examine music in place and scene participants' roles in maintaining the scene and musical artistry through the example of the New Apartment Lounge and saxophonist Von Freeman's Tuesday night jam session. By examining one South Side venue that closed in 2011, I show how musicians and audiences support specific performers, practices, and other participants through active contributions of material, social, and musical support.

Chapter 4

Von Freeman and The New Apartment Lounge: Interpretive Moves of Musical Practice and Pedagogy

> Man, a lot of the lessons of that kind came to me through just observation and listening in that live setting. How did he deal with people? How did he deal with the band? What did he play? Man, how does that screeching stuff sound so fucking killing?
>
> —Kurt Elling 2018

> I don't know, that stuff to me is tribal. It's those things that are kind of disappearing out of our communities. Like those things are just super passed on…you don't get this unless you spent the time here. You can't read this in a book…you didn't get to see Von throw somebody out of the club or take a solo on "Lover" that is so burning and then come back and do another solo even more burning. I mean all these things that just are perfect in their place and are a very big part of my development as a player, as a musician.
>
> —Greg Ward 2018

The places important to a music scene are the arenas in which audiences and musicians forge alliances, negotiate aesthetic and social boundaries, and sustain musical practice. Venues provide space for the performance and audience engagement upon which scenes depend. Also, scenes are maintained by the dynamic support and actions of their participants. Among them are musicians who study the music's history, reflect on live performances, practice instrumental techniques and improvisational concepts daily, and compose new pieces; on club owners and staff who work to present musicians and earn money; and on listening audiences, many of whom are more than enthusiasts. Elder musicians, furthermore, mentor younger musicians, either through formal teaching or informal processes during performances or during social interaction. Audiences bring life to performances through applause and praise as well as their different roles and levels of

participation such as providing rides to senior musicians, supporting the health of musicians, and conversing with musicians about past gigs or life successes and troubles.

From 1982 to 2011, saxophonist Von Freeman (1923–2012) performed with his quartet and held a jam session on Tuesday evenings at the New Apartment Lounge (NAL), which was located at 504 East Seventy-Fifth Street in the South Side neighborhood of Grand Crossing. From this venue, club patrons would listen to Freeman's performances, musicians would sit in for the jam session, and audiences of different social backgrounds would socialize, several of whom cultivated a close relationship with him. Several musicians of note started their careers being mentored by Freeman at the jam session. The club was a place where acclaimed jazz musicians—such as drummer Roy Haynes or trumpeter Roy Hargrove—would visit to socialize with Freeman when they performed in Chicago. Furthermore, several audience members regularly came who frequented weekly for two or more decades.

Music scenes studied from the level of the dynamic roles of their participants reflect both the social dimensions and histories of the locale and the musical dimensions and histories of local cultural production. Ethnographic studies of jazz scenes have been conducted from the perspectives of musicians (Jackson 2012) and audience participants (Sunderland 1992; Greenland 2016). The next two chapters contribute to scene studies (Straw 1991; Gerstin 1998; Blum 2001; Bennett and Peterson 2004; Straw 2004; Kahn-Harris 2007; Krims 2009; Jackson 2012) by linking the actions, the interactions, the perspectives, the desires, the stories and the meaningful experiences of musician and audience participants who frequented Von Freeman's Tuesday evening jam session at the NAL to show how diverse social actors produce and reproduce musical traditions, cultural knowledge, and support networks.

The data for this chapter and the one following are drawn from interviews I conducted with people who knew Freeman and witnessed him perform often at the NAL. Where this chapter focuses on musicians who participated in his jam session, consider him a mentor to some degree, and reside in Chicago or have gone on to have careers in New York City, the next one will analyze interviews with people who are not performers—club staff and regular patrons who often worked at or frequented the NAL for many years.[162] Each interview inevitably included long discussions about Freeman and the NAL where both the interviewee and I shared humorous, moving, musical, and tragic stories. The interviews were semi-structured: I asked about Freeman's impact in relation to my interlocutors' personal histories, their degrees of participation, and, in the case of musicians, their musical practice, and encouraged free-flowing conversation. Since I had years of experience with Freeman as a member of his quartet, I was able to understand the broader contexts for their statements and to empathize with what they told me (Galletta 2013). I coded the data from these interviews to identify common themes and divergences in them. Their recollections demonstrate how Freeman was and continues to be a source of meaningful musical and social experience.

These next two chapters explore how musicians and listeners of diverse social backgrounds support musical artistry and social life in a scene. Scenes are both ideational and geographic, and as participants in them, people construct place through social actions and cultural activities (Cresswell 2004, 62). As I argued in Chapter 3, now-closed venues live

[162] I consciously chose not to use the term "non-musician" or "non-performer" to emphasize that audience participants actively participate in music-making through their presence, profession, and individual identities.

through musicians' memories which generate stories, and thus knowledge, of past social and musical activities and which inform present practice.

Tim Cresswell further suggests that "place is…a way of seeing, knowing, and understanding the world" (11). Places reveal attachments and connections between people and dimensions of meaning and experience. Stories about the NAL index ways of knowing the local jazz scene through musical practice, acts of transfer of cultural knowledge, and social engagements, all of which comment on larger questions of music pedagogy, musician and audience mutual support, and racial, gender, and generational social interactions. This chapter and the next take a closer look at the epistemology that place generates through investments of meaning by musicians, audiences, and club staff in the NAL and Von Freeman.

These two chapters argue that in urban centers, a scene's places, particularly its venues, have the potential to become nexuses of contact to mediate diverse cultural practices and social identities through the ritualized activities of the scene's social actors (Jackson 2012). For the musicians of this chapter, these activities, like others that Freire (2000, 81) understood as liberatory forms of pedagogy or education, take the form of observation, of knowledge transmission, of expanding of artistic consciousness, and of critical intervention through improvised performance. For the audience participants of the next chapter, these activities take the form of listening, of different material and emotional supports of musicians and fellow audience members, and of theorizing of musical and social processes from observations of and experiences with Freeman at the NAL. When the musicians of this chapter recall Freeman and the NAL, they reconstruct how they understood Freeman's musical practice and the unique social environment of the club. They describe Freeman's music in terms of its place in jazz history and what elements of it inspired them and continue to work for them as models for

improvisational practice. In the end, they describe musical experiences and social interactions, subjective interpretations of cultural and social phenomena that surround the local jazz scene.

To be clear, this chapter and the next are not celebrations of Freeman, but critical accounts of the potentials of the intersecting musical and social practices of music scenes. Musical practice is not just the "music itself," but a dynamic process of musical and social practices shaping and inflecting one another.[163] Though I analyze musical structures to inform my improvisational and compositional practices as well as my research, musical practices and traditions live, grow, and are transformed in larger cultural, social, and spatial structures. In Chapter 3, I argued that memories of past places, the meaningful locations where musicians had profound musical and social experiences, can be accessed from encounters with place in the present, providing ethnographic and interview data that show how musicians conducted their daily lives in the local music scene. Here, the interview data supports an examination of scene experience in place, centered on a local figure all agree was crucial for the scene's vitality and maintenance.

Freeman's impact as musician, mentor, philosopher, and friend comes across clearly in the interviews I conducted. Just mentioning his name to people who knew him arouses memories and storytelling about him. As a Chicago bassist recently averred, "everyone who met Von Freeman has a story."[164] For example, at an annual physical, my doctor, one of the interviewees

---

[163] Based in my decades of performing experience and my research, I reject aestheticist accounts of autonomous music, particularly for improvised traditions due to the fact that after performing at least 600 shows with Freeman at the NAL, never once was the audience not part of the music-making at some degree.

[164] Bassist Patrick Mulcahy recounted a story of Freeman's generosity when once late at the NAL Freeman "at the end of the night gave us $40 for hanging out late, telling us since we were young, we should get some food and stay out all night. He wouldn't take the money back." (personal communication February 4, 2019).

quoted in the next chapter, someone who for two decades rarely missed a Tuesday at the NAL, told me that she deeply missed Freeman, recounting how he used to call her every Wednesday at 7:00 a.m. to make sure she wasn't late for work.[165] Not only have I witnessed the enthusiasm and emotional responses of interviewees engendered by talking about Freeman, but also during fieldwork in Amsterdam I met several people who, once they learned I had been Freeman's guitarist, felt impelled to tell me anecdotes about Freeman's performances at the Bimhuis jazz club. Indeed, stories of Freeman are easily excavated, as he wasn't just an ordinary musician who happened to be on the scene—he touched people deeply, and the narratives here clarify how and why people felt he was such an important presence in their lives.

Von Freeman (1923-2012) and the New Apartment Lounge

An African American who grew up on the South Side and never left, Von Freeman was born on October 3, 1923 in Chicago. He attended DuSable High School and studied in the music program under Captain Walter Dyett. From 1936 until the mid-1940s, his family lived a block from the Rhumboogie (Freeman 2014a). In 1942, Horace Henderson hired Freeman for an extended residency at the club (Outlaw n.d.).[166] That same year, Freeman was drafted into the U.S. Navy and stationed at the Great Lakes Naval Training Station north of Chicago where he was trained as a bandsman and met and found a mentor in saxophonist Dave Young (Freeman 2000; LaFave 2019; Floyd 1984). He returned in 1946 and started playing professionally on the South Side, most notably as part of the house band at Charlie Cole's Pershing Hotel with his brothers Bruz

[165] Laura LaFave, personal communication, 20 December 2016.
[166] Bassist Ernest Outlaw claimed that in Henderson's band, Freeman did not like playing clarinet, so Freeman played his clarinet parts up an octave on the tenor saxophone, which Henderson did not appreciate.

(drums) and George (guitar), pianist Chris Anderson, and bassist Leroy Jackson (Freeman 2014a). On April 26, 1947, his father George T. Freeman, a Chicago police officer since the 1920s, was attacked and murdered while on duty near Forty-Seventh Street and Champlain Avenue (Burke 2007, 204). This event shaped his life thereafter. Freeman married Ruby Goren in 1948 and had four children—Chico, Brenda, Denise, and Mark. They purchased a home located at 6917 South Calumet Avenue in the early 1950s, and soon after his mother moved in and lived with Freeman until she passed in 1998 at the age of 103.

As a professional saxophonist, he performed in small clubs, toured with blues artists such as Sunnyland Slim and Jimmy Reed, traveled with the Treniers in the 1950s and 60s, and ran jam sessions.[167] He recorded with pianist Andrew Hill's quintet with baritone saxophonist Pat Patrick, bassist Malachi Favors, and drummer Wilbur Campbell in 1956 which was a session for the Ping label at the Chess Records studio. The quartet at that session also acted as the backing band for the doowop group the Debonairs (Pruter 1996, 167). At this session, they recorded two tunes for the Debonairs and two for Hill, one of the latter was "After Dark" by Freeman.[168] In 1972, Atlantic Records released *Doin' it Right Now,* his first album under his own name (Freeman 1972). Several articles appeared on Freeman at this time, including ones in *The Chicago Reader* and *Downbeat Magazine* (Tesser 2011; Litweiler 1976).

Freeman's international career got its start in 1977 with a series of concerts in Amsterdam, his first time performing overseas. Following the rise of his son Chico's career starting in the late 1970s, Freeman toured Europe with him through the 1980s. During the 1970s,

[167] The Treniers were a popular R&B band based in Chicago (Battles 2011).
[168] The tunes recorded for the Debonairs, "Mother's Son" and "Lanky Linda," were released as a 45 rpm, as were "After Dark" and "Down Pat," composed by Pat Patrick (Banfield 2016, 29).

he continued to run jam sessions at two South Side venues—Tuesdays at The Enterprise Lounge and Mondays at the El Matador. When both clubs closed in the early 1980s, he moved to the NAL where he stayed on Tuesdays from 1982 until the club closed due to city building code violations in January of 2011. In the latter years of his life he was recognized for his work. In 2002, he was awarded an honorary doctorate by Northwestern University; also in 2002, the City of Chicago named the stretch of Seventy-Fifth Street in front of the NAL "Von Freeman Way" for his eightieth birthday; in 2010, he was awarded the University of Chicago's Rosenberger Medal; and in 2012, he was awarded a National Endowment for the Arts Jazz Masters Fellowship. Freeman passed away on August 11, 2012 of heart complications.

Freeman lived through several changes in Chicago's spatial and racial conditions, changes in black music, and changes African Americans' relationship to U.S. society. He witnessed the harsh policing of the 1930s and 40s, the different forms of housing restrictions placed on black residents, and the policies of urban renewal deployed by the city in the 1950s and 60s as described in Chapter 1. He lived through the union integration discussed in Chapter 2 and performed in several of the clubs mentioned in Chapter 3. He also witnessed and actively participated in the transformation of African American musical styles from swing to bebop to post-bop to free approaches in jazz as well as changes in black popular and religious musics. Finally, he lived through social changes such as the Civil Rights movement, urban deindustrialization, and the election of President Barack Obama.[169]

[169] Election day in the U.S. falls on a Tuesday, thus Freeman and I worked at the NAL on the night Barack Obama was elected president on November 4, 2008. CNN declared Obama victorious as I pulled up in front of Freeman's house to pick him up. There was a palpable sense of celebration in the NAL, with many customers hugging each other. Freeman, however, was pessimistic at first, telling me "he is a marked man," worried that a black man as president would not survive.

The NAL sat in a building that was about a half block long and two stories high and had a set of store fronts—a liquor store on the corner of Seventy-Fifth Street and Eberhart Street, the NAL to the East, a small fast food restaurant, and a daycare center (see figure 23). The second and third stories consisted of small apartments. When one entered the NAL, to the left was the stage where the drummer Michael Raynor and bassist Matt Ferguson stood, which was behind an iron railing separating the stage from the floor. Freeman stood next to a jukebox facing stage left, and I sat at the other end facing Freeman. The floor was covered with a blue patterned carpet, old and stained. The bar was light blue and curved in an S-shape from near the stage area to the back, about four feet tall and thirty feet in length. Elouise Rhymes, whom regular patrons called "Weezie," worked behind the bar, which had only one entrance near the back wall. To stage left was another room with a bar, called the orange room. The main room was called the blue room, and a room attached to the east was called the red room, which infrequently operated from the 1990s to 2011 (Rhymes 2018).[170]

The NAL was located in a segregated African American neighborhood on a moderately busy street, and many of its patrons were local residents. For the white patrons who came there, the location meant crossing racial boundaries by driving on the Dan Ryan Expressway, and exiting at Seventy-Fifth Street. Both black and white patrons came from the Hyde Park and Kenwood areas which would not have required the expressway. Cars were broken into at times and Freeman requested that female patrons be walked to their cars by the bouncer or a male patron. Fights rarely occurred at the club, though once a man was shot in the leg outside the

[170] During the 1970s and 80s, the red room was managed by Jean Payne, the daughter of drummer Sonny Payne. Payne, known as "Lady Jean," held concerts with out-of-town acts, mostly organists, including Jack McDuff and Don Patterson (personal communication April 14, 2018).

club. In sum, the NAL was a black club in an area of some urban crime and was maintained by ownership to the most minimum of standards.

Figure 23: The front sign of the New Apartment Lounge, Chicago 2010. Photo courtesy of Michael Jackson.

Freeman's thirty years at the NAL followed something of a formula, but he was flexible in how he performed—he would read who was in the room and engage with who was there on any particular Tuesday. In the six years I frequented as a patron (I started going regularly in 1991) and the fourteen years that I performed on Tuesdays with him, he usually arrived around 10:00 p.m. and started the set around 10:30 p.m. His quartet's set lasted two hours on average. He would then invite vocalists who happened to be visiting to sing a song or two. Next, he would invite young musicians to the stage to play in the jam session until 2:30 a.m. The band would

tear down, the bartender would pay me, or the drummer, Michael Raynor, and Freeman would return home with Raynor around 3:30 a.m.

Interpreting Pedagogy, Music, and Place

How people interpreted both interacting with Freeman and observing him perform are two important frames of this analysis. He often spoke in metaphorically and abstractly when explaining musical processes and he told stories, which I will argue were two important pedagogical tools he deployed. Musicians, when listening to him, reshaped their aesthetic sensibilities and learned new musical possibilities. Thus, each musician's interpretation, coming out of his or her subjective experience, has been informed by Freeman's abstract communication and musical practices, what I will describe as an *interpretive pedagogy*, one which affords the emergence of an expanded improvisational consciousness, critical intervention in spontaneous musical moments, and— an imperative for all improvisers in this tradition—the development of a personal improvisational voice (see Berliner 1994, 138–45; Jackson 2012, 109–37; Murphy 1990). Freeman did not explain his musical concepts in standard theoretical terms, though he was fluent in Western musical theoretical language. For example, Freeman communicated to his rhythm section the keys of the tunes he wanted to play, would explain chord progressions by function if I was having trouble understanding an aural explanation, and he explained some harmonic substitutions. I understand his approach of expressing musical processes in metaphor and abstraction as way for younger musicians to come to personal understandings and to develop their individual improvisational voices. The musicians interviewed for this chapter—two alto saxophonists and two vocalists—illustrate through their experiences and interactions with

Freeman the different ways musicians transform their practices and use past experience in the present.

The host of interpretations of Freeman's musical activity and social interactions represent these individuals' grappling with Freeman's intentions in order to understand the profound experiences they had with him. Alto saxophonist Steve Coleman theorizes interpretations of Freeman as a "filtered" representation of Freeman's understanding which itself then becomes something else, a musical concept or a meaningful story (2015).[171] After hearing musicians recount stories of Freeman for a radio broadcast, Coleman further speculated, "everybody here is talking about something different that hit them, because he had all of that in him…everybody got something very personal from him in whatever direction they were in…because everyone I talk to, they would talk about a different aspect of his playing, and it was all there" (Coleman 2011). Thus, the stories and reflections of my interviewees outline the contours of Freeman's impact on the local and wider jazz scene. I will first examine musicians' recollections of the NAL and Freeman, focusing on their interactions with him, the broader issues they connect to him, and their individual stories about observing him perform or conversing with him. Musicians interpret Freeman's complexity in social situations—his generosity, his moodiness, his kindness, his strength—and interpret his musical practice and participate in interpretive pedagogy in ways that continue to shape their present performance practices.

[171] Coleman further argues that his filtered interpretation of Freeman works in his present practice, "the knowledge…transforms into something else because whatever I do in my life, Von is a part of that somehow. There are things I'm doing even on my latest record that are directly influenced by Von" (Coleman 2015).

Contributions to Ethnomusicology and Jazz Studies

Although there might be other ways to understand them, I regarded my interviews as oral histories. When practicing oral history, scholars tend to focus on events, asking interlocutors about their roles in such events as communist activities in Italy (Portelli 1981), the aftermath of a Nazi massacre in Italy (Portelli 2003), or the lives of laborers in a female garment workers union (Grele 1991). The interviews for this chapter focus not on any specific historical events, but on one person and one place. It might seem obvious to some that there are historically recognized individuals and places in people's lives and asking about either might provide informative responses. Freeman, however, was not a canonical musician: he was not "famous," was not part of the recorded canon, was not studied by many, nor was he well-known, at least outside of Chicago. He participated in the everyday world of the local professional jazz musician and worked a low paying gig at a small bar on the South Side. Thus, each interview conducted here might be best characterized as a conversation between two people who have affinity for this local musician and the "joint" where he performed. (Yow 2006, 444).

Ethnography that focuses on one musician is a method promoted by Timothy Rice (2003; Ruskin and Rice 2012) as a means to critical questions that address change in musical experience over time as well as the differences and concordances among different actors experiencing the same music (Rice 2003:151–2). One way he proposes to answer these questions is to conduct atomized studies of individuals, what he calls "subject-centered ethnographies."[172] Rice and Jesse D. Ruskin suggested four types of individuals that appear in subject-centered ethnographies: "(1) innovators in a tradition; (2) key figures who occupy important roles in a

[172] His intention is to study through agent-centered ethnography the micro-levels of experience under what he calls "the world system' or "local/global" dialectics (Rice 2003, 152).

musical culture; (3) ordinary or typical individuals; and (4) normally anonymous audience members and others who play a role in music production, dissemination, and reception" (2012, 304). Freeman does not fit precisely any of these categories. He was locally "prominent" in that several scene participants knew of him, and he became somewhat known in Europe (e.g., he performed in Amsterdam, Paris, and London), but only toward the last two decades of his life and not to any broad extent.[173] Freeman was locally considered an innovator by many musicians and listeners (Coleman 2015).[174] As will be seen, Freeman was easily approachable though people would not think of him as ordinary. Freeman, therefore, troubles Rice's and Ruskin's model, contributing an individual who some considered innovative, who played weekly at a small local tavern, was easily approachable, and attracted audiences of different social, national, and musical backgrounds who were active and visible participants in supporting the music's production.

This chapter and the next also respond to a persistent question in ethnomusicology and jazz studies regarding musical pedagogy— how do experienced performers communicate their musical knowledge to less experienced ones? In ethnomusicology, James Kippen's research with South Asian gurus (2008), Andrew Weintraub's work with institutional pedagogy in Gamelan

[173] Though my methods resemble Virginia Danielson's (1997) interviews with musicians who knew Umm Kulthūm, Freeman never came close to achieving her musical and social status, though my interlocutors would argue that he was an innovative artist. For instance, when the NEA awarded Freeman the 2012 Jazz Masters Award, the NEA put a film producer in contact with me to film a five-minute documentary for the award ceremony. I explained to the director that Freeman was not in history books like other awardees Charlie Haden and Jack DeJohnette, so she should speak with people from the scene to get a framework for informed questions to ask him when they filmed him. Instead, the NEA sent out A.B. Spellman to interview Freeman who seemed to have developed his questions from Freeman's Wikipedia entry. Freeman gave short and dismissive answers and they weren't able to use much from the interview.

[174] Musicians such as pianist John Young, Coleman, Henry Threadgill, and George Lewis consider Freeman an innovator (Coleman 2015).

(1993), Denise Gill's work with musical transmission from teacher to student as moments of meaning and selfhood (2017), and Paul Berliner's interactions with his teachers in Zimbabwe (1993; 2019) furnish examples of direct and sometimes purposefully disruptive ways of transmitting musical knowledge. Furthermore, these studies show how researchers interpreted and translated the knowledge they gained, such as Berliner's use of tablature (2019, 2). In jazz studies, Marion Jago's work on pianist Lennie Tristano's personal pedagogy of visualization techniques at his New York City studio (2013), Berliner's work on the jam session, informal sessions at musicians' homes, and mentorships (1994, 36-62), and Eitan Y. Wilf's ethnographic study of university jazz programs illustrate formal, informal, and institutional methods of teaching and learning improvisational practice (2014). Freeman neither codified a personal method nor worked within a traditional or institutional model. Freeman presented a model of musical transmission that was dynamic and shifting, an interpretive pedagogy that centered on spontaneity grounded in experience—a mutual process between his example and musicians' interpretations of his music and advice (Freire 2000, 75).[175]

Contact Zone, Contact Intermediary, Contact Language, and Ritualized Activity

For Chapters 4 and 5, I position the NAL as a *contact zone*, which I draw from Mary Louise Pratt's term describing the condition under imperialism of "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of

[175] Coleman highlighted in our discussion that the NAL and other informal learning opportunities are more productive methods for learning to improvise than through university programs (Coleman 2015). Learning "in the street" provides a more open learning method and his more historically connected to the music's lineage because young players interact with performers like Freeman who were a window into past eras.

domination and subordination" (2008, 7). The NAL was not a place of colonial encounter, but it was a site of racial, gender, class, and generational encounter informed by local spatial conditions, racial histories, and musical aesthetics, as such, indicating different types of social relations mediated through performance and larger societal relations. Multiple social and musical trajectories intersected at the club and teasing them out from interviewees' oral histories about the NAL highlights those relations within the social and musical interactions that occurred there (Massey 2005, 9; Yow 2015, 194).

There are four components that shaped the NAL as a contact zone—place, a contact intermediary, contact language, and ritualized activity. The place is its South Side location, its surroundings, the cultural associations different participants make with the club (e.g., African American neighborhood, a club to experience "authentic" musical performance, a place to drink), the social and cultural practices that people gathered there, and the proximity of scene participants of different racial, gender, class, and generational identities afforded by the venue's structure and the cultural activity within. Encounters were primarily among black and white patrons (some musicians of Latinx and East Asian backgrounds participated); male, female, and queer identities; poor, middle income, and economically privileged patrons; and a wide range of ages. Von Freeman and live performance were the central cultural activities that drew scene participants to the NAL. The jam session drew musicians of different social backgrounds who deployed African American musical practices at various levels of competency in order to further develop their artistry, communicate across different subjectivities, and participate in musical learning and cultural lineage.

The second component is what I term the *contact intermediary*. The NAL was a vital place for jazz because of Von Freeman. He attracted most of the club's patrons, thus he

functioned as an intermediary for people of different social and musical backgrounds.[176] Pierre Bourdieu describes cultural intermediaries as "need merchants" who sell symbolic goods as honest enthusiasts of the goods sold (1984, 365). Jo Haynes thinks of cultural intermediaries in world music as those individuals who work between both the musical and capitalist dimensions of world music product distribution, mediating perception of these goods for capitalist markets (Haynes 2005; Maguire 2015). A cultural intermediary mediates cultural practices and capitalist processes through some form of contact with consumers.

The term *contact intermediary* describes an intermediary, Von Freeman in this case, who mediates relations between people in contact. Freeman acted as a powerful cultural symbol—a custodian of cultural sensibility and a vital resource of musical and philosophical knowledge which granted him the authority to be an intermediary (Gilroy 1993, 76–77). He attracted diverse audiences and mediated relationships across different social and aesthetic boundaries. For example, with white patrons he often made humorous remarks, such as introducing his white bandmates as coming "all the way from the North Side," a way to acknowledge racial difference displayed by his white band and the long history of segregation in Chicago (Scruggs 2001). For black patrons, he was a symbol of African American artistic accomplishment and someone who never left the neighborhood, dedicated to the local scene. He also conversed with whomever he deemed dedicated to the music, whatever the social background of the patron. He mediated aesthetic relations between musicians of different stylistic practices, such as bebop and free

[176] There were also numerous people who frequented the bar to have a drink with friends or sell goods such as clothes or CDs.

styles, who might not normally interact outside the NAL.[177] Freeman took seriously performing and interacting with audiences. He was, however, also aware that the club was a business.[178] Frank Williams, an interviewee in the next chapter, described Freeman as a "politician," arguing that there was intention in his actions and speech to entertain audiences in order to keep people returning to the club, thus keeping the cash register ringing (Williams 2018).[179] Though Freeman mediated different cultural and social practices, his mediation occurred in contact with others, which was the primary component to the experience at the NAL—people of different social backgrounds coming into contact because of Freeman's performances.

The third component of the contact zone is, drawing from Pratt, the *contact language* (2008, 8).[180] Contact language at the NAL comprised the artistic, social, and pedagogical languages Freeman deployed which facilitated different social and musical interactions—languages with which all patrons were familiar and understood to some degree. His artistic language emanated from his improvisational practice which mediated the aesthetic affinities of musicians and audiences—his unique saxophone timbre; his personal improvisational language

[177] For instance, George Lewis claims Freeman as a musical inspiration for the AACM (2008) and Steve Coleman considers Freeman integral to his musical vision and his organization M-Base (2014).
[178] Freeman studied under Captain Walter Dyett, so considering Teddy Thomas's story in Chapter 3 of Dyett castigating saxophonist Eddie Harris for not remembering that music was a business might have been a lesson passed to Freeman.
[179] Several times Freeman expressed to me how he kept his gigs by making sure that money kept flowing into the cash register.
[180] In the context of trade under imperialism, cultures of different languages had to improvise their communication amongst each other (Pratt 2008, 8). Likewise, some communication between patrons and staff would be improvised. For instance, I witnessed a young white woman ask for a Diet Coke from the bartender Weezie who responded, "I'm sorry, honey. This ain't the North Side. We don't have no Diet Coke."

built over decades; his use of musical vocabularies drawn from Lester Young, Coleman Hawkins, Charlie Parker, John Coltrane, and the blues; and the repertoire he chose to perform.[181]

The social language he deployed consisted of a few different practices which some regular patrons employed in their own speech. For example, Freeman often added the suffix "-ski" to the end of names and words such as calling himself "Vonski," calling his doctor Laura LaFave "Doc-ski," or using musical terms such as "up-ski" for a fast tempo.[182] Using performative allusions, Freeman would also situate the scene and participants in relation to spatial and positional identities or communities. For instance, he pointed to gender relations using humorous terms when describing female vocalists and fans, calling them his "darlin's" or "wife-in-laws." In mediating racial identities, he would reference the South Side and blackness by identifying black identity with Chicago's numbered streets, which are only on the South Side. For example, he used to call vocalist Margaret Murphy-Webb the "Queen of Seventy-Fifth Street," referencing her sex, her dominant demeanor as a vocalist and police officer, and her blackness. Another way he would invoke local spatial allusions was to say that a white musician was from "Seventy-Fifth Street and the North Side" as a way to represent that musician as an important participant in black musical practices. "I got to go out for my darlin's" (play a ballad for the women in the club), "I need my taste" (asking for a drink), and "it's time to take a pause

[181] Freeman often identified to me and other young players these saxophonists and the blues as the foundation of his aesthetic (see also Freeman 2000).
[182] Freeman grew up with an aunt from his mother's side named Teneski. Because of his affection for his aunt, his family called him "little ski," which a later added as a regular component of his speech (Freeman 2000).

for the magic cause" (the band needs to take a break and get a drink from the bar) were all ways he deployed contact language that mediated different types of social contact at the NAL.[183]

Lastly, the pedagogical language he deployed included stories of working with name artists such as Lester Young or the abstract terms he used to describe musical concepts in order to comment on some larger musical aesthetic or life experience. Important was his expression "horses," the name he gave the young musicians waiting to participate in the jam session.[184] When he would finish his set, he asked, "are my horses ready? Did you have your oats?" as a call to the musicians to come to the stage (see figure 24). Finally, Freeman enacted lineage in his pedagogical language, drawing the genealogy of musical practice through particular artists in his stories and in performance.

Freeman mediated relationships between musicians, generations, racial and gender identities, less and more skilled musicians, neighborhood residents, and a host of others in the contact zone of the NAL through using a contact language which included the terms and phrases he used with patrons and the musical vocabulary he deployed in performance to index artistic, social, and pedagogical meanings. In all, most people were in contact because they were there to experience performance, which, drawing upon Travis A. Jackson's work, I frame as ritualized activity (2012, 136–154). Jackson writes, "understanding the ritualized nature of performance, particularly as it emerges from the statements and actions of scene participants, allows one to see more clearly that, in addition to its function as entertainment, jazz has socially expressive and transformative potential" (143). Examining interviewee statements as expressive of processes of

[183] These ways of speaking also mark Freeman as an African American man of working class background who came of age after World War II.
[184] If a musician was a horse, she or he was essentially Freeman's student, as he would comment on the student's performance if he or she would ask him about it afterwards.

Figure 24, Von Freeman (left) calling up the horses at the New Apartment Lounge with saxophonist Caroline Davis and drummer Perry Wilson, November 3, 2009. Photo courtesy of Harvey S. Tillis.

ritualization helps to demonstrate how participation at the NAL resonated for participants when they were elsewhere; how participants negotiated internal dynamics of the jam session, such as contact with others or learning from Freeman; and how Freeman created a sense of what Jackson calls *ritual mastery*—working with and controlling all aspects of performance (140, 151). These aspects include mastery of repertoire (knowing numerous songs), control of a wide swath of musical components during improvisations, uninterrupted concentration indicated through consistency of compelling solos and of sustained presence during performance, and emcee skills demonstrated through inclusive and humorous verbal interaction with audiences. Freeman

created a sense of mastery through these performance aspects, through his age and experience, and through his enactment of lineage as a custodian of memory, which overall is a process that creates and transmits social memory vital to the reproduction and maintenance of the local scene (Connerton 1989, 76).

The Musicians

Alto saxophonist Steve Coleman (b. 1956) spent his youth going to Freeman's Tuesday jam session at the Enterprise Lounge, recording many of his visits from 1976 to 1982. After moving to New York City and establishing an international career, he often returned to see Freeman at the NAL. Coleman maintains that Freeman has been one of the most important inspirations for his musical craft. Alto saxophonist Greg Ward (b. 1982) grew up in Peoria and, starting in high school, often traveled to Chicago to see Freeman at the NAL. He spent a decade participating in Freeman's weekly jam session. Currently, he tours internationally with his own projects, performs as a guest soloist with several celebrated musicians, and is an assistant professor of music in jazz studies at Indiana University. Vocalist Margaret Murphy-Webb (b. 1956) was born and raised on Chicago's West Side. She began singing professionally in the early 1980s and became a police officer in 1994, retiring in 2016 after twenty-one years. Today she is the executive director of the South Side Jazz Coalition (SSJC) which sponsors a once-a-month jam session on Tuesday night which recreates Freeman's NAL jam session format. Finally, vocalist Kurt Elling (b. 1967) was born in Chicago and raised in Rockford, IL. In 1992, he enrolled in the University of Chicago's Divinity School to earn a master's degree in philosophy of religion. During this time, he performed jazz gigs and met Freeman at the NAL. He spent the

1990s frequenting the NAL jam session while developing an international career as a jazz vocalist, earning a Grammy award for his 2009 release *Dedicated to You* on the Concord label.

The Affective and the Scientific

The analytical features on which I will focus in this section are the terms that musicians used when describing Freeman's impact as a musical model, mentor, and respected elder. Each musician used descriptive vocabulary to portray musical moments that they witnessed and continue to reflect on in their present practice, advice Freeman relayed or conversations they had about music, and stories he told that inform their sense of local history and sense of connection to local and broader jazz lineages. The terms they used subjectively deconstruct Freeman's complexity as an artist and scene figure. Steve Coleman describes this process:

> all this stuff that we're talking about right now was what I call the affective part of the playing, the personality part and all that kind of stuff. I think the hardest part to explain…would be the actual science part, the craft—what's actually going on in terms of pitches, rhythms, all that kind of study. (Coleman 2015)

As my interlocutors described their experiences at the NAL with Freeman, their stories engage two larger interpretive dimensions that Coleman proposes: *affective* interpretations of Freeman—his personality traits and the feelings that emanated from personal interactions and observing his performances—and *scientific* interpretations—the theoretical basis of Freeman's musical practice.

Within those two frames, musicians characterize interactions with Freeman under five larger analytical umbrellas. First, they spoke about Freeman's *vastness*, regarding him as a larger than life mentor whom they respected deeply. Second, they spoke conversely about his *everydayness*, how he seemed like a "regular cat," (Coleman 2015) someone with whom one

could easily speak. Third, they highlighted the *magnanimity* he displayed as a mentor and elder through his compassion for others and his generosity with knowledge and material gifts. Fourth, he demonstrated *fortitude* through physical, mental, and creative strength. Lastly, his *musical practice* functioned as a locus for a host of different concepts that musicians used to grapple with understanding the scientific dimension of his music and artistic intentions. Furthermore, I will focus on one particular colloquial term—*vibe*—used by the musicians to describe the junction of Freeman's affective and scientific dimensions at particular moments of witnessing his performances. In this analysis, I do not take a celebratory stance, rather an interpretive stance that works toward representing his agency. I will first analyze musicians' descriptions of the affective dimension of Freeman's presence and then the scientific dimensions of his musical practice.

Affective Dimension of Interpretation

One characteristic that musicians tied to Freeman was a vastness of musical possibility, of knowledge, of presence among canonical figures, and as a leader on the local scene. Both Elling and Coleman characterized Freeman as too big to even describe because his music and self were constructed of too many aspects to comprehend. Elling called him "the chief of the scene," to whom all musicians should say "salaam" for his vast musical and pedagogical contributions. Murphy-Webb credits Freeman for shaping who she is. For Ward, Freeman was a "legend" who demonstrated new musical and social possibilities.

At the same time, musicians interpreted Freeman as carrying an aura of everydayness. Steve Coleman viewed Freeman as a skilled artist who also was a "normal cat," a regular guy walking down the street. He felt that Freeman was "natural," someone who presented and

performed an authentic self that people found unassuming. This aspect made Freeman, Elling argued, a magnet, someone who spoke in supportive ways to young musicians and to audiences, so they wanted to come to him. Musicians also portrayed Freeman as "authentic"—both in the sense of his genuineness in social settings and his being "real" source who performed during the early years of the music. Elling, for example, understood Freeman as having the "real information" in a three-dimensional way, having a direct connection to celebrated figures, and being someone who practiced a social lifestyle full of humor, camaraderie, and storytelling, which Elling argued young musicians lack and do not seem interested in acquiring.

The musicians also described how Freeman exhibited magnanimity through generosity, patience, compassion, and embracing young musicians. Elling appreciated how Freeman would let young musicians sit in with the band and take solos of any length, would let them to experiment with musical ideas, and would encourage young players by remembering their names the next time they visited the club.[185] In these moments, Freeman would display patience with young players. There were times when Freeman would tolerate an eager musician who seemed to suffer from mental illness or was homeless. For instance, Murphy-Webb recalled "Lady Shaft," a homeless woman who could sing just one song, "God Bless the Child." If she was in the club, Freeman invited her to the stage by saying "Lady Shaft! C'mon up baby. Do your business. 'God Bless the Child!'"[186]

---

[185] Freeman constrained soloists as well: "Horses, you can blow as long as you want, but don't blow too long."

[186] Many of the "characters" who frequented the NAL would have nicknames with which they self-identified. Some examples, from interviews and people who I remember, included Lady Shaft (homeless woman), the Colonel (a regular patron who was a Vietnam war veteran), Sexy Sagittarius (sex worker), and Floyd Lloyd (an alto saxophonist who suffered a traumatic brain injury in a car accident).

These actions represented not only Freeman's patience, but his overall sense of compassion. Accounts by the musicians contained stories of Freeman giving money to homeless people. Murphy-Webb, for example, recounted how Freeman would assist homeless customers. One such person, an African American man named Melvin, whom Murphy-Webb described as queer, would frequent Tuesday nights. Each time Melvin visited, Freeman would give him money to get something to eat and drink.

> He'd come in and Von would tell me "go on down there and get him something to eat" and give me $5 and I would go get Melvin some food. He [Freeman] was a compassionate guy. And I saw Melvin at the gas station last month and he just walked up, and he homeless and he a queen…he said "yeah, I ain't seen you no more since our dad is gone." (Murphy-Webb 2018)

Melvin would wash up and change in the bathroom into a different outfit and hat, and Freeman, during winter months, would sometimes let Melvin sleep at his house. Murphy-Webb summarized Freeman's compassion as understanding these individuals' situations and understanding that the art on display at the NAL was probably the only art they would experience.

The musicians complemented representations of magnanimity with those of fortitude. Along with being compassionate and generous, Freeman was strong physically and mentally, had no fear to act, and did not "bullshit about music" (Murphy-Webb 2017). Though he demonstrated patience with young musicians such as affording space for soloists with little skill or experience, he would lose patience with those participating in the jam session who did not have basic musical skills or were intoxicated, occasionally pulling them away from the stage. Ward noted that Freeman was "built strong," once witnessing him grab a male customer by the arm and lead him out of the club. In another example, Murphy-Webb arrived at the NAL and witnessed Freeman outside using a large umbrella to beat a man who tried to rob him with a gun.

When Murphy-Webb expressed shock about the weapon, Freeman responded, “I don’t give a fuck about no heat. Motherfucker, go on down the street. I already gave you some money!”

Scientific Dimension of Interpreting Musical Practice

These themes converge in musicians’ descriptions of Freeman’s musical practice and the impact he had on theirs. Coleman described Freeman as a “window into an era,” entryway into the musical approaches of the 1930s, 40s and 50s, filtered through Freeman’s musical voice. For all the musicians, Freeman was a portal to musical possibility through an experienced master. Ward explained, “You need to hear what’s possible. Somebody has to open the door and be like, ‘if you work…’ you can get to this” (Ward 2018).

Coleman described Freeman’s vastness of musical possibility as he reflected on what Freeman contributed as an improviser:

> It’s so much stuff, man, it’s in the rhythmic area, it’s in the tonal area, all kinds of melodic stuff, there’s all kind of harmonic stuff,…the way he manipulates the tone; there’s the feel, atmosphere, the way he sets up something, mood changes and stuff like that, it goes on and on and on and on. There’s so many different areas. (Coleman 2015)

For Coleman, each component he described—tonal, melodic, harmonic, timbre, rhythmic placement, mood—shows how Freeman had reflected on and developed these components and more, displaying a vast musicality and improvisational practice.

Freeman’s fortitude as an improviser and saxophonist linked to notions of mastery of instrument and musical materials. Mastery, for Ward, consisted of both commanding the instrument and the execution of ideas:[187]

[187] He used the term “hitting” to describe this command. Hitting, as he understands it and as I have heard often used among jazz performers, is the idea of being present in the moment, performing with high focus, energy, and command of one’s instrument.

> He could play any tempo and just his articulation; he wasn't floating, man. It was like in there [scats fast 8th notes]. Just super on it and then play a ballad, make everybody cry…I mean, just total command. (Ward 2018)

Precision for Ward is a necessary characteristic of mastery that Freeman demonstrated through articulation, the ability to improvise at slow, medium, and fast tempos with clear execution, and then bring forth emotional, heartfelt feelings on a slow ballad and reach people emotionally.

Another component of Freeman's fortitude was the degree of his mental focus and aesthetic consistency which, for Coleman, displayed strength. There are ways certain players play particular melodies, adding their own phrases, articulations, harmonic progressions and rhythmic sensibilities. Coleman felt that Freeman would place at the end of melodic phrases certain rhythms grounded in the Swing era (Freeman 2014b). Freeman also would play certain bebop era tunes differently from the original recordings. At first, Coleman interpreted this as playing the song "wrong," but came to the conclusion that Freeman was consistent with how he performed canonical repertoire, shaped into a personal expression. Coleman further explains his transformation through observation:

> Let's say we're playing [scats first two bars of "Billie's Bounce"]. He had a certain way of playing that tune. It's not the same way that Bird played it. And so, I thought any young cat who learned the song from the recording would hear him play the song and would think that "well, he's playing it wrong." But it's not that he's playing it wrong; it's personalized to such a point that he just makes it his own. He changes the phrasing and everything to his own thing. (Coleman 2015)

Freeman's fortitude as an improviser was also displayed in his demanding consistency of himself, always playing at the highest level no matter the situation. This notion connects to a Freeman having reached a masterful level of musicianship. Coleman was explicit about Freeman's relation to celebrated musicians, arguing that certain larger figures who died and whom jazz musicians study from recordings, such as Charlie Parker, are raised to mythic status

by musicians and critics. Freeman was a living example of a "walking, living monster," someone who was "improvising on as high a level as Charlie Parker or John Coltrane or anybody else or maybe even higher." Freeman was a musician of the highest order whom someone coming of age after 1967 could actually interact with.

Coleman, however, observed that several musicians disagreed with him. "I tell peers of mine…and they tell me I'm crazy." This raises the question of how musicians who have never heard Freeman in person interpret his music from recordings. Coleman provided two examples, making a larger statement about jazz education. For example, several prominent saxophonists have disagreed with Coleman's assessment of Freeman. In addition, young players often ask Coleman from where he derived his ideas and approaches and who has influenced him the most. He explains amply how Freeman shaped a large part of his artistic directions over his career. He then plays some of his personal recordings for them and, more often than not, they reject what they hear. Coleman explains,

> A normal response I get is "oh, his tone, oh he's out of tune!" I always get that. And it's the first thing I get from these polished school cats**.** That's the first thing they can't deal with. Now I don't get that same answer from guys who haven't learned in school, from the self-taught guys. But I definitely get this answer from almost all these guys that went to Berklee or places like this. Even when I first ran into Greg Osby who went to Berklee, I put on Von Freeman for him and he was like "Oh no, man. What is that?" (Coleman 2015)

Two important points that Coleman raises here are, one, how Freeman's practice was so personalized that those who were not acclimated to the local contexts surrounding Freeman have a difficult time accepting his approach; and two, that schooling, particularly university training, shapes students in ways that might make it difficult for them to acknowledge unfamiliar personalized improvisational approaches that do not match or intersect with norms learned from canonical sources taught in school. Freeman came up in an era when there were stronger regional

sounds in jazz, and since he never left Chicago, he was informed by the cultural and social circumstances around him. “His local thing got stronger and stronger because he never went anywhere, and it just got deeper and deeper into this direction.” Freeman’s strength, for Coleman, is grounded locally, an aspect lost with players who moved to New York City, “you don’t hear that so much with Johnny Griffin or some of these other cats who left Chicago and sort of nationalized their sound.” These saxophonists melded their approaches into New York styles which came to be more commonly used across different jazz scenes. Freeman’s approach emphasized language that drew upon Coleman Hawkins, Lester Young, Charlie Parker, and John Coltrane in the contexts of standards, blues, and ballads, but with a flexible approach to intonation (intentionally playing certain pitches flat or sharp for emphasis) and rhythm (playing against the pulse, usually behind in strategic ways that draw attention to a phrase). These aspects and others that constituted his personal voice and were developed locally, in seeming isolation from other scenes, can have the effect of turning away some musicians.[188]

Connected to the interpretations of fortitude are interpretations of the everydayness of Freeman’s practice, the ways Freeman communicated his musical depth in ways that his audiences could understand and would want to repeatedly experience. For Ward, what made Freeman’s mastery so meaningful was how patrons responded to his music, that there was something in his music that people wanted from it.

> You could tell he has all the technique, but he knew how to make it so palatable. I mean, the neighborhood was in there listening to the music. Everybody wanted to hear that. Those things are important to me. They remind me of like as I progress, as I pursue mastery, to still have those things that people like Von’s generation had, something that had the common folk in there needing that at two o’clock in the morning. (Ward 2018)

[188] To be clear, Freeman listened to local jazz radio and was aware of contemporary developments and artists. For example, in the 1990s and 2000s we discussed work by Steve Coleman, Dave Holland, and Roy Hargrove, among others.

Among musicians, then, there is a productive tension between mastery and connecting with audiences, where rigorous conceptual work in the development of one's musicianship has an eye on staying within an audience's understanding so that performances connects meaningfully with them. Put another way, connecting with audiences is itself a form of mastery where the musician readily converses with audiences between songs and on set breaks in a way that keeps them engaged.

To summarize, musicians interpreted Freeman in four main ways. First, he was vast with what he could perform and the musical possibility he demonstrated. Second, though larger-than-life, he was an ordinary "cat" who would converse with anyone and whose music connected with his audiences. Third, he displayed patience with young players and compassion for certain patrons suffering under difficult circumstances. He also was generous with musical knowledge, which I will explore in a later section on pedagogy. Fourth, Freeman was physically strong, demonstrated with the control he had over the stage and his technical prowess on the saxophone, and showed artistic strength by demonstrating mastery.

Vibe

The musicians integrated the discursive and musical meanings associated with vastness, fortitude, magnanimity, and everydayness through the concept of *vibe*—a colloquial term used by many jazz musicians to describe the overall feeling of a performance. I will analyze how these musicians use the term to connect the affective and musical scientific dimensions of their interpretations and then provide an example of how Freeman's performance of "vibe" impacted a moment of performance with Kurt Elling.

Vibe is a term commonly used among jazz musicians to describe the overall feeling of a performance, a set of parameters that afford the deepest level of performance, and the general atmosphere of music-making in a venue (Berliner 1994, 449). A musician might characterize a soloist's approach, say a saxophonist, as having a John Coltrane "vibe" which could mean, for instance, that the saxophonist's tone sounded similar to Coltrane's sound from the late 1950s Prestige recordings. Vibe could also denote atmosphere, for instance noting racial, cultural, audience demographic, place history, acoustics, and other factors that make a venue distinct. In relation to conversing about Freeman, the musicians framed vibe under four main categories—place, authenticity, fortitude, and in/as performance.[189]

Ward used vibe as a way to describe difference between the musical and social experience of his upbringing in Peoria and his experiences at the NAL. The difference manifested from his age—he was fifteen years old at the time of his first visit—and social interactions he engaged in and witnessed. At the time, Ward had already been performing in Peoria bars for about a year. Due to being underage at the NAL, Ward was not able to purchase alcohol, which the bartender required in order to sit at the bar:

> The only thing was that you couldn't be at her bar. I never had much money growing up, but I did paper routes so occasionally I had some money. I wanted to buy Coca Cola or a juice and she'd make you that mixed juice, that cranberry and orange juice and then still, if you're not buying alcohol, you can't sit at the bar. She'd [imitating Elouise Rhymes] "Get off my bar." Ok. So, you just got kind of get mentally prepared, physically, too—you're going to be standing all night tonight. (Ward 2018)

[189] I use in/as performance to denote how a practice is deployed in a performance and is itself the performance. The term combines Richard Schechner's "is/as performance"—performance conventions and performance as object of study—and the ethnomusicological paradigm of music in and as culture (Schechner 2013, 35; Nettl 2005, 218).

On Ward's first visit to the club, Freeman invited Kurt Elling to start the jam session with Charlie Parker's blues composition "Billie's Bounce," introducing Elling as a Blue Note recording artist. Ward sat in, overcome with the circumstance of suddenly performing alongside an established artist. After the jam, Ward walked into the side bar area west of the stage (the orange room) where Elling was having a drink. Ward looked up at the television hanging on the wall and noticed a pornographic film was playing. Elling turned to Ward and sarcastically said, "Jazz and porno, what better combination." Ward concluded that the NAL was a place that "makes you grow up fast."

The threat of violence also shaped the vibe of the NAL. When Ward went to the NAL, he was accompanied by two friends from Harvey, IL who were a year or two older, trumpeters Corey Wilkes and Maurice Brown. Since they already been frequenting the NAL, he followed their lead. He noted with whom they interacted and avoided and where they would stand in the club. Once they witnessed an African American man flick a cigarette at me while I was taking a solo. Freeman, upset at the man, grabbed him by the arm, forcibly removing him from the club. When they would leave, Wilkes and Brown advised Ward to "get a pencil out when we walk down the street…because if somebody comes on us, you stab them" (Ward 2018). Ward noted from these experiences that he had to be ready for new types of encounters, including dangerous ones.

Elling was explicit about the importance of vibe as something he has learned from Freeman and other artists. He identifies vibe as coming out of African American historical contexts that shaped musical practices, something he thinks young players miss because they primarily engage the music through disembodied recordings:

> That's the shit that young people…don't get because they have never felt it. Even if they are listening to the Basie band on recordings [pause]—it's on recordings. They never turn them up loud enough, they're not hearing in that sensory environment, they're not watching the cats interact with each other, which is a heavy part of it, they're not listening to them talk after the show. They're not watching them pack up their shit…They're not seeing how beat they are because they are going to go back on the bus and they are going to sleep on the bus because there is no place in town for that fucking band to stay because it's a bunch of African American dudes. So, vibe. (Elling 2018)

His comments fall under two larger categories of "authenticity," which he expressed as "the shit," and fortitude, expressed in descriptions of Freeman's musical and social presence. For Elling, Freeman represented a master of African American improvisational practice, a black musician who had lived the art form through constant pursuit of musical knowledge while living under U.S. racial conditions. Vibe is "real" experience—having to live under Jim Crow conditions, touring and not being able to find a hotel and sleeping on the tour bus, yet still producing and developing. For Elling, Freeman's "authenticity" was not something of essence, but of the training, knowledge, and experience, of an oppressed African American, dimensions of Freeman's vibe from which Elling wanted to access and learn.

Vibe for Elling also represented fortitude in the ways Freeman would keep control of the jam session. For example, a male bar patron, who was quite large, was drunk one Tuesday and dancing in front of Freeman and the band, almost falling into the musicians. After his solo and without putting down his horn, Freeman grabbed the man by the arm and yelled, "listen young man, you better straighten up. You better straighten up now." The man stopped, apologized, and sat at the bar and ordered a soda. Elling interpreted Freeman's action at that moment as "putting the fear of God in him" (Elling 2018).

Vibe is also the embodied aspect of Freeman's performance practice, particularly through his mannerisms and the sound and timbre he produced. For Elling, musicians identify with vibe,

draw from it in performance, feel the vibe, and put the vibe "out there." Indeed, Elling consciously adopted some of Freeman's mannerisms, something he does when he looks to reach a higher level during a performance.[190] Coleman noted that members of his band the Five Elements, when hearing a local saxophonist, observed that this saxophonist deployed timbral and blues aspects reminiscent of Freeman (i.e., had Freeman's vibe), but with "very little…of the science part. That's why Jonathan says he sounds like Von without the science" (Coleman 2015).

Vibe also consists of the sonic dimension of Freeman's playing, which refers to the unique timbre of his instrument, produced from years of experience and rigorous reflection, and with particular aesthetic goals. Furthermore, it describes Freeman's individual ways of performing melodies and improvisations with this timbre. Ward describes Freeman's approach as "wildness that's controlled. The way he'd inflect, like, it almost sounds like a whale, right? He tied it into his language so seamlessly that it was in control." This controlled wildness for Coleman has precedent in John Coltrane's late career, a precision that had a screaming quality to it.[191]

Coleman argued that Freeman's vibe could present barriers to some listeners. Indeed, when Coleman was a young player in Chicago, his father described Freeman's playing as noise and Coleman himself wondered if Freeman night be "just moving his fingers." Coleman, however, spent years analyzing Freeman's solos from personal recordings and concluded that there was precision in Freeman's execution. For Elling, the vibe Freeman put forward through

[190] To channel the vibe, Elling explained that he says to himself, "Aw fuck it, man. Von would be like this."
[191] Freeman explicitly spoke to Coleman about how he was transforming the content of his solos to a more esoteric direction with many layers of conception, worrying if audiences would hear his solos as noise (Coleman 2015).

his “screeching stuff” afforded a joyful reaction, “It just sounds so killing you want to jump for joy because he’s blown the roof off.” Vibe, then, could be a tool to connect to listeners through sound, but not always.

To review, vibe is the environment of the performance, the meanings attached to the venue, the authenticity and power of Freeman’s presence, and embodied performance delivered through physical mannerisms and sound. Overall, vibe is a powerful force that challenges listeners, drawing them in or pushing them away. Elling encapsulated the components of vibe while recounting a profound experience with Freeman. In the early 1990s while a master’s student in the University of Chicago’s Divinity School, Elling recommended that the school hire Freeman to perform for a social event. He observed that his fellow students were, “hiding from life by burrowing deeper into books,” so he thought that Freeman’s vibe might afford a transformative experience for them.

> …to bring Von who is just so liberated and unafraid, and the benediction that was in his sound that makes everybody feel great, the vibrations of his horn. That’s a literal actual scientific thing. Because sound waves are physical…It moves molecules through space. It goes through, it touches you, it vibrates you, it changes your molecules so if you’re broadcasting with intention and you’re broadcasting beauty, then that’s physically affecting you. It’s like a soul massage. And that’s what they needed, so everybody came out of there feeling a million dollars because of Von. Never forget it! (Elling 2018)

Elling’s construct of vibe ties together physical sound, the power of that sound to grab people’s attention, and a force that transformed his fellow students. The vibrations represent vastness; Freeman welcomes the students with his sound, representing everydayness; the sound is precise with intention, displaying strength; and Freeman exhibits generosity through the transformation he engenders, the “soul massage.” In sum, the vibrations are the vibe, a tool of ritual mastery.

The musicians interpreted and constructed meaning from both their interactions with Freeman and observing him perform. The patchwork of filtered understandings presents larger

themes connecting to facets of Freeman's social being and musical practice. They saw Freeman as vast in personality and musical possibility. He was an everyday person. He represented physical, technical, musical, and improvisational fortitude. He engaged in acts of generosity and kindness. These components intersected at the nexus of the affective dimension, Freeman's personality and the feelings musicians took from his solos, and the scientific dimension, the theoretical basis for Freeman's practice, to produce vibe. In all these observations, the musicians demonstrate how Freeman used forms of contact language to mediate the ritualized activities which they describe, and which continue to have meaning for them.

Interpretive Pedagogy and Present Practice

Each musician considered Freeman a mentor who was generous with musical knowledge and with offering advice, an aspect of his magnanimity. Interpretation of his pedagogy is significant because the musicians are often reminded of moments of learning with Freeman which bring forth the musical concepts and practices that they garnered from him into the present. Thus, processes of musical transmission "emerge as elemental moments shaping musicians' sense of musical meaning and selfhood" (Gill 2017, 97). I argue that interpretation of Freeman's informal pedagogy is one mode in which musicians gain musical knowledge and construct lineage, a process which shapes how they conduct their present practice and think of their musical selves (99).[192]

[192] From this point forward I will use the term "horse" from Freeman's lexicon to denote "student," the young musicians learning from Freeman. Thus, when interviewees speak of what they learned from him, they are speaking about when they were "horses."

Freeman acted with an intention that can be observed in interlocutor statements and his own personal statements. Several interviewees interpreted Freeman's intention as "giving back to the community," wanting to make sure that the tradition continued (Murphy-Webb 2018, LaFave 2019, Williams 2018). Freeman himself spoke of learning from local musicians, particularly saxophone techniques such as embouchure that he acquired from saxophonist Dave Young while they were in the Great Lakes Naval Band during WWII (Freeman 2000; Floyd 1975; Floyd 1983). He also learned from Captain Walter Dyett's disciplined methods at DuSable High School and studied theory under saxophonist Gene Ammons's mother (Freeman 2000; Freeman 2019). Furthermore, jam sessions were something he was "known for," so club owners often hired him to run jams (Freeman 2000). There is no doubt, then, that Freeman understood the importance of mentorship to ensure the music's survival.

This section is guided by two questions. How did these four musicians learn from Freeman and how does what they learned guide their present practices? The musicians addressed these questions through recollections of witnessing him improvise; of conversing with him at the NAL; of examining recordings of him; and of conversing with Freeman over the telephone. In the process of learning they observed Freeman's craft, reflected on that craft, and then developed personal aesthetic frameworks. Since he did not express a formal teaching method, he spoke in abstract terms, and he led by example, there was an openness to his pedagogy that afforded and required that the observer interpret. Thus, his pedagogy was one of interpretation—the individual subject filters what Freeman explicitly says or performs into a usable and meaningful framework of improvisational possibility that operates in the present.

Learning from Freeman at the NAL consisted of a series of interpretive moves by the musicians who frequented the NAL (Feld 1984). Steven Feld writes, "interpretive moves involve

the action of pattern discovery as experience is organized by the juxtapositions, interactions, or choices in time when we encounter and engage obviously symbolic objects or performance" (8). Because Freeman did not converse much with musicians about music— such as theoretical nuts and bolts—and because he usually relayed information in metaphorical language or through the symbolism musicians interpreted from his solos, I argue that Freeman's pedagogy was an *interpretive pedagogy*. Musicians had to derive patterns from his playing and interpret them in the moment and through reflection on past moments. Freeman's pedagogy, however, was not absorbed in a pre-formed way, such as a "banking" concept where a student is a receptacle waiting to be filled (Freire 2000, 72). Rather, since there was an intention by Freeman to mentor and he was an approachable person, this interpretive pedagogy was a dialogic one, striving "for the *emergence* of consciousness and *critical intervention* in reality" that frames the world as in process, always in transformation (81–83, emphasis in original). Thus drawing from Feld's interpretive moves and Paulo Freire's dialogic pedagogy, I argue that Freeman's method of transmitting knowledge afforded an emergent exploration of musical consciousness—a creative expansion of possibility, of lineage, of personal musical voice—as well as a critical intervention in reality through listening, observing, reflecting, and, crucially, improvising at the jam session and on gigs.[193]

Freeman did not offer horses concrete information; they had to intervene critically and work out ideas in performance. For instance, Ward says he never had any musical conversations with Freeman. Most of the time, Freeman would offer "encouraging nuggets" such as "I hear you" or "just keep sounding good," but would never offer specifics. Ward even asked Freeman

[193] I acknowledge that Freeman's aversion to speaking about technical matters was a similar characteristic of other musicians of his generation, such as Miles David or John Coltrane.

for lessons and Freeman told him, “Oh, no, baby. You just keep practicing.” After some persistence, Freeman told him, “Ok. You got to practice four things: your majors, your minors, your diminished, and your augmented. There you go.” Ward deduced, “ok, don’t ask him for a lesson. That’s not going to get it.” Ward understood that Freeman was not going to offer any theoretical specifics, so he made interpretive moves toward understanding Freeman’s music and transforming his own.

Praise, Repertoire, and Teaching Moments

Horses were driven by the ways in which Freeman to explicitly praised them, pushed them to learn repertoire, and provided harsh “teaching moments.” He would encourage young players to return by remembering their names and telling them that they played well. After Elling would sing a tune, Freeman would rub Elling’s shoulder and ask him to sing another. At Ward’s first time at the NAL, Freeman told him “You sound good, baby. Now come back and see me, because I may not be here.” Elling interpreted a common statement Freeman would make while a horse soloed at the jam session, “Aw, baby, c’mon now,” as positive reinforcement to encourage the young player to dig deeper into the moment. For Elling, having someone of Freeman’s stature respond positively to a horse’s performance inspired them to come back and try again because he was telling them that they were good enough to perform this music.

Freeman wanted the horses to return to the club with more skill and with more repertoire (Murphy-Webb 2018). One of the motivating factors to return to the NAL for both Murphy-Webb and Elling was to learn more songs and perform them for him. Freeman took Murphy-Webb aside shortly after meeting her and told her she had to learn more than one song as the best singers in his estimation know numerous songs. Elling would learn a new tune for each time he

frequented the NAL. Learning tunes, however, was not only a process of preparing and performing. For Ward, it was performing at the jam session on songs he did not know, which taught him more material, taught him how to "feel" rather than think about songs, and taught him how to develop a quick ear.[194] Ward credits this experience with learning how to be spontaneous as possible whenever performing. He puts himself in this mode at times, pretending that he is playing on a song that he is not familiar with was a way to sound as spontaneous as possible.[195]

Murphy-Webb's experiences with Freeman further demonstrate the ways repertoire shaped Freeman's pedagogy. In the early 1980s, after Freeman spoke to her about learning more tunes, Murphy-Webb dedicated herself to adding to her repertoire and Freeman invited her to his house to teach her songs by accompanying her on piano. Freeman then hired her to perform a Billie Holiday tribute concert. She learned "God Bless the Child" and "Body and Soul." Freeman taught her "I Loves You, Porgy" but then decided that she had not heard enough music to perform the depth of feeling he was looking for, so he took her off that song. Freeman took active steps to shape Murphy-Webb's repertoire through encouraging her to learn more material, hiring her to perform a particular repertoire, and then discouraging her from singing a song that he felt she was not ready to sing.

Though Murphy-Webb described Freeman as a generous mentor, she observed that, "he didn't bullshit about music." Freeman could be harsh with horses who were not performing to his

[194] Freeman purposefully made young musicians perform on tunes they were not familiar with. I experienced this situation myself in the early 1990s when Freeman would ask me to take solos with singers who sat in. Most of the time I did not know the song, so I learned to pick up the song's form and harmonic structure from listening to the piano accompaniment from Jon Logan.
[195] Ward explained spontaneity as a trained practice, "That kind of training around that community, the spontaneity of Von, like to me I feel like, comes from that kind of practice…to really be in the moment. Really, almost act like you don't know the tune. Just so it can be fresh for you" (Ward 2018).

Figure 25: Margaret Murphy-Webb sits in with Von Freeman at the New Apartment Lounge, October 5, 2010. Photo courtesy of Michael Jackson.

standards by supplying "teaching moments" (Murphy-Webb 2018). Murphy-Webb witnessed Freeman yell at horses, stop the band to force a musician leave the stage, and even throw a musician out of the club. Murphy-Webb interpreted these teaching moments as tough discipline that in the end motivated a young performer. Occasionally, Freeman would stop singers who he felt were not performing well and invite a veteran singer to the stage to sing the same song. Murphy-Webb experienced this tactic:

> I fucked some song up, and he cut the song and said, "come on, Betty bebop." And she walked by me, and I said "oh, he gonna have this old chick." She got up there, and I said "goddammit, that's Betty Carter." She sang whatever it was, and I said, there goes my ego. It was a good…teaching moment because that night I felt I was the best singer in the room. (Murphy-Webb 2017)

Freeman disciplined Murphy-Webb's sense of her abilities by having an elder who was also a celebrated figure to come up to the stage and be an example for her to emulate. At the same time, before she went to the stage, she felt no other singers had her skills, so her ego was crushed in that moment, but she took the experience as a source of motivation. She decided then, "I'm not gonna ever let him do this to me again. I'm going to sing these songs the way he wants me to sing them because I was swinging something, and he cut it" (Murphy-Webb 2017). These musicians' interpretive moves associated Freeman's actions with encouragement, discipline, and harsh "teaching moments," that drove them to learn repertoire and the stylistic performance practices that Freeman thought were important for those songs.

Aesthetic Frameworks and Acts of Transfer

Another interpretive move comes observing Freeman's performance practice which functioned both as knowledge transmission and the generation of personal aesthetic frameworks that continue to operate in each musicians' present practice.[196] As Diana Taylor writes, "performances function as vital acts of transfer, transmitting social knowledge, memory, and a sense of identity" through reiterated actions and behaviors (2003, 2–3). Freeman's performances produced knowledge of the repertoire of practices that these musicians desired to learn (12). The act of transfer occurs as they gleaned, through their interpretive moves, musical possibilities which they forged into useable knowledge for their personal practice. Since Freeman's practices

[196] I use the term "aesthetics" to describe the components that inform and the frameworks that structure improvisational practice for which an artist has affinity. Drawing from my performance experiences, I argue that the aesthetic frameworks improvisers cultivate over time are important conceptual tools from which they draw their improvisational performance practice. These frameworks are in constant flux due to transformations which occur at performances, witnessing live performance and reflections on performances.

were shaped by both traditional improvisational practices and his own personal innovations, his performances transfer social knowledge (his embodied allusions to past performers, such as Lester Young), memory (his process of reflecting on his work, expanding repertoire, and transforming his practice over several decades) and sense of identity (both his embodied performance of personal sound and musical vocabulary and ways to forge personal musical identity) to listeners who are searching for cultural knowledge.[197] This section investigates this process of transfer in terms of the aesthetic frameworks that these musicians built as they observed Freeman at the NAL. Musical and technical possibility, pure spontaneity, flexibility as a practice, command of instrument and musical materials, constructing a personal improvisational voice, and presenting oneself in a way that connects to one's audience are knowledges transferred to these musicians through interpretive moves, demonstrating how Freeman's pedagogy worked toward horses becoming musical "beings for themselves" (Freire 2000, 74).

Ward argued that all young musicians need someone to demonstrate possibility through performance. From observing Freeman, he noted

> …his technique, his command, his facility, melodic development, ideas, different progressions. You could see where Steve Coleman might come from, listening to those progressions. I'd like to do more research now…I'm sure I would have a different experience now. I wish he was here now just to be taking it in from this standpoint. (Ward 2018)

Observing Freeman afforded a set of technical and conceptual frameworks which helped Ward ground his practice when he was a teen. He also noted knowledge transfer and interpretation

[197] Many of these practices could happen observed at any jam session but it's Freeman's authority and the purpose of going to the NAL that makes this case different. Any other jam session would be more of a showcase of musicians' skills and would not necessarily have the social environment of the NAL.

through his own observation of Steve Coleman's work, recognizing a connection from Freeman to Coleman through the harmonic frameworks that Ward heard in both musicians. Finally, he continues to reflect on those experiences, understanding his development since those days and speculating how his years of development might transform how he would interpret Freeman if he were still alive.

He also observed how Freeman approached performance, interpreting him as representative of pure spontaneity.

> I felt like Von, every solo he took was like he was demanding from himself, demanding from the people playing with him, and to be there in that moment with him. That's something that I feel I learned from being down there. (Ward 2018)

One can train spontaneity, a process of total presence and concentration during every performance moment:

> Don't sacrifice whatever you thought you were going to do in this moment, just stay there. So that kind of training around that community, the spontaneity of Von, like to me I feel like, comes from that kind of practice. Like you practice to really be in the moment. (Ward 2018)

When observing Freeman, Ward came to the conclusion that rather than being an unreflective impulse, spontaneity is cultivated, a stance a musician should take at every performance. Ward further commented that when listening to Freeman improvise, Ward always wondered where Freeman was going in his solos, noting that Freeman was always present, "never on autopilot." He brings this stance to his current performances so that each moment feels "fresh."

Coleman observed flexibility in Freeman's approach to performing repertoire in his approach to melodies, different harmonic progressions, and adding several other components:[198]

[198] In the fifteen years I performed with Freeman, he never once made a set list and rarely named the next song he wanted to perform. More often than not he just told us the key and counted the tempo.

> I think that the song was like a general map to him and that he heard all these other possibilities and what we're hearing are those possibilities that he's hearing. And then when we hear him with a band…you just hear these guys playing these really basic kind of root bass movements, which is what Von liked—he didn't like a lot of shit behind him. And against that, he could sound off all these other alternate path things that he was doing. These other tonal shadings and things like that. And the sound was that against the other thing. (Coleman 2015)

The tunes Freeman performed were not set harmonic frameworks that he followed literally to structure his solos.[199] For Coleman, Freeman wanted the basic harmonic framework of song performed by the rhythm section for his flexible approach to have impact. Then, he might structure his lines using different harmonic progressions ("paths'), pitch collections, or other techniques with little interaction with the rhythm section. Freeman's flexibility represented a fluency of possibility from which Coleman built his own aesthetic frameworks.

One particular component of Freeman's command of instrument and musical materials that Ward found meaningful was how Freeman seemed at times out of control or "raw" at certain points in his improvisations:

> It's just wildness that's controlled. The way he'd inflect, like, it almost sounds like a whale, right? That thing, like, he tied it into his language so seamlessly that it was in control. So those are the things that make me excited. Like these seemingly raw things that people kind of perfected the access to. So, it's no longer raw. It sounds raw to you, but I'm putting my finger in this thing, like, I'm pressing a button and it's coming out exactly where I want it to. (Ward 2018)

[199] Coleman observed that young players learn tunes mostly from fake books—collections of standards and jazz compositions—and that they only can play the songs in the way they are written in fake books. In other words, fake books afford an inflexible framework for improvisation. Instead of conceptualizing tunes as basic maps which to draw from, the frames young players use shape much of their musical material. Whether this is true or not (it has been my experience when teaching in jazz programs), this model Coleman asserts reinforces the notion of flexibility as an important component for Freeman's aesthetic.

Rawness is a form of precision. The edge of losing control, but being in control, or intentionally not sounding "too clean" was an aesthetic that Ward observed in Freeman and continues to shape his work.

Furthermore, the rawness Ward observed functions as a component of personal improvisational voice, something all the musicians interviewed derived from Freeman for their aesthetic frameworks. Jazz scholars have examined the idea of a unique sound, a transcendent voice one finds through years of practice and reflection, as an important structural element in jazz musicians' practice (Jackson 2012; Berliner 1994; Iyer 2004). A detailed account of the learning process of developing a personal voice has not gotten as much attention. Ward commented on this process:

> I always am blown away whenever somebody puts the finger on something like so detailed, "this is what I'm doing." You know what I mean? How did they get do that point? It makes me question like, of course there's all this before you, but how'd you get to that? How did you decide one day, I'm going to make this choice? And it becomes a beautiful part, it becomes your voice. (Ward 2018)

For Ward, this process comes out of reflecting on the history of the music's practices but finding through detailed work a precise approach that listeners might not be able to connect to the past. These musicians' observations of Freeman's practice of developing a personal voice demonstrate potential ways in which mentors share and students make the interpretive moves to gain this knowledge.

Murphy-Webb understood personal voice as a practice Freeman demanded at the jam session through comments such as "express yourself, baby" to vocalists or instrumentalists during a performance. She analyzed this particular statement as three words, "Express *your* self. Don't come up here and be nobody else." Freeman expected that each musician performs a "true" self, with the jam session being a place to train and cultivate a musical self. Though

Coleman understood Freeman's voice as a window into the past, he called it a "skewed window," not a direct view into the past, but Freeman's understanding of the past, a process of interpretation and adaption that has shaped the jazz tradition:

> …the filter of his personality and that's what influenced me directly. I'm sort of an extension of that, but then of course my own personality filters my shit. To me, in a way, that's the tradition. (Coleman 2015)

In regard to connecting with audiences, Murphy-Webb observed how Freeman spoke. She explicitly draws from observing his interactions.

> I watched him and I said I can do that. I emulate him, that freedom, you know how free he was on stage. He taught me that when you get on stage, fuck 'em!! When people are walking out, how many times would he do that at Andy's "Hey, where you all going?...It's going to be a good night, baby!" [laughing] (Murphy-Webb 2018)

Murphy-Webb learned a performance practice from Freeman, a form of his contact language, of humorous interaction with audiences. Freeman stayed aware of audience movement, when people would get up to leave, he would make playful comments to bring other audience members into the performance.[200] Similarly, Elling noted how Freeman made people feel better through his improvisations *and* his banter, what he felt was a way for Freeman to say, "all are welcome." Ward argued that Freeman's generation looked to have deep conception and provide something in the music for "the common folk," something that would drive people to go hear Freeman at 2:00 a.m. on a Tuesday. These accounts demonstrate how observing practices of audience interaction, through music and playful speech, is a form of knowledge transmission—historical, musical, and professional—which each musician interprets and uses in the present.

[200] T.M. Scruggs notes Freeman's playfulness with the topic of race in the ways he would speak to white audience members in South Side clubs, calling them "North Side," an aspect of his contact language that he used to mediate racial difference in the club (2001).

Storytelling

One final dimension of Freeman's informal pedagogy that resonated with the musicians was his storytelling.[201] Storytelling, as I have argued, is a crucial practice for sustaining the music's and a local scene's history through the transfer of musical historical knowledge. It is also a central part of the mentor/student relationship and should be taken seriously and studied as a pedagogical tool for improvisational traditions. Young musicians who are eager to perform learn much, if not more, from listening to elders tell stories as opposed to musical processes explicated theoretically. The following examples demonstrate how telling stories during informal conversation stays with the musician as parables they use to inform their present practices.

For Elling, these stories were lessons in musical practice and life, what were ultimately philosophical lessons for him. Freeman once told a story about saxophonist Lester Young:

> [Quoting Freeman] "Y'know Prez-skis, he was so brokenhearted, but he played right through it. That's what made him sound so beautiful because that's how he fixed his heart." (Elling 2018)

From this parable, Lester Young represents an emotionally wounded person who channeled his pain into his instrument, transmitted beauty, and gained healing from the experience. The lessons learned from this story, which Freeman told to Elling in the early 1990s, include how to face emotional pain as a musician and heal through performance.[202] Likewise, Murphy-Webb recounted how, after her ex-husband Fred Rakestraw, who was Freeman's pianist before I joined in 1997, passed away of complications with diabetes at age thirty-seven, he advised her to "sing

[201] I experienced several times when he would tell a story about a celebrated musician or a musical situation that spoke to a larger musical, social, or historical theme.
[202] One could also ask to what extent the beauty that Elling observed Freeman transmit at the Divinity School was a function of Freeman's own emotional pain.

through your pain" (Murphy-Webb 2017). Freeman, then, may have aimed for emotional release as a structure to his expressive goals.

Elling occasionally would ask Freeman about a particular musician, which in turn would prompt a story, such as Freeman's experiences of working with saxophonist Gene Ammons:

> [Quoting Freeman] "Well, it was like this. When Jug would come to town, everybody would come down and we'd all play all of our notes and everybody would try to outdo each other, and Jug would just sit there in the corner and just wait. Then Jug would come on and everybody would wait, and he would just say fuuuuhh [imitating a low note on the saxophone] and would just lay us out. Just one note. Lay us out," [Elling] because of vibe. (Elling 2018)

Ammons was popular among black musicians and audiences. In this story, the setting is an informal jam session in a packed club. Typical of jam session conduct, soloists attempted to display their technical prowess, in what Freeman described as "all of our notes," playing a lot of fast and busy lines. Ammons contrasted this approach, played one note, and everyone in the club understood the power of his presence. Elling took this story as a lesson in vibe, the power of intention, focus, and transmitting strength and beauty in one note.

The lessons learned from these stories, performance as a tool for emotional healing and vibe as an attitude that encompasses performance practice, stayed with Elling and continue to inform his work. Important to note is that these stories themselves were improvised moments. WE can assume that Freeman had not planned to teach Elling these lessons. They came up spontaneously in a contextual moment. Then Elling made corresponding interpretive moves to derive meaning which informs his musical approach in the here-and-now. From these musicians' experiences of interacting with and observing Freeman, his pedagogy can be seen as an interpretive pedagogy grounded in structure and experience.

The Word of Bird

In this first of two parts of a subject- and place-centered ethnography of Von Freeman and the New Apartment Lounge, musicians' interpretive moves focused on and traversed between terms that described Freeman's outward social presence—an affective dimension—and Freeman's embodied musical practice—a scientific dimension. As Ward, Coleman, Murphy-Webb, and Elling make their own interpretive moves in describing Freeman, which I have gathered as Freeman's vastness, everydayness, magnanimity, fortitude, and vibe, they show how place has the potential of becoming a transforming nexus of contact and mediation through the ritualized activity that place affords. As Freeman mediated contact using musical, social, and pedagogical languages, these musicians transformed their artistic consciousness and critically intervened in musical practice—their own and performing with others.

As part of the interpretive pedagogy that Freeman practiced, he enacted lineage through stories and performance. The following example recapitulates many of the contact, mediation, interpretive, and pedagogical themes of this chapter and in this example how lineage shapes these themes. When Freeman called the horses to the stage for the jam session, he would have them start with "Billie's Bounce" by Charlie Parker. He would invoke Parker when he counted off the tune: "This is the house that Bird built. Bird, give me that magic tempo." After counting the tempo, he would scat the melody with the horn players. Then he would sing two choruses of the blues with the following lyrics and scat one more chorus of the melody:

> Bird is the word
> And Coltrane is the thing
> And Dizzy is busy
>
> Now the Jug's sound was the greatest around

And James Moody sure was groovy
And the great Sonny Stitt was a [*Freeman puts hand over his mouth*][203]

These lyrics that Freeman composed are a powerful and humorous example of his role as contact intermediary.[204] The setting here is a jam session with the horses who are on stage with their mentor, Freeman. He first invokes Charlie Parker, grounding the session in the bebop tradition, and then sings one of Parker's iconic compositions. The first line of the lyric again expresses the centrality of Parker for the jam session. The following lines all invoke other past performers and summarizing characteristics about them, emphasized with each line's internal rhyme. Coltrane's force over the music, Dizzy Gillespie's technical prowess, Gene "Jug" Ammons's unique saxophone tone, James Moody's sense of rhythm and personal style, and Sonny Stitt's improvisational prowess and difficult personality—each line enacts lineage, reinforcing canonical figures for the horses as well as the club patrons, and is one of multiple iterations by Freeman of the past which all participants use to make sense of the present (Gill 2017, 99).

This chapter focused on how musicians experienced, learned from, and interpreted Von Freeman and the vibe of the NAL. The next chapter examines the roles of audience participants at the NAL and how they participated in the ritualized activity of the club, the extent of their role, and how their profession shaped their experiences and participation. I will analyze

[203] This performance comes from a personal video by Steve Coleman, filmed on videotape in May of 1998.
[204] George Freeman was not familiar with these lyrics when I asked him and did not know that his brother performed these at the NAL (Freeman 2020). So, these must have been lyrics he composed specifically as a jam sessions ritual.

interviews with a physician, a real estate agent, and the NAL bartender to understand the potential ways audience members contribute support to the scene and to music-making.

Chapter 5

Von Freeman and/as The New Apartment Lounge: Audience Agency in Support of Artistry and Sociality

> Them poor folks, they were just looking for some place to go. Just like everybody else. But I'm looking to try and make some money.
>
> —Elouise Rhymes (2018)

> When he had his dog Benji…he rescued the dog—she didn't have an esophagus. And he used to have animals outside, a squirrel, called him Bimbo. Vonski had a lot of little quirks. He hated bugs. Sometimes I'd be talking to him in the summer and I'd hear some "bkkkk!"…He'd be trying to get the bugs and he'd hit the window so hard he'd break it.
>
> —Laura LaFave (2019)

This chapter continues the analysis of saxophonist Von Freeman (1923–2012) and the New Apartment Lounge (NAL) through the experiences of audience participants who contribute to the local jazz scene. It looks at the degree of participation, how their professions informed their roles at the NAL, what types of support they contributed, and how their participation shaped music-making. This chapter contributes to the study of audience participation, specifically how audiences are active participants who contribute to musician artistry (Racy 2003; Turino 2008; Spelman 2015; Greenland 2016). This chapter also extends my argument that there is no such thing as "the music itself," by showing how audiences in conjunction with performers intersect to produce and sustain musical practice.

Audiences at the NAL were different each week and included people of diverse racial, gender, class, sexuality, and generational identities. Professors, retired union factory laborers, young people on a night out, prostitutes and drug dealers, and off-duty police officers were some of the people who frequented the NAL on Tuesday nights. Among patrons were the "regulars"—

those who came often, if not every week. They developed close relationships with Freeman and his band, with the bartender "Weezie," and with the horses. While there, they participated in the ritualized activity engendered by Freeman's performances and personality, cultivated relationships with others of different social backgrounds in part through Freeman's role as contact intermediary, and understood and engaged with Freeman's contact language. As participants, audiences, like musicians, realized potentials of social expression and transformation while taking part in the activities at the NAL (Jackson 2012, 143).

Audience experience further demonstrates how the NAL functioned as a contact zone (Pratt 2008, 7–8). Several of these individuals would not have met without Freeman performing the role of intermediary. As will be seen in theses interviews, Freeman was a powerful cultural symbol who acted as a resource of cultural knowledge (Gilroy 1993, 76–77) *and* as a friend who made a difference in their lives. Supporting Freeman and the NAL, then, was a mutual exchange between Freeman and audiences. Just as with musicians, he mediated a set of relationships at the NAL between audience participants of diverse social backgrounds using a set of artistic, social, and pedagogical contact languages. This chapter analyzes how through verbal exchange and performance Freeman mediated contact among participants of diverse backgrounds who were not performers, but who observed and theorized the artistic, social, and pedagogical processes they observed at the club.

Freeman's role as contact intermediary and cultural authority afforded participation for audiences through processes of ritualization which were, as with musicians, socially expressive and transformative. Experiences at the NAL resonated with non-performers in and outside of the club, they observed and negotiated different social dynamics during the performances, and they understood Freeman's mastery through his improvisations, his verbal communication on stage,

and in their conversations with him at the bar (Jackson 2012, 136–154). This chapter, therefore, examines the roles audiences performed as scene participants, the types of support they leant to Freeman and the NAL, and how they produced musicality and sociality mediated by Freeman's musical and social presence. The audience members—a real estate broker, a physician, and the NAL bartender—elucidate the diverse ways music enthusiasts and venue employees support musical practice and the local scene.

Audience members' active participation took two forms—*interventions* through conversation, rides to gigs, recording Freeman at the NAL with a portable device, and different displays of care toward him and other scene participants, and *reception* of support from Freeman through storytelling, transmission of musical and historical knowledge, reliable friendship, and performances at the NAL, which I argue were important components of life review for him (Mullen 1992). The reminiscence that freely arose in the social setting of the NAL acted as a means of expressing his status and identity as a senior musician, an important mental health process for the elderly (Bornat 2011, 206). This chapter will demonstrate the impacts of audience participation by examining the types of participant roles as they relate to their profession, how the NAL "vibe" shaped their experiences, and the ways they interpreted Freeman's artistry, sociality, and pedagogy. In what follows, I build from Denise Gill's maxim that ethnographers must take seriously the claims of musicians and interrogate musical practices "in terms that musicians themselves use to explain musical meaning" (2017, 97) by extending her argument to include audience participants who provide another lens through which to see the epistemologies generated through place and culture (Cresswell 2004, 12).

Audience Interviewees

The three participants interviewed for this chapter spent twenty or more years frequenting the NAL and socializing with Freeman. Frank Williams is an African American real estate broker and has been teaching brokerage license courses since the 1970s. Williams was born in Pine Bluff, Arkansas in 1939 (Williams 2018). Three years later, his parents separated, and his mother moved with her children to Flint, Michigan. In December of 1961, he found a job at the U.S. Post Office in Chicago and then he worked toward a real estate license, earned in 1971. He moved with his wife Joanne to Beverly in 1974. It was a mostly white neighborhood, and he and his wife were subject to racist violence through the bombing of their home and other forms of harassment. In 1979, he was elected the president of the South Side chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), a position he held until 1985. He met Von Freeman in the 1970s through Bettye Reynolds, a former student who joined his firm in the late 1970s and a vocalist who sang with Freeman from the 1970s until Freeman's passing in 2012.

Laura LaFave is a white medical doctor who lives in Chicago. Born in the 1960s in Pinconning, MI, she moved to Chicago in the late 1980s while conducting a medical residency at Michael Reese Hospital. She has been practicing in Skokie, IL since the early 1990s. She met Von Freeman in 1993 through a friend who worked at the Post Office. LaFave first heard Freeman at a North Side club, the Bop Shop, located at 1807 West Division Street in the Wicker Park neighborhood. After the show, Freeman invited LaFave to the NAL where she appeared every Tuesday from 1994 until it closed in January 2011. Over much of this period LaFave acted as Freeman's personal physician.

Elouise Rhymes, the bartender at the NAL, was born in 1944 in Mercer, TN, a small rural African American town. She moved to Chicago at the age of eighteen to accompany an ill cousin. She moved to the South Side into the home of a married couple who had an extra room for which Rhymes's cousin paid from her housekeeping salary, earned while working for white families in the suburbs (Rhymes 2018). Rhymes got her first job as a bartender in her aunt Dorothy's bar on Seventy-First Street near Martin Luther King Jr. Drive. In the 1970s, she started working in cafeterias at several South Side public schools. Rhymes was hired as the bartender at the NAL in 1981, working solely Tuesdays until the bar closed in 2011. Freeman and all who frequented the NAL knew Rhymes as "Weezie."[205] During our interview, Rhymes was using an oxygen tank to assist her breathing due to suffering from emphysema, from which she passed away two months later on June 24, 2018.[206]

Each interlocutor was interviewed at a location of their choosing—Rhymes and LaFave at their homes, and Williams at his real estate office in the Beverly neighborhood. As in the previous chapters, interviews were semi-structured. The basic questioning centered on interviewee biography, how and when an interviewee met Freeman, and their thoughts on Freeman as a musician and individual. All three interviewees spoke enthusiastically and at length about their experiences at the NAL with Freeman and in the club's social milieu. I coded the interview data into three broad categories which will be explored individually and across participants—the degrees and ways that each interlocutor contributed to the scene at the NAL;

[205] Though all were familiar with Rhymes as "Weezie," I use scholarly convention and refer to her as Rhymes.
[206] Joan van der Muehlen, another regular at the NAL, often visited Rhymes after the NAL's closing and helped facilitate the interview.

interpretations of the NAL as a place within segregated Chicago; and observations and interpretations of Freeman's performance practice and social interactions with them.

The themes that the interviewees explored for this chapter are similar to those explored with musicians in the previous chapter. Like musicians, audience members' interpretive moves (Feld 1984) addressed an affective dimension of interpretation—Freeman's outward personality and the structures of feeling surrounding his performance practice—and a scientific dimension of interpretation—theorizing of musical structure and knowledge (Coleman 2015). The audience participants, however, leaned heavily toward the affective dimension and did not speculate on musical theoretical principles. Rather, they theorized why Freeman meant so much to others, the ways Freeman drew them to him, and what his purposes were in performing, socializing, and teaching at the NAL.

Participant Roles

This chapter first discusses each individual's role and degree of participation in supporting Freeman and supporting the NAL. I compare the ways the interviewees actively performed their roles and explore why. By considering degrees of participation, we see that audience members are not passive recipients of musical performance, but active participants who provide necessary context for musical practice to thrive (Greenland 2016, 2). These scene participants exercise agency in various ways for particular reasons (3). Taken together with musicians' perspectives, their comments provide a holistic view of one node of the local scene, showing how musical events are co-authored and the kinds of agency audiences exercise in support of music-making (9). It's important to note, however, that support did not flow in one direction. Freeman also

offered support in several ways, showing how scene participation flows between performer and audience.

The degree and type of participation of these individuals as well as their experiences at the NAL were importantly shaped by their professions and the conditions surrounding their work. Williams would drive six miles from his home in Beverly to the NAL. He would often frequent the club, but because he owned a successful real estate business, he would not come every week since he occasionally had early appointments and taught classes in the evening. LaFave worked at her medical office every weekday, except Thursday, from 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. When going to the NAL, she would arrive around 9:00 p.m., the set would start around 10:00 p.m., she would leave the club about midnight or so, and then wake up at 6:00 a.m. and leave by 7:00 a.m. for work. LaFave attended every Tuesday, driving from her North Side home in the Lincoln Park neighborhood, about thirteen miles. Rhymes, during the thirty years she was the Tuesday evening bartender, worked five days a week from 6:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. as a chef in different Chicago Public School (CPS) cafeterias. On Tuesday evenings she drove three miles from her home in the Pill Hill neighborhood to start her shift at 6:00 p.m. and worked behind the bar alone with no breaks until 4:00 a.m. The working conditions of these participants demonstrate different degrees and forms of sacrifice and commitment to taking part in the musical and social activities at the NAL. Next is a discussion of these individuals' contributions to the scene as well as why they sacrificed their time to frequent the NAL and be part of Freeman's world.

"My Old Buddy": Chauffeur, Late-Night Eats, and Social Activism

Frank Williams often provided Freeman with rides to gigs. He frequently drove Freeman and vocalist Bettye Reynolds to Freeman's once-a-month gig at Andy's Jazz Club in the River North area through the 1990s and 2000s.[207] He would pick up Reynolds and Freeman around 8:00 p.m. to arrive in time for them to start at 9:30 p.m. and to perform two ninety-minute sets until 1:00 a.m. After the show, they would stop at a popular food stand, Jim's Original, located at Maxwell Street and Halsted Street, and would get home quite late.

> Saturday nights at Andy's was almost regular for me. Shit, I'd take me a nap in the afternoon because I knew I'm closing Andy's up, and drive them home. I remember one night I got down there and my car was towed because I parked on one of those spots and come out and the car ain't there and $125, whatever it was to go get it. (Williams 2018)

Williams sacrificed about seven hours of his Saturday evening, plus a nap in the afternoon, and risked parking infractions to help Freeman and Reynolds get to the North Side, play their gig, eat, and get home.

Williams also participated by sharing his powerful memory for song lyrics. He was explicit about not having musical ability but had extensive knowledge of jazz history. He collected numerous jazz records over several decades. The artists he referred to in our conversation included Chet Baker, Miles Davis, Fats Navarro, Yusef Lateef, Sonny Rollins, John Coltrane, and George Shearing. He also collected recordings of singers of popular music such as Jackie Wilson and Vic Damone as well as albums of orchestral works.[208] From his listening

[207] Andy's is located at 13 East Hubbard Street in an area of shopping centers, hotels, restaurants, and bars. It's a white-owned club with primarily a white clientele. Freeman worked a Friday and Saturday from 9:30 p.m. to 1am once a month from the early 1980s until April of 2011 when his health started to decline.

[208] He learned about symphonic and chamber music from a high school teacher who played classical records during their homeroom period. Williams told me that, at the time of our interview, that he had passed his entire vinyl collection to his grandson, about 1000 records.

habits—as a youth he listened to records every morning while getting ready for school and with friends after school—he developed the ability to remember song lyrics. Bettye Reynolds recognized this skill and told other singers on the scene, so when Williams attended a concert or went to a club, including the NAL, singers would ask him to sit in front to remind them of song lyrics in case they forgot a word or line.

When I asked Williams what he most remembered about Freeman, his immediate response was, "What meant a lot to me was his support of me. I mean, I didn't ask him." When Williams was president of the South Side chapter of the NAACP from 1979 to 1985, Freeman frequently volunteered his quartet for NAACP functions.

> We would have activities, yeah, he'd play. I mean, we would have some things…organizations are always begging for money…All of them, and I didn't even ask Von. Von came to me and said, "Man, I'll play" whatever it was. (Williams 2018)

Freeman paid his musicians out of pocket and earned a free NAACP membership. Freeman also volunteered his time to help fix up a building near Sixty-Third Street and State Street which became the South Side headquarters for the NAACP while Williams was president:

> We got that building in the early 80s…a bunch of volunteers would come in and do the tiling and painting and professionals would do plumbing and electricity, the roof and stuff…Many handy people would help us, and Von was very much involved, if you can imagine that. (Williams 2018)

Freeman supported Williams's campaigns for NAACP president as well. When Williams lost his final campaign in 1985, he used his connection with area realtors' organizations to help Freeman gain high-paying playing opportunities, mostly private functions.[209] For Williams, then, supporting Freeman was a reciprocal act driven by Freeman's past support of Williams's social and business activities.

[209] Williams was president of the Chicago Association of REALTORS® from 1989 to 1990.

"Docski": Groceries, Medicines, and Reeds

LaFave's role was more elaborate than Williams's in part because she attended the NAL every Tuesday and in part because of her profession. Like Williams, LaFave drove Freeman to gigs—to the Green Mill on the North Side and to different city-sponsored events like the Chicago Jazz Festival and concerts at city parks. When picking him up, she would call Freeman from her house to let him know she was on her way, and after arriving would wait in the car for him because Freeman warned her that the neighborhood was unsafe. On the way to gigs and on the way back, they would converse about family, personal matters, and events in the news.

Being a physician, LaFave actively fostered Freeman's well-being, particularly concerning Freeman's nutrition and rest during gigs. She commented that Freeman was a good chef when she first met him, evidenced by the barbeque he had contributed to parties they attended together. After reaching his eighties, she would bring groceries to the NAL, worried about Freeman and his brother George:

> I was getting concerned about his nutrition and who was getting him groceries…I was bringing things—Boost [nutritional drink], he liked fruit so I would bring a box of those cuties, the oranges. It's tough cooking for yourself and I don't know that George [Freeman's brother] cooked much. And he liked cereal too…I used to get him boxes of Wheaties. (LaFave 2019)

LaFave also tried to ensure that Freeman rested on set breaks since not all clubs were attentive to Freeman's age and physical needs:

> I was very good to make sure that when he came off the stage, there was somewhere for him to sit… The guy at the [Green] Mill was very good; he would get him a chair and he understood. Andy's not so much, they were in la-la land. I'd try to get a table fairly close to the stage so that he didn't have to walk very far to come off and be able to sit on his break because I wanted him to get some rest. (LaFave 2019)

LaFave also acted as Freeman's physician, so if he was feeling ill, she would bring him medicines or direct his care. One Tuesday evening at the NAL in 2008, Freeman, after soloing

on “My Funny Valentine,” suddenly asked for a chair and almost fainted.[210] The band stopped the performance and LaFave rushed to the stage to check on him. He was in a daze, so she called an ambulance and accompanied him to nearby South Shore Hospital. There she directed hospital staff to administer a set of tests, which showed no signs of bad health except that his blood sugar was low from not having dinner that day (LaFave 2019).[211]

LaFave also supported Freeman’s musical practice in two important ways.[212] First, since she worked in Skokie, she would purchase saxophone reeds for him at PM Woodwinds, a popular saxophone shop in neighboring Evanston where Freeman liked to get his reeds, twenty-two miles North of Freeman’s home. She was knowledgeable of the types of reeds Freeman liked and his habits with reeds:

> Vonski would change reeds like nobody’s business. For a while he’d be on Vandorens then he’d change to something else and he’d tell me what color box he wanted. (LaFave 2019)

Second, LaFave tape recorded almost every week at the NAL. She started recording in the 1990s because she observed that Freeman seemed to be at his most creative at the NAL. LaFave kept a cassette recorder at the bar during his performance after asking Freeman for his permission. He would phone her at times for her to play the recording to him, he would listen over the phone and make comments (LaFave 2019).

---

[210] “My Funny Valentine” is a popular standard from the 1937 musical *Babes in Arms* by Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart.

[211] LaFave has also supported other NAL patrons, including musicians by supplying medicine or health advice. She has been my primary care doctor since 1996.

[212] LaFave also commented that she had always wanted to administer a pulmonary test to see Freeman’s lung strength, since the saxophone is a physically demanding instrument. She speculated that Freeman’s lungs were extremely strong, “would have been off the charts.”

In supporting Freeman, LaFave provided transportation, sustained instrument maintenance, and afforded opportunities for musical reflection. Williams and LaFave offered similar and different types of commitment toward Freeman that helped him sustain his work and aspects of his practice. Driving Freeman cost time and sleep, but also helped him get to his job, cultivated closer relationships, and made sure he got home safely (LaFave 2019). Williams offered support as a reciprocal act from Freeman's past support of the NAACP, and LaFave offered support through her professional expertise. They were both interested in Freeman's musical practice, thus support for him was an active form of participation in sustaining his artistry.

"Weezie": Labor, Agency, and Compassion

Elouise Rhyme's contributions were more complex due to role as the club's bartender. On Tuesdays after working her shift at CPS cafeterias, Rhymes went home to rest and eat before going to start her bartending shift at 6:00 p.m. She worked until 4:00 a.m., returned home to change and arrived for her Wednesday morning CPS shift at 6:00 a.m. Rhymes commented on her grueling schedule, "those two jobs were kicking my ass at one time. Getting up and going to one job, no sleep." She made clear that even though this schedule was exhausting, the reason she worked Tuesday night was because of Freeman, the regulars, and the tips she earned.

As the NAL bartender (see figure 26), Rhymes negotiated relationships among patrons, ownership, and Freeman. She also acted as security for the club, where she would be stern with patrons while at the same time demonstrating compassion toward those with drinking problems, with mental health issues, and with homeless individuals that came in during the winter months. Managing both the social environment and the business transactions of the NAL demonstrates

both the power she held as the NAL bartender and the limitations to that power in relation to regular and infrequent customers and to the owner Mr. Barnes, highlighting how Rhymes exercised her agency and negotiated the constraints that limited her actions.

Figure 26: Elouise "Weezie" Rhymes working at the New Apartment Lounge, 2008. Photo courtesy of Michael Jackson.

The social conditions surrounding the NAL shaped how Rhymes presented herself and conducted business behind the bar—a strong and confident bartender who could stand up for herself. She parked her car to be visible while she worked because cars were occasionally stolen

or broken into (Rhymes 2018).[213] When customers would sit at the bar, Rhymes was deliberate and slow when checking IDs and serving drinks, particularly when the person was not a regular customer. Over the last five or six years of the NAL, the owner hired a bouncer, but for the previous twenty-five years, Rhymes acted as security. Rhymes was about five feet tall and weighed around 100 pounds, which was more reason to take a stern stance, usually displayed through the strategic use of profanity. She felt, however, that the regular customers understood that she was putting on an act, "they knew I didn't mean shit, though. I cussed them all out" (Rhymes 2018). When she encountered trouble, she had a baseball bat in case she needed to defend herself:

> I just try to get them to back off of you. But if they come up on me, if they force me to, I got to. But I'm hoping that they don't because I know if I hit them, I got to hit them good. (Rhymes 2018)

She suggested, though, that violence was never an answer and usually ended with jail time. Anger and violence were not compatible:

> I didn't have no pistol. I get mad enough to shoot somebody, shit, and be sorry about it the next day? No, no [laughing]. You do things when you're mad and…talking about sorry don't get you shit. (Rhymes 2018)

At times, she would have to yell at customers drinking at the bar or even throw out customers for selling goods such as DVDs, jewelry, or sex.

Rhymes set rules for customers who sat at the NAL bar. One rule she regularly enforced was that they had to spend money and drink. The band's salary had to be paid and she needed to earn her tips, so she would not allow anyone to sit at the bar and order a water:

[213] One of the regulars used to ask, "who's watching the car?" to Freeman as a humorous comment on the likelihood of robbery near the NAL. Over twenty years, my car was never robbed, but there were incidents involving cars of some customers and musicians.

> What you want with water? I don't serve no water. I don't serve no water unless it's accompanied by a drink…Shit, I got to pay this band. (Rhymes 2018)

If the customer wanted water, she would send them to the bathroom:

> Go in the bathroom and get it…What's wrong with bathroom water? You wash your hands with it. I ain't got time to serve no water. [imitating voice of customer] "I'll give you fifty cents." Well, I don't want no fifty cents. Go get your water out of the bathroom. (Rhymes 2018)

Rhymes, in the last few years the NAL operated, started to purchase bottled water with her own money not only to serve customers and earn a profit, but also because she was sympathetic to customers who did not drink and made the effort to come to the club:

> I started buying the bottled water because I couldn't sell them no faucet water. I don't mind a person saying they can't drink nothing, you can't drink. And they want to be out, if you want to be out, you gotta do something. (Rhymes 2018)

While exercising control over the bar, Rhymes cultivated relationships with bar patrons. Her regular customers bought drinks and tipped her well. Rhymes jokingly called the back area of the bar, farthest from the stage, the "back of the bus," an area she reserved for her preferred regulars, where she felt were "the best seats in the house" which were on the opposite side of the bar's entrance and had a direct sight line to the stage:

> That's what I named it, the back of the bus for a lot of old retired men—Bob Hall, Joe Grand Prix. There was about seven to eight of them...In the daytime, nobody is taking them seats. I put those seats in time for them to get off work at five o'clock. If somebody says, "who sitting here?" Customers. "I don't see no costumers." Customers. (Rhymes 2018)

Another rule she enforced was customers who came in could not sit in the regulars' seats. She would direct people to other areas of the bar, even if the regulars had not yet arrived, because these men, who came early and left before Freeman started his set, were her best tippers. Later in the evening, she would hold the same seats for Freeman's regulars which included LaFave, Teddy Thomas, and Margaret Murphy-Webb.

She developed personal relationships among the regulars and learned about their lives. One regular named Graham lived around the corner from the NAL and would converse with Rhymes, "He was regular. I like to have my buddy…come and keep me company all day until it starts getting crowded." Another regular, John Hall, was a retired postal worker who wore a dress shirt, tie, and bucket hat, would watch the news as the band set up, and would often claim to be able to do 150 pushups consecutively. Bob Cary, a white web developer, liked to eat peanut shells to extend longevity. One woman who came in often, named Mickey, would talk to herself and tell patrons she was Freeman's wife (Freeman 2000). She was a regular who Rhymes permitted to sit at the bar because she felt the woman was suffering from mental illness. In cultivating these relationships, Rhymes provided a sense of community for the customers, what LaFave described as "a little family get together" every week (LaFave 2019).

Rhymes, however, endured patrons who were aggressive and unpleasant. The NAL was the only bar in the neighborhood with a 4:00 a.m. license, so the club would come to be packed around 2:00 a.m. Freeman used to describe this time as the "bewitching hour," when a more aggressive and younger crowd would fill up the club and order drinks, at times causing chaos for Rhymes. She characterized these individuals as "crazy ass folks," and would use more aggressive tactics with them (Rhymes 2018). During the bewitching hour, female sex workers occasionally procured customers and Rhymes would demand that they leave, "I got them out of there. It's my night to hustle. They all got to hustle down to the next corner." The customers at this hour would occasionally become so difficult that Rhymes would smoke marijuana or drink whiskey to alleviate the pressure.

In the chaos that could ensue, Rhymes showed compassion for particular club patrons. She viewed many of her customers as lonely people just looking for a place to socialize. She

took note that during the winter, several patrons were homeless and looking for a warm place to sit and have a drink. She would give them a free beer and would tell them to stand away from the bar. She explained:

> I let them stay inside for a while and give them some warmth. Yep. That would be me. I'd give them a beer and tell them "you go on over there, now. Don't be bothering nobody. And I'll buy another beer." They are just trying to get out that cold…Sometimes I'd give them a dollar or two. And they probably go around the corner and get a bottle of wine. (Rhymes 2018)

She empathized with the homeless that came in, but they could not interfere with her pursuit of tips:

> Them poor folks, they were just looking for some place to go. Just like everybody else. But I'm looking to try and make some money [laughing]. (Rhymes 2018)

While managing a host of regular, aggressive, and homeless customers, she also had to negotiate an exploitative relationship with the owner. Mr. Barnes paid Rhymes poorly, prompting her to earn as much as she could in tips. When she asked Barnes to install Diet Coke in the soda fountain, he refused, so she took money from the cash register without his knowledge and bought two-liter bottles from the grocery store to sell at the NAL (Rhymes 2018). She also saw that Barnes paid Freeman poorly, so she would occasionally slip Freeman and his musicians a free drink. She clearly understood that Barnes exploited all of his employees and was tight with his money:

> He wasn't paying none of us right. Shit, he had plenty of money to pay us right. I mean I don't get all the tips; you know I didn't do that. But shit, we deserved something. We were working. (Rhymes 2018)

Though Barnes paid poorly, Rhymes made sure to share the tips with the bartender in the orange room.

Rhymes characterized her relationship with Freeman as amiable, good for business, and one where she would concern over his health. She liked Freeman when he first started at the NAL in the early 1980s because he brought in business. "He helped me make some good money. I appreciated it, too." The two of them had a routine at the NAL. When Freeman arrived, he would yell to Rhymes, "Weezie, fix me up, baby," and she would yell back while serving other customers "Yes, Vonski," serve him a vodka. Freeman would reply "Aw, Weezie, you're beautiful" and continue to set up his saxophone. Once the jam session started, Rhymes understood that Freeman was done playing for the night and that he would want more to drink:

> I'd try my best to work the other end of the bar because I know every time I'd go back down there, he want me to fix him up again…I just got through fixing him up. And shit, he'd see me coming and he'd say, "Help me baby, because you're going to be down there for a while more. Fix me up with a taste." Lord have mercy. That man don't know when to quit. Bless his heart. (Rhymes 2018)

From this account from Rhymes's interview, we see a black woman bartender who on one hand labored under an exploitative relationship with the club's owner and on the other hand, exercised empowering and creative agency (Collins 2000, 48). She controlled the setting through the strategic use of profanity, a strong and confident presence behind the bar, and set rules for who could sit at the bar and where. At the same time, she worked long hours with little sleep, no breaks, and no assistance. In the next section, I draw connections between her thoughts and actions to show how her grueling service work, while exploitative, afforded empowerment and creative action which I argue that one might understand Rhymes through a black feminist epistemology (Collins 2000, 251) which in part supported the artistry and social interactions practiced at the club (32, 48).

Black Feminist Bartender

Patricia Hill Collins theorizes black feminist thought as, among other points, a collective standpoint among black women that makes important connections between everyday experiences and thoughtful reflection (2000, 28–32). Collins argues that while black women's work can be demeaning, it also can be empowering and creative (48). For example, exploitative wages earned from bartending and used for the benefit of one's family represents such work (48). Collins formulates four components that comprise a black feminist epistemology—lived experience as a bridge between knowledge and wisdom; dialogue with others as a tool of connectedness; an ethic of caring which allows for personal expression, emotions during dialogue, and empathy; and an ethic of personal accountability that evaluates individual character, values, and ethics. These four concepts, which overlap and are emphasized at different degrees in different situations, are productive concepts for thinking about Rhymes's role at the NAL. Reviewing her experiences through this lens reveals how she supported Freeman's role as a contact intermediary and how she helped shape the ritualized activity surrounding Freeman's performances through her subjectivity.

Rhymes applied lived experience to her actions. Cars were often broken into outside the NAL, so she parked the car so that it was visible for the bar. When serving customers, she was suspicious of IDs and served customers slowly because of fake IDs and problematic customers in the past. She also understood from experience that violence could break out with people drinking, so she put on an air of confidence, used profanity, and had a weapon to defend herself. Rhymes also dialogued with patrons to connect with regulars through talking about mundane topics, discussing current events, and listening to them speak about their lives and problems.

Her actions also reveal that she practiced an ethics of caring. She saved seats for her regulars so she could socialize with them. She accommodated customers who could not drink by bringing water and Diet Coke to sell to them. She cared for Freeman's health by staying at the opposite end of the bar to restrain his alcohol intake. She also empathized with customers who were homeless by letting them stay in the club if it was a cold night, an empathy that was reflexive:

> You never know what shape a person is in. You don't never know what shape you're gonna be in before you get out of here. I look at people talk about people because they homeless and stuff. But shit, that could be you homeless. No guarantee…it could be me tomorrow. (Rhymes 2018)

Finally, she displayed an ethic of personal accountability by kicking out customers, such as prostitutes and people selling goods, and threatening aggressive customers, all of whom she felt were of low character.

Rhymes's actions helped to establish the setting for the ritualized activities surrounding musical performance and for Freeman's practice of mediating contact between differently positioned musicians and audiences who were in close proximity in the small space of the club. The ways she served customers, conversed with regulars, and kicked people out were part of the internal dynamics of the club. For example, if a musician wanted to sit at the bar and could not afford a drink, as was the case with saxophonist Greg Ward, she would enforce her rule of having to purchase a drink, make the musician move away from the bar, and would not even serve water to the musician (Ward 2018).

Through her interactions with Freeman, Rhymes also supported his role as a contact intermediary at the NAL. In Chapter 4, I argued that the ways Freeman verbally interacted with audiences was one way he mediated contact between the diverse patrons in the club on any given

night. Freeman and Rhymes would often communicate from a distance but within earshot of the customers, she behind the bar and Freeman setting up near the stage. They were compelled, therefore, to speak to each other at a higher volume which most customers would observe. The back-and-forth of Freeman asking for his "taste," Rhymes serving him and conversing with him, and both of them using respective nicknames (Weezie, Vonski) are examples of playful speech they utilized that helped shape the ritualized activity of the evening.

Rhymes's presence made a lasting impression among NAL patrons.[214] From her everyday experiences at the club and in other dimensions of her day-to-day work, she theorized that less fortunate patrons deserved compassion, how to serve and interact with regular customers, why violence did not work as a tool to enforce control over the bar, and what she needed to do to meet the material needs for her family. Collins discusses how black women have theorized about the conditions of their oppression from a collective standpoint that is characterized by common challenges (2000, 28). She describes different types of service labor from slavery to domestic labor to government service positions which have provided the everyday experiences that support this common perspective; however, she does not indicate bartending (46–48). In jazz studies, Harry A. Reed's concept of the "black jazz bar" (1979), which Arthur C. Cromwell extends in his study of black jazz bars in Chicago (1998), examines the important role small black drinking establishments have historically played in being training grounds for young black players, however neither explore the contributions of black women bartenders.[215] Rhymes

[214] Freeman once told Rhymes, "Weezie, you know you're worldwide famous, don't you?" (Rhymes 2018). This statement was validated during my fieldwork in Amsterdam as many of my interlocuters wanted to know more about the "crazy bartender" who worked at the NAL (Baars 2017; Moore 2017).

[215] For further discussions on the role of bartenders in local black culture, see (Keil 1966; Anderson 2003; Wilson 2018).

shaped the ritualized activities that surround musical practices through her performance as "tough" bartender, empathy for homeless customers, and the control she exercised behind the bar. Her example contributes understanding of the distinctive and potential ways that black women bartenders through experience-based wisdom contribute to shaping cultural practices and social life.

NAL and the Vibe of Place

As has been argued in the previous chapters, places shape musical experience in important ways. Associations people make with place (racial, gender, class, etc.) shape how people engage with others and what is possible socially and musically. How audiences interpreted the NAL as meaningful place—its *vibe*—is important for understanding how they contributed to music-making and participated in processes of ritualization.[216] What follows is an analysis of how interviewees interpreted vibe at the NAL in order to tease out the spatial meanings surrounding their experiences.

As I note in Chapter 1, Timuel Black argues that jazz clubs served important functions for community cohesion (2019). Frank Williams agreed with Black, remembering jazz clubs carried a particular social capital when he was in his twenties. He would want to "tell folks" that he went to a particular club, such as going to popular night spot such as the London House (Williams 2018). In later years, he became more interested in Freeman and the community at the NAL than going to popular spots to catch celebrated acts. For LaFave, the NAL provided a place

[216] I use vibe in this chapter similar to the way musicians spoke of vibe in Chapter 5 as place and the intersection of Freeman's affective and scientific dimensions, however, none of audience interviewees used the term.

for building community. As she developed friendships with Rhymes, Teddy Thomas, Margaret Murphy-Webb, and others, they learned about each other and kept up with each other's lives. LaFave specifically referred to how the NAL kept everyone "in the loop," and since being out of touch, she has missed major events in friend's lives (LaFave 2019).

The participants described three ways that the NAL manifested vibe. One component was the "cast of characters" who frequented often (LaFave 2019).[217] Sometimes people would sell items like dresses, shoes, or cologne. Specific characters that help define the NAL for LaFave included the "book seller" from whom regular Bob Cary would purchase books, and an African American man who called himself "The Führer" who would wear army fatigues, pace around the club, and tell others that he was from Germany. The "characters" would occasionally interact with Freeman who would ignore, buy items they were selling, or as seen with Greg Ward in the previous chapter, physically escort them out of the club.

A second aspect was surprise. LaFave remarked that "you never knew what was going to happen…you never knew who was going to show up." This was one aspect that attracted Williams to the NAL, particularly celebrated musicians who dropped by for the jam session or to pay their regards to Freeman, such as trumpeter Roy Hargrove (Williams 2018). Tourists from the U.S. or other countries who were jazz aficionados would also visit. It was "the randomness of who would show up," including the "cast of characters," made each week a distinctive experience for LaFave.

[217] One patron who frequented often with whom I interacted was "The Colonel," an African American Vietnam war veteran who would tell me "stand tall, soldier," and expect me to salute him, then ask me what I was drinking, and would tell me about his war experiences.

A third component of vibe was Rhymes's presence at the NAL. Among all my interlocutors the consensus was that Rhymes was, as she put it, "tough as nails" (Rhymes 2018). Participants portrayed Rhymes as intimidating (Raynor 2017), as lively and humorous (Murphy-Webb 2017), and, as LaFave described her, "a trip" (LaFave 2019). Aside from kicking people out and defending herself from aggressive customers, Rhymes would also help tourists to find their way to the club. LaFave recounted how Rhymes would answer the phone behind the bar to give directions to American or international tourists who were lodging on the North Side and would take a cab to the NAL.[218] After Freeman's performance, when tourists wanted to return, Rhymes would have to call a cab for them, which at times was difficult because there were not many cabs available late on a Tuesday evening. Even for Rhymes there was a unique quality to the NAL that manifested through the specific clientele who came on Tuesday nights:

> Jazz places, they weren't like the blues places. Them blues places, especially in Chicago back then, they stayed jammed pack. Jazz was something different, especially to blacks. And especially them southerners, they cling to that blues stuff. (Rhymes 2018)

The NAL afforded a particular representation for LaFave and Williams, one of a singular place that attracted distinct individuals who shaped each visit. Also, for Rhymes, it was a particular type of place that attracted a particular type of African American audience that was different to what she experienced in blues clubs. Their collective participation in supporting and sustaining the musical culture at the NAL was also shaped by the vibe that was produced through the flows of diverse individuals to and from the club. With components of the NAL environment in view, the analysis now looks at audience participants' interpretations of Freeman's social interactions and musical practice.

[218] LaFave noted that at times tourists would have trouble getting a cab because some cab drivers would not travel to the South Side.

Vonski's Agencies

As each participant contributed in individual ways to supporting the NAL, they also interacted with Freeman. In their recollections of those interactions, they reflected on Freeman's social and musical agency. They made observations of his musical practice and reflected on his role as a mentor. This section first examines what participants had to say about their experiences of interacting with Freeman which addresses why they kept returning to the NAL. Next, the discussion analyzes interviewees' observations of Freeman's social agency and constraints on that agency; observations about how Freeman pursued his musical practice and constraints he faced; and observations of Freeman's pedagogy. Interviewees' statements touch on similar characteristics that musicians associated with Freeman in Chapter 4—fortitude, everydayness, vastness, and magnanimity, with Freeman's everydayness being a particularly meaningful trait.

In Chapter 4, Kurt Elling described a "magnetism" about Freeman that kept people returning to the NAL. Rhymes chose to work Tuesdays because of the good business that came in because of Freeman. LaFave and Williams were not required to be there but chose to. Their recollections expressed why Freeman generated the attraction of which Elling portrayed. For Williams, it was Freeman's genuineness, as "what you see is what you get." Williams felt that he and Freeman "could relate." He described Freeman as "one of the greatest politicians in music" (Williams 2018). Freeman knew how to communicate with people, but, in Williams's view, Freeman charmed people which kept them coming back. Like in his real estate practice, Williams speculated that Freeman was aware of how this practice kept business flowing (ibid.). For instance, when Williams would frequent the NAL in the 1980s, Freeman would notice Williams and then introduce him over the microphone as "the president of the NAACP, my old buddy" which Williams described as "you know, all that bullshit." Williams understood

Freeman's interactions as a purposeful way of attracting and keeping customers, but he perceived an everydayness that kept him returning to the NAL.

Figure 27: Von Freeman blows out candles for his eighty-seventh birthday celebration at the New Apartment Lounge on October 5, 2010. Laura LaFave, on the right, provided the birthday cake. Photo courtesy of Michael Jackson.

LaFave's reasons for coming every week focused on the ways Freeman shaped the social life at the NAL through their conversations and how she could forget about her job. LaFave reflected on Freeman's social demeanor by noting how he made people feel welcome and important. He remembered people's names and always praised young musicians. There was also a practical aspect to Freeman's appeal for LaFave because he was in his seventies when she met him, so he could have passed away at any time. Furthermore, Freeman did not often perform in

other venues, so the NAL was the one place to see him regularly (see figure 27). The stresses of LaFave's profession also drove her to frequent Tuesday evenings:

> "I looked forward to Tuesday nights. It was a stress release—my job is quite stressful, and you could just go there and listen to music…There were times where you just felt you were transported." (LaFave 2018)

Both Williams and LaFave had particular reasons that drove them to participate in Freeman's life and his music at the NAL. The next section addresses how as audience participants they interpreted Freeman's actions.

Social Agency

Many of the reasons LaFave and Williams gave to account for Freeman's appeal are related to interpretations of Freeman's social agency that address questions of how and why he interacted with others as he did. They noticed his compassion, such as giving money to homeless or people suffering with drug addiction or buying items that he did not need from someone selling goods in the NAL. Magnanimous traits that audience participants and musicians associated with Freeman are summed up in a set of rhetorical questions posed by LaFave:

> As a person, I liked Vonski. Music aside, he was just a wonderful personality. Who doesn't like Vonski? Did you ever say to somebody "I don't like that guy?" He would tell me stories about musicians that he thought were kind of mean and nasty. But would anybody ever say that about Vonski? I don't think so. (LaFave 2019)

LaFave also interpreted Freeman as being decisive, as contributing to the local neighborhood and culture with his performances, and as needing the social and musical freedom afforded at the NAL. For LaFave, Freeman was resolute with decision making: "He had a will of steel." For instance, she observed him in his eighties give up drinking because his body was physically weaker. His sense of purpose was strong, he did what we wanted. Freeman performed

at the NAL because, as LaFave interpreted, he wanted to bring business to a South Side venue and help young musicians. Also, the club afforded musical freedom—he could perform as long or as little as he wanted with repertoire he chose without restrictions:

> Part of the South Side charm was that he could be himself. What better thing that to see a musician be able to do what they want. The freedom, that was so empowering to be able to play your music how you want it for how long you want it. You can play one song for two hours if you wanted. Nobody could say to him "no." To him, that meant a lot. (LaFave 2019)

For LaFave, there was an authentic practice of community engagement and musical expression with Freeman at the NAL. Her interpretations noted spatial difference (thus, racial difference), that the South Side had a "charm," suggesting something that Freeman and NAL audiences would not experience on the North Side. That Freeman had "freedom" to perform how he wished also implies that the black space of the NAL afforded Freeman an environment where he could deeply engage his improvisational practices.

Musical Agency

Freeman's agency as an artist and mentor was an important dimension of LaFave's interpretations. Reflecting on her musical training when she was in her youth, she was impressed with Freeman's practice—he performed without notated music, called tunes in any key, and stood for the entire performance while in his seventies and eighties. She also noted his engagement with "inside" and "outside" improvisational practices, conceptualizing Freeman as a hybrid of practices:

> I like melody, I think it's human nature…Not that you don't like other things, but I think almost everybody likes melody. So Vonski could play out there, squeaks and squawks and all this other stuff and then he'd drift into the melody and then he'd play that for awhile and then he might go out again. It's that combination I found that appealing. (LaFave 2019)

LaFave was attentive to Freeman's musical language using a container metaphor to understand his artistry (Lakoff and Johnson 2003, 29; Such 1993, 107; Borgo 2005, 45).[219] She noted this combination and made connections with particular songs he performed:

> You know how Vonski was, he'd go off somewhere starting a song. We'd all be in back of the Lounge going "What song do you think this is?" because he'd just start, as Vonski would say "I'm going out there." And we'd all be sitting in the back of the New Apartment Lounge going "what song is that?" When we didn't know, the standard answer was "Summertime" [laughing]…He'd be playing some outside music and then he'd finally come to the melody and it would be "Summertime." (LaFave 2019)

LaFave thought of Freeman as a hybrid of different improvisational practices and fluent in multiple styles, thus informing a notion that Freeman could do anything and attributing vastness to his practice. She was attentive to his improvisational language and was aware of the "rawness" of which Ward spoke. Though she did not conceptualize in musical theoretical terms, she was mindful of components of Freeman's artistry.

Indeed, Freeman conversed with LaFave about his skills, once telling her "I have finally mastered the saxophone" (LaFave 2019). For LaFave, this statement showed that Freeman was of a higher level of musician. He explained to her his method of practicing away from the saxophone:

> He would run solos in his mind and not actually play it, or he might do this [imitates fingering a saxophone] and not put air through the horn. Or in his mind or the piano. I don't think actually played out loud a lot at home. (LaFave 2019)

[219] "Inside" and "outside" is commonly used among jazz players as a conceptual tool. In ethnomusicology, David G. Such (1993) discusses the use of inside and outside as descriptive of improvisational practices from an ethnographic perspective, whereas David Borgo (2005) uses theories from cognitive science.

LaFave noted, however, that this freedom of expression that Freeman displayed at the NAL would be constrained at North Side venues. For example, at Andy's on the North Side he would not perform one song for half an hour as he did at the NAL, or play "outside." LaFave also noted a difference when Freeman engaged with crowds in South Side or North Side clubs. She concluded, "he knew where he was." She also observed that he felt constrained on the radio, in the recording studio, or in other non-South Side contexts. Noting how Freeman endured constraints through changes in his practice further enhanced the idea for her that the NAL was a place of expressive freedom for Freeman, thus noting the relationality of place. His actions reveal how racial differences embodied in place constrained or empowered his performance practice.

LaFave demonstrates that she was not a passive listener. She observed, drew conclusions about his music and intentions, and, over time, theorized how musicians engaged in the different dimensions of their musical practice and the reasons they do what they do. Another form of agency that LaFave and Williams reflected upon was Freeman's pedagogy. Thinking about his practice while socializing at the bar led to observations of his interactions with the horses as well as observing them at the jam session. Furthermore, LaFave and Williams witnessed change—several horses improved and went on to professional careers.[220] The next section examines the ways they understood how and why Freeman mentored young players.

[220] LaFave and Williams would have witnessed the transformation from horse to professional with musicians such as me, trumpeter Marquis Hill, saxophonist Caroline Davis, drummer Makaya McCraven, and trumpeter Maurice Brown, among others.

Interpreting Pedagogy

As theorized in Chapter 4, Freeman did not have a formalized teaching method, but co-produced an interpretive pedagogy with young players that afforded an expanded musical consciousness without direct intervention by the teacher, rather active interpretive moves by the student (Freire 2000, Feld 1984). LaFave and Williams both noted that musicians were learning from Freeman and that horses improved. This section asks how they understood Freeman's pedagogy if he did not explicitly teach and horses' learning was an interpretive practice.

Both LaFave and Williams found the experience of the horses as important legacy work. Williams thought of Freeman and the NAL as the "hallowed halls of the university of Vonski," clearly understanding the NAL as a training ground for musicians for the purpose of sustaining the music (Williams 2018). He noted particular vocalists and instrumentalists that he had seen perform at the jam session who would go on to professional careers. Watching young performers appealed to Williams as he found it valuable for elders to teach young professionals of any trade, including in his profession (Williams 2018). LaFave explained, "I liked to hear the horses—I thought that was a great service that he was doing for musicians to let them play." Furthermore, he wanted them to have the opportunity to feel the freedom he experienced as an artist. In fact, LaFave understood Freeman's drive to continue the NAL was in part to teach young performers and give them a space to perform what they wanted within the constraints that he set. LaFave observed that Freeman expected horses to have basic competence such as building repertoire and cultivating some level of instrumental technique. Furthermore, LaFave saw Freeman encourage them, "he didn't belittle them," honestly wanting them to succeed (LaFave 2019).

There was more to learn from Freeman than just musical practice:

> Just listen to Vonski—not just about music, how to deal with people, how to deal with a band, how to run a band, musicians, how to deal with them, how to deal with a crowd. Vonski was a master at dealing with a crowd. (LaFave 2019)

Horses could observe how to do business, emulate Freeman's capacity to be a "politician" on the microphone, and learn to connect to their audiences. Thus, Freeman went beyond musical processes and demonstrated life skills to the horses. LaFave felt that Freeman was methodical in everything that he did, and that included teaching horses.

Freeman's pedagogy, however, did not extend only to horses and vocalists, but also reached audience participants. LaFave learned about musical practices and history from going to the NAL, "Vonski was my education" (LaFave 2019). Witnessing social and musical activities at the NAL and interacting with Freeman were educational experiences toward the music. As discussed in Chapter 4, storytelling was an important mode of knowledge transmission for Freeman. She commented, "I liked listening to his stories. Vonski was a great storyteller" (LaFave 2019). He often taught LaFave about local cultural history through stories about his career such as working with Sun Ra and in Calumet City strip clubs. These moments of storytelling are examples of how LaFave and others participated in reminiscence work that is a sustaining activity for the elderly, a way of participating in processes of life review (Mullen 1992).

LaFave and Williams observed and theorized to different degrees Freeman's role as a mentor. They saw him as purposefully educating young players through providing the jam session, encouraging horses who were at different levels of skill, and being an example musically and socially of how to be a professional. He also told stories to audience participants while standing with them at the bar, which brought audiences into his artistic world, possibly as part of his program of connecting with audiences, an important element of Freeman's practice that

musicians observed in Chapter 4. The ways audience participants interpreted Freeman's actions as a mentor support Steve Coleman's notion that Freeman functioned as a window into musical, social, and historical worlds for both audiences and musicians (Coleman 2015).

Musicians and Audiences Co-Authoring Performance at the NAL

The themes culled from musician interview data included Freeman as vast and ordinary, as displaying fortitude and magnanimity, all of which came together through the vibe of the NAL and of his performance and produced mutual cultural and social sustenance. Steve Coleman theorized how interpretations of Freeman were of an affective or scientific dimension—comments on Freeman's personality and structure of feeling surrounding his improvisations or speculation about Freeman's musical theoretical processes. Audience regulars also noted similar personal traits and theorized Freeman's musical practice, though not in the same theoretical terms that musicians might use. Musicians listened to Freeman's improvisations and interpreted his musical and social actions in terms of their own musical processes and personal artistry. They also supported Freeman and the NAL by being there to play at the jam session and buying drinks at the club. Audiences supported Freeman through being at the club, listening to his performances and stories, driving him to gigs, and caring for his well-being. Furthermore, both audience participants and musicians listened to Freeman tell stories, which functioned as knowledge transmission but also supported Freeman's mental health. Reminiscence work, "the process, the social interactions, and the changes brought about by engaging in remembering" has positive effects for the elderly (Bornat 2011, 202). Thus, Freeman's improvisational practice and storytelling functioned as important elements of the life review process that maintains identity

and connect with others (Mullen 1992, 18-19), with audience participants and musicians sustaining Freeman in this process.

Freeman correspondingly supported musicians and audiences. For musicians he provided a window into African American cultural history through performance and storytelling, he mentored young musicians in an informal but purposeful manner, and he encouraged horses through kind and harsh speech. For audiences, he catalyzed friendship networks, supported social causes, and socially connected with them through his contact languages on stage and during social interactions at the bar. All of these interpretations demonstrate the extent to which Freeman was a contact intermediary. He mediated contact between musicians and audience regulars, people of different social backgrounds, and social engagements of race and gender through artistic, social, and pedagogical languages. Furthermore, this mutual support was crucial for Freeman, as evidenced by his swift decline in health after the club closed due to city building code violations in January 2011. LaFave argued that losing the gig, not interacting with the social environment, and not going out of the house most likely contributed to weakening his health, which is "hard to recoup at that age. When you stop doing something, it's hard to get it back. Your muscles atrophy, your stamina goes down fast" (LaFave 2019). Comparing musician and audience interpretations illuminates the musical and social processes that surrounded the NAL scene as well as the actions of Freeman, Rhymes, the horses, and other audience participants and how those process sustained different types of intervention and reception of mutual support among all scene participants.

In sum, musicians and audiences look back at Freeman and use him in the present in different ways. Musicians use their experiences from the NAL to shape present musical practice and musical directions. Audience regulars see their past with Freeman as meaningful social

action. Both musicians and audience participants look nostalgically upon the NAL and Freeman, all mentioning how they continue to feel the loss of Freeman and the NAL. To read nostalgia, Svetlana Boym writes “one needs a dual archeology of memory and of place, and a dual history of illusions and actual practices” (Boym 2008, xviii). Chapters 4 and 5 excavate memory through stories of place to offer a history and analysis of diverse interpretations and the musical and social practices that scene participants enacted. The case study of Von Freeman and the New Apartment Lounge points to the details of how musicians and audiences potentially co-produce the contexts in which scene participants develop, reproduce, and transform the musical and social practices of urban music scenes.

Epilogue

> Nobody really has an answer for whether it's going to be heaven on earth—that's still a mystery. And if there's going to be heaven on earth, there's going to be jazz musicians.
>
> —Von Freeman, 2000

Sitting in my car in front of the former site of the New Apartment Lounge, George Freeman tells me a story about a time when he went to the club to hear saxophonist Gene Ammons and Sonny Stitt perform in 1969 shortly after Ammons had been released from prison, and after the show, Ammons hired him. Freeman then requested I head east and as we approached Stony Island Avenue, the following exchange took place (Freeman 2014c):

> GF: You're going to turn left on Stony Island. I'll show you Cadillac Bob's where all the great singers and Cadillac Bob, he'd book you in there…that was during the time when you'd go in there and stay two or three months. *[Twenty second silence]* They'd be working weekends. What is this here?
>
> MA: Stony Island.
>
> GF: This is Seventy-Fifth isn't it?
>
> MA: Yeah. You want to go to Seventy-First?
>
> GF: It is on Seventy-First Street. It's called the Toast of the Town.
>
> MA: What was?
>
> GF: The joint we goin' to now.

We pass the Nation of Islam's Mosque Maryam and pull up to Seventy-First Street to wait for a commuter train:

MA: There's a train coming.

GF: *[pointing west]* I used to go over there to the train and smoke reefer. Yes, we did.

MA: Go hang out by the train and smoke reefer? *[laughing]*

GF: Yeah, they would go up there and smoke reefer and go on back to the club. And play their butts off.

MA: It's the Metra over here?

GF: Yeah. Can you hear it coming? Hear the bells? *[Twenty-two second silence]* This was a great place.

MA: Were there a lot of clubs down this way?

GF: No.

MA: Just this one place?

GF: Yeah, that one place there. He had the Gene Ammons foundation upstairs.

MA: The Gene Ammons foundation?

GF: They had got connection to get funding. You know, you make a grant out of something and get funded for that. He had the Gene Ammons foundation of upstairs. He got lots of money out of it. Cadillac Bob was smart.

MA: What was the Gene Ammons foundation? What was its function?

GF: The function was, he never did use it, he just got the money. The function was to have a place where people could come to play and jam.

MA: Was this when Gene was still alive or was this after he passed?

GF: No, after he passed.

MA: Where was the club?

GF: Right there.

Freeman points to the west side of Stony Island Avenue and I make a U-turn and park, about four buildings north of Seventy-First Street:

MA: So, he started the Gene Ammons Foundation after Gene passed.

GF: Yeah, of course. That's how he got the foundation going.

MA: And was it kind of a remembering?

GF: Yeah. And then, again, he was supposed to apply to musicians to come upstairs and jam and play, that's what a foundation is supposed to be for, and they give you an x amount of dollars. *[Twenty-five second silence]* Isn't this something? It was right, seems like it was right there.

MA: In this empty lot here? So, this is 7042 South, so it's 7030 something, no, excuse me, it's got to be more, 7050.

GF: Called it Toast of the Town. Gene Ammons, Sonny Stitt, and he had folks from Chicago working there. They brought singers in. Paula Greer, mainly vocalists would come in and play with, you'd have a trio that's there and you'd bring vocalists in and they come in and they had a nice center bar. It was set up really nice.

MA: So, this would have been in the 80s maybe? Or late 70s?

GF: No, this is back in the day. This is before he died.

MA: Before he died, Cadillac Bob had the Toast of the Town.

GF: Yeah, because we used to play in there. And Gene was right there with me.

MA: And later after he passed, he started the foundation in the building.

GF: They tore this whole thing down. Isn't that something?

***

Freeman accessed his knowledge of space to lead me to place (Freeman 2014c). In a seemingly spontaneous moment, he asked me to drive to a "joint" where he used to play. I am not familiar with the club, so I did as he asked. Place became readable once the intersection came into view. He noted the Metra train station, part of a commuter rail system in the Chicago metropolitan area, heard the bells of the rail-crossing signal which elicited memories of both socializing and

smoking marijuana with other musicians, and then returning to the club to play another set. He also noted that this had been the only club in the area when it had operated. With references to the location, its setting, and to performing with Ammons, the activities he spoke of occurred in early-1970s Chicago. African American residents had moved farther south, and Stony Island was no longer a boundary blacks could not cross. Cadillac Bob had already established himself at the DuSable and Pershing Hotels in the 1940s and 50s respectively, so he had been a successful entrepreneur by this point. Musical style was also an important frame to his story as Gene Ammons performed mostly with organ groups and repertoire centered around groove tunes, blues, and ballads. Furthermore, since guitar is essential to the organ group aesthetic, Freeman played an important musical role in Ammons's ensemble.

As we pulled in front of the empty lot, Freeman recalled music and history and I entered into dialogue with him through my participation as a fellow musician and as a researcher. Vocalists were the primary featured artists at the club—Paula Greer, who I worked with in the early to mid 1990s, being one of the more popular South Side singers at the time. The Toast of the Town hired Chicago artists as well as brought in saxophonist Sonny Stitt, which means it was a club that featured touring artists as well. Freeman revealed that Cadillac Bob was either friends with or appreciated Ammons' stature as a figure in African American culture through his forming of the Gene Ammons Foundation after Ammons's passing in August of 1974. Cadillac Bob saw that there was a need for assisting young black players in training for the music and providing opportunities to perform, thus Cadillac Bob provided the space and applied for funding to from a non-profit that engaged the community in Ammons's name.

Also, in a brief moment, my whiteness surfaced. As Freeman spoke about the club, I tried to estimate the address since we were in front of two empty lots which were between two

buildings. Since I recognized the address of a building to the north as 7042 South Stony Island Avenue, I estimated that the empty lot to the south must be in the 7030s. My whiteness arose at this moment because addresses on the South Side *increase* as they go south, whereas on the North Side, they *decrease.* I realized my mistake, corrected my address math, and we continued our conversation. At the end of this story, Freeman remarked that the building was gone, and, in his question, I could read that he was asking why someone would tear down such meaningful culture and sociality.

Figure 28: George Freeman (left) performs with Gene Ammons in Chicago, ca. 1972. Photo courtesy of Herb Nolan.

Race, music, and geography once again intersect. Freeman, however, does something else—he places himself on the map. He expresses the where of his positionality—an African American artist from the South Side, performing right here, at Seventy-First Street and Stony Island Avenue, in Cadillac Bob's Toast of the Town with Gene Ammons, one of the most celebrated African American saxophonists in jazz. This moment during a stroll was an act of emplacement in African American culture, South Side history, and a venue, all of which reside on the map.

Tensions and disagreements are also on the map. For example, George Freeman often praised Cadillac Bob when he recalled Cadillac Bob's different venues during our strolls, but Cadillac Bob also engendered negative responses. In archived interviews, Earma Thompson and Charles Walton both communicated distrust of Cadillac Bob because he was notorious for not paying bands what he agreed. Teddy Thomas offered this response when we drove past a club Cadillac Bob owned on Cottage Grove Avenue near Sixty-Third Street:

> MA: Did you know Cadillac Bob?
>
> TT: Yeah, I knew him…I don't know that much about him because I didn't like him myself.
>
> MA: Oh, what his deal was?
>
> TT: I saw him beat up on a couple of guys, a saxophone player...We played a club on Cicero and he made the mistake of talking to one of the gangster's girlfriend and when we got off of work, they made the band stay there. They were shooting bottles off like a movie or some shit. We told him not to do it, but he said the girl liked him and sent him a note and shit, but the gangsters got him and took him in the alley…They messed him up so bad he moved to Europe…Cadillac beat him up…Cadillac was a thug. (Thomas 2018)

On strolls, in archived interviews, and during interviews I conduct, musicians and audience participants locate themselves spatially, creatively reconfiguring the South Side through their musical subjectivity. Denis E. Cosgrove writes, "acts of mapping are creative,

sometimes anxious, moments in coming to knowledge of the world, and the map is both the spatial embodiment of knowledge and a stimulus to further cognitive engagements" (1999, 2). Wilbur Ware mapped the South Side, the North Side, and the outskirts of Chicago through his subjective experience, emplacing himself in an urban framework defined for him through past music-making. Strolls afford a way that mapping can access perspective, a subjective geography

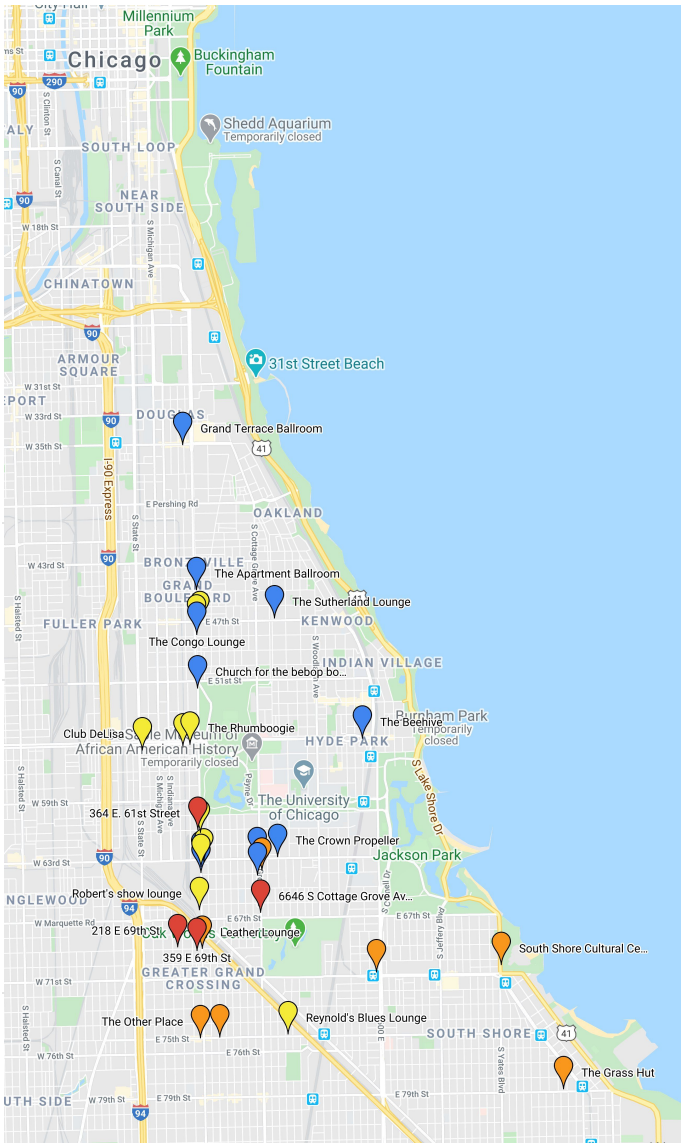

Figure 29: Stroll map of all venues Freeman identified over three strolls. Map by Google Maps, data annotated by Michael Allemana.

of culture and meaning. The strolls with George Freeman illustrate how he mapped mentally, revealed in our dialogue, and since it was recorded, can be transcribed. Oral historians argue that the occasion of the interview "calls the oral testimony into existence" (Portelli 1981, 103). Strolls are dialogues of emplacement, produced through our interactions, which are improvised over a structure—the streets, buildings, and empty lots. Freeman emplaced his knowledge and subjectivity in thirty-six venues over three strolls, each place eliciting a story. Transcribing strolls in map form, what I term *stroll maps*, aid access into his perspective (see figure 29).

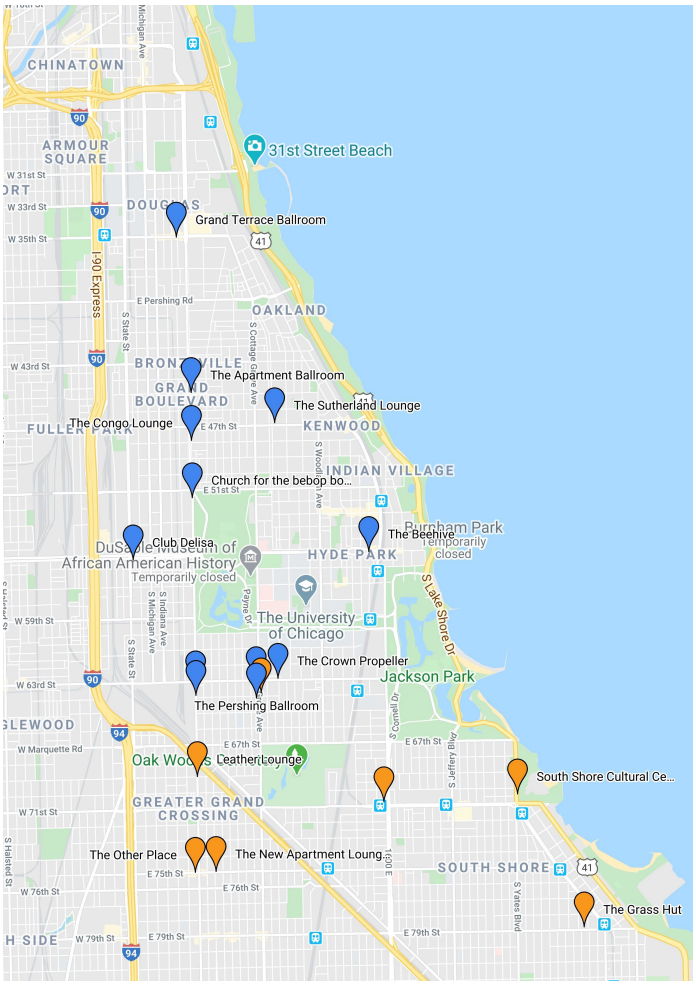

Figure 30: Stroll map of musical style performed in clubs by George Freeman. Blue signifies bebop and orange signifies Hammond organ bands. Map by Google Maps, data annotated by Michael Allemana.

This stroll leads to further engagements with emplacement through musical style which also framed by time. Bebop clubs were active in the 1940s, and Hammond organ groups became active in the late 1950s and remained so into the 1970s. Thus, Freeman also maps the South Side through embodied performance knowledge (see Figure 30).

After Gene Ammons was released from prison in October of 1969, he hired Freeman, putting Freeman on the map. Freeman toured and recorded with Ammons until Ammons passed in 1974. Freeman composed the title track for Ammons's *The Black Cat* (1970) and was featured in an article by Dan Morgenstern (1971) for a special issue on guitarists in *Down Beat* magazine. Freeman in the 1970s was now more visible on the map than he had ever been (see figure 31).

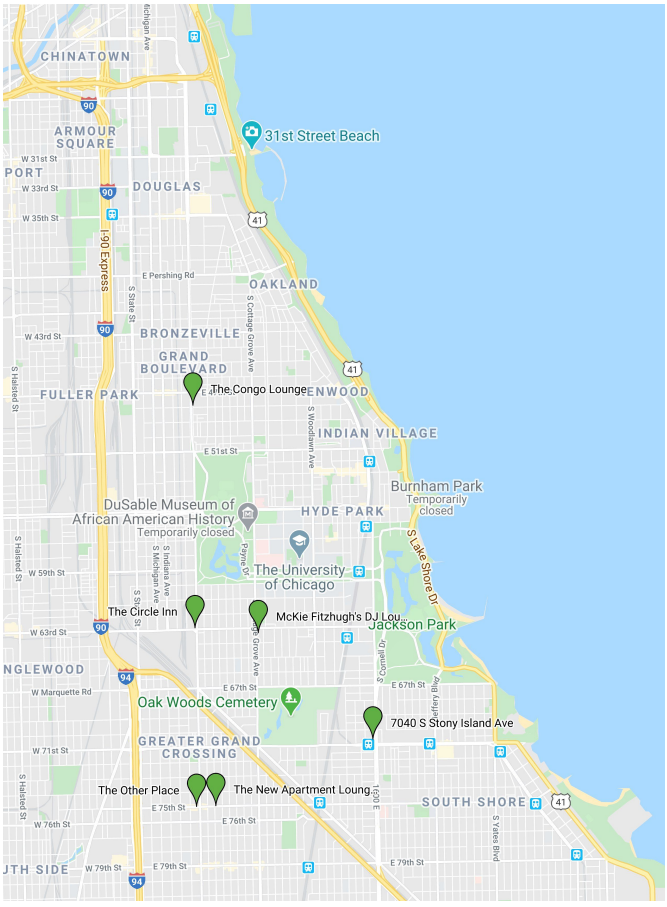

Figure 31: Stroll map of clubs where George Freeman performed with saxophonist Gene Ammons, 1969 to 1974. Map by Google Maps, data annotated by Michael Allemana.

These maps mark improvised movements through streets guided by Freeman's past in the present. These maps are also transcriptions of an improvisation based on urban structures and memory elicited through spontaneous dialogue and movement. They point to how Freeman emplaces his subjectivity on the South Side and *as* the South Side, a black musician who participated in generative cultural activity under conditions of segregation. Race, geography, music, and being on the map intersect.

This dissertation has examined the density and texture of Chicago's South Side jazz scene through the quotidian experiences of the scene's musicians and active enthusiasts under conditions of segregation and through traversing the past and present. In Chapter 1, I demonstrated that as black musicians crossed racial boundaries enforced by violence and urban policy, they endured racially charged situations, cultivated social and musical relationships with black and white musicians, and continued to develop musical practice in the venues where they performed. I expanded the analysis in Chapter 2 to the labor conditions black musicians endured as members of black Local 208 under Harry Gray's leadership and the ways his policies enabled and constrained black musicians' employment, to James Petrillo's enforcement of segregation in music employment as president of white Local 10, and to how the spatial conditions of the 1950s and 1960s in conjunction with Local 208's internal politics drove the struggle for equity in music employment. In Chapter 3 I used the method of the stroll to examine ethnographically how past places continue to inform musicians' present practices, offering a way of reading the city as a palimpsest through a process of bringing together the physical marks of the present with the musical and social traces of these musicians' pasts. In the fourth and fifth chapters I examined one place, the New Apartment Lounge, and the ways of knowing engendered through Von Freeman's Tuesday night jam session. Musicians and audience participants disclosed through

their interpretive moves processes of learning, developing aesthetics, and interacting with diverse participants catalyzed by place and mediated through Freeman's music and individuality.

Throughout these chapters, I am both a researcher examining the relationship between musical practice, geography, and racial conditions and a musician who has performed with and for the scene participants interviewed here. My dual role as a scholar and practitioner affords ways into fieldwork and interviews where I enter into dialogue as a community member rather than informed outsider. In the opening exchange of this epilogue, George Freeman and I conversed about black places on the South Side where he discussed his participation in making this music. The different strands of my identity as a white musician, fellow guitarist, bandmate, his late brother's accompanist, and resident of the North Side informed and shaped the exchange (Narayan 1993, 673). In this moment of the past elicited into the present, place is revealed as an epistemology—the street intersection that reminded Freeman of socializing, the community activism inspired by a musicians' death, the mistaken address math, and the musical and social traces in the empty lot are ways of knowing culture, history, and self through place. Space, race, and music intersect at this moment as in the numerous stories told by the scene participants across these chapters.

I have argued in this dissertation that the spatial conditions of urban centers inextricably intertwine with social relations and culture and are therefore crucial factors in shaping musical practices and urban music scenes. The changing same of segregation and the anti-black structures and institutions of Chicago that maintain racial separation have been the backdrop across time for a generative culture of music-making which has flourished in segregated spaces and has crossed spatial lines. Since racial formation is a fundamental organizing principle of social stratification in the U.S., this continues to be the case. Where musicians work, who gets

opportunities, who has power, and who apprentices are framed by the spatial and racial conditions of the current moment. For example, as a member of the programming committee on the Chicago Jazz Festival, I participate in meetings which are driven in part by the directive of the commissioner of the city's Department of Cultural Affairs and Special Events to program diverse bandleaders in venues across the city, with particular focus on South Side locations since there are very few jazz venues on the South Side. The uneven access to resources under the city's spatial regime shapes who the committee considers and where they are booked to perform. Booking festivals requires an engagement with the map.

Telling stories, enduring segregation, cultivating musical practice, programming live performance, and finding oneself on the map bring into focus the dynamic ways that geography, race, and music intersect, collide, and transform. In the epigraph of this epilogue, Von Freeman ponders whether two places, Heaven and Earth, can co-exist as one. If this conjunction were to be forged, jazz musicians will have a role in creating this new place, this new way of knowing, this new way of being on the map. Perhaps Freeman is signifying on Sun Ra's aphorism, communicating a Heaven on Earth where on the map, place is the space.

Bibliography

Absher, Amy. 2014. *The Black Musician and the White City: Race and Music in Chicago, 1900–1967*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Abu-Lughod, Janet L. 2007. *Race, Space, and Riots in Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Agnew, John A. 1987. *The United States in the World-economy: A Regional Geography*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

———2005. 'Space:Place." In *Spaces of Geographical Thought: Deconstructing Human Geography's Binaries*, edited by Paul J. Cloke and R. J. Johnston, 81–96. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications.

Ake, David Andrew. 2010. *Jazz Matters: Sound, Place, and Time since Bebop*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ake, David Andrew, Charles Hiroshi Garrett, and Daniel Goldmark. 2012. *Jazz/Not Jazz: The Music and Its Boundaries*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Allemana, Michael. 2019. "Trying to Get the Gig: 'Ethnic' Weddings from the Musician's Perspective." In *Music in the American Diasporic Wedding*, edited by Inna Naroditskaya, 171–90. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Ammons, Gene. 1970. *The Black Cat!* Prestige PR 10006, sound disc, 33 1/3 rpm.

Anderson, Elijah. 2003. *A Place on the Corner*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Anderson, Jon. 2013. "Place." In *Oxford Bibliographies: Geography*, edited by Barney Warf. New York: Oxford University Press.

Anderson, Kay. 1991. *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980*. Montreal; Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Anderson, Kenneth. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 7, Folder 2]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Armstrong, Lil Hardin. 1959. William Ransom Hogan Archive of New Orleans Jazz Oral History Database. Tulane University.

Armstrong, Louis, and Thomas David Brothers. 1999. *Louis Armstrong, in His Own Words: Selected Writings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Askew, Kelly Michelle. 2002. *Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in Tanzania*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Astley, Thomas. 2016. "Mapping Synecdoche: The Place of Place in Cuban Popular Music." *Latin American Music Review* 37, no. 1: 65–90.

Atkins, E. Taylor. 2003. *Jazz Planet*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.

Badger, Reid. 1995. *A Life in Ragtime: A Biography of James Reese Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bakhtin, M. M., and Michael Holquist. 1981. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Austin:

University of Texas Press.

Baldwin, Davarian L. 2007. *Chicago's New Negroes: Modernity, the Great Migration, & Black Urban Life*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Balto, Simon. 2019. *Occupied Territory: Policing Black Chicago from Red Summer to Black Power*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Balto, Simon, Camille Ann Brewer, and Erik Gellman eds. Forthcoming. *New Histories of Black Chicago.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Banfield, William C. 2016. *Pat Patrick: American Musician and Cultural Visionary*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Baraka, Amiri. 2010. *Black Music: Essays*. New York: London: Akashic.

Bates, William "Lefty". n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 7, Folder 8]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Battles, John. 2011. "The Treniers." In *Flying Saucers Rock 'N' Roll: Conversations with Unjustly Obscure Rock 'N' Soul Eccentrics*, edited by Jake Austen, 190–208. Durham: Duke University Press.

Bauman, Thomas. 2014. *The Pekin: The Rise and Fall of Chicago's First Black-Owned Theater*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Becker, Howard Saul. 1949. "The Professional Dance Musician in Chicago." M.A. thesis, University of Chicago.

———1982. *Art Worlds*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

"Behind the Mike." 1937. December 1. *Broadcasting*: 44.

Benjamin, Walter, and Michael William Jennings. 2006. *The Writer of Modern Life: Essays on Charles Baudelaire*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Bennett, Andy, and Richard A. Peterson. 2004. *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal and Virtual*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Bennett, Dina M. 2010. "Defining and Representing All That Jazz: An Ethnographic Study of an African American Music in Kansas City." Ph.D., Indiana University.

Berlin, Ira. 2010. *The Making of African America: The Four Great Migrations*. New York: Viking.

Berliner, Paul. 2019. *The Art of Mbira: Musical Inheritance and Legacy ; Featuring the Repertory and Practices of Cosmas Magaya and Associates*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

———1993. *The Soul of Mbira: Music and Traditions of the Shona People of Zimbabwe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———1994. *Thinking in Jazz: The Infinite Art of Improvisation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bigard, Barney, and Barry Martyn. 1987. *With Louis and the Duke: The Autobiography of a Jazz Clarinetist*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Biles, Roger. 1995. *Richard J. Daley: Politics, Race, and the Governing of Chicago*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press.

Bithell, Caroline. 2006. "The Past in Music: Introduction." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 15, no. 1: 3–16.

Bjorn, Lars, and Jim Gallert. 2001. *Before Motown: A History of Jazz in Detroit, 1920–60*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Black, Timuel D. 2003. *Bridges of Memory: Chicago's First Wave of Black Migration*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press.

———2007. *Bridges of Memory. Chicago's Second Generation of Black Migration*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press

———2019. Interview by author, June 28.

Bledsoe, Adam, and Willie Jamaal Wright. 2019. "The Pluralities of Black Geographies." *Antipode* 51, no. 2: 419–37.

Bluestone, Daniel. 2004. "Chicago's Mecca Flats Blues." In *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States*, edited by Max Page and Randall Mason, 150–91. New York: Routledge.

Blum, Alan. 2001. "Scenes." *Public* 22, no. 23: 7–35.

Bohlman, Philip Vilas. 2000 "Music, Race, and the End of History." In *Music and the Racial Imagination*, edited by Ronald Michael Radano and Philip Vilas Bohlman. Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology, 645–70. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bohlman, Philip Vilas. 2004. *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO.

———2008. "Returning to the Ethnomusicological Past." In *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, edited by Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, 246–70. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

_____2011. "Analyzing Aporia." *Twentieth-Century Music* 8, no. 2: 133–51.

Bohlman, Philip Vilas, and Johann Gottfried Herder. 2017. *Song Loves the Masses: Herder on Music and Nationalism*. Oakland, California: University of California Press

Bohlman, Philip Vilas, and Goffredo Plastino. 2016. *Jazz Worlds, World Jazz*. University of Chicago Press.

Bolle, Jim. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 8, Folder 13]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2018. *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. 5th ed. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.

Borgo, David. 2005. *Sync or Swarm: Improvising Music in a Complex Age*. New York: Continuum.

Born, Georgina. 2013. *Music, Sound and Space: Transformations of Public and Private Experience*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bornat, Joanna. 2011. "Remembering in Later Life: Generating Individual and Social Change." In *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, edited by Donald A. Ritchie, 202–18. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Boyd, Michelle R. 2008. *Jim Crow Nostalgia: Reconstructing Race in Bronzeville*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Boym, Svetlana. 2001. *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books.

Brenner, Neil. 2001. "The Limits to Scale? Methodological Reflections on Scalar Structuration." *Progress in Human Geography* 25, no. 4, 591–614.

Brewer, Carolyn Glenn. 2017 *Changing the Tune: The Kansas City Women's Jazz Festival, 1978–1985*. Denton, Texas: University of North Texas Press.

Briggs, Ray Anthony. 2003. "Memphis Jazz: African American Musicians, Jazz Community and the Politics of Race." Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles.

Brown, Roger, and James Kulik. 1977. "Flashbulb Memories." *Cognition* 5, no. 1: 73–99.

Browner, Tara. 2002. *Heartbeat of the People: Music and Dance of the Northern Pow-Wow*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

———2009. *Music of the First Nation: Tradition and Innovation in Native North America*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Bruner, Jerome S. 2002. *Making Stories: Law, Literature, Life*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

———2004. "Life as Narrative." *Social Research* 71, no. 1: 691–711.

Bryant, Clora. 1998. *Central Avenue Sounds: Jazz in Los Angeles*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Burke, Edward M. 2007. *End of Watch: Chicago Police Killed in the Line of Duty, 1853–2006*. edited by Thomas J. O'Gorman. Chicago: Chicago's Books Press.

Burke, Patrick Lawrence. 2008. *Come in and Hear the Truth: Jazz and Race on 52nd Street*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Burley, Dan. 1953. "People Are Talking About." *Jet Magazine*, Feb. 5: 46.

Butler, Toby. 2007. "Memoryscape: How Audio Walks Can Deepen Our Sense of Place by Integrating Art, Oral History and Cultural Geography." *Geography Compass* 1, no. 3: 360–72.

Buttimer, Anne, and David Seamon, eds. *The Human Experience of Space and Place*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980.

Caldwell, Happy. 1976. Jazz Oral History Project of the National Endowment of the Arts. Institute of Jazz Studies, Rutgers University.

Campbell, Floyd. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 3, Folder 1]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Carney, George O. 2003. "Urban Blues: The Sound of the Windy City." In *The Sounds of People and Places: A Geography of American Music from Country to Classical and Blues to Pop*, 241–54. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Casey, Edward S. *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987.

———1996. "How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prolegomena." In *Senses of Place*, edited by Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso, 13–52. Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press.

———2009. *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World*. 2nd ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Castree, Noel. 2009. "Place: Connections and Boundaries in an Interdependent World." In *Key Concepts in Geography*, edited by N. J. Clifford, Sarah L. Holloway, Stephen P. Rice and Gill Valentine, 153–72. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Chamberlain, Mary, and Paul Thompson, eds. *Narrative and Genre*. New York: Routledge, 1998.

Chepesiuk, Ron. 2007. *Black Gangsters of Chicago*. Fort Lee, NJ: Barricade Books.

"Chicago's Archway Re-Opened: Becomes Smart Supper Club." 1958. *Jet Magazine*, June 2: 60.

Chilton, John. 1990. *The Song of the Hawk: The Life and Recordings of Coleman Hawkins*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Christian, Bobby. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 9, Folder 31]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Christian, Jodie. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 3, Folder 2]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Clair, Bob. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 9, Folder 34]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Clark, Clifford. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 9, Folder 35]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Clegg, John. 2019. "Mapping the 1919 Chicago Riot." University of Chicago. Accessed December 28, 2019.

Cohen, Aaron. 2019. *Move on Up: Chicago Soul Music and Black Cultural Power*. Chicago ;: The University of Chicago Press.

Cohen, Harvey G. 2010. *Duke Ellington's America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cohen, Sara. 1995. "Sounding out the City: Music and the Sensuous Production of Place." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 20, no. 4: 434–46.

Cohodas, Nadine. 2004. *Queen: The Life and Music of Dinah Washington*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Cole, Charlie. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 3, Folder 31]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Cole, Freddie. 2002. Charles Walton Papers [Box 3, Folder 3]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Coleman, Steve. 2015. Interview by author, Chicago. December 27.

———"Truth Be Told." 2011. In *Made in Chicago*, edited by Dennis Moore: WFMT.

Collier, James Lincoln. 1983. *Louis Armstrong, an American Genius*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Collis, John. 1998. *The Story of Chess Records*. New York: Bloomsbury.

Connerton, Paul. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coorlawala, Uttara Asha. 2010. "It Matters for Whom You Dance: Audience Participation in Rasa Theory." In *Dance Matters: Performing India*, edited by Pallabi Chakravorty and Nilanjana Gupta, 117–39. New Delhi: Routledge.

Cosgrove, Denis E. 1999 "Introduction: Mapping Meaning." In *Mappings*, edited by Denis E. Cosgrove, 1-23. London: Reaktion Books.

Craig, Jim. 2015. "The Villa Venice: Albert 'Papa Bouche.'" In *Under Every Tombstone*. Evanston, 2015. http://undereverytombstone.blogspot.com/2015/05/the-villa-venice-albert-bouche.html. Accessed Jan 10, 2020.

Cresswell, Tim. 1996. *In Place/out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

_____2004. *Place: A Short Introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.

———2014. "Place." In *The Sage Handbook of Human Geography*, edited by Roger Lee, Noel Castree, Rob Kitchin, Victoria Lawson, Anssi Paasi, Chris Philo, Sarah Radcliffe, Susan M. Roberts and Charles W.J. Withers, 3–21. London: SAGE.

Cronon, William. 1992. "Kennecott Journey: The Paths out of Town in Cronon." In *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past,* edited by William Cronon, George Miles, Jay Gitlin, 28–51. New York: W.W. Norton.

Cromwell, Arthur Carrall. 1998. "Jazz Mecca: An Ethnographic Study of Chicago's South Side Jazz Community." Ph.D., Ohio University.

Danielson, Virginia. 1997. *The Voice of Egypt: Umm KulthūM, Arabic Song, and Egyptian Society in the Twentieth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Davis, Miles, Wayne Shorter, Herbie Hancock, Ron Carter, and Tony Williams, 1967. *Miles Smiles*. New York: Columbia.

Davis, Miles, and Quincy Troupe. 1989. *Miles, the Autobiography*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Dawson, Michael C. 1994. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

De Barros, Paul, and Eduardo Calderón. 1993. *Jackson Street after Hours: The Roots of Jazz in Seattle*. Seattle: Sasquatch Books.

De Souza, Jonathan Gregory. 2013. "Musical Instruments, Bodies, and Cognition." Ph.D., University of Chicago.

Delaney, David. 2002. "The Space That Race Makes." *Professional Geographer* 54, no. 1: 6-14.

Delgado, Richard, and Jean Stefancic. 2017. *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*. 3rd ed. New York: New York University Press.

Demlinger, Sandor, and John Steiner. 2003. *Destination Chicago Jazz*. Chicago: Arcadia.

Denov, Sam. 1993 in *Bronzeville Conversations: The Tempo of the Times: The Struggle for an Integrated Musician's Union*, edited by Charles E. Walton, 24–25. Chicago: Charles E. Walton.

DeVeaux, Scott Knowles. 1997. *The Birth of Bebop: A Social and Musical History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Diamond, Andrew J. 2009. *Mean Streets: Chicago Youths and the Everyday Struggle for Empowerment in the Multiracial City, 1908–1969*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Dietsche, Robert, Jim Swenson and Lynn Darroch. 2005. *Jumptown: The Golden Years of Portland Jazz, 1942–1957*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press.

Drake, St. Clair, and Horace R. Cayton. 1993. *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dueck, Byron. 2013. *Musical Intimacies and Indigenous Imaginaries: Aboriginal Music and Dance in Public Performance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Duffy, Michelle. 2000. "Lines of Drift: Festival Participation and Performing a Sense of Place." *Popular Music* 19, no. 1: 51–64.

Eldridge, Roy. 1982. Jazz Oral History Project of the National Endowment of the Arts. Institute of Jazz Studies, Rutgers University.

Elling, Kurt. 2018. Interview by author, Chicago. August 27.

Elliott, Richard. 2009. "The Same Distant Places: Bob Dylan's Poetics of Place and Displacement." *Popular Music and Society* 32, no. 2: 249–70.

Ellison, Ralph. "The Golden Age/Time Past." *Esquire*, January 1, 1959.

Feld, Steven. 1984. "Communication, Music, and Speech About Music." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 16, no. 1: 1–18.

———1996. "Waterfalls of Song: An Acoustemology of Place Resounding in Bosavi, Papua New Guinea." In *Senses of Place*, edited by Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso, 93–135. Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press.

———2015. “Acoustemology.” Chap. 1 in *Keywords in Sound*, edited by David Novak and Matt Sakakeeny, 12–21. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Feld, Steven, and Keith H. Basso, eds. 1996. *Senses of Place*. Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press.

Fielder, Dr. William “Bill”. 1994. Charles Walton Papers [Box 3, Folder 4]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Fleming, King. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 12, Folder 61]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Floyd, George. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 3, Folder 5]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Floyd, Samuel. 1975. “The Great Lakes Experience: 1942–45.” *The Black Perspective in Music* 3, no. 1: 17–24.

———1983. “An Oral History: The Great Lakes Experience.” *The Black Perspective in Music* 11, no. 1: 41–61.

———1995. *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting Its History from Africa to the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Forest, Benjamin. 1995. “West Hollywood as Symbol: The Significance of Place in the Construction of a Gay Identity.” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 12, no. 2: 133-57.

Forman, Murray. 2000. “‘Represent’: Race, Space and Place in Rap Music.” *Popular Music* 19, no. 1: 65-90.

Fournier, Vernell. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 3, Folder 37]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Freeman, Bud. 1974. *You Don’t Look Like a Musician*. Detroit, MI: Balamp Pub.

_____1977. Jazz Oral History Project of the National Endowment of the Arts. Institute of Jazz Studies, Rutgers University.

Freeman, Bud, and Robert Wolf. 1989. *Crazeology: The Autobiography of a Chicago Jazzman*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Freeman, George. 2014a. Interview by author, Chicago. October 27.

———2014b. Interview by author, Chicago. October 27.

———2014c. Interview by author, Chicago. November 10.

———2019. Interview by author, Chicago. November 16.

———2020. Interview by author, Chicago. March 7.

Freeman, Von. 2000. Interview, Smithsonian Jazz Oral History Program Collection, 1992–2014, Archives Center, National Museum of American History.

Freeman, Von (saxophone), John Young (piano), Sam Jones (bass), and Jimmy Cobb (drums), *Doin' It Right Now*. Atlantic SD 1628, 1972, 33 1/3 rpm.

Freeman, Von (saxophone), Chico Freeman (saxophone), Ellis Marsalis (piano), Branford Marsalis (saxophone), and Wynton Marsalis (trumpet), *Fathers & Sons*. Columbia FC 37972, 1982, 33 1/3 rpm.

Freeman, Von (saxophone), Jon Logan (piano), Carroll Crouch (bass), Wilbur Campbell (drums0, Kenny Prince (piano), Dennis Carroll (bass), and Michael Raynor (drums), *Walkin' Tuff!* Southport Records 10, 1989, compact disc.

Freire, Paulo. 2000. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum.

Fry, Andy. 2014. *Paris Blues: African American Music and French Popular Culture, 1920–1960*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fullilove, Mindy Thompson. 1996. "Psychiatric Implications of Displacement: Contributions from the Psychology of Place." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 153, no. 12: 1516–23.

———2004. *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What We Can Do About It*. New York: One World/Ballantine Books.

Gabbard, Krin. 1995a. *Jazz among the Discourses*. Durham: Duke University Press.

———1995b. *Representing Jazz*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Gaines, Donna. 1994. "The Local Economy of Suburban Scenes." In *Adolescents and Their Music: If It's Too Loud, You're Too Old*, edited by Jonathon S. Epstein, 47–66. New York: Garland Pub.

Galletta, Anne. 2013. *Mastering the Semi-Structured Interview and Beyond: From Research Design to Analysis and Publication*. edited by William E. Cross and Anne GallettaNew York: New York University Press.

Gaunt, Kyra Danielle. 2006. *The Games Black Girls Play: Learning the Ropes from Double-Dutch to Hip-Hop*. New York: New York University Press.

Gerstin, Julian. 1998. "Reputation in a Musical Scene: The Everyday Context of Connections between Music, Identity and Politics." *Ethnomusicology* 42, no. 3: 385–414.

Gibson, Chris, and Peter Dunbar-Hall. 2000. "Nitmiluk: Place and Empowerment in Australian Aboriginal Popular Music." *Ethnomusicology* 44, no. 1: 39–64.

Gibson, James Jerome. 1986. *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Giddins, Gary. 1988. *Satchmo*. New York: Doubleday.

Gill, Denise. 2017. *Melancholic Modalities: Affect, Islam, and Turkish Classical Musicians*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gilman, Lisa. 2013. "Grounding the Troops: Music, Place, and Memory in the Iraq War." *Volume!* 10, no. 1: 1–19.

Gilroy, Paul. 1993. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Ginell, Cary. 2013. *Mr. B: The Music and Life of Billy Eckstine*. Montclair, NJ: Hal Leonard Books.

Gioia, Ted. 2011. *The History of Jazz*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Goetting, Jay. 2011. *Joined At the Hip: A History of Jazz in the Twin Cities*. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

Goldberg, David Theo. 1993. *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell.

Grazian, David. 2003. *Blue Chicago: The Search for Authenticity in Urban Blues Clubs*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Green, Adam. 2019. "How a Brutal Race Riot Shaped Modern Chicago." *New York Times*, August 3. https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/03/opinion/how-a-brutal-race-riot-shaped-modern-chicago.html.

———2007. *Selling the Race: Culture, Community, and Black Chicago, 1940–1955*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Greenland, Thomas H. 2016. *Jazzing: New York City's Unseen Scene*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Gregory, James N. 2005. *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migrations of Black and White Southerners Transformed America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Grele, Ronald J. 1991. *Envelopes of Sound: The Art of Oral History*. 2nd ed. New York: Praeger

Griffin, Farah Jasmine. 1995. *"Who Set You Flowin'?": The African-American Migration Narrative*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Groner, Duke. 1981. Charles Walton Papers [Box 3, Folder 9]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Grossman, James R. 1985. "Blowing the Trumpet: The 'Chicago Defender' and Black Migration During World War I." *Illinois Historical Journal* 78, no. 2: 82–96.

Gustafson, Per. 2006. "Place Attachment and Mobility." In *Multiple Dwelling and Tourism: Negotiating Place, Home and Identity*, edited by Norman McIntyre, Daniel R. Williams and Kevin E. McHugh, 17–31. Cambridge, MA: Cabi.

———2009. "More Cosmopolitan, No Less Local: The Orientations of International Travellers." *European Societies* 11, no. 1: 25–47.

Gunderson, Erica. 2015. "Ask Geoffrey: Where Was Bacon's Arena, the Site of Joe Louis's First Pro Match?" https://news.wttw.com/2015/09/02/ask-geoffrey-sept-2. Accessed January 23, 2020

Haddix, Chuck. 2013. *Bird: The Life and Music of Charlie Parker*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Halker, Clark. 1988. "A History of Local 208 and the Struggle for Racial Equality in the American Federation of Musicians." *Black Music Research Journal* 8, no. 2: 207–22.

Hansen, Thomas Blom. 2006. "Sounds of Freedom: Music, Taxis, and Racial Imagination in Urban South Africa." *Public culture* 18, no. 1: 185–208.

Harris, D. 2007. “Race, Space, and the Destabilization of Practice.” *Landscape Journal* 26, no. 1: 1–9.

Harris, Eddie. 1966. *The Tender Storm*. New York: Atlantic Records.

Harris, Michael W. 1992. *The Rise of Gospel Blues: The Music of Thomas Andrew Dorsey in the Urban Church*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hartigan, John. 1999. *Racial Situations: Class Predicaments of Whiteness in Detroit*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Hartman, Saidiya V. 2019. *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Social Upheaval*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Harvey, David. 1989. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford England; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell.

Haskins, James. 1977. *The Cotton Club*. New York: Random House.

Hay, Robert. 1998. “Sense of Place in Developmental Context.” *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 18, no. 1: 5–29.

Haynes, Jo. 2005. “World Music and the Search for Difference.” *Ethnicities* 5, no. 3: 365–85.

Heffley, Mike. 2005. *Northern Sun, Southern Moon: Europe's Reinvention of Jazz*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Hemetek, Ursula, and Adelaida Reyes, eds. 2007. *Cultural Diversity in the Urban Area: Explorations in Urban Ethnomusicology*. Wien: Institut für Volksmusikforschung und Ethnomusikologie.

Henderson, Horace. 1975. Jazz Oral History Project of the National Endowment of the Arts. Institute of Jazz Studies, Rutgers University.

Hennessey, Thomas J. 1974. “The Black Chicago Establishment, 1919–1930.” *Journal of Jazz Studies* 2, no. 1: 15–45.

Herod, Andrew. 2011. *Scale*. London; New York: Routledge.

Hesmondhalgh, David. 2005. “Subcultures, Scenes or Tribes? None of the Above.” *Journal of Youth Studies* 8, no. 1: 21–40.

Hilder, Thomas R. 2012. “Repatriation, Revival and Transmission: The Politics of a Sámi Musical Heritage.” *Ethnomusicology Forum* 21, no. 2: 161–79.

Hinson, Glenn. 2000. *Fire in My Bones: Transcendence and the Holy Spirit in African American Gospel*. Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hinton, Milt. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 3, Folder 12]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Hirsch, Arnold R. 1998. *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940–1960*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Holly, Ellistine Perkins. 03//spring 1990 1990. “Black Music in Chicago, 1890 to the 1930s.” *Black music research journal* 10, no. 1: 141–49.

Holt, Fabian. 2016. “Jazz and the Politics of Home in Scandinavia.” In *Jazz Worlds, World Jazz*, edited by Philip Vilas Bohlman and Goffredo Plastino, 51–78. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

hooks, bell. 1990. *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

Horne, Gerald. 2019. *Jazz and Justice: Racism and the Political Economy of the Music*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

House, R. 2012. “Work House Blues: Black Musicians in Chicago and the Labor of Culture during the Jazz Age.” *Labor Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 9, no. 1: 101–18.

Housel, Jacqueline A. 2009. “Geographies of Whiteness: The Active Construction of Racialized Privilege in Buffalo, New York.” *Social & Cultural Geography* 10, no. 2: 131–51.

Hunter, Bob. 1963. “200 Musicians Revolt, Join Mixed Union.” *The Chicago Defender*, March 21: 1–3.

Hutchinson, Sydney. 2016. “Asian Fury: A Tale of Race, Rock, and Air Guitar.” *Ethnomusicology* 60, no. 3: 411–33.

Hutton, Patrick H. 2016. *The Memory Phenomenon in Contemporary Historical Writing: How the Interest in Memory Has Influenced Our Understanding of History*. Burlington, Vermont: Palgrave Macmillian

Huyssen, Andreas. 2003. *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Iglauer, Bruce, and Patrick A. Roberts. 2018. *Bitten by the Blues: The Alligator Records Story*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

“In Chicago: Benny Skoller Runs Amuck with Axe.” 1940. *The Chicago Defender*, June 15: 20.

Ingold, Tim. 1993. “The Temporality of the Landscape.” *World Archaeology* 25, no. 2: 152–74.

———2007. “Against Soundscape.” In *Autumn Leaves: Sound and the Environment in Artistic Practice*, edited by Angus Carlyle, 10–13. Paris: Double Entendre.

Iyer, Vijay. 2004. “Exploding the Narrative.” In *Uptown Conversation: The New Jazz Studies*, edited by Robert G. O'Meally, Brent Hayes Edwards and Farah Jasmine Griffin, 393–404. New York: Oxford University Press.

Jackson, Kenneth T. 1992. *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915–1930*. New York,: Oxford University Press.

Jackson, Travis A. 2012. *Blowin' the Blues Away: Performance and Meaning on the New York Jazz Scene*. Berkeley Chicago: University of California Press

———2016a. “Culture, Commodity, Palimpsest: Locating Jazz in the World.” In *Jazz Worlds, World Jazz*, edited by Philip Vilas Bohlman and Goffredo Plastino, 98–124. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———2016b. “New Bottle, Old Wine: Whither Jazz Studies?” In *Issues in African American Music: Power, Gender, Race, Representation*, edited by Portia K. Maultsby and Mellonee

V. Burnim, 30–46. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Jago, Marian S. 2013. “Jedi Mind Tricks: Lennie Tristano and Techniques for Imaginative Musical Practice.” *Jazz Research Journal* 7, no. 2: 183–202.

Jamal, Ahmad (pianist). *At the Pershing: But Not For Me*, recorded at The Pershing Hotel, January 16, 1958, Argo LP 628, 1958, 33⅓ rpm.

Järviluoma, Helmi. 2000. “From Manchuria to the Tradition Village: On the Construction of Place Via Pelimanni Music.” *Popular Music* 19, no. 1: 101–24.

Johnson, Mark. 2007. *The Meaning of the Body: Aesthetics of Human Understanding*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jones, Alisha Lola. 2019. “Singing High: Black Countertenors and Gendered Sound in Gospel Performance.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Voice Studies*. Oxford Handbooks Online, 35–51. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kahn-Harris, Keith. 2007. *Extreme Metal: Music and Culture on the Edge*. Oxford; New York: Berg.

Karjalainen, Noora. 2017. “Place, Sound, and Tradition: Origin Narratives Constructing Nostalgia in the Media Representations of Female Folk Singers.” *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 29, no. 3: 1–12.

Keil, Charles. 1966. *Urban Blues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kelman, Ari Y. 2010. “Rethinking the Soundscape a Critical Genealogy of a Key Term in Sound Studies.” *Senses and Society* 5, no. 2: 212–34.

Kenney, William Howland. 1993. *Chicago Jazz: A Cultural History, 1904–1930*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Keyes, Cheryl Lynette. 2002. *Rap Music and Street Consciousness*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Kippen, James. 2008. “Working with the Masters.” In *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, edited by Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, 125–40. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kleit, Rachel Garshick, and Lynne C. Manzo. 2006. “To Move or Not to Move: Relationships to Place and Relocation Choices in Hope Vi.” *Housing Policy Debate* 17, no. 2: 271–308.

Klineberg, Otto. 1935. *Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Kloosterman, Robert C. 2005. “Come Together: An Introduction to Music and the City.” *Built Environment (1978-)* 31, no. 3: 180–91.

Klotz, Sebastian, Philip V. Bohlman, and Lars-Christian Koch. 2018. *Sounding Cities : Auditory Transformations in Berlin, Chicago, and Kolkata*.

Kolax, King. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 3, Folder 13]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Krims, Adam. 2007. *Music and Urban Geography*. New York: Routledge.

———2009. “Studying Reception and Scenes.” In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Musicology*, edited by Derek B. Scott, 397–410. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Kyker, Jennifer W. 2013. “Listening in the Wilderness: The Audience Reception of Oliver Mtukudzi's Music in the Zimbabwean Diaspora.” *Ethnomusicology* 57, no. 2: 261–85.

Leiter, Robert David. 1953. *The Musicians and Petrillo*. New York: Bookman Associates.

Laczko, Leslie S. 2005. “National and Local Attachments in a Changing World System: Evidence from an International Survey.” *International Review of Sociology* 15, no. 3: 517–28.

LaFave, Laura. 2019. Interview by author, Chicago. January 28.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 2003. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Levinson, Peter J. 1999. *Trumpet Blues: The Life of Harry James*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Levy, Claire. 2016. “Swinging in the Balkan Mode: On the Innovative Approach of Milcho Leviev.” In *Jazz Worlds, World Jazz*, edited by Philip Vilas Bohlman and Goffredo Plastino, 79–97: University of Chicago Press.

Lewis, George E. 2004. “Experimental Music in Black and White: The Aacm in New York, 1970-1985.” In *Uptown Conversation: The New Jazz Studies*, edited by Robert G. O'Meally, Brent Hayes Edwards, Farah Jasmine Griffin and Robert G. O'Meally, 50–101. New York: Columbia University Press.

———2008. *A Power Stronger Than Itself: The Aacm and American Experimental Music*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Litweiler, John B. 1976. “Von Freeman: Underrated but Undaunted.” *Down Beat*, November 4: 16–17, 36.

Lipsitz, George. 2007. “The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race.” *Landscape Journal* 26: 10–23.

Looker, Benjamin. 2004. *Point from Which Creation Begins: The Black Artists' Group of St. Louis*. St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press: Distributed by University of Missouri Press.

Lowenthal, David. 1975. “Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory.” *Geographical Review* 65, no. 1: 1–36.

Lynch, Kevin. 1960. *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, MA: Technology Press.

Mack, James. Charles Walton Papers [Box 16, Folder 19]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

MacLeod, Bruce A. 1993. *Club Date Musicians: Playing the New York Party Circuit*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Maguire, Jennifer Smith. 2015. “Cultural Intermediaries.” In *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Consumption and Consumer Studies*, edited by Daniel Thomas Cook and J. Michael Ryan, 212–214. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Majer, Gerald. 2005. *The Velvet Lounge: On Late Chicago Jazz*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Marks, Carole. 1989. *Farewell, We're Good and Gone: The Great Black Migration*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Marston, Sallie A. 2000. “The Social Construction of Scale.” *Progress in Human Geography* 24, no. 2: 219–42.

Marston, Sallie A., and Neil Smith. 2001. “States, Scales and Households: Limits to Scale Thinking? A Response to Brenner.” *Progress in Human Geography* 25, no. 4: 615–19.

Massey, Doreen B. 1992. “Politics and Space-Time.” *New Left Review* 196: 65–84.

_____1993. “Power-Geometry and a Progressive Sense of Place.” Chap. 4 in *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*, edited by Jon Bird, Barry Curtis, Tim Putnam, George Robertson and Lisa Tickner, 59–83. London; New York: Routledge.

_____1994. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

_____1999. “Space-Time, ‘Science’ and the Relationship between Physical Geography and Human Geography.” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 24, no. 3: 261–76.

_____2005. *For Space*. London: SAGE.

McCants, Bernadine Samuels. 1993 in *Bronzeville Conversations: The Tempo of the Times: The Struggle for an Integrated Musician's Union*, edited by Charles E. Walton, 12–13. Chicago.: Charles E. Walton.

McGinty, Doris Evans. 2004. *A Documentary History of the National Association of Negro Musicians*. Chicago: Center for Black Music Research, Columbia College Chicago.

McKittrick, Katherine. 2006. *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

_____2011. “On Plantations, Prisons, and a Black Sense of Place.” *Social & Cultural Geography* 12, no. 8: 947–63.

———2013. “Plantation Futures.” *Small Axe: A Caribbean Journal of Criticism* 17, no. 3, 42: 1–15.

McKittrick, Katherine, and Clyde Adrian Woods. 2007. *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

McMillan, Jeffery S. 2008. *Delightfulee: The Life and Music of Lee Morgan*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

McPartland, Jimmy. 1973. Jazz Oral History Project of the National Endowment of the Arts. Institute of Jazz Studies, Rutgers University.

Meadows, Eddie S. 2003. *Bebop to Cool: Context, Ideology, and Musical Identity*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Miller, Kiri. 2007. "Jacking the Dial: Radio, Race, and Place in Grand Theft Auto." *Ethnomusicology* 51, no. 3: 402–38.

Miller, J. F., M. Neufang, A. Solway, A. Brandt, M. Trippel, I. Mader, S. Hefft*, et al.* 2013. "Neural Activity in Human Hippocampal Formation Reveals the Spatial Context of Retrieved Memories." *Science* 342, no. 6162: 1111–4.

Milligan, Melinda J. 1998. "Interactional Past and Potential: The Social Construction of Place Attachment." *Symbolic Interaction* 21, no. 1: 1–33.

———2003. "Displacement and Identity Discontinuity: The Role of Nostalgia in Establishing New Identity Categories." *Symbolic Interaction* 26, no. 3: 381–403.

Mills, Zachary William. 2018. *The Last Blues Preacher: Reverend Clay Evans, Black Lives, and the Faith That Woke the Nation*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.

Minor, William. 1997. *Monterey Jazz Festival: Forty Legendary Years*. Santa Monica, Calif.: Angel City Press.

Mohr, Hope. 2007. "Listening and Moving in the Urban Environment." *Women & Performance: a journal of feminist theory* 17, no. 2: 185–203.

Monk, Thelonious (piano), Johnny Griffin (saxophone), Ahmed Abdul-Malik (bass), and Roy Haynes (drums), *Misterioso*. Berkeley, CA: Riverside August 7, 1958, compact disc.

Monson, Ingrid T. 1996. *Saying Something: Jazz Improvisation and Interaction*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———2009. "Jazz as Political and Musical Practice." In *Musical Improvisation: Art, Education, and Society*, edited by Gabriel Solis and Bruno Nettl, 21–37. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Mooney, Amy M. 2004. *Archibald J. Motley Jr*. San Francisco: Pomegranate.

Moore, Natalie Y. 2016. *The South Side: A Portrait of Chicago and American Segregation*. New York: Picador.

Morgenstern, Dan. 1971. "George Freeman: Fire Is the Essence." *Down Beat*, June 10: 14–15.

Mullen, Bill. 1999. *Popular Fronts: Chicago and African-American Cultural Politics, 1935–46*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Mullen, Patrick B. 1992. *Listening to Old Voices: Folklore, Life Stories, and the Elderly*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Mumford, Kevin J. 1997. *Interzones: Black/White Sex Districts in Chicago and New York in the Early Twentieth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Murphy, John P. 1990. "Jazz Improvisation: The Joy of Influence." *The Black Perspective in Music* 18, no. 1/2: 7–19.

Murphy-Webb, Margaret. 2017. Interview by author. Chicago, October 12.

Morris, Ronald L. 1980. *Wait until Dark: Jazz and the Underworld, 1880-1940*. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press.

Narayan, Kirin. 1993. "How Native Is a 'Native' Anthropologist." *American Anthropologist* 95, no. 3: 671–86.

Naroditskaya, Inna. 2016. "Azerbaijani Mugham Jazz." In *Jazz Worlds, World Jazz*, edited by Philip Vilas Bohlman and Goffredo Plastino, 98–124. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Naroditskaya, Inna, ed. 2019. *Music in the American Diasporic Wedding*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Nettl, Bruno. 1987. *The Radif of Persian Music: Studies of Structure and Cultural Context*. Champaign, Ill.: Elephant & Cat.

———2005. *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-one Issues and Concepts*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Neuman, Daniel M. 1990. *The Life of Music in North India: The Organization of an Artistic Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Nooshin, Laudan. 2016. "Jazz and Its Social Meanings in Iran: From Cultural Colonialism to the Universal." In *Jazz Worlds, World Jazz*, edited by Philip Vilas Bohlman and Goffredo Plastino, 125–52. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Novak, David, and Matt Sakakeeny, eds. 2015. *Keywords in Sound*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

O'Meally, Robert G., Brent Hayes Edwards, Farah Jasmine Griffin, and Robert G. O'Meally. *Uptown Conversation: The New Jazz Studies*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

Ochs, Elinor, and Lisa Capps. 2001. *Living Narrative: Creating Lives in Everyday Storytelling*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Ogletree, Lewis. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 3, Folder 14]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Oliphant, Dave. 2007. *Jazz Mavericks of the Lone Star State*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Olson, M. J. V. 1998. "'Everybody Loves Our Town': Scenes, Spatiality, Migrancy." In *Mapping the Beat: Popular Music and Contemporary Theory*, edited by Thomas Swiss, John M. Sloop and Andrew Herman, 269–289. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. 2015. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. 3rd ed. New York: Routledge.

Orr, Raymond. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 3, Folder 16]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Ortner, Sherry B. 2006. *Anthropology and Social Theory: Culture, Power, and the Acting Subject*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Ostransky, Leroy. 1978. *Jazz City: The Impact of Our Cities on the Development of Jazz*.

Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Outlaw, Ernest. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 3, Folder 17]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Paquette, David, and Andra McCartney. 2012. "Soundwalking and the Bodily Exploration of Places." *Canadian Journal of Communication* 37, no. 1: 135-45.

Parker, Charlie. 1976. *At the Pershing Ballroom (Chicagoo 1950)*. Recorded Octobeer 23, 1950. Zim Records, ZM 1003, vinyl disc.

Payton, Nicholas. 2014. "Black American Music and the Jazz Tradition." https://nicholaspayton.wordpress.com/2014/04/30/black-american-music-and-the-jazz-tradition/. Accessed January 25, 2020

Pegg, Carole, and Elizaveta Yamaeva. 2012. "Sensing 'Place': Performance, Oral Tradition, and Improvisation in the Hidden Temples of Mountain Altai." *Oral Tradition* 27, no. 2: 15–45.

Pollock, Della. 2005. *Remembering: Oral History Performance*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Portelli, Alessandro. 2003. *The Order Has Been Carried Out: History, Memory, and Meaning of a Nazi Massacre in Rome*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

———1981. "The Peculiarities of Oral History." *History Workshop* 12, no. Autumn 1981: 96–107.

Pratt, Mary Louise. 2008. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. 2nd ed. London New York: Routledge.

Price III, Emmett George, Tammy L. Kernodle, and Horace J. Maxile Jr. 2010. *Encyclopedia of African American Music*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO.

Price, Patricia L. 2009. "At the Crossroads: Critical Race Theory and Critical Geographies of Race." *Progress in Human Geography* 34, no. 2: 147–74.

Priester, Julian. 2008. Interview by Mike Reed, Chicago. August 26.

Priestley, Brian. 2005. *Chasin' the Bird: The Life and Legacy of Charlie Parker*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Pritchett, Wendell E. 2003. "The 'Public Menace' of Blight: Urban Renewal and the Private Uses of Eminent Domain." *Law & Policy* 21, no. 1: 1–52.

Porter, Eric. 2002. *What Is This Thing Called Jazz?: African American Musicians as Artists, Critics, and Activists*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.

Pruter, Robert. 1991. *Chicago Soul*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

———1996. *Doowop: The Chicago Scene*. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press.

Pruter, Robert, and Robert L. Campbell. 2018. "The Rhumboogie Label." The Red Saunders Research Foundation, http://campber.people.clemson.edu/rhumboogie.html. Accessed December 5, 2019.

Pruter, Robert, Robert L. Campbell, and Daniel Gugolz. 2013. “Chicago’s Four (or Five) Blazes with an Appendix on Hollywood’s Four Blazes.” The Red Saunders Research Foundation, http://campber.people.clemson.edu/blazes.html. Accessed January 15, 2020.

Racy, Ali Jihad. 2003. *Making Music in the Arab World: The Culture and Artistry of Ṭarab*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Radano, Ronald Michael. 1993. *New Musical Figurations: Anthony Braxton's Cultural Critique*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———2003. *Lying up a Nation: Race and Black Music*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Radano, Ronald Michael, and Philip Vilas Bohlman. 2000. *Music and the Racial Imagination*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ralph, Laurence. 2014. *Renegade Dreams: Living through Injury in Gangland Chicago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ramírez, Margaret Marietta. 2015. “The Elusive Inclusive: Black Food Geographies and Racialized Food Spaces.” *Antipode* 47, no. 3: 748–69.

Ramnarine, Tina K. 2007. “Musical Performance in the Diaspora: Introduction.” *Ethnomusicology Forum* 16, no. 1: 1–17.

Ramsey, Guthrie P. 2003. *Race Music: Black Cultures from Bebop to Hip-Hop*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Randall, Willie. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 3, Folder 19]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Randall, William Lowell. 2015. *The Narrative Complexity of Ordinary Life: Tales from the Coffee Shop*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Randolph, Zilner T. 1977. Jazz Oral History Project of the National Endowment of the Arts. Institute of Jazz Studies, Rutgers University.

Raynor, Michael. 2017. Interview by author, Chicago. October 26.

Reed, Harry A. 1979. “The Black Bar in the Making of a Jazz Musician: Bird, Mingus, and Stan Hope.” *Journal of Jazz Studies* 5, no. 2: 76–90.

Relph, E. C. 1976. *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion.

Reed, Christopher Robert. 2005. *Black Chicago's First Century*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.

———2011. *The Rise of Chicago's Black Metropolis, 1920-1929*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Reed, Harry A. 1979. “The Black Bar in the Making of a Jazz Musician: Bird, Mingus, and Stan Hope.” *Journal of Jazz Studies* 5, no. 2: 76–90.

Reese, Ashanté M. 2019. *Black Food Geographies: Race, Self-Reliance, and Food Access in Washington, D.C*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Reyes, Adelaida. 2012. “Urban Ethnomusicology: A Brief History of an Idea.” *Urban People* 14, no. 2: 193–206.

Rhymes, Elouise. 2018. Interview by author, Chicago. April 21.

Rice, Timothy. 2003. “Time, Place, and Metaphor in Musical Experience and Ethnography.” *Ethnomusicology* 47, no. 2: 151–79.

Rietveld, Hillegonda C. 1997. “The House Sound of Chicago.” In *The Clubcultures Reader: Readings in Popular Cultural Studies*, 124–36, Cambridge: Basil Blackwell.

Roach, Max. 1972. "What "Jazz" Means to Me." *The Black Scholar* 3, no. 10: 2–6.

Robinson, Siobhan, Travis P. Todd, Anna R. Pasternak, Bryan W. Luikart, Patrick D. Skelton, Daniel J. Urban, and David J. Bucci. 2014. “Chemogenetic Silencing of Neurons in Retrosplenial Cortex Disrupts Sensory Preconditioning.” *The Journal of neuroscience: the official journal of the Society for Neuroscience* 34, no. 33: 10982–88.

Roma, Elizabeth A. 2014. “The Interplay between Free Speech Rights and Union Self-Governance: The Free Speech Rights of Elected Union Officers under Title I of the Lmrda.” *ABA Journal of Labor & Employment Law* 30, no. 1: 1–26.

Roth, Russell. 1952. “On the Instrumental Origins of Jazz.” *American Quarterly* 4, no. 4: 305–16.

Ruskin, Jesse D., and Timothy Rice. 2012. “The Individual in Musical Ethnography.” *Ethnomusicology* 56, no. 2: 299–327.

Russell, Ross. 1971. *Jazz Style in Kansas City and the Southwest*. New York: Da Capo Press.

Samuels, William Everett, and Donald Spivey. 1984. *Union and the Black Musician: The Narrative of William Everett Samuels and Chicago Local 208*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Sack, Robert David. 1997. *Homo Geographicus: A Framework for Action, Awareness, and Moral Concern*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

_____2010. *Geography as a Tool for Developing the Mind: A Theory of Place-Making*. Lewiston N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press.

Sakakeeny, Matt. 2010. “‘Under the Bridge’: An Orientation to Soundscapes in New Orleans.” *Ethnomusicology* 54, no. 1: 1–27.

Sakakeeny, Matt, and Willie Birch. 2013. *Roll with It: Brass Bands in the Streets of New Orleans*. London: Duke University Press.

Salter, Michael. 2017. Interview by author. Amsterdam, November 26.

Sampson, Robert J. 2012. *Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect*. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press.

Samuels, David William. 2004. *Putting a Song on Top of It: Expression and Identity on the San Carlos Apache Reservation*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Samuels, David Williams, Louise Meintjes, Ana Maria Ochoa, and Thomas Porcello. 2010. “Soundscapes: Toward a Sounded Anthropology.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39,

no. 1: 329–45.

Saunders, Red. 1978. Jazz Oral History Project of the National Endowment of the Arts. Institute of Jazz Studies, Rutgers University.

Schechner, Richard, and Sara Brady. 2013. *Performance Studies: An Introduction*. 3rd ed. London ; New York: Routledge.

Schafer, R. Murray. 1993. *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World*. Rochester, Vt.: Destiny Books.

Schiecke, Konrad. 2006. *Historic Movie Theatres in Illinois, 1883–1960*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland.

Schultz, Anna C. 2013. *Singing a Hindu Nation: Marathi Devotional Performance and Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Scruggs, T.M. 2001. "Come on in North Side, You're Just in Time." *Current Musicology* Spring 2001: 179–99.

Seamon, David. 1979. *A Geography of the Lifeworld: Movement, Rest, and Encounter*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Seeger, Charles. 1977. "The Musicological Juncture: 1976." *Ethnomusicology* 21, no. 2: 179–88.

Semmes, Clovis E. 2006. *The Regal Theater and Black Culture*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sengstock, Charles A. 2004. *That Toddlin' Town: Chicago's White Dance Bands and Orchestras, 1900-1950*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Shabazz, Rashad. 2015. *Spatializing Blackness: Architectures of Confinement and Black Masculinity in Chicago*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Shank, Barry. 1994. *Dissonant Identities: The Rock 'N' Roll Scene in Austin, Texas*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.

Shapiro, Nat, and Nat Hentoff. 1966. *Hear Me Talkin' to Ya; the Story of Jazz as Told by the Men Who Made It*. New York: Dover Publications.

Shelemay, Kay Kaufman. 2006. "Music, Memory and History: In Memory of Stuart Feder." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 15, no. 1: 17–37.

_____2012. "Rethinking the Urban Community: (Re) Mapping Musical Processes and Places." *Urban People* 14, no. 2: 207–26.

Sherinian, Zoe C. 2014. *Tamil Folk Music as Dalit Liberation Theology*. Bloomington ; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

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

Šikić-Mićanović, Lynette. 2010. "Foregrounding the Self in Fieldwork among Rural Women in Croation." In *The Ethnographic Self as Resource: Writing Memory and Experience into Ethnography*, edited by Peter Collins and Anselma Gallinat, 45–62. New York: Berghahn Books.

Silver, Daniel Aaron, and Terry Nichols Clark. 2016. *Scenescapes: How Qualities of Place Shape Social Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Silverman, Carol. 2012. *Romani Routes: Cultural Politics and Balkan Music in Diaspora / Carol Silverman*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Simmons, Norman. 2016. Interview by author, Chicago. July 26.

Simmons, Samuel "Lonnie". 1983. Charles Walton Papers [Box 3, Folder 20]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Sites, William. 2012a. "Radical Culture in Black Necropolis: Sun Ra, Alton Abraham, and Postwar Chicago." *Journal of Urban History* 38, no. 4: 687–719.

———2012b. "'We Travel the Spaceways': Urban Utopianism and the Imagined Spaces of Black Experimental Music." *Urban Geography* 33, no. 4: 566–92.

———2020. *Sun Ra's Chicago: Urban Space and Afrofuturism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

"Slaying." 1954. "Slaying May Close Club Delisa." *Chicago Defender*, October 9: 5.

Sloane, Kathy, and Sascha Feinstein. 2012. *Keystone Korner: Portrait of a Jazz Club*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Small, Christopher. 1998. *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening*. Hanover: University Press of New England.

Smith, Floyd. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 3, Folder 21]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Smith, Jabbo. 1979. Jazz Oral History Project of the National Endowment of the Arts. Institute of Jazz Studies, Rutgers University.

Smith, Preston H. 2012. *Racial Democracy and the Black Metropolis: Housing Policy in Postwar Chicago*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Smith, Roland M. 1975. "The Politics of Pittsburgh Flood Control, 1908–1936." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 42, no. 1: 3–24.

Smith, Sally K. Sommers. 1998. "Landscape and Memory in Irish Traditional Music." *New Hibernia Review / Iris Éireannach Nua* 2, no. 1: 132–44.

Soja, Edward W. 1989. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. New York: Verso.

Solis, Gabriel. "Blurred Genres: Reflections on the Ethnomusicology of Jazz Today." The College Music Society, https://symposium.music.org/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=10678:blurred-genres-reflections-on-the-ethnomusicology-of-jazz-today&Itemid=128. Accessed March 5, 2017

———2008. *Monk's Music: Thelonious Monk and Jazz History in the Making*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Somoroff, Matthew. 2014. "Listening at the Edges: Aural Experience and Affect in a New York

Jazz Scene." Ph.D., Duke University.

"Stars Make Delisa's Show Tops in Class." 1942. *The Chicago Defender*. December 19: 10.

"Stars of Rhumboogie and Delisa to Entertain: Rhumboogie and Delisa Stars Set to Entertain at Bud's Picnic Aug. 8." 1942. *The Chicago Defender (National edition) (1921-1967)*, Jul 18: 12.

Stedman, Richard C. 2006. "Understanding Place Attachment among Second Home Owners." *American Behavioral Scientist* 50, no. 2: 187-205.

Steinbeck, Paul. 2013. "The Art Ensemble of Chicago's 'Get in Line': Politics, Theatre, and Play." *Twentieth-Century Music* 10, no. 01: 3–23.

———2017. *Message to Our Folks: The Art Ensemble of Chicago*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Stewart, Kathleen. 1996. *A Space on the Side of the Road: Cultural Poetics in an "Other" America*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Storb, Ilse. 1999. *Louis Armstrong: The Definitive Biography*. New York: Peter Lang.

Stokes, Martin. 1994. *Ethnicity, Identity, and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*. Providence, RI: Berg.

Stone, Ruth M. 1982. *Let the inside Be Sweet: The Interpretation of Music Event among the Kpelle of Liberia*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press.

Straw, Will. 1991. "Systems of Articulation, Logics of Change: Communities and Scenes in Popular Music." *Cultural Studies* 5, no. e: 368-88.

———2004. "Cultural Scenes." *Loisir et Societe* 27, no. 418: 411–22.

Such, David Glen. 1993. *Avant-Garde Jazz Musicians: Performing "Out There."* Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.

Sun Ra and His Arkestra. 1970. *Sound Sun Pleasure*. Chicago: El Saturn Records, Vinyl disc.

Sunderland, Patricia Lynn. "Cultural Meanings and Identity: Women of the African-American Art World of Jazz." Ph.D., The University of Vermont and State Agricultural College, 1992.

Sweet, Ken. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 20, Folder 166]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Szwed, John F. 1997. *Space Is the Place: The Lives and Times of Sun Ra*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Taborn, Karen Faye. 2018. *Walking Harlem: The Ultimate Guide to the Cultural Capital of Black America*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Taylor, Diana. 2003. *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Teachout, Terry. 2009. *Pops: A Life of Louis Armstrong*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Terry, John Robert. 2013. “Blue Maxwell: Race, Space, and the Battle for Chicago Blues.” In *Crossing Traditions: American Popular Music in Local and Global Contexts*, 3–22. Lanham: Scarecrow Press.

Tesser, Neil. 2011. “America's Real Artists Are Hiding out at Betty Lou’s,” *The Chicago Reader*, October 13. https://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/the-1973-article-that-discovered-von-freeman/Content?oid=4796370. Accessed April 5, 2020.

Thomas, Teddy. 2012. Interview by author, Harwood Heights. August 11.

———2018. Interview by author, Chicago. February 8.

Thomson, Alistair. 2011. “Memory and Remembering in Oral History.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, edited by Donald A. Ritchie, 77-95, New York: Oxford University Press.

Thompson, Earma. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 3, Folder 23]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Thompson, Nathan. 2003. *Kings: The True Story of Chicago’s Policy Kings and Numbers Racketeers*. Chicago: The Bronzeville Press.

Thrift, N. J. 1996. *Spatial Formations*. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE.

———2006. “Space.” *Theory, Culture & Society* 23, no. 2-3: 139–46.

———2009. “Space: The Fundamental Stuff of Geography.” In *Key Concepts in Geography*, edited by N. J. Clifford, Sarah L. Holloway, Stephen P. Rice and Gill Valentine, 85–96. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Tonkin, Elizabeth. 1992. *Narrating Our Pasts: The Social Construction of Oral History*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Touff, Cy. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 3, Folder 24]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Towles, Nat. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 3, Folder 25]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Travis, Dempsey. 1981. *An Autobiography of Black Chicago*. Chicago: Urban Research Institute.

———1999. *The Life and Times of Redd Foxx*. Chicago: Urban Research Press.

Trensky, Anne. 1973. “The Bad Boy in Nineteenth-Century American Fiction.” *The Georgia Review* 27, no. 4: 503–17.

Tuan, Yi-fu. 1977. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

———1991. “Language and the Making of Place: A Narrative-Descriptive Approach.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 81, no. 4: 684–96.

Tucker, Sherrie. 2000. *Swing Shift: “All-Girl” Bands of the 1940s*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Turino, Thomas. 2008. *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Turino, Thomas. 2000. *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Turkel, William J. 2007. *The Archive of Place: Unearthing the Pasts of the Chilcotin Plateau*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Tuttle, William M. 1996. *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919*. 2nd ed. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Vacca, Richard. 2012. *The Boston Jazz Chronicles: Faces, Places, and Nightlife, 1937–1962*. Belmont, Mass.: Troy Street Publishing.

Vail, Ken. 1996. *Bird's Diary: The Life of Charlie Parker, 1945-1955*. Chessington, Surrey: Castle Communications.

Villarreal, Mary Ann. 2006. "Finding Our Place: Reconstructing Community through Oral History." *The Oral History Review* 33, no. 2: 45-64.

Wade, Peter. 2000. *Music, Race & Nation: Música Tropical in Colombia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Walker, Girod Cassel. 1976. "An Analysis and Description of the Administrative Process of the Chicago Federation of Musicians Local 10-208." Northeastern University. (In Box 146 Folder 13 in Steiner Collection).

Walker-Hill, Helen. 1992. "Black Women Composers in Chicago: Then and Now." *Black Music Research Journal* 12, no. 1: 1–23.

Walton, Charles E. 1993. *Bronzeville Conversations: The Tempo of the Times: The Struggle for an Integrated Musician's Union*. Chicago: Charles E. Walton.

———n.d. "47th Street and South Park Boulevard—Bronzeville's Downtown." Jazz Institute of Chicago, http://www.jazzinchicago.org/educates/journal/articles/47th-street-and-south-park-boulevard-bronzevilles-downtown. Accessed December 1, 2014.

Ward, Greg. 2018. Interview by author. Chicago, August 4.

Whiteis, David. 2006. *Chicago Blues: Portraits and Stories*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

———2019. *Blues Legacy: Tradition and Innovation in Chicago*

Williams, Frank. 2018. Interview by author, Chicago. October 16.

Willis, Cheryl M. 2016. *Tappin' at the Apollo: The African American Female Tap Dance Duo Salt and Pepper*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland.

Ware, Wilbur. 1977. Jazz Oral History Project of the National Endowment of the Arts. Institute of Jazz Studies, Rutgers University.

Waterman, Christopher Alan. 1990. *JùJú: A Social History and Ethnography of an African Popular Music*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Watson, Ted. 1966. "The 'Midnight Man' in Chicago." *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 6: 11.

Weintraub, Andrew N. 1993. “Theory in Institutional Pedagogy and ‘Theory in Practice’ for Sundanese Gamelan Music.” *Ethnomusicology* 37, no. 1: 29–39.

Westerkamp, Hildegard. 1974. “Soundwalking.” *Sound Heritage* 3, no. 4: 18–27.

Wilf, Eitan Y. 2014. *School for Cool: The Academic Jazz Program and the Paradox of Institutionalized Creativity*. University of Chicago Press.

Williams, Frank. 2018. Interview by author, Chicago. October 16.

Williams, Martin. 1970. *The Jazz Tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wilson, David. 2018. *Chicago’s Redevelopment Machine and Blues Clubs*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wilson, Quinn. 1977. Jazz Oral History Project of the National Endowment of the Arts. Institute of Jazz Studies, Rutgers University.

"With Closing of Club Delisa." *Jet Magazine*, March 6, 1958.

Wong, Deborah Anne. 2004. *Speak It Louder: Asian Americans Making Music*. New York: Routledge.

Wrazen, Louise. 2007. “Relocating the Tatras: Place and Music in Górale Identity and Imagination.” *Ethnomusicology* 51, no. 2: 185–204.

Wright, John. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 3, Folder 27]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Young, Dave. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 3, Folder 28]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Young, Marl. n.d. Charles Walton Papers [Box 6, Folder 9]. Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature, Chicago Public Library.

Yow, Valerie Raleigh. 2006. “Biograpy and Oral History.” In *Handbook of Oral History*, edited by Thomas L. Charlton, Lois E. Myers and Rebecca Sharpless, 425–64 Lanham, MD: Altamira Press.

———2015. *Recording Oral History: A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences*. Third edition. ed. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.

Zheng, Su. 2010. *Claiming Diaspora: Music, Transnationalism, and Cultural Politics in Asian/Chinese America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.