INTRODUCTION


24. Robin D. G. Kelley, “‘We Are Not What We Seem’: Rethinking the Black Working Class in the Jim Crow South,” Journal of American History 80 [June 1993]: p. 79.
CHAPTER I


16. Edward Kennedy Ellington, Music is My Mistress (New York: Doubleday, 1968), 131. A policy operator was part of an organized syndicate that ran illicit lotteries.


22. The Reminiscences of Charles Elgar, 25, in the Oral History Collection of the Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University. The racial mixing in the nightclubs outside of the “black belt,” as observed by Elgar, had nearly disappeared from the city by the end of the 1930s. Student papers prepared for a sociology project at the University of Chicago reveal that the customers at the city’s dance halls outside of the “black belt” were European American ethnics by the late 1930s. All of the student papers concluded that the halls were dominated by white street gangs. The papers do not mention any African American musicians. All of the students’ research was impressive. They were able to interview patrons, listen in on conversations of patrons in the washrooms, interview proprietors, and gain access to the halls’ mailing lists to determine where the patrons lived in the city. Constance Weinberger, Saul D. Alinsky, “The Public Dance Hall,” Autumn quarter 1928, a term paper prepared for Professor Ernest Burgess, Ernest Watson Burgess Papers, Box 126, Folder 10, Regenstein Library Special Collections, University of Chicago. “An Evening at the New American,” unidentified student, paper prepared for Professor Ernest Burgess. Ernest Watson Burgess Papers, Box 130, Folder 6, Regenstein Library Special Collections, University of Chicago. “The Taxi Dance Hall,” student identified as DeFillippis seat 43, term paper prepared for Professor Ernest Burgess, Ernest Watson Burgess Papers, Box 130, Folder 6, Regenstein Library Special Collections, University of Chicago.


42. Louise de Koven Bowen, “The Colored People of Chicago,” in *Speeches, Address, and Letters of Louise de Koven Bowen Reflecting Social Movements in Chicago*, vol 1 (Ann Arbor, MI: Edwards Brothers, 1937), 263. Bowen was also a benefactor to Jane Addams’s Hull House—a settlement house on Chicago’s West Side that assisted the poor and migrant classes. She worked in leadership roles for the United Charities of Chicago, the Women’s Club, the Boy’s Club, the Women’s City Club in Chicago, and the National Women’s Suffrage Association. Walter Cade Reckless, *Vice in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), 90–92.
44. Bowen, “Road to Destruction Made Easy in Chicago,” 395.
47. Reckless, *Vice in Chicago*, 92–93; Bachin, *Building the South Side*, 282, 248, 284. The commercial amusement businesses also provided a mecha-
nism for Black politicians to enter the political life of the city, which ward politics dominated. For example, Oscar De Priest, who was the first Black city council member, began his political career as a precinct captain whose job was to collect favors for constituents. These favors included not enforcing rules, such as last call in the cabarets, in exchange for votes.

48. Reckless, Vice in Chicago, 93–95.

49. Kenney, Chicago Jazz, 150–53. The Volstead Act provided for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, which had outlawed the production, transportation, and sale of alcohol but did not make the possession of alcohol illegal. For more on this topic, see Mezz Messrow, Really the Blues (New York: Anchor Books, 1972); Eddie Condon, We Called It Music: A Generation of Jazz (Boston: Da Capo Press, 1992); and Sidney Bechet, Treat It Gentle (London: Casell, 1960). All three musicians chronicled what it was like to work in the syndicate owned resorts and clubs in Chicago during the 1920s.

50. The Wonder Book of Achievement ([Chicago?): Chicago Bee, 1932?], 61, 65. The Wonder Book of Achievement is located in the rare book collection of the Center for Black Music Research, Columbia College, Chicago. This was a publication sponsored by the African American owned newspaper the Chicago Bee. Its purpose was to promote the achievements of Chicago’s Black community and to rally said community to prepare for the coming World’s Fair.

51. The Wonder Book of Achievement, 65


56. Bachin, Building the South Side, 254.


64. Anderson, *This Was Harlem*, 62.
79. Suggested listening includes Dvorak’s Symphony No. 9 “From the New World,” Mahler’s and Britten’s work with British folk music, Shostakovich’s work with Jewish folk music, and Bizet’s use of Cuban rhythms in Carmen.
81. The American Federation of Musicians formed in 1896 under the supervision of Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor (AFL).
91. The Cry of Jazz, produced and directed by Edward O. Bland, Unheard Music Series, 1959, DVD.

CHAPTER 2

1. Robert Gordon, Can’t Be Satisfied: The Life and Times of Muddy Waters (Boston: Little, Brown, 2002), 64.

3. “B. B. King,” interview, Sue Cassidy Clark Collection, Center for Black Music Research, Columbia College, Chicago, August 22, 1968, Cd #51. Sue Cassidy Clark is a music journalist. The collection consists of her interviews with musicians to support articles she wrote for *Rolling Stone*, *Cream*, and many other publications during the 1960s and 1970s. In regard to the antidiscrimination law, the migrants did not know, until they arrived in the city, that the city’s government rarely enforced the state law outlawing discrimination in public areas. There were laws outlawing interracial marriage. Schools were segregated without passing laws. Principals, teachers, and administrators took it upon themselves to separate students. The segregation of housing also meant that neighborhood schools became totally white or totally Black.


21. Work, Lost Delta Found, 264–65


24. Gordon, Can’t Be Satisfied, 70, 72.

25. Gordon, Can’t Be Satisfied, 71.


27. Oliver, Conversations, 146.


30. Gordon, Can’t Be Satisfied, 71. In 1943, when Waters arrived in Chicago there were no clubs in the city willing to take a chance on his southern style of blues—which, lyrically and in instrumentation, was a sharp contrast to the blues recorded by the major music corporations for the prior twenty years. The slide guitar- and harmonica-driven music of Waters’s generation of Chicago musicians was aggressively loud and lyrically was less concerned with despair than with anger and the assertion of individual worth. He played because “I wanted to work—not because anyone wanted me. . . . If I had been forced to depend on my income as a musician, I would have starved to death.” Welding, “Muddy Waters,” 6.

31. For more information regarding Memphis Minnie see Paul Goran and Beth Goran, Woman with Guitar: Memphis Minnie’s Blues (Boston: Da Capo Press, 1992). A “cutting contest” occurs when two or more musicians challenge each other on stage. They generally occur in rehearsals or in after-hours clubs. Dolly Jones was born in Chicago in 1906. Trumpeter Roy Eldridge re-
called that when he first met Jones he was standing outside a club in Detroit. He heard a trumpeter playing. “And when I come, they was on their break, you know. So I went up to the bar. . . . So the girl was sitting up there with her long dress on, holding a trumpet. . . . I was tuning my horn up. . . . So I said, ‘Where’s the trumpet player?’ She said, ‘I’m the trumpet player.’” Eldridge recalled cursing to himself. “Boy, this chick tore it on that trumpet, and my mouth flew open. . . . Do you know, we battled until two o’clock in the afternoon. . . . She could play.” Reminiscences of Roy Eldridge (1982 - 1983), 39–40, in the Oral History Collection of the Jazz Institute, Rutgers University.

32. Gayle Wald, Shout, Sister, Shout! The Untold Story of Rock ’n’ Roll Trailblazer Sister Rosetta Tharp (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007). Tharp, with her mother—a Church of God in Christ evangelist—migrated from Arkansas to Chicago in the late 1930s. Working in Chicago, Tharp redefined what gospel performers sounded and looked like. Most women in the churches played organ or piano: she played electric guitar like a blues musician. Before Tharp, congregational choirs performed the music in most churches. In contrast, Tharp was a solo performer, which was exceptional for any woman at the time. Though she stood alone on stage, Tharp was not alone in redefining gospel music at the mid-century. Roberta Martin ran one of the largest music publishing companies in the country at the time. The Roberta Martin Studio of Music opened in Chicago in 1939 and built on Martin’s successes as a composer and arranger. In addition, Martin was a leader in the South Side’s clubs and church groups. *Encyclopedia of American Gospel Music*, s.v. “Martin, Roberta.”

33. “Church of the Nazarene, 6344 Kimbark Ave, Woodlawn,” and “Lincoln Memorial Congregational Church, 65th and Champlain Ave,” 1940, Box 185, Folder 2, Ernest Burgess Collection, Special Collections, Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Illinois.


35. Howard Saul Becker, “The Professional Dance Musician in Chicago” (master’s thesis, University of Chicago, 1949), 40. The lifestyle of the white musicians was a topic of study for University of Chicago sociologist Howard Becker. Becker lived and worked as a jazz pianist for fifteen months during 1937 and 1938 to gather the information needed to complete his master’s thesis. The fact that he was European American limited Becker’s research to the experiences of white musicians in the city. His subjects never mentioned segregation nor did they engage in the same types of jobbing activities as their African American counterparts.

38. \( t=2.84 \) \( \text{[p=0.004]} \).
39. \( t=2.17 \) \( \text{[p=0.03]} \).
40. Rheumatic heart condition or tuberculosis were listed as primary cause of death for 9 (0.6 percent) white and 5 (1.9 percent) Black musicians. Equal numbers of each race died from violent death—5 white and 5 Black musicians (0.3 percent and 1.9 percent, respectively). It would be difficult to make a comparison between the statistics concerning musicians and the general population. The Illinois Department of Public Health began keeping death rates based on race beginning in 1959. Prior to this, the data is only present for the population as a whole. The existing data, both before 1959 and after, is dubious given the presence of the repetition of certain numbers for each year, which suggests the numbers are not accurate. In addition, the population as a whole was only recorded once every ten years making comparisons between different years impossible.
43. Chicago was the first city to have segregated locals in the American Federation of Musicians. It may have created a model for segregation that other locals emulated. For example, the white local in Los Angeles, Local 47, controlled all of the film, television, and music studio jobs. L.A.’s Black Local 767 controlled the blues and jazz clubs on Central Avenue. Jonathan Zvi Sard Pollack, “Race, Recordings, and Rock ‘n’ Roll: The American Federation of Musicians and the Popular Music Challenge, 1940–1970” [PhD diss., University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1999], 180.
49. Clark Halker, “A History of Local 208 and the Struggle for Racial


51. As an example, in 1961, Mr. James Casara petitioned for membership in the AFM. Because he was Mexican American and lived on the South Side, he was initially told to join the Black local. Mr. Casara protested and presented himself to the white local leaders who ruled that, “he is admittedly a Caucasian . . . . Properly should have made application to join Local #10.” “Document #2,” [August 29, 1961] from “A Story of A Raid Called Integration,” File “208 Merger Directive and Appeal, 1964,” Merger Box 1, American Federation of Musicians Local 10–208 Collection, Harold Washington Library, Chicago. The number of Filipino and Mexican members of the union was less than 1 percent of the total membership between 1940 and 1979. In each case, they were accepted to the white local. See the demographic study in the appendix for more on this topic.


53. See the interviews with Barney Bigard and Bobby Christian in Charles Walton’s *Bronzeville Conversations: The Tempo of the Times The Struggle for an Integrated Musician’s Union* ([Chicago?]: Charles Walton, 1993): 18.


57. Robin D. G. Kelley, “‘We Are Not What We Seem’: Rethinking the Black Working Class in the Jim Crow South,” *Journal of American History* 80 [June 1993]: 79.

58. From the interview with Morris Ellis from Timuel Black, *Bridges of Memory: Chicago’s First Wave of Black Migration* [Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2003], 179.

59. From the interview with John Levy from Black, *Bridges of Memory*, 200.


64. The Reminiscences of Scoville Browne, 4–5.


74. Spear, *Black Chicago*, 100.


79. Information about classical venues was taken from the Theodore Stone Collection, The Center for Black Music Research, Columbia College, Chicago. Theodore Stone was a classically trained singer and the president of the Chicago chapter of the NANM. He saved the majority of the programs from performances he attended from the late 1930s through the 1960s. I used this information to compile a list of venues and then plotted the venues with regard to jazz and blues clubs.

80. The Reminiscences of Roy Eldridge, 49.

81. Mike Rowe, Chicago Blues, 4.

82. Nadine Cohodas, Queen: The Life and Music of Dinah Washington (New York: Pantheon Book, 2004), 25; Dempsey J. Travis, An Autobiography of Black Jazz (Chicago: Urban Research Institute, 1983), 212. The abuse suffered by musicians in the Stagebar and the Downbeat Room forced the Black union local to require Black musicians to boycott the clubs. The white local, in an atypical move to support the Black musicians, also, for a time, boycotted the clubs. The mutual agreement regarding the clubs speaks to how egregious the working conditions were. “Meeting Minutes,” March 16, 1944, Chicago Local 208, American Federation of Musicians 10–208 Collection, Harold Washington Library, Chicago. I am grateful to Nadine Cohodas for this source.

83. Black, Bridges of Memory, 125.


85. The Chicago Defender, various issues. To ascertain this information, I used musicians’ oral histories, existing maps of venues, and the Chicago Defender to create a list of venues. Then, I searched the Chicago Defender for articles, reviews, photos, and advertisements for the venues to determine if the venues were trying to reach a Black audience and/or were employing African American artists.


89. Oliver, Blues Fell This Morning, 46.


91. Oliver, Conversations, p. 159.

92. Cobb, Most Southern Place on Earth, 283–84.
93. Oliver, *Blues Fell This Morning*, 163.


97. Oliver, *Blues Fell This Morning*, 46.


99. As cited in Oliver, *Blues Fell This Morning*, 15.

100. As cited in Oliver, *Blues Fell This Morning*, 46.


105. Edward O. Bland to Amy Absher, April 21, 2008. This correspondence is housed in the archive at The Center for Black Music Research, Columbia College, Chicago.

106. Bland to Absher, April 21, 2008; “Djane Richardson oral history,” Audio Recording, Helen Walker Hill Collection, Center For Black Music Research, Columbia College, Chicago (Ms. Richardson is Margaret Bond’s daughter); The Reminiscences of Milton Hinton, 3–5, 7, 15–17.


109. Margaret Bonds, “A Reminiscence,” Helen Walker-Hill Collection, Box 5, Series 4, Composer Files: Bonds Article File #8:1, 1, Center for Black
Music Research, Columbia College Chicago. “A Reminiscence” was published in Lindsay Patterson’s *The Negro In Music And Art*, [New York: International Library of Negro Music and Life and History, 1967], 190–93. It is interesting to note that Bonds found the book in an Evanston, Illinois, library. Within Chicago, books concerning African Americans or books written by African Americans were only available in one library—which is an indication of the presence of cultural segregation in the city, as well as the level of importance placed on African American culture. The library collection of African American history and culture in Chicago was the result of the tireless efforts of librarian Vivian Harsh.


111. *The Cry of Jazz* was a low-budget independent film based on a manuscript Bland had written in the late 1940s titled “The Fruits of the Death of Jazz.” The film contains the only footage of legendary musician Sun Ra and his Arkestra in their Chicago period. Because the Arkestra performed in the film without pay, Bland had to film the musicians in shadows and in different costumes to evade the union rules. The result was that the musicians, stripped of their identities, became an abstraction representing the idea of jazz as “the musical expression of the negro experience.” *The Cry of Jazz*, produced and directed by Edward O. Bland, Unheard Music Series, 1959, DVD.

112. *The Cry of Jazz*.

113. *The Cry of Jazz*.

114. For more on Bonds’s view of her work see Helen Walker-Hill’s *From Spirituals to Symphonies: African-American Women Composers and Their Music* (Westport, CT: Greenword Press, 2002).

115. Bland to Absher, April 21, 2008.

CHAPTER 3

1. Robert Gordon, *Can’t Be Satisfied: The Life and Times of Muddy Waters* (Boston: Little, Brown, 2002), 146. See *Historical Statistics of the United States*, “Table DA546–565 Farms in the South, by race and tenure of operator 1880–1974.” This information was based on the *U.S. Census of Agriculture* for 1954, 1969, and 1974. In 1940, there were 541,291 sharecroppers in the United States. By 1959, the number of sharecroppers fell to 121,037. The year 1959 was the last year sharecropping was recorded, suggesting that it ceased to be a relevant category to census takers and statisticians.


4. The Reminiscences of Milton Hinton, 15–17, in the Oral History Col-


7. This information is from the map of Chicago blues clubs in the 1950s in Mike Rowe, *Chicago Blues: The City and the Music* (London: DaCapo, 1973), 216; information on the racial geography is from the maps in Duncan and Duncan, *The Negro Population of Chicago*, figures 6–8.


14. Jeffery Paul Melnick, *A Right to Sing the Blues: African Americans, Jews, and American Song* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 169; Rich Cohen, *The Record Men: The Chess Brothers and the Birth of Rock and Roll* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2004), 28–29. Many African American intellectuals saw Jewish involvement with Black music as exploitative. As an example, see Harold Cruse’s *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (New York: Morrow, 1967). The *Chicago Defender* also saw the white businessmen in the South Side as parasites, saying, “there are eight thousand white people doing business in the black district. I don’t mean that they live in the district. I mean that more than eight thousand white people of different nationalities are getting rich on race money. . . . Remember eight thousand stores in your community, whose owners would fight against your buying a home in the same block in which one of the might live. Yet your labor is responsible for their success.” A. N. Fields, “Fit to Deal With But Not to Live With,” *Chicago Defender*, July 6, 1935, 10. Buddy Guy, who arrived in the city in the late 1950s after Chess had become the permanent recording company on the South Side, described the Chess brothers as “holding all the cards.” They dictated how the musicians should play, they signed them to contracts that
prevented them from recording for other companies, and never explained the realities of the publishing rights. It was difficult to persuade Leonard Chess to record a new sound or to sign a new artist. Buddy Guy and David Ritz, When I Left Home: My Story (Boston: Da Capo, 2012).

15. Christopher Small, Music of the Common Tongue: Survival and Celebration in Afro-American Music (London: John Calder, 1987), 385; Bill C. Malone and David Stricklin, Southern Music/American Music (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2003), 75; James Philip Jeter, International Afro Mass Media: A Reference Guide (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 248. Though in the 1920s there were Black-owned recording companies recording Black artists—such as Black Swan in Harlem—these companies lacked the capital to compete against the larger recording companies, who quickly came to dominate Black music. The larger corporations could afford to market Black music to a small audience because they had a large catalogue to sell. Black music was not the only music sold in this style. Music by Latinos and Latin American artists was sold only to Spanish-speaking areas in South America and in the United States. Black music broke free of this marketing scheme in the late 1940s.


17. “Petrillo’s Ban On Recordings Reported Near the Test Stage,” Chicago Defender, August 28, 1948, 8; “Record Companies, Hoping To Avoid Having Machinery Rust, Pleased At Rumor Petrillo Is Talking Peace,” Chicago Defender, September 25, 1948, 8.

18. Gordon, Can’t Be Satisfied, 93–94. Probably, the recording would have charted on radio if the stations across the country had been playing African American artists.

19. Gordon, Can’t Be Satisfied, 94–95; Rowe, Chicago Blues, 71.

20. B. B. King, interview with Sue Cassidy, August 22, 1968 (CD 51), Sue Cassidy Clark Collection, Center for Black Music Research, Columbia College, Illinois.


22. Rowe, Chicago Blues, 126, 106.

23. “Sun Records Label Launched in Memphis,” Billboard, March 1953, from Galen Gart, First Pressings: The History of Rhythm and Blues, vol. 3 (Milford, NH: Big Nickel Publications, 1986), 22. First Pressings is a set of books that compile all of the Billboard articles concerning rhythm and blues music in the 1950s. For each of the citations, I have chosen to provide the original article title and date, when possible. Seagrest and Rosen, Moanin’ at Midnight, 90.

25. Seagrest and Rosen, Moanin’ at Midnight, 98.


30. Cohodas, Spinning Blues into Gold, 36, 45, 217.


35. “Younger Pubs Endorse DJ’s,” 41; Carlton, “Sees Editorial A Pitch For


This was not the first time that Black music became the center of the national youth culture. Scholars of jazz have long noted the importance of jazz to the formation of rebellious white youth culture and the importance of white youth to the generation of jazz-record sales. The majority of these scholars would argue against seeing jazz’s popularity among youth as evidence of what Theodoro Adorno termed the “regression of listening.” Instead, jazz scholars note that that the music was for sale but the promise of a life that transcended class, ethnicity, and race was not for sale. For more on this topic, see Neil Leonard, Jazz and the White Americans: The Acceptance of a New Art Form (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962); Kathy J. Ogren, The Jazz Revolution: Twenties America and the Meaning of Jazz (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Lewis Erenberg, Swingin’ the Dream: Big Band Jazz and the Rebirth of American Culture (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Kenneth Brindas, Swing: The Modern Sound (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001).


45. The memory of the incident forced Waters to explain, “It’s the black man and the white woman, the ones they jealous of. You don’t look up. I don’t look up. But a Black woman could work for a white man all day long, that’s fine, nice.” Later in his career, when reflecting on the success of the white musicians who sought to build on his musical style, he noted a certain gratification at the acceptance of his music by white people. With affection, he referred to this section of his audience as “my white people,” suggesting a shift in the power relationship as a result of the popularity of his music. Margaret McKee and Fred Chisenhall, *Beale Black and Blue: Life and Music of Black America’s Main Street* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), 239; Gordon, *Can’t Be Satisfied*, 344–45, 190.

CHAPTER 4


2. Nat “King” Cole was born in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1917. When he was a child, his family migrated to Chicago, where he sang in his father’s church. Like many of the musicians of his generation, he received musical training from Captain Walter Dyett at Wendell Philips High School. Though he was trained in Chicago, he found it necessary to leave the city to pursue his career. In 1936, Cole left the city to work as the leader of the jazz group the King Trio. Cole remained the leader of the group until 1951. The trio was influential in American jazz and was quickly copied by other musicians, such as Art Tatum, Oscar Petterson, and Ahmad Jamal, who used the trio format with great success in the 1950s. Cole’s most noteworthy recordings were with Lester Young in the 1940s, and his 1950s recordings with full orchestras, which marked his transition from jazz to popular music. *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, s.v. “Cole, Nat ‘King’.”


10. Bertrand, Race, Rock, and Elvis, 244.


18. Armstrong and Gillespie were interesting choices as ambassadors. Armstrong was world famous and represented an earlier form of jazz rather than the cutting edge of Black music at the time, which in the mid-1950s was embodied by Thelonius Monk, Charlie Parker, and Max Roach. By enlisting Armstrong, the State Department had a world-famous musician who did not, at least on the surface, represent subversive Black music culture. On the other hand, Gillespie was in his prime in the mid-1950s, but he had also lost his recording contract and had to disband his orchestra. Joining the State Department tours was a way for him to see the world, interact with musicians from different music cultures, and to provide work for his orchestra. Dizzy Gillespie and Al Frazier, To Be or Not . . . to Bop: Memoirs [New York: Doubleday 1979], 413–16. For more on the State Department’s intentions in organizing the tours see Penny M. Von Eschen, Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004].


23. “Stop Making Dirty R & B Records,” Cash Box, September 28, 1954, 1. The only full run of the Cash Box is available at the Library of Congress. I am indebted to Frank Latino for obtaining a copy of this source for me.


26. “Divided We Fall,” Cash Box, April 2, 1955, 2.


28. Gertrude Samuels, “Why They Rock ‘n’ Roll—And Should They?” New York Times Magazine, January 27, 1958, 11. The reporter attended an Alan Freed show. Featured in this particular show were The Teardrops, Little
Richard, Chuck Berry, and Jerry Lee Lewis. Though the audience, as the article suggests, was mostly white, the performers were an integrated group.


40. Martin and Segrave, Anti-Rock, 85–87; Sanjek, Pennies From Heaven, 396–438.
41. Martin and Segrave, Anti-Rock, 89. Also see “Congress Investigation of Rock ‘n’ Roll,” Times (London), September 19, 1956, 75.
42. Martin and Segrave, Anti-Rock, 89.
43. Nadine Cohodas, Spinning Blues Into Gold: Chess Brothers and the Legendary Chess Records (New York: St. Martin’s, 2000), 177–78. The payola scandal came to a head in 1959 when the federal government began to investigate the music industry. The result was that payola was deemed illegal because the listening audience was unaware that fees had been paid.
45. Cohodas, Spinning Blues, 179–82.
46. Also see Deceptive Practices in Radio and Television. Hearings before the Select Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, 86 Congress, 2nd Session. Washington: GPO 1960. pt 2, 1235–1368. Dick Clark was strongly cautioned by the committee to take seriously his role in broadcasting. Even though it appeared that he had not broken any laws, Clark promised that he would divest himself of his holdings in American broadcast companies, recording companies, distribution companies, and marketing companies. The committee may have found it difficult to determine if Clark was guilty of any wrongdoings because of the vastness of his holdings, which the congressmen captured in a series of diagrams and charts included with the published version of the hearings.
47. George Lipsitz, Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 125; Martin and Segrave, Anti-Rock, 100; Glenn C. Altschuler, All Shook Up: How Rock ’n’ Roll Changed America (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 150–52.
50. Lipsitz, Time Passages, 123.

54. “Radio Master Directory,” *Sponsor*, March 30, 1957, 101–9. *Sponsor* reported on changes in the radio and television broadcast industry for advertisers. They published an annual “Negro Issue,” which examined the needs and tastes of the growing African American populations. Their charts of radio broadcasters records those stations with 100 percent “Negro Programming” on down to stations with less than ten hours a week of Black-oriented programming. In each issue, *Sponsor* made the argument that the Black audience was more sophisticated and larger than advertisers believed.


60. An example of the suppression of Black political music was J. B. Lenoir’s “Eisenhower Blues,” which he recorded for Chicago’s Parrot label in October 1954. Radio stations complained about the content of song. Producers forced Lenoir to change the title of the song to “Tax Paying Blues,” and to change the chorus of “I Got them Eisenhower blues” to “I got them tax paying blues.” See van Rijn, *Truman Eisenhower Blues*, 106–7, 176. I am grateful to Suzanne Flandreau, at the Center for Black Music Research, and Paul Garon, at Beasley Books, for their assistance in locating this source.

it not no Tennessee—seem like Chicago.” Margaret McKee and Fred Chisenhall, Beale, Black, and Blue: Life and Music on Black America’s Main Street (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 240.


64. “Rock ‘n’ Rollers Run Amuck Over Nation For Week,” Chicago Defender, February 23, 1957, 8. I am using Alan Freed’s concerts in Chicago as a point of contrast with other cities. Both Black and white teenagers attended Freed’s shows and the musicians were also integrated. The shows in Chicago did not result in any outbreaks of violence, whether among the audience or directed at the musicians, as they did in other cities.


68. “Cops Nab Ella Fitzgerald in Backstage Dice Raid,” Chicago Defender, October 15, 1955; Also see Dizzy Gillespie, To Be Or Not to ... Bop.


70. Martin and Segrave, Anti-Rock, 72;


73. Altschuler, All Shook Up, 77, 167.


3. “Symphony Chief Rips Conductor in Bias Dispute,” *Chicago’s American*, February 11, 1963. From the Merger Box #4, Folder “Chicago Musician Union Scrapbook,” 104, American Federation of Musicians Local 10–208 Collection, Harold Washington Library, Chicago. From this point on, the collection will be abbreviated as AFM.


16. “Music Union Merger Demanded By Core,” *Chicago Sun-Times*, August 21, 1963, Merger Box #4, Folder “Local 10-Local 208 Merger General,” AFM; “Photographs of Protest,” Merger Box #2, Folder “Annual Meeting Local 10-Local 208, Local 10/6/1963.” The Chicago History Museum houses the papers of the local branches of these organizations. The collections contain the group’s constitutions, which articulate their dedication to integration and nonviolence, as well as newspaper clippings regarding the musicians. The margin notes on the clippings suggest that they did support the musicians’ integration campaign but could not offer much help because they were busy staging protests against the segregated public schools. These protests occurred at the same time as Local 208’s annual meeting and the start of the merger talks.


20. Cohen, *A New Deal*, Welfare capitalists were manufacturers who developed social-welfare programs explicitly to encourage employees to depend on their bosses rather than apply for public assistance, or look toward union organizers. Most common in the 1920s, the practice began to burn out during the Great Depression.


22. The AFM Collection at the Harold Washington Library contains the death records for the musicians from Local 208 and Local 10. A death record consists of the family’s request for beneficiary payments, the original union card, death certificate, and any other relevant documents such as a comparison of the union cards from Local 10 and Local 208 reveals that the members of Local 10 were asked and were able to provide their addresses and phone numbers—which also reveals that many of them did not live in Chicago proper—whereas, the membership cards from Local 208 had no such information. Additionally, the death certificates of the members of Local 208, who died between 1940 and 1979, reveal that African American musicians lived twelve years less, on average, than did their white counterparts. African American musicians were also six times more likely to die a violent death. See the demographic study in the appendix for further information.


30. Robin Kelley, “‘We Are Not What We Seem’: Rethinking the Black Working Class in the Jim Crow South,” *Journal of American History* 80 (June 1993): 79.


32. Kelley, “‘We Are Not What We Seem’,” 79.


34. The Reminiscences of Red Saunders (1978), 4–7, in the Oral History Collection of the Jazz Institute, Rutgers University.

35. The Reminiscences of Red Saunders, 84–The trial board hearings of Black Local 208 were either not recorded or did not survive. Saunders’s account of this event is repeated in the oral histories in Charles Walton, *Bronzeville Conversations: The Tempo of the Times: the Struggle for an Integrated Musicians Union* (self-published: Charles Walton, 1993). Morris Ellis’s interview in Timuel Black, *Bridges of Memory* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2003) does offer a slightly different view of Saunders’s actions. Ellis argued that Saunders was kicked out of the Black local following the conflict and sought to destroy the Black local out of spite. Black Saunders’s membership file—housed in the American Federation of Musicians 10–208 Collection—offers no evidence to support or refute Ellis’s statement.


37. See the interview with Sunny Turner in Walton, *Bronzeville Conversations*, 5.


44. “Music Man Scores Integration ‘Hit,’” *Chicago Defender*, March 30, 1963, 10. There is little else regarding this However, in the TWO’s papers, there are newspaper clippings chronicling Saunders’s actions, which indicates interest on the part of TWO. The group was very busy fighting the expansion of the University of Chicago, as well as working for better housing and public schools. So, it is not a surprise that they did not involve themselves further in Saunders’s revolt.

45. For biographical information regarding musicians see the following reference works: *Encyclopedia of Afro-American Music; Encyclopedia of the Blues; The Blues Biographical Guide; and the Grove Dictionary of Jazz*.


47. After the dissidents went public with their protests, the leaders of the local demonstrated their power over the musicians by firing the dissidents’ wives who did office work for the local, refusing membership applications of the dissidents’ relatives, and removing the dissidents from the membership rolls of the local (which destroyed the musicians’ seniority and eliminated the possibility of a death-benefit payment). In addition, after the existence of the dissident movement became apparent, the dissidents began receiving death threats. Becker, *The Professional Dance Musician in Chicago*, 103–105. See the interviews with Clifford Clark, James Mack, Sonny Turner, and Laney MacDonald in Walton’s *Bronzeville Conversations*, 6–7; Bob Hunter, “CMHI Musicians Blast Local 208 Officials,” *Chicago Defender*, September 24, 1963, A16; Derrick, “The Move For An Integrated Musicians Union,” Charles E. Walton Collection.


52. Bob Hunter, “CMHI Musicians Blast Local 208 Officials,” A16. Also see *Bronzeville Conversations*.

53. Hunter, “CMHI Musicians Blast Local 208 Officials,” A16. It should be noted that the “dissident” musicians were having to pay dues in both Local 10 and Local 208. Eventually, Local 208 would attempt to strip them of their membership rights, such as death This would be a major contention in the merger meetings and it appears that the leaders of Local 208 wanted to punish the dissidents. This inclination only grew when it became known that the leaders of Local 10 had hired the “dissident” leaders to act as advisers on issues of race.


55. See images 7, 8, and 9. See also the interview with Clifford Clark in Walton, *Bronzeville Conversations*, 6.


61. Hunter, “Tension Mounts as Local 208’s Meeting Nears.”

62. Hunter, “Tension Mounts as Local 208’s Meeting Nears.”

63. The leaders of Local 208 expressed these views in the meetings with Local 10 but they also repeatedly explained their position to the Chicago Defender’s Bob Hunter. For an example see: Hunter, “Tension Mounts as Local 208’s Meetings Near,” 1.


65. As the leaders of Local 208 and Local 10 went into closed meetings with the representative of the International, the Chicago Musicians for Harmonious Integration James Mack began to send letters and telegrams to the meetings, which were read into the record. He argued that there were 200 “dual members” of Local 208 and Local 10 whose best interests were not represented by the leadership of either He proposed that three representatives of the “dual members” be allowed to attend the meetings but not have a vote. The leaders of Local 10 supported this, most likely because they imagined that the dissident representatives would support their position. Ultimately, the International representative rejected this proposal because the Musicians for Harmonious Integration were not elected officials and therefore lacked a mandate from a majority of the membership. This position was in contradiction to the International’s argument that they were forcing the integration of the two locals because of the 200 joining Local 10. “Minutes from meeting October 10, 1963,” 3–4, Merger Box #2, Folder “Merger Transcripts,” AFM.

66. “Minutes from the October 15 1963 meeting,” Merger Box #2, Folder “Merger Transcripts,” AFM.

67. “Minutes from the October 15, 1963 meeting” Merger Box #2, Folder “Merger Transcripts,” AFM.

68. “Minutes from the merger meeting January 29, 1964,” 3, Merger Box #2, Folder “Merger Transcripts,”AFM.

69. “Minutes from the merger meeting January 29, 1964,” 5–6, Merger Box #2, Folder “Merger Transcripts,”AFM.

70. Davis, the representative from the Federation, asked Local 10 and Local 208 to decide if “it is practical or feasible to elect on a geographical basis I think we should thoroughly discuss before we say a firm ‘unacceptable’ to this.” Miss Motherway, from the Local 10, replied, “How do you go about constructing
this geographically, since this is a situation that is based on where one lives.” In Chicago, where one lives, as the white leaders knew, was related to one’s race. “Minutes from the meeting January 29, 1964,” 10, Merger Box #2, Folder “Merger Transcripts,” AFM. Davis explained election based on former membership in a local, saying, “We cannot predicate an election to office on race, creed, religion, Former affiliation again is a problem because when it is analyzed in the true sense it means predominately one race as against predominately another race and so being highly technical, this again goes back to origin of nationality. . . .” King, of Local 208, replied, “Is there any reason for us to be here? You say that the mere fact that we are Local 208 this definitely means that we are Negro. What we are asking for is the right to protect former members of Local 208 who become members of Local 10.” “Minutes from the meeting January 29, 1964,” 15, Merger Box #2, Folder “Merger Transcripts,” AFM.

71. “Minutes from the merger meeting January 29, 1964,” 12– Merger Box #2, Folder “Merger Transcripts,” AFM.

72. “Minutes from the merger meeting January 29 1964,” 18, Merger Box #2, Folder “Merger Transcripts,” AFM.

73. “Minutes from the merger meeting March 23, 1964,” 8, Merger Box #2, Folder “Merger Transcripts,” AFM.

74. “Musicians Union Names Two To Push Merger of Locals,” Chicago Defender, June 22, 1963; “Special Resolution August 15, 1965,” Merger Box #1, Folder “Resolution 8/15/65 From Local 208 to Local 10,” AFM.


76. “Special Resolution August 15 1965,” Merger Box #1, Folder “Resolution 8/15/65 From Local 208 to Local 10,” AFM.

77. See the interview with Ken Sweet in Walton, Bronzeville Conversations, 20.

78. “Special Resolution August 15 1965,” Merger Box #1, Folder “Resolution 8/15/65 From Local 208 to Local 10,” AFM.


80. Morry Roth, “Negro Local 208 Won’t Integrate,” Variety, July 31, 1963, 95, from Merger Box #4, Folder “Chicago Musicians Union Scrapbook,” AFM.

81. Diamond, Mean Streets, 288.

82. For more on how Chicago’s Black institutions provided the blueprints for later Black-led political movements, see Davarian Baldwin, Chicago’s New Negroes: Modernity, The Great Migration and Black Urban Life (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 241–42.

83. Walton, Bronzeville Conversations, 31.

84. “Facts and Figures from the K.F.A.” [no date], Miscellaneous Programs, Pamphlets, relating to Red Saunders, Folder 1, Chicago History Museum, Chicago.

86. See the interview with Ken Sweet in Walton, Bronzeville Conversations, 20.

87. Robert Lewis, “Negro Musicians Here Charge Discrimination,” Chicago Daily News, March 27, 1967, from Merger Box #4, folder “Chicago Musicians Union Scrapbook,” AFM. The lack of jobs for Black musicians following the merger of separate locals was not unique to Black musicians to Chicago. Buffalo reported a similar situation after the merging of the city's local in 1969. Like in Chicago, there had been no guarantee of job equity written into the merger. The white musicians continued to get the best jobs, the best pay, and to hold office in the local. “You could complain and you could complain,” an African American musician in Buffalo recalled, “but of course the people you were complaining to were the ones who were organizing this kind of strategy, and so basically it fell upon deaf ears.” Richard McRae, “Paying their Dues: Buffalo’s African American Musicians Union, Local 533, A.F.M., 1917–1969,” Afro-Americans in New York Life and History 20 (January 1996): 79.

88. “CSO’s Diversity Program is Ready for Next Player,” Chicago Tribune, August 21, 2005. The Chicago Symphony Orchestra was segregated for 111 years. The organization was quite late in hiring an African American. The New York Philharmonic had Black members off and on since 1896 Los Angeles and Minneapolis have had Black members since the 1920s. The Denver Symphony has had Black members since 1946. Marilyn Marshall, “What’s Behind the Shortage of Blacks in Symphony Orchestras?” Ebony, September 1985, 36–39. Professor James Williams, from Columbia College in Chicago, argues that the lack of Black musicians in orchestras and the audience have led his students to “write off any possibility of acceptance in this perceived white American.” They feel their only potential for artistic expression is jazz, rap, gospel or pop.” “CSP Should Play More Music by Blacks,” Chicago Sun-Times, November 25, 1993. All sources are from the Vertical File “Orchestras and Minorities,” Center for Black Music Research, Columbia College, Chicago.


92. “Meeting of Joint Advisory Committee of Locals 10 And 208 implementation order of International Executive Board Concerning Plan of Merger,” from Merger Box #3, Folder “Joint Advisory Committee,” AFM; The Reminiscence of Red Saunders, 95–97; Jonathan Zvi Sard Pollack, “Race, Recordings, and Rock ‘n’ Roll: The American Federation of Musicians and the Popular


94. Lewis, A Power Stronger Than Itself, 87, 16.


96. Guy, When I Left Home, 221.


98. Derrick, “The Move For An Integrated Musicians Union.”

99. Hunter, “CMHI Musicians Blast Local 208 Officials.”

100. See the interview with Sam Denov in Walton, Bronzeville Conversations, 33.


103. Lewis, A Power Stronger Than Itself, 106.

104. “Meeting of Joint Advisory Committee of Locals 10 and 208 implementation order of International Executive Board Concerning Plan of Merger,” from Merger Box #3, Folder “Joint Advisory Committee,” AFM. The Black musicians in Buffalo also suffered the loss of their union building following the merger of the city’s locals in McRae, “Paying their Dues,” 78–79.


106. See the interview with Lefty Bates in Walton, Bronzeville Conversations, 32.

107. Walton, Bronzeville Conversations, 34.

108. See the interview with Hillard Brown in Walton, Bronzeville Conversations, 32.


110. See the interview with Morris Ellis in Black, Bridges of Memory, 188–91.

Coda

1. See chapters 1 and 2.


3. Doris Evans McGinty, ed., A Documentary History of the National Association of Negro Musicians (Chicago: Center of the Black Music Re-